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The principal points in which this narrative differs from the one generally received are as follows:

1. It is said that, at the commencement of the sitting, the Speaker, "as soon as prayers were ended," went into the chair and delivered the King's command. The scuffle ensued immediately afterwards; and then followed Eliot's speech, and the attempt to induce the Speaker to put the Remonstrance from the chair. In the ordinary accounts it will be found that Eliot's speech follows immediately "after prayers were ended, and the house sat;" and that the Speaker sat still in the chair, without communicating the King's command to adjourn, until after Sir John Eliot's speech was ended, or, according to some accounts, until he was called upon to put the Remonstrance to the House.

2. Lord Verulam's MS., Harleian MSS. 2305 and 6800, and Hargrave MS. 299 mention Sir Humphrey May, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, as one of those who, with Sir Thomas Edmondes, endeavoured to free the Speaker from his imprisonment in the chair.

3. Lord Verulam's MS. gives a speech to Strode, which goes to explain more precisely than has yet been known, why he was prosecuted for his share in that day's transactions.

4. It is a small matter to note, although not without its curiosity, that this MS. corrects a singular mis-reading in the speech of Sir Peter Heyman. His words, addressed to the Speaker, stand as follows in the printed books, in accordance with all the other MSS. that I have seen:—"Sir Peter Heyman, a gentleman of his own country (Kent), told him 'he was sorry he was his kinsman, for that he was the disgrace of his country, and a blot of a noble family.'" Some years ago I endeavoured in vain to discover what was the degree of relationship represented by Heyman's word "kinsman." Had I seen Lord Verulam's MS. I should have been spared my pains, for there we read that the words were "he was sorry he was"—not "his kinsman," but—"a Kentish man, and that he was a disgrace to his country, and a blot to a noble family."

On the other hand, it is observable that Lord Verulam's MS. does not mention the Resolutions that were put to the House by Holles standing by the Speaker's chair. The concurrent testimony of a variety of authorities forbids us to doubt that those Resolutions were really passed in the way described, and that in this respect Lord Verulam's MS. is defective. I submit it to the Society, therefore, not as a complete account, but as one which adds several new features, rectifies blunders which are sufficiently obvious when pointed out, and is in many respects well worthy of inspection and attention.

XVII. *Anonymous Letter to Mr. John Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth, reporting the dispersion of the Spanish Armada. Communicated by the Right Hon. the* Earl Stanhope, *President; together with remarks on the same by* Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A. *In Letters addressed to Augustus W. Franks, Esq. M.A., Director.*

Read December 22, 1859.

Grosvenor Place,
July 18, 1859.

My dear Mr. Franks,

Among several MS. Letters which I purchased at the recent sale of Mr. Dawson Turner's Library, there is one which I think may have some interest for the Society of Antiquaries, and which I therefore take leave to send you for exhibition. You will perceive that it is addressed to one of my family, John Stanhope, who was created in 1605 Lord Stanhope of Harrington. At the time when this letter was written he was Treasurer of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth; and the letter is evidently designed for the information of the Government.

Being written from France in time of war, the letter is expressed with great caution and mystery, and it bears neither signature nor date of year. But it plainly appears I think to have been written in 1588, on the dispersion of the Spanish Armada.

Believe me,
Very faithfully yours,
STANHOPE.

S. Althoughe I nether name my selfe nor the place from whence this cometh, yet by the ij. last in an other langwadge better know here, I writt to yow from hence, wheir my satisfaction hath bene great, my returne God willinge begininge to morro the xxj. of Novẽber wth yow. Newes I can write yow non but suche of owr mortalst enemys as wear comỹnge to-offende, being 140 sa: [sail] for certein

wear sett so far apart apart [*sic*] as not 40 Sai: are returned hoome to taek breath; God sende them every time so good spead or worse, and then, althowghe they brag their is a port open for them in Ir: [Ireland] the Bus: [Bishop?] that is wth them and other his compaynions will not in haste come thether: it may be the particulers shalbe at home afore this come to yow, but this Intelligence is Del: [delivered] me for certein of such as I have reason to beleave; further Sr. yow may tel M. Se. [Mr. Secretary] tha[t f]or certein the greatest Englise confessor of owr Ca. Ene. [Catholic Enemy] is sent from S. [Spain] and hath ben at R. [Rheims?] and is goone for Bruss[els] wth intente if he can to stepp over; the cawse of his being sẽt and what effect followed God willinge shal be assone wth yow as this, I hoope wthin little, yet, lest he showlt be returned, or I fal sic, I write this. I can butt most devowbtly pray for that weh I desire moor (God doth know) then my own life, which to doe service to mackes my returne one monthe longer than I ment. So I rest, as ever,

Yowrs.

I pray S. speack to my L. Ad. [Lord Admiral] that Cap. Gowre may harken after me a month hence at Deap, wth the awnswer as he promised; from Orl.[eans] and Paris I will write, God willinge.

(*Addressed,*) To the R. Worrshippfl Mr. Jhon Stanop, Esquier, Tresorer of her M. most Honorable p'vye Chāber.

State Paper Office,
21 December, 1859.

Dear Mr. Franks,

I have read the interesting letter about the Spanish Armada, put into your hands by our noble President, and am sorry I cannot give it much elucidation. Long before the actual coming of the Armada upon the English coasts, the Government received private information from all parts of Flanders, France, and even Spain itself, of the formation of the Armada, its progress and destination. Much of this information was derived from agents directly in the pay of Government, the whole of which was conducted by Secretary Walsyngham. Other information was received from gentlemen residing or travelling abroad, and this was generally conveyed indirectly by means of a third party, who used his own dis-

cretion in communicating it, or not, to the Secretary of State. Of this kind appears to have been the letter in question. It was written evidently on the 20th of November, 1588, and gives a very fair glimpse of the return of the shattered Armada. But this intelligence was not the earliest intimation of that event received by the English Government. On the 7th of November, 1588, Sir John Gilberte wrote to the Privy Council, informing them that he had received advertisements from one Richard Blackater, a merchant of Totnes, who had just arrived from Saint Maloes, that by a ship lately come from Spain it was reported the Duke of Medina had landed, hurt in one of his legs, and being at the Court, King Philip would not see him, but commanded him to his house; and his Majesty, having information that much of the sufferings of the Armada had been owing to the want of provisions, "had executed sundry of his officers that had the charge of the victualling of his navy, for that the victual was bad and not the quantity that ought to have been provided."

In that passage of the letter to Mr. Stanhope which desires him to tell *M. Se.* about the English Confessor, there can be no doubt that it refers to Secretary Walsyngham, in whom all channels of foreign information centered. The mention in the postscript of Captain Gowre probably alludes to Captain Walter Gower, who commanded the Merlin, of thirty-five men, under Lord Henry Seymour, in the Narrow Seas, and would evidently have been in a position to convey a message to any person at Dieppe upon very short notice.

To give a notion of the immense force of the Spanish armament I beg leave to subjoin a copy of an interesting paper sent to Walsyngham just prior to the arrival of the Armada:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic Eliz., 1 July, 1588.]

"A Declaration truelie translated out of Frenche into Englishe, of th' Armie sent fourth by the Kinge of Spaine from Lisborne, of the which is Cheife General the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

The number of all the vessels of warre.

130 vessels of warre, greate and litle.
46 Gallions, whereof are and other shippes betwixte 8 and 900 tonne.
25 Hulkes, betwixte 500 and 700 tonne.
19 Pataxes, betwixte 80 and 100 tonne.

13 Acabies of great burden and well apointed.
14 Galliasses.
14 Gallies.
20 Carvales, for service of th' armie.
20 Challopes, to land men.

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Municions for warres.

2,430 cast pieces of ordnaunce.
15,000 yren bullettes.
5,160 firkins of powder.
1,100 ferkins of bullettes of leade.

The number of soldiers in the Armie.

7,050 Spannyshe Soldiers.
2,000 Portingale Soldiers.
160 Common Adventurers.
8,050 Marryners.
160 Boies.
238 Gentlemen Venturers.
130 of their men.
137 of Cannoniers.
85 Doctours of Phisicke, Chirurgeons, and Poticaries.
104 Friers, monckes, and preistes.
22 Squyeres of Dukes howses.
50 of their men.
90 Executioners or hangmen, to hang them selffes.

Of victuels.

Verie well provided for wine, oile, biskett, cheese, powdered beaffe, and fishe, for halfe a yere, and all other thinges for soldiers sustenaunce.

Cheiffes of th' Armie.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia, Leiftenant-Generall.

Don Allonso Mertyner de Louba, Generall of the horssemen of the garrison of Millan.

Jehan Mortyner de Recalde, Admyrall.

Don Diego Floria de Valdres, generall of the Gallions.

Don Pedro de Valdes, generall of the shippes of Andolosia.
Michie Dogendo, generall of the armie of the province of Guypuscoa.
Don Ugo, generall of the Galliasses.
Diego de Mederano, generall of the Galliers.

Men of Justice.

Don Jorge Menriges, Comptroller-Generall.
Mertin de Aranda, Auditour.
Alanso de Alameda, and Pire Cocon, Treasaurers.
Jehue de Hurta, Paie Master Generall.
Phillip de Porras, Comptroller of the Galliers.

Masters of the Camp.

Don Franco de Bonadelia, Master of the Camp Generall.
Don Augustin Mesqua of the Camp over the Companies of Castilia, Lisborne, and Andolosia.
Don Diego de Pimentel, Master of the Camp of Celles and Sicillia.
Don Franco de Toledo, Camp Master over the Portingales.
Don Alonso Lucan, Camp Master of Tersiars and Napules.
Nicholas Dista, of the Companies of the Indian Gallies.

A pox upon them all; if they come into England I trust you will christen them ere they returne, that their names maie be easier to write: never take none prisoners, for they be but Don beggars, all that goe to stele and become riche, hange them for ransome."

(Indorsed by Walsyngham's Secretary,)
"July 1588,
"Relation of the Spanish armye."

This curious statement must be taken with some allowance, coming as it does through a French medium, and with a thoroughly anti-Spanish bias; but upon the whole the numbers, as compared with other contemporary accounts, are rather under than over stated.

To meet and encounter this overwhelming force, Her Majesty's Navy consisted of only thirty-four ships, great and small; the merchants of various parts furnished thirty-four ships, and the City of London contributed thirty ships at their own charges, the greatest of which carried only 120 men. Many of the coast towns

sent out small vessels with a complement of no more than eight or ten men. The grand total numbered 197 vessels, great and small, of which but three carried 500 men. It is evident therefore that in the destruction of the Armada something more than mere force formed the principal element. The extraordinary, nay providential, state of the weather, and the admirable seamanship of our naval Commanders, consummated a work unparalleled, and likely to remain unexampled, in history.

The Spaniards came with the direst intentions towards England. In the examinations of the prisoners taken on board the great ship called Nostra Senora de Rosaria of Ribadeo, it was elicited that "they were determined to put all to the sword that should resist them." They came to make war to the knife, and they realized it, but in a manner contrary to their expectations. After the first dispersion of the fleet before Calais by means of the fire-ships, they were chased along the Flemish coast, in the midst of a tremendous gale of wind. Two of their largest ships got on shore near Ostend, and were captured by the Hollanders. There was then a spirit of the fiercest retribution. The Spaniards came as deadly enemies and were treated as such. In the letter from Mr. Henry Killygrew, the English agent at the Hague, dated 3 August, 1588, he transmits the examinations of the Spaniards taken in those two ships. The greater of the two was captured by the men of Flushing, "wherein were near 800 Spaniards, of whom 150 were sent to Rotterdam (for ransom) and the rest (too poor to ransom themselves) were cast overboard."

It would be too long here even to glance at the subsequent sufferings of the Spaniards on their dismal journey round the Irish coast. Famine and wreck completed the work, and as the poor wretches reached the land by swimming they were mercilessly slaughtered by the Irish peasantry: one man alone claiming a reward for having with his own hand killed eighty of them with his gallowglas axe. The History of the Spanish Armada has yet to be written. Hoping I have not intruded too much upon you with this detail,

I remain, dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

ROBERT LEMON.

XVIII. *On Vestiges of Orthólithic Remains in North Africa, and their place in Primeval Archæology.* *By* A. Henry Rhind, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read February 10th and 17th, 1859, and February 2nd, 1860.

The countries washed by the Mediterranean have necessarily been the great field of research for investigating the remains of the older historic civilizations with which they are strewn; and I cannot doubt that the same shores, which, from their physical peculiarities, have ever been the seat of a large and active population, retain still for us most significant illustrations of that early substratum, the pre-classical culture, the widely spread relics of which are the elements of our primeval archæology. To some of those elements I have on other occasions adverted; and here I propose chiefly to direct attention to another—a very remarkable group of cromlechs in Algeria, which I have had recently an opportunity of visiting and examining.

Since the French have occupied that country, and consolidated their possessions, the portion along the seaboard, where their rule has become most firmly established, has, under the name of the civil territory (to distinguish it from that under military and *quasi* military administration) been subdivided for purposes of local government into *communes* as in France. In the *commune* of Cheragas the remains in question are to be found near the small agricultural colony of Guyotville, about twelve English miles from the town of Algiers, and standing towards the western slope of an extensive plateau known as Bainam. I thus minutely note the site, as an inquirer might have some difficulty in finding the precise locality.

To give, in the first place, a general idea of the appearance of these monuments, it is only necessary to say that individually they present no peculiarity of structure, and that, if we came upon them in any part of the British islands, we should do so without the least surprise, regarding them as the ordinary congeners of our own cromlechs. And curiously enough the surrounding scenery might almost recall a moorland spot in Scotland or Wales. The mountain of Boujaréah, flanked by clustering hills, forms an excrescent tract called the Sahel, about fifteen miles square, separated from the first range of the Atlas by the wide plain of the Metidja, and washed on three sides by the sea. Its richly clothed southern and

eastern slopes, on one of which the white town of Algiers glistens in the sun, descend to the shore at somewhat abrupt angles. Towards the west the declivities are more gradual, and terminate in broad strips of table-land gently dipping for several miles and stretching to the sea. On this side the soil is everywhere covered with a low jungle of brushwood, dwarf oak, palmetto, oleander, lentiscus, cistus, and myrtle, all (when in mass) of dark heathery brown, and tinted also like heather with brighter specks. And so, when standing beside the cromlechs on one of these plateaux, the cottages scattered around, a village in the distance nestling in a hilly nook round a modest church spire, the sea shining in front, the hills behind grouping together, with the bolder peaks of the Atlas towards the west, the landscape presents to us many of the broad features of form, and especially the pervading uniformity of colour which characterize our own highland scenes where the early primeval vestiges have lingered until now.

But with regard to the cromlechs[a] themselves there is certainly (so far as I know) no such extensive group in Great Britain; and I do not remember that, even in the land of megaliths, Britany, so many are now to be found together at any one spot. A few years ago, before some were demolished by the neighbouring colonists of the hamlet of Guyotville, they are said to have been one hundred in number; and at present they may approximately be estimated at fully more than eighty, absolute precision in the enumeration not being attainable from the naturally ruinous condition of some, the recent overthrow of others, and their partial concealment by tangled brushwood. They are spread over an irregular area of probably ten or twelve acres, but they do not stand in equally close proximity to each other over the whole space. In surveying them all from any general point of view they do not suggest the idea of symmetrical arrangement; still, at the north-eastern extremity, towards the outskirts of the group, they take somewhat the form of four nearly equidistant straight rows; and it seems not improbable, although from the numerous gaps and the obliterating vegetation we cannot detect it, that some general plan was followed where so many monuments were collocated together. On the other hand, as in some of our older graveyards, regularity of arrangement at different points might be merely incidental, rather than part of a general outline definitely adhered to; but, whatever rule (if any) determined the

[a] As I write of remains on French territory, it may be well to state that I do not use the word cromlech as applied in France, but according to its signification in England, where it designates that which the French call a *dolmen*, namely, a flat slab raised as a table, so to say, upon other stones set on edge. It is scarcely necessary to add that, according to French nomenclature, a cromlech means a circle of upright stones with or without another ortholith in the centre.

intervals of space, it would seem that some certain amount was at all events allotted to each cromlech; for in no instance do any two stand in close contact. The nearest degree of mutual proximity which I observed among them was at the point already referred to, where they might be said to be planted in rows, and there they were separated from each other by eight and twenty or thirty feet clear in every direction.

Although the general plan is doubtful, one feature of interest is decided, not only by the last-mentioned measurement, but also by the appearance of the whole group, and the outline of the surface of the ground,—that these cromlechs had not been covered by mounds of earth, as we sometimes find them in this country, for the limited proportion of ground between them would not have allowed room for the raising of hillocks sufficiently large. In short, these cromlechs, as their weather-worn stones confirm, would seem to have stood exposed originally as they stand to-day.

In size they vary considerably as regards the cap-stones; but the average dimensions of these may be stated at 7 feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$, although in some cases they measure as much as 9 feet by 7. The sides of the covered chamber, in every instance which circumstances allowed me to examine, were formed of four monoliths on edge—two for the sides and two for the ends; and the shape of the cist is invariably oblong, with a breadth of from 2 feet 8 inches to 2 feet 10, a length of from 5 feet 6 to 6 feet, and a height of 2 feet to the cap-stone from the hard mould bottom, which is on a level with the surrounding surface. The general, although not by any means invariable, direction of the longer measurements of the chambers is east and west; and there are instances of deviation to almost every other point of the compass. The stones both of sides and roofs are in all cases unhewn.

I have already mentioned that many of the cromlechs have been destroyed; and, the cottage of one of the Spanish colonists from Minorca, who are among the most active part of the new population, being planted hard by, agricultural operations are pushing their way in the direction of the field of cromlechs. In this way some of them have suffered, and many have been opened and damaged from the usual motives of curiosity which so often hasten the fate of similar remains; but quite recently means appear to have been employed to prevent their further destruction, and, as some seem yet intact, we may hope that care will be taken to examine their contents under satisfactory auspices. Very shortly before my visit several had evidently been ruined by the not very discriminating hands, I presume, of some neighbouring peasants. The bones of the bodies which they had contained, tolerably well preserved from the dry and elevated site, although

broken and crumbling, lay strewn about the cists or huddled together in corners. From one of those small heaps I carried away a cranium, unfortunately very imperfect, but respecting which the subjoined report,[a] which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Barnard Davis, will be of interest as embodying the few practicable craniographic results deduced by an observer who has made this species of inquiry his peculiar study. From another I procured a fragment of coarse sun-baked pottery, being nearly the one-half of a shallow hemispherical cup about 5 inches in diameter.

In the Museum of Algiers there are a few other relics also procured from the cromlechs of Bainam, as yet kept in a private room of the library awaiting the ultimate arrangement of this thriving, although recently established, collection. I was courteously allowed an opportunity of examining them;[b] and, besides some fragments of human bones, I found them to consist of the following objects, viz.:—three shallow cups, similar in shape, size, and material to that of which I procured a portion as already mentioned; fragments of two other fictile specimens likewise of the rudest workmanship; and some cups, 3 inches high, 4 inches in diameter, having flat bottoms, and each a loop handle. There were also certain metallic objects, namely, four small penannular *armillæ*, of the simplest manufacture, formed of thin bronze wire not more than one-tenth of an inch in diameter; a piece of similar bronze wire twisted spirally into the shape and about the size of a finger-ring, with the ends overlapping; and two plain bronze fibulæ not quite perfect, about 2 inches long, the simple form of which will be easily understood by describing the manner in which it might be fashioned. One end of a moderately stout wire having been flattened transversely and bent into a semicircular socket, the wire would be curved like a bow for two or three inches, and then twisted into several convolutions so as to allow the other end, duly sharpened, to come back as a segment of the curve and rest in the socket, where, when the fibula was closed, it would firmly remain in consequence of the convolutions acting as a spring. A few years

[a] This portion of a *calvarium* is the upper part of the brain-case, and consists of the two parietal bones, one temporal, the frontal as far as the superciliary ridges, and the occipital to near the *foramen magnum*. It has belonged to a man, and, as the sutures are almost wholly effaced both inside and out, of probably sixty or more years of age. Although this *calvarium* is rather thick, it is not remarkably so. It does not present the long narrow Negro form, but when viewed vertically is ovoid and pretty regularly so. It therefore belongs to the so-called Caucasian series. The measurements, as far as they can be obtained, are: circumference 20·8 inches; occipito-frontal diameter 7·3 inches; occipito-frontal arch, from the broken edge of the frontal to the *foramen magnum*, 12·8 inches; interparietal diameter, taken at the parietal bosses, 5·5 inches; and the arch from the edge of one parietal, across the bosses, to that of the other 10·7 in. [J. B. D.]

[b] For this I was indebted to M. Berbrugger, the *conservateur* of the Museum, whose numerous works and papers, chiefly on the Roman remains in Algeria, testify his diligence and research.

ago an English manufacturer registered this pattern, conceiving himself perhaps to have invented an ingenious contrivance, but it was a not unfrequent device in very ancient jewellery. Fibulæ so constructed are found dispersed over a singularly wide extent of country; without, however, here entering upon questions which they suggest, or referring specially to localities, it will be enough to say that, with the peculiar adaptation of the spring, they have been discovered in early graves in Scandinavia,[a] as well as in the sepulchres of Etruria.[b] In Italy they would seem to have been not only popular in early times, but long retained, for quantities of the same general type, and usually small, now in the Museo Borbonico at Naples, have been dug up from Pompeii.[c] The largest specimens I know (one being fully 7 inches in length) have been found probably in the south of France, for they are preserved in the very interesting Museum of Avignon.

I perceive by a brief paragraph in a recent number of the *Revue Africaine*[d] that since I was in Algeria the Museum has made some fresh acquisitions from the same cromlechs, which are shortly catalogued as fragments of human *crania* remarkable for the thickness of the brain-case; three axes, one of jade and two of a stone not specified; a flint knife; and five arrow-heads of the same material.

It will thus be seen that, as well in the general character of their contents as in their structure and appearance, these monuments correspond with the similar remains spread over the countries of western Europe, (and not over those countries alone,) where research has rendered them familiar; and hence, in conjunction with similar remains in the same territory, they awaken an interest far more comprehensive and important than as mere Algerian antiquities. They must form an element and take a place in wider circles of inquiry, and become landmarks in a chart of the older ethnography of the western world.

I could not here propose, even if I at present felt warranted, to enter upon the broad subject of megalithic vestiges and primeval archæology generally, in connexion with ethnological distribution, which is, in truth, the real question; but it may be advantageous to take this opportunity to indicate in outline the nature and, partially, the amount of materials which North Africa offers for such an investigation.

[a] Worsaae's *Afbildninger fra det Museum i Kjöbenhavn*, p. 44.

[b] They are to be seen in most Etruscan collections; and faithful representations, chiefly of the more elaborate, may be found in the illustrations of the Museo Gregoriano.—Part 1, Tav. lxxvii. *et seq.*

[c] A few of the most finished are engraved in the work entitled *Piccoli Bronzi del Museo Borbonico da Carlo Ceci;* but there are numerous others, simpler and coarser.

[d] Vol. ii. p. 485.

Beginning at the shores of the Atlantic, we find a stone circle in the neighbourhood of Tangiers; and other rude megaliths likewise present themselves in the empire of Morocco.[a] Proceeding eastwards to the next politico-territorial division, the French possessions, tombs of analogous character are stated to have been seen by an Algerian geographer, M. Macarthy,[b] at Zebdou, south of the ancient Arab city of Tlemcen, in the province of Oran. In the same province, near its eastern boundary, at a place called Tiaret, distant not less than one hundred miles from the Mediterranean coast,[c] the existence of a dolmen, or cromlech, of extraordinary dimensions has been recorded by M. le Commandant Bernard. He describes its situation as a wild tract covered with the usual brushwood of the country; and the measurements which he adds are too remarkable to be omitted. Reduced to the English standard, they make the cap-stone to be about 65 feet long, 26 feet broad, and 9 feet 6 inches thick; and this enormous block rests upon rock sub-structures, which raise it from 35 feet to 40 feet above the soil, forming what may be called a sufficiently spacious grotto, whose bearings are east and west. In the upper surface of the platform (the cap-stone), and towards the west, are cut three square troughs; that in the middle measuring about 3 feet on each side, the two others less. The three communicate with each other by two channels, not so deep as the troughs, and 4 inches broad. In the lower part of the dolmen steps are formed to enable the platform to be ascended: and in the neighbourhood are to be seen some weather-wasted standing stones (*menhirs*).

Unfortunately we have as yet no more minute account of this monument, whose stupendous size, altogether unequalled in the records of European megaliths, and remote inland site might lead to the supposition that primarily its structure was the work of nature. This, however, M. Bernard does not at all suggest; and he authenticates the accuracy of his observation by sending to the Algerian Historical Society what he terms a very faithful sketch of the dolmen, which they promise eventually to publish.[d] It also happens that I can offer an illustrative fact bearing upon the obviously artificial cuttings which the massive erection is described to present. Forming a prominent part of the megalithic

[a] Urquhart's Pillars of Hercules, and Brooke's Spain and Morocco, ii. 36.

[b] *Revue Africaine*, vol. i. p. 29.

[c] There are several maps of Algeria which may be referred to for its topography: the one I have before me I find the best, being that executed on a large scale, under the direction of the well-known authority on matters Algerian, General Daumas, and affixed to the Report of the Ministère de la Guerre, viz.: *Tableau de la Situation des Etablissements Français de l'Algérie*, issued in 1857.

[d] *Revue Africaine*, vol. i. p. 147.

ruins of Hagar Kim, in Malta,[a] a huge stone 20 feet high, undressed, and to all appearance unhewn, towers above the other ponderous blocks with which it is in contact. On the portion which thus protrudes I noticed small niches, conveniently cut for the toes and hands; and, on climbing to the top by means of these, I found it hollowed out into a flat-bottomed basin, 3 feet 8 inches long by 1 foot broad and 10 inches deep.[b]

Resuming our cursory enumeration, we pass on to the province of Algiers, and find our next example on the coast between Cherchell (*Julia Cæsarea*) and Tfassed (*Tipasa*); at least, Dr. Shaw, one of the earliest and most observant of modern travellers in those regions, mentions in his itinerary "having fallen in at this point with a number of stone coffins of an oblong figure, not unlike those that are sometimes found in our own island."[c] Allowing for the antiquarian phraseology current a hundred and twenty years ago, and guided more by the comparison which is instituted, it seems most probable that those "coffins" were of the type which we have in view. But the province of Algiers offers other examples in the group of cromlechs at Bainam, already described, and also in a number of somewhat analogous tombs, at a place called Djelfa, lying towards the south, about eighty miles in the interior. The design of these last consists of an oblong inclosure, or rather grave, defined by four slabs, covered by one or, occasionally, two others, at a height of 8 or 12 inches above the soil. Their dimensions vary from 6 feet by 2 feet, to 1 foot 7 inches in length, by 9 inches in breadth; and it has been suggested that those of the smaller size were the graves of children. Each tomb is surrounded by a circle of rude stones about 9 inches high; and sometimes the circle is double. In the construction of these sepulchres, while some of the features are typical of primeval remains, others are of so general and indefinite a character as hardly to be limitable to any period or manner of inhumation. In some respects they might even be Arab; and their standing at no great distance from the ruins of a Roman station might, on the other hand, suggest that they owed their origin to its occupants. It is, however, to be remembered, that in a case of this kind, and especially in a country which has experienced so many vicissi-

[a] I have referred to these remains, and the sources of information regarding them in the Archæological Journal, vol. xiii. p. 397.

[b] It is also worth noting here, that M. Mérimée describes a cromlech in Corsica with a small trench or channel (rigole évidemment travaillée de main d'homme) in the upper stone.—*Voyage en Corse*, p. 27. Paris, 1840. The existence of these troughs tends to confirm the artificial character of some of the so-called Rock Basins observed in connection with ancient remains in Britain. See the careful discussion as to those on Dartmoor by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. xvi.

[c] Shaw's Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 64.

tudes of conquest and population, of vigour and decay, the proximity of various vestiges not necessarily homogeneous, cannot be regarded as indicating their common origin. Likewise it requires to be noticed that Dr. Reboud, who describes the graves in question, distinguishes them from Roman tombs in their immediate vicinity, recognising in them the specialities of what in western Europe are vaguely termed Celtic remains.[a] An additional reason for including them in the category before us, is derived from the circumstance that there was procured from this very district of Djelfa a stone celt, which I saw in the Museum of Algiers. This highly curious relic, formed from an elongated water-worn pebble sharpened at one end and tapering towards the other, of rude manufacture and imperfect finish, is not stated to have been discovered in any of the graves; and the opening of one of them only produced some fragments of bones.

Similar tombs are again met with at Sigus,[b] a short distance from Constantine, the ancient Cirta; and an incidental allusion in the Annuaire of the local Archæological Society points to the existence of primeval megaliths (*dolmens*) in that province, but I have not been able precisely to ascertain the sites.[c]

The Beylik of Tunis is the conterminous territory towards the East; and I have received personal although not very minute information respecting rude stone monuments in that country. I likewise remember some notice of them in a work on those regions, but I am quite unable at present to recall the reference.

As to the Regency of Tripoli, which comes next in order, certain conjectures advanced in the early part of last century suggested the presence there of what their author, Dr. Stukeley, termed in his own special phraseology, "a patriarchal prophylactis, or serpentine temple."[d] The surmise was based upon a marvellous story current in those parts, which many of the early travellers had carefully narrated, that six days' journey from the sea a petrified city stood in the Desert, with its former inhabitants, their camels, their flocks, and their herds, all in their habit as they lived, but turned into stone. We are now familiar with this legend from the lips of Scheherazade, in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; but, having been thus localised by the tribes of Tripoli, it excited considerable curiosity in the times to which I allude. Some were disposed to believe it with slight modification; others imagined it might contain some grains of truth, and set themselves

[a] *Revue Africaine*, vol. i. p. 29, et ibid. p. 138.

[b] *Revue Africaine*, i. 29, *note*. I have just learned (October 1860) the existence of one or more cromlechs in Kabylia, which has been but recently brought under French rule. See *Revue Africaine*, No. 23.

[c] *Annuaire de la Société Archéologique de la Province de Constantine. Année* 1853, p. 14.

[d] Shaw, Travels in Barbary, i. 286.

to conjecture accordingly. Stukeley's guess was of the characteristic nature which has been stated; but Dr. Shaw, to whom he communicated it, felt bound to say that not any of the accounts of the petrified city would afford the least foundation for it, inasmuch as it required the assumption of circular erections, which none of the reports countenanced.

Although this particular prodigy could not therefore be converted into a megalithic ruin, and its groundwork, if any, may be to be sought in the geological phenomena of the African Sahara,[a] still the existing evidence is not opposed to the discovery of such cyclopean vestiges in the Regency of Tripoli. In the adjoining district of Zenzur Dr. Barth observed and has described a sufficiently remarkable object of this character, and which he points to as being similar to the more elaborate type which portions of Stonehenge present. It consists primarily of a base fixed in the ground, on which are reared two quadrangular pillars, 2 feet square, 10 feet high, 1 foot 7 inches asunder, and surmounted horizontally by another massive stone about 6 feet 6 inches long and of the same width as the pillars.[b] Elsewhere he refers to corresponding monuments in the same region, but, looking to their general appearance as developed in the sketch he has furnished of the example whose measurements I have copied above, and keeping in view the dilapidated chiselled fragments in juxta-position to it, it seems very probable that in it and its congeners we have to deal with a very different class of relics from those here under consideration.

Further east on those coasts I have not been able to trace vestiges of primeval character. But Cyrenaica has as yet been only very imperfectly explored and described: the same may be said of the territory of Barkah, while the nature of much of its seaboard is not so favourable for the wants of an early population as to make it probable that it retains many vestiges of such. Proceeding to the limits of our range, the soil of the Delta of Egypt is such that relics of the kind in question could not be expected to be still visible upon it, even if other considerations did not arise from the developments of civilization in that extraordinary land, and from the whole scope of our subject.

We have however been able to follow these peculiar structures, the greater part of them more or less of one type, from Tangiers almost to Tripoli along a

[a] Or perhaps the myth is in some way connected with one of those singularly perfect Roman towns, such as exist in the inland territory behind Tunis, and which a friend who made an enterprising expedition there has described to me as in marvellous preservation. These petrefactive metamorphoses are, however, common beliefs among Arabs. See an instance in Belzoni's Narrative, p. 43.

[b] Barth's Travels in Africa, vol. i. 58—62.

coast-line of not less than fifteen hundred miles, and dispersed over a tract of at least one hundred miles in breadth. Of relics found in or near them I know only of the objects before mentioned as discovered in the cromlechs of Bainam and the stone celt from Djelfa.

With regard to the interesting subject of the origin of these monuments and the connection between those of analogous character in Europe and elsewhere, although I hope eventually to enter on its consideration more fully as part of a general inquiry, I may venture to endeavour to clear the ground of certain opinions that have obtained some degree of currency, but which tend to obscure the true bearings of the case. For example, the tombs at Djelfa[a] and the cromlechs at Bainam[b] have been regarded in Algeria as sepulchres erected by Breton soldiers while serving in that country, as they are known to have done, under the Romans. The unexpressed argument from which this view has been formed would seem to have been founded on the very narrow premises that megaliths are common in Britany; that Armorican troops were stationed in Numidia or Mauritania Cæsarensis in the Roman service, and that by them the structures in question were erected. But a wider survey would speedily have invalidated such a conclusion; for it would have shown that the great extent over which at intervals they are spread in North Africa is irreconcilable with such an incidental introduction; that the contents of the cromlechs of Bainam point to a different order of things, from what might reasonably be supposed to have prevailed among troops in the Roman service; and that, so far from there being any evidence that the people of Armorica were in those days rearing megaliths at home, there is much more than a strong probability to the contrary.

Another opinion has sometimes been propounded in which the vestiges before us have been comprised by implication, though it has not perhaps been directly applied to them, as hitherto they have not been much known, namely, that their origin was Phœnician. We have long been familiar with the hypothesis which assigns to the Tyrian navigators the introduction of megalithic monuments into Britain; and this hypothesis is in the present day from time to time revived, either in the same or in a slightly modified form. In various European countries, including our own, archæological publications occasionally appear, in which remains of the kind we are discussing are supposed to be explained by referring them to Phœnician intercourse, and their presence on Mediterranean coasts, where that people maintained settlements or traffic, is regarded as so much

[a] *Revue Africaine*, vol. i. p. 138.

[b] Barbier, *Itineraire de l'Algerie*, p. 107.

confirmatory evidence. But it cannot fail to be observed that, when this mode of argument is indiscriminately urged, it is for the most part accompanied by a limitation of the field under view to a very narrow portion of the world, and by an imperfect estimate of the force of the term employed; for it should be remembered by those who would wish to account for our megalithic remains as Phœnician, that one of two alternative propositions is bound up in the use of the word. Of these propositions the first is that the erection of such megaliths was a special development of Phœnician culture, and was peculiar to it. But let us see where this, if maintained, would lead. It would imply that until the spread of Tyrian enterprise the whole of western Europe, for example, was destitute of every kind of erection whereby one stone is laid upon another; and that until then its people did not possess a cromlech, a circle, a chambered cairn, a *jettestuer*, or even a simple cist, all of which exhibit directly or indirectly the principle of megalithic building. Moreover, were the Phœnicians to be recognised as the special originators of this constructive method, wide and diffusive as we know their enterprise to have been, it would be necessary to acknowledge an extension of their influence, direct or indirect, sufficiently startling, because limited only by the outlines of the habitable world—an extension from the mountains of Upper India to the moors of Ireland, from the Scandinavian peninsula to Peru.[a]

The second or alternative proposition is that this structural system was common to other races as well as the Phœnicians. And this admission at once demands from those who would attribute to the latter the monuments of, let us say, the West, some distinct proof of what are to be regarded as Phœnician specialities, to be received as criteria of Phœnician intercourse. As yet, so far as I know, we have had nothing of this kind presented, nor anything beyond allusions to mere general points of connexion between this people and megaliths. To these indeed have been often added deductions from alleged religious conceptions—a mode of procedure in research into antiquity at all times most unsatisfactory, except when the mythological intimations are unmistakeably plain; and it is doubly hazardous in the case of the Phœnician *cultus*, since the older fragments (those of Sanchoniathon), which alone profess directly to shadow it forth, are vague and inarticulate, beyond even the usual mysticism of such documents; while the later compilers, such as Strabo, who are too frequently quoted as unim-

[a] As to the character of the ruder stone monuments of the latter which are less known, see *Le Perou avant la Conquête Espagnole*; by E. Desjardins. Paris, 1858, p. 131.

peachable authorities on foreign or already archaic subjects, as dim perhaps in their day as ours, obviously write as antiquaries in this matter, rather exploring and suggesting that which might have been, than narrating that which had been.[a]

While thus guarding against erroneous conclusions with reference to the Tyrian origin of megalithic vestiges, it is desirable to glance at what appears to me to be the actual points of contact. There is probably no doubt that the people whom we know as Phœnicians had primevally been accustomed to employ unhewn megaliths. Apart from the presumption to this effect from the almost universality of the practice, there are certain more direct intimations of a corroborative character. Thus, in the earliest records of their neighbours and congeners of the Semitic race, the Jews, we find mention of such relics as the stone of Bethel in proof of the once existence of this rude art among them, and we note what may be called its symbolic retention in the reiterated injunction that the "altars of the Lord shall be built of whole stones, over which no man hath lift up iron."[b] The Phœnicians also retained among their holy things a remembrance which may be regarded as an index to that which had gone before. For they invested certain rude stones with reverential attributes, and within the historical period paid them the honours of worship[c] under the name of *Bætylia*,[d] a

[a] See, for example, Strabo's discussion on the Cabiri, those very prominent divinities in the Phœnician Mythology, lib. x.

[b] Joshua viii. 31; also, Exodus xx. 25; and Deuteronomy xxvii. 5.

[c] This was not, probably, a barbarous fetishism, as indeed what little we know of Phœnician *cultus* would serve to indicate. Compare the Peruvian worship of stones at Cuzco, which coexisted with what is stated to have been the rendering of homage to an immaterial divinity: "Honorait-on (les pierres) comme des souvenirs, loin de les adorer comme des Dieux."—Desjardins, *Le Perou avant la Conquête*, p. 101.

[d] Baron Alexander von Humboldt has incidentally referred to Bætylia, as forming "an important part of the meteor worship of the ancients." (Cosmos. Sabine's ed. vol. i. p. 125.) And the marvellous accuracy in almost illimitable details which that illustrious philosopher evinces in his last great work may well beget hesitation in supposing that any of his statements of fact are not substantially founded. It is true that among the Phœnicians Bætylia appear to have been held as sacred stones which had come from heaven (Münter, *Religion der Karthager*, 119 *et passim*). Whether they were actual aerolites, and first worshipped because thus seemingly divine emanations, or whether in their character of dwelling-place of God a divine origin was ascribed to them, is by no means plain. But to assume the former and apply this idea universally as explanatory of the primitive conception which led for instance to the religious use of unhewn stones among the Jews, as at Bethel, and in the construction of the altar, and inferentially among the Semitic Phœnicians, would involve casuistical reasoning not to be readily admitted in such investigations, as requiring the argument to lead up to a supposititiously pre-existing but forgotten esoteric

word whose radical identity with the Jewish Bethel may be readily observed.[a] Besides this probable vestige of their primeval past, embalmed so to say amid a newer order of things, it is possible that megaliths, still extant in their ancient territory and in other portions of Palestine, are remains of that past.[b] But it is to be remembered that we must not necessarily assume a Phœnician or Semitic origin for them, as there is room for the alternative that any or all of them may be referable to preceding occupants, especially if we consider the known fluctuations of population in those regions.

Although objections might perhaps be taken to the validity of deductions arrived at from any of the foregoing facts considered individually, still the general tenor of the circumstances which have been stated may be said to establish that the rearing of unhewn megaliths was at one time common to that branch of the Semitic family seated on the northern coast of Palestine, but whether after their national existence under the name of Phœnicians we cannot say. One thing however is not to be overlooked, that when they come upon the stage of history what little is revealed to us exhibits a very different condition of affairs.

It is unfortunately the case that of the remains of this great people we have as yet discovered but mere traces, partly in consequence of what may have been the character of their civilization, partly from the vicissitudes through which their ancient seats of power have passed, and partly, no doubt, because research has not been very actively directed to their old central home. We are now indeed recovering a few vestiges, such as the sarcophagus[c] recently presented to the Louvre and described by the Duc de Luynes, which is altogether Egyptian in appearance. But the probable date of this relic refers it to the period of their decadence. Of their earlier art we know hardly anything; and its probable type has been the subject of very opposite opinions. M. Pulszky, the most recent

conception, of which even the special external symbol (of all things in matters religious apt to be the most permanent), the *meteoric* stone, had ceased to be a necessary adjunct.

[a] It is remarkable that yet another branch of the Semitic race has and retains to this day a relic of this early reverence, and under the very same name. The goal of Mohammedan pilgrimage, the Kaaba at Mecca, which covers the sacred stone, is known as *Beit Allah*, the House of God.—Travels of Ali Bey (Burckhardt), vol. ii. 50.

[b] See Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, p. 272. A very interesting sketch of a cromlech near Gadara, east of the Jordan, is now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, having been presented by Mr. Robertson Blaine. See Proceedings, 1st Series, vol. iv. p. 308.

[c] Another has recently arrived in England; and from Mr. Davis' researches at Carthage some few probable traces of old, though not the oldest, time have appeared.

writer[a] who treats of it, has placed it very much lower than historical allusions seem to me to warrant, in consequence of founding his opinion too exclusively upon certain barbarous figures of very doubtful ascription, and whose character, even if they were distinctly ascertained to be Phœnician, would not justify such wide conclusions. For instance, I have several times found what in some respects might be classed with these, the well-known Egyptian *shabti* or sepulchral figures, sufficiently rude to have proceeded from untutored savages, and yet deposited in tombs dating from flourishing periods of mechanical and decorative art, and associated with objects of skilful finish. Roman and colonial Greek *penates* which are sometimes of the most imperfect execution and inelegant proportions are also cases in point, and they, in their relation to what Greek or Roman hands did or could produce, offer a more decided commentary if the rude figures on which M. Pulszky relies be placed beside a small golden bull of beautiful workmanship and fair proportions, though constrained in attitude and conventional in design, which bears on the plinth a Phœnician inscription, and is in the possession of the Prince of Trabia at Palermo, where I have seen it. In fact, it is taking a very narrow view of the question to make any decided deductions from such *imagines* as those referred to, even although the absence of more numerous and more certain relics of the Phœnicians may naturally give some prominence to these trifles. Even of their pottery,—that archæological harvest usually so abundant,—the probable examples hitherto detected are few and not always to be relied on.[b]

But still in the midst of this present comparative void there are sufficient *indicia* to leave no room for the conjecture that during the historical period, or at any time when their condition approached that which the earliest intimations reveal to us, the Phœnicians were spreading through the world the rude constructive method of unhewn megaliths. This would indeed be a remarkable propagandism simultaneously to proceed from the same people who had not only given to the western nations a knowledge of alphabetic writing, but whose fame, already ancient at the birth of European and Hebrew literature, represents them as constantly carrying on distant maritime enterprises for commercial purposes, that sure evidence of high capacity for material and mechanical civilization. And in truth, in our oldest records, both sacred and secular, their name and the staple products of their traffic were associated with the highest degree of opulent luxury then known, their buildings were described as spacious

[a] M. Pulszky, in Nott and Gliddon's Indigenous Races of the Earth, p. 135, *et seq.*

[b] See those referred to in Birch's elaborate History of Ancient Pottery, vol. i. p. 154.

and magnificent,[a] and their artisans were renowned as "cunning to work"[b] in the most decorative kinds of handicraft. It may be true that contemporaneously their *cultus* retained a place for rude stone emblems, but to find in this any argument that they were then diffusing a megalithic constructive style would be nearly equivalent to supposing that the conquests of Ancient Egypt under the great monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty had spread the manufacture of stone tools and weapons, because the Egyptians then used a stone knife[c] for a special religious purpose in the process of embalming, having preserved in this peculiar function the primitive implement in the midst of refined ingenuity and splendid magnificence. In short, when we speak of the Phœnicians as probably practising rude megalithic work, it should be remembered that we are almost beyond the pale of history as regards them. To start therefore with the preconceived impression and to bring forward isolated allusions in ancient literature without attending to its general bearing will only produce a misleading result: because for all practical purposes the question is prehistoric and archæological, and is an affair of induction rather than of special testimony.

Looking at it then in this light, there is one broad consideration which is worthy of attention. Throughout, for example, Western Europe (the whole subject not being here under discussion) a large proportion of the megalithic vestiges are sepulchral. Now the earliest remembrances of the Syrian branch of the Semitic races point to rock burial, either derived from Egypt where it existed back to, and therefore before, the utmost explored limits of her vast antiquity, or springing from a common origin or from similar causes. The imagery of the Hebrew Scriptures, from the Book of Job to the Prophecy of Ezekiel, teems with allusions to "graves set in the sides of the pit"[d]—a phrase singularly descriptive of the deep-sunk shafts of the Nile valley where we know them best. The oldest traditional memories of the Jews cluster round the same venerable practice; their very genesis is associated with the sepulchral cave of Macpelah; and to this hour many of the mountains of Palestine are honeycombed with tombs.

[a] Josephus, Antiq. viii. 2, quoting Menander and Dius, and apud eund. Cont. Apion, lib. ii. cited in Ancient Universal History, vol. ii. 5. Compare Silius Italicus, lib. iii.

[b] 2 Chronicles ii. 7.

[c] Herodotus (ii. 86) and Diodorus mention the fact; and specimens of the knives have been found. Compare the similar religious use of a stone knife retained by the Jews in the rite of circumcision: and another curious instance existed in Peru, where a knife of silex was used to cut the hair of the heir to the throne of the Incas, at the ceremony of his being weaned.

[d] Ezekiel, xxxii. 23.

But, while there are direct intimations that the Phœnicians followed the same system, it may be well not to overlook an unique memorial still extant in their ancient territory, and conventionally known as the "Tomb of Hiram."[a] This is a sarcophagus sufficiently large to hold a single body, covered by a long slab, and supported on upright unhewn stones.[b] Whether it is to be attributed to an antecedent allophylian population cannot, as I have before observed generally, be positively asserted or denied, or whether it may be regarded as one of the early Phœnician developments of the megalithic mode, worked out without reference to external intercourse, or springing from a partial graft of Egyptian burial practices, whereby the idea of the stone coffin came to be associated with the pristine ortholiths. I am not aware if the latter hypothesis has been advanced by any of those who doubt the independent growth of structural resemblances, or whether it has been suggested that cromlechs were the decadence from or a rude copy of Phœnician sepulchres, held to be represented by such an exemplar as the "Tomb of Hiram."

In direct discord with any idea of this kind as referable to the Phœnicians, at any time within the range of our materials relating to them, we have some means of ascertaining what burial practices they were spreading in the West. We have seen from the primeval Semitic use of rock tombs what were the antecedent probabilities; and when at Carthage we find a well-known hill hard by so pierced with tombs that the most recent visitor describes it as "apparently one vast

[a] See view in Allen's Dead Sea.

[b] Stanley (Sinai and Palestine, p. 272), who cursorily alludes to this monument, adds with unsatisfactory brevity: "there are other broken stones in the neighbourhood." It is greatly to be regretted that, so far I know, it is impossible to find anything like a detailed account of the monuments in Phœnicia. I have often examined many books of travels with a very intangible result in this respect. Those who have treated of matters specially Phœnician would seem to have had no greater success; and there is no adequate information on this point to be found for example in Möver's laborious work *Die Phönizer*, which has not yet, however, reached the strictly archæological branch of the subject; or in Gerhardt's *Die Kunst der Phönizer* (Abhand. der Konig. Akad. zu Berlin, 1846), where monuments of more than doubtful ascription, and in other countries than Phœnicia, are mostly dealt with; or in Kenrick's careful volume, Phœnicia, whose archaeological data are indeed chiefly derived from the two works which have just been named.

I regret that, when in those parts about three years ago, an insurrection at Nablous, and other circumstances, prevented my reaching that portion of Palestine. I was once not without hopes of finding a future opportunity; but I venture to suggest to those who may have it in their power, that a search, not only in Phœnicia, but elsewhere in Syria, not only for megalithic, but all other primitive vestiges, and careful descriptions of them, would be of very great interest and use.

necropolis,"[a] we shall not probably be wrong in thence deducing some proof of the sepulchral customs which the Phœnicians were then likely to carry towards the Pillars of Hercules.[b] In the island of Malta more distinct evidence has been met with of the use by that people of some of the very numerous rock catacombs there.[c]

All this is not of course to be understood as demonstrating that the Phœnicians buried their dead only in this manner, and as affording an adequate foundation for any argument that might be deduced from the assumption of any such exclusiveness of practice. Indeed, the Egyptians themselves, who were pre-eminently excavators, did not adhere to the system without any exception; neither did the Jews do so invariably; and reason itself indicates how among any people diversities in such a matter would readily arise from circumstances individually accidental or locally permanent. But, without discussing minutely the funeral customs of the Phœnicians, my intention has been to specify what must be held to have been the characteristic development of those within the range of our knowledge, and what is the archæological teaching on the subject as applied to the historic period from its very dawn, so that we may know exactly the ground we tread when we meet with the word Phœnician used in this connexion.

Having thus endeavoured to estimate the distorted historic element which is often imported into the consideration of various branches of the question before us, I would wish on the present occasion only to insist, before concluding, on one broad position in the archæological investigation of rude megalithic remains, the neglect of which it is that is most fruitful of inconclusive speculations. This axiom, if I may so call it, simply is, that the grouping of megaliths is not necessarily a style of architecture, but merely in itself a constructive mode at once so untutored and natural as to bespeak, if need be, its independent universality. It is no more a *style* than is building in strata or courses as such. But, as the latter has in various centres been developed from its character of crude element into forms so artificially definite as to become nationally or generically peculiar, so the ortholithic mode was capable of receiving and perpetuating the impress of diverse ethnographic idiosyncrasies. It is very possible to conceive that it has done so, and hence the hope of tracing out by means of its vestiges various secrets of the primeval world; but hence also the necessity for employing a studious minuteness in comparing the remains which, so to say, form the alphabet of the

[a] Blakesley's Four Months in Algeria, p. 407.

[b] See *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xlii. pp. 55, 87.

[c] See Vassallo's brochure, *Monumenti Antichi nel Gruppo di Malta.*

inquiry. Instead of dwelling merely on their general resemblances and deducing comprehensive classifications, it is rather their minute differences which should first be sought out. All the more essential is this, from the rude simplicity of this structural method allowing but moderate scope for recognisable variation; and, indeed, comparisons will ever be more satisfactory when they can descend to the most special particulars by including other relics, such as sepulchral deposits found in juxta-position with the ortholiths.

Therefore it is not too much to say, if these views be correct, that speculations of a very wide scope are as yet altogether premature. When we know better the precise character of the early remains which central Asia presents, and possess the results of minuter researches among those which linger on the confines and in the eastern countries of Europe, we may be in a position to undertake the solution of very comprehensive problems. But, in the meantime, those ingenious views[a] which would trace an influx of primordial population from Asia to western Europe by merely indicating the presence of megalithic vestiges along, for instance, the course of some of the great Russian rivers, without considering their special details, such views must be regarded simply as suggestive hypotheses, not as adequate deductions—as belonging to that species of doubtful balance of probabilities which is carefully to be distinguished from true scientific gain.

The time may perhaps come when an ample series of carefully collected facts may admit of speculations like these being tried by the test of a sufficiently wide and precise induction, and verified, modified, or dislocated. For each of these conclusions at present there is verge enough, and each when warrantably arrived at would open the way for applying the resources of archæology with effect to the broadest ethnological questions. But if in this wide field the products of labour would probably, for many years at least, be unreal, or at best only provisional; there is a certain section not too narrow to afford a base of sufficient extent, and not too comprehensive to preclude the hope, under present circumstances, of adequately grasping it. The accumulation of materials, and the activity of research, will, I do not doubt, admit of the whole continent of Europe being brought under one survey at no distant date. And, while the fundamental problem of primordial *origines* and one central diffusive point must for the time remain in abeyance, or receive only a reflected light from such a survey, there are other topics of scarcely inferior interest with which it will be very capable of dealing. It will not only enable a more definite estimate to be formed of the

[a] Such as are skilfully developed in Worsaae's *Zur Alterthumskunde des Nordens;* and in his brochure, *Die Nationale Alterthumskunde in Deutschland.*

significance of general analogies, but show the nature, extent, and divergence of special geographical developments in primeval culture throughout the not inconsiderable area of that which has long been the most important Quarter of the earth. And, in view of the possibility of arriving at such and allied results which will readily suggest themselves, it may be permitted to revert to what has been said at the beginning of this paper, with reference to the shores of the Mediterranean. There, if anywhere—there, where so many historic civilisations have sprung up, flourished, and withered, we might not unreasonably expect that similar if ruder plants of still earlier growth would, amid the same natural conditions, find something to shape and determine a particular development whose character their traces, if any, might yet exhibit. Nor are these wanting. On a future occasion I hope to be able to discuss some of them more fully, and in another form; but I would venture here to indicate to any who may have opportunities, that in this field there is much scope for personal inquiry, and many landmarks not yet recorded. While to every portion of it this remark is more or less applicable, I would point to the Spanish peninsula as a special illustration. In primeval archæology I imagine that at present it exhibits almost a blank. After some inquiry in the country (which, however, I hope more fully to renew), as well as elsewhere, I have been able to glean hardly any descriptive materials. A search in various books of travels, has been almost entirely unproductive; and an examination of the available local topographical works of the district, to which as yet I have been limited, was all but equally barren of result. But it is not to be conceived in consequence that the peninsula is so destitute of archaic vestiges. Not only the presence of numerous early remains in the neighbouring Balearic Islands[a] would discourage this supposition, but we have some evidence (besides mere incidental allusions) of their existence in Spain itself. For example, a remarkable megalithic structure, a long chamber covered by a tumulus, in the neighbourhood of Antequera (province of Andalucia), has been carefully described and illustrated by an architect of those parts, in a pamphlet lately published.[b] And in Portugal, as long ago as 1733, Don Mendoza de Pina presented to the Royal Academy of History a memoir on ortholiths in that country.

But while there are indications of the possible data to be found, it is greatly to be regretted that we are without even moderately ample details of the early remains of a territory so important in the ancient world from its mineral wealth,

[a] See De la Marmora's *Le Isole Baleare*, and *Voyage en Sardaigne, passim*.

[b] *Memoria sobre el Templo Druida hallado en las cercanias de la ciudad de Antequera*, by Don Rafael Mitjana. Málaga, 1847.

whose people are historically recorded to have manifested some certain specialities of culture at a very remote epoch, and whose mountains still protect the relics of a primitive population. In alluding to this want at the close of this paper, I am conscious that I may seem to trespass beyond my subject. But I have ventured to do so from a twofold object: on the one hand, in the hope of being directed to some additional sources of information which as yet have escaped me; and on the other, with the view of urging that antiquaries, whether native or foreign, who may find themselves favourably circumstanced, would render efficient service to European archæology by contributing, through the medium of personal investigation, to a more systematic knowledge of the vestiges of ancient Iberia.

XIX. *Some Observations relating to Four Deeds from the Muniment Room at Maxstoke Castle, co. Warwick; exhibited by* Joseph Jackson Howard, *Esq., F.S.A. By* Thomas William King, *Esq., F.S.A., York Herald.*

Read June 9, 1859.

The earliest of the four Deeds exhibited is without date, but is probably of the latter half of the thirteenth century; by it William de Oddynggeshel, lord of the manor of Solihull, gave and confirmed to Robert Tyberay a piece of land in Solihull, lying in the township of the borough of Solihull, to him and his heirs.

The seal of green wax appended to this Deed (Plate XIV. fig. 1) has on it a shield with a fess and in chief two mullets, being the arms of Odingsells; the inscription, which is very faint, reads * S' WILLI DE OVDINGESELES.

William de Odingsells, Lord of Maxstoke, was descended from Galfrid de Odingsells, who was Lord of Maxstoke in right of his wife Basilia, daughter and coheir of Gerard de Limsey, Lord of Maxstoke; a marriage which took place about the 20 Henry II. The arms borne by this line are those on the seal now exhibited; but Hugh de Odingsells, a younger son of Galfrid just mentioned, took the name of De Flanders from having resided in that country, and he added a mullet to the two already in the arms, changing their tincture to sable. Ida, one of the daughters and coheirs of William de Odingsells, became the wife of Sir John de Clinton, Knight, who was Lord of Maxstoke in her right. He was summoned to parliament 27 Edward I., and died 8 Edward II. Of this marriage there were two sons, John Baron Clinton, of Maxstoke, who was summoned to parliament 6 Edward III., and William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon.

This William de Clinton, who was created Earl of Huntingdon in 1337, was the grantor in the second Deed exhibited, by which he gave to John Bertulmeu, of Maxstoke, a piece of land called Soteeroft, in exchange for a piece of land in the Ruddynge. On the seal appended to this Deed (Plate XIV. fig. 2) are six crosses crosslet fitchy, and on a chief two mullets of six points, Clinton: the shield is inclosed in a foliated circle of nine-foils, and accompanied by the six lions rampant of Leybourne in the area of the seal, two over the shield, and two on each side, the Earl having married Juliana, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Leybourne, Knight, who had previously married John Lord Hastings of Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Blount, Steward of the Household to Edward II. This instrument bears

1.

2.

3.

4.a

4.

5.

J. Basire del. et sc.

SEALS FROM DEEDS RELATING TO MAXSTOKE CASTLE.

date at Maxstoke on Sunday next after the Feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle in 24 Edw. III. (13th June, 1350). Here I would call attention to the six crosses crosslets fitchy in the arms, which are not in those of John Baron Clinton, who was descended from the elder brother of the Earl of Huntingdon, and who executed the deed next mentioned.

The third Deed, in order of date, was made by John Baron Clinton, 17th May, 16 Hen. VI. (1438). By it he granted to Humphry, Earl of Stafford, and Anne his wife the castle and manor of Maxstoke, 100 acres of meadow, and 200 acres of pasture in Shistoke and Coleshill within the park of Maxstoke, and a piece of land called Maydefurlonge, parcel of the manor of Shistoke, and also a rent of 20 marks in Maxstoke, Merston, and Coton, and also the advowson of the Priory of St. Michael of Maxstoke;[a] to hold the same to the said Earl and Anne and the heirs and assigns of the said Earl for ever, with power of re-entry into the same or a proportionate part thereof, in case John Lord Clinton and his wife, or either of them, or his heirs or assigns, should be evicted, as therein mentioned, from all or any part of the manors of Whissheton and Wodeford, in the county of Northampton, which were to be conveyed to them by the Earl.[b]

To this Deed two seals are appended; the first (Plate XIV., fig. 3) bears the arms of Lord Clinton in a side-standing shield, being the arms of Clinton, represented as two mullets pierced *in chief*, and not *on a chief*, and without any charge in the field (which I beg to notice particularly), quartering those of Say, viz.: Quarterly or and gules. The helmet upon which the crest is placed is supported by two greyhounds. The legend runs thus;

Sigillu' ioh'is d'ni de clynton & de say,

The second seal (Plate XIV., fig. 4) is that of the Earl of Stafford, containing a side-standing shield of the single coat of Stafford (*Or, a chevron gules*), the field of which is beautifully purfled; probably a rare instance of purfling being used on a seal. On the helmet is placed the crest, a swan's head and wings issuant from a coronet, the helmet being supported by two heraldic antelopes. This seal exhibits in a remarkable degree the exquisite taste and beauty of seals of this period. The legend runs—

Sigillu' Humfridi comitis staffordie & Perchie d'ni .....

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[a] The Priory of Austin Canons at Maxstoke was founded by William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, in 1336.

[b] This Deed is quoted by Dugdale in his Warwickshire, being then in the possession of Sir Thomas Dilke, ancestor of the present possessor.

(The remainder of the legend being defective.) The counter seal (fig. 4*a*) is a shield with the arms of Stafford only, surrounded by a cord, in which three Stafford knots are elegantly introduced. I am informed by Mr. Howard, through whose kindness these interesting documents are exhibited, that the Stafford knot is still to be seen on the gates of Maxstoke Castle, as mentioned by Dugdale.

Humphry Earl of Stafford, whose seal is attached to this Deed, was elected (while Earl of Stafford) a Knight of the Garter, on the 22d April, 7 Hen. VI. The single coat and crest of Stafford are upon his Garter-plate, with his style, "*Le Coũte de Stafford.*" He was created Duke of Buckingham 14th September, 1444, and was Earl of Buckingham, Hereford, Northampton, and Perche (the last a French title), also Lord of Brecknock and Holderness. He was Captain of Calais, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of England; and was slain at the battle of Northampton on the part of King Henry VI. in 1460. He was buried at Northampton, but his remains were afterwards removed to Plessy in Essex.

I proceed now to offer a few remarks upon the Family of the Lords Clinton:—

John de Clinton, Baron Clinton, whom I have before mentioned as elder brother of William Earl of Huntingdon, had a son, John Baron Clinton, who was heir to his uncle the said Earl, and married Idonea, eldest daughter of Geoffrey Baron Say (whose male issue afterwards failed), by whom he had issue Sir William Clinton, who died in the lifetime of his father, in 7 Richard II. The father died 20 Richard II. leaving his grandson, William Baron Clinton, of Maxstoke, his heir, who died in 10 Henry VI. and was father of John Baron Clinton, who executed the Deed under consideration. The latter appears from his descent to have used the style of Baron de Say; but by deed of 1st November, 27 Henry VI. (1448), he released all claim to the name, style, and honour of the Barony of Say, and the arms of Say, to his cousin James Fenys, Baron Say and Sele, who was not a coheir to the Barony. Notwithstanding this release, however, we find that Edward Baron Clinton, his great-grandson, who was created Earl of Lincoln in 1572, and had been elected a Knight of the Garter in the 5th Edward VI. is called on his Garter-plate "Earl of Lincoln, and Baron Clinton and Say;" and the arms of Clinton (with the crosses crosslet in the field) are given quarterly with those of Say, which are in the second quarter.

Whatever pretensions John Baron Clinton had to the Barony of Say, it does not appear according to the doctrine of later times that he could have been entitled to the entire barony, taking it in the ordinary acceptation of a barony in fee under

a writ of summons to parliament. It is not improbable that in this instance, as it may have been in other cases, he was coheir to lands originally forming a barony by tenure, and so assumed the style of Baron de Say. He was attainted in 1460, but restored to his title and honours in 1461, 1 Edw. IV. He died in 1464. It is almost needless to say that his Grace the present Duke of Newcastle is lineally descended from him in the male line; and that the present Baron Clinton descends from him through female lines.

The fourth and last Deed is one of Henry second Duke of Buckingham, dated the 26th February, 20 Edw. IV. (1481), in which he is described as Henry Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton; by it he granted and confirmed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Ely, Durham, Lichfield, and Lincoln, the Earl of Essex, the Lords Hastings, Howard, Ferrers, and sixteen other feoffees, his manors of Wawenswootton, Church Salford, Great Wolford, Little Wolford, Whatcote, the castle and manor of Maxstoke, and Esthall and Westhall in Sheldon, in the county of Warwick; but for what purpose does not appear.

A mere fragment remains of the seal appended to this Deed, (Plate XIV. fig. 5,) on which can only be read a portion of the legend "northampton." So much of the arms as remain shew that he quartered the coat of Bohun. The supporters to the helmet are the same as those on his grandfather's seal. The field or area of the seal seems to have been powdered with Stafford-knots, three of which may be seen in the remaining portion of the impression.

Henry second Duke of Buckingham succeeded his grandfather Humphry in 1460. He is best known to us by his unsuccessful attempt to dethrone Richard III. He was beheaded at Salisbury in 1483, and his estates forfeited. They were however restored by Henry VII. to his son Edward, the third Duke; but Maxstoke Castle, with the other estates, were again forfeited to the crown on the attainder of the latter in 1521. The castle is now the property and residence of Charles Fetherston Dilke, Esq. whose ancestor Sir Thomas Dilke purchased it, according to Dugdale, in the 41st of Elizabeth.

I have thus endeavoured to offer a few observations on these interesting documents, which are given *in extenso* in the Appendix. The seals, particularly that of Clinton with the lions of Leybourne, and those attached to the deed exchange of Maxstoke Castle with the Earl of Stafford in 16 Hen. VI. are worthy of especial notice, not only on account of the chaste and elegant style in which they are executed, but for the peculiarities they exhibit, as illustrative of the practice of heraldry at the periods to which they belong.

APPENDIX.

I.

Grant by William de Oddingsell.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willielmus de Oddynggeshele dominus manerii de Solihulle dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Roberto Tyberay unam placeam terre mee cum pertinenciis in villa burgi de Solihulle jacentem inter cimiterium de Solihulle et altum vicum, et continentem se in latitudine triginta unum pedes, et in longitudine sexaginta et octo pedes, et aliam placeam terre mee cum pertinenciis jacentem inter terram Hugonis sutoris et domum Willielmi Abel, et continentem se in longitudine viginti et duo pedes et in latitudine sexdecim pedes; Habendas et tenendas de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis libere, quiete, bene et in pace, hereditarie imperpetuum, cum omnibus libertatibus dicte terre pertinentibus, et adeo libere in omnibus secundum consuetudines et libertates liberi fori et mercati de foro de Burmisham usitatas; Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui vel assignati sui viginti et duos denarios argenti ad duos anni terminos, videlicet, ad festum Sancti Michaelis undecim denarios, et ad festum beate Marie in Marcio undecim denarios, pro omnibus secularibus serviciis et demandis. Et ego vero dictus Willielmus de Oddynggeshele et heredes mei dicto Roberto et heredibus suis totam predictam terram particulariter nominatam cum omnibus libertatibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas warentizabimus, acquietabimus, et imperpetuum defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Thoma de Fonte, Henrico Hamond, Roberto Oyen, Willielmo Louell,(?) Thoma clerico, et aliis.

II.

Grant by William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Willielmus de Clyntone Comes Huntyngdone salutem in Domino. Noveritis nos concessisse, dimisisse, et presenti scripto nostro confirmasse Johanni Bertulmeu de Maxstoke unam placeam terre vocatam Sotecroft in excambium unius placee terre in Le Ruddyng quondam de novo assarto; Habendam et tenendam predictam placeam terre cum suis pertinenciis predicto Johanni ad totam vitam suam in excambium predictum de nobis predicto Comite libere, quiete, bene, et in pace; Reddendo inde nobis servicia et consuetudines que prius reddidit. Et nos vero dictus Comes predictam placeam terre cum suis pertinenciis predicto Johanni ad totam vitam suam in excambium predictum contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et deffendemus. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti scripto nostro sigillum nostrum

apposuimus. Hiis testibus, Willielmo Waldezinc, Edmundo de Alspathe, Ricardo de Burbache, Thoma de Le Holt, Roberto du Boys, et aliis. Datum apud Maxstoke die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Barnabe apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum vicesimo quarto.

III.

Grant by John Lord Clinton.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes Dominus de Clyntone dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea indentata confirmavi Humfrido Comiti Stafford et Anne uxori ejus castrum et manerium de Maxstoke cum pertinenciis in comitatu Warr', ac centum acras prati, ducentas acras pasture in Shisstoke et Colshille infra parcum de Maxstoke modo inclusas, ac unam parcellam terre vocatam Maydefurlonge, parcellam manerii de Shisstoke, jacentem in quodam campo vocato Monewode dicto manerio de Maxstoke pertinente, necnon viginti marcatas redditus cum pertinenciis in Maxstoke, Merstone, et Cotone, ac advocacionem prioratus sancti Michaelis de Maxstoke in eodem comitatu; Habenda et tenenda predicta castrum et manerium, terras, prata, pasturas, redditum, et advocacionem cum pertinenciis prefato Comiti et Anne, heredibus, et assignatis ipsius comitis imperpetuum. Et ego prefatus Johannes Dominus de Clyntone et heredes mei predicta castrum et manerium, terras, prata, pasturas, redditum et advocacionem cum pertinenciis prefato Comiti et Anne, heredibus, et assignatis ipsius comitis warantizabimus contra omnes gentes imperpetuum sub condicionibus subsequentibus, scilicet, si contingat maneria de Whisshetone et Wodeford cum pertinenciis in comitatu Northt' ac alia terras et tenementa cum pertinenciis in villis de Whisshetone et Wodeford in eodem comitatu, que ego prefatus Johannes Dominus de Clyntone et Johanna uxor mea habebimus nobis heredibus et assignatis mei prefati Johannis ex dono et feoffamento prefati comitis, post donum et feoffamentum illa nobis inde sic facta, recuperari in futurum versus nos dictos Johannem et Johannam, vel alterum nostrum, heredes, seu assignatos mei prefati Johannis, absque fraude vel malo ingenio mei predicti Johannis heredum seu assignatorum meorum, virtute alicujus tituli originem habentis ante dicta donum et feoffamentum nobis prefatis Johanni et Johanne heredibus et assignatis mei prefati Johannis per prefatum comitem inde in forma predicta fienda; aut si contingat nos prefatos Johannem et Johannam, vel alterum nostrum, heredes, seu assignatos mei prefati Johannis de eisdem maneriis, terris, et tenementis cum pertinenciis expelli vel amoveri per prefatum comitem, heredes, seu assignatos suos, seu aliquem alium inde titulum habentem capientem originem ante dicta donum et feoffamentum per prefatum comitem sic fienda, absque fraude vel covina mei prefati Johannis, heredum, seu assignatorum meorum, quod extunc bene licebit michi prefato Johanni, heredibus, et assignatis meis post hujusmodi recuperacionem eorundem maneriorum, terrarum, et tenementorum cum pertinenciis, aut hujusmodi expulsionem et amocionem inde in forma predicta factas, in predicta castrum et manerium de Maxstoke, ac terras, prata, pasturas, redditum, et advocacionem predictas cum pertinenciis reintrare, rescisire, et illa in pristino statu meo michi et heredibus meis habere et possidere, predictis dono et feoffamento inde fiendis non obstantibus. Et si

contingat aliquam parcellam dictorum maneriorum de Whisshetone et Wodeford terrarum et tenementorum predictorum cum pertinenciis in villis de Whisshetone et Wodeford versus prefatum Johannem et Johannam uxorem meam, seu alterum nostrum, heredes, seu assignatos mei prefati Johannis, absque fraude vel malo ingenio mei prefati Johannis, heredum, seu assignatorum meorum in futurum recuperari, virtute alicujus tituli originem habentis ante donum et feoffamentum predicta de eisdem maneriis, terris, et tenementis per predictum comitem nobis fienda; aut si contingat nos prefatos Johannem et Johannam aut alterum nostrum heredes seu assignatos mei prefati Johannis de aliqua parcella eorundem maneriorum, terrarum, et tenementorum cum pertinenciis expelli vel amoveri per prefatum comitem, heredes, vel assignatos suos, seu aliquem alium inde titulum habentem capientem originem ante donum et feoffamentum predicta inde fienda, extunc bene licebit michi prefato Johanni et heredibus meis in parcellam predictorum castri et manerii de Maxstoke, terrarum, pratorum, pasturarum, reddituus, et advocacionis predictorum cum pertinenciis attingentem ad valorem illius parcelle maneriorum de Whisshetone et Wodeford terrarum et tenementorum in villis de Whisshetone et Wodeford predictis sic versus nos prefatos Johannem et Johannam, vel alterum nostrum, heredes, seu assignatos mei prefati Johannis recuperate, aut de qua contigerit nos prefatos Johannem et Johannam, aut alterum nostrum, heredes, seu assignatos mei prefati Johannis in forma predicta expelli seu amoveri, reintrare, et reseisire, et illa in pristino statu meo michi et heredibus meis habere et possidere imperpetuum, predictis dono et feoffamento de castro et manerio de Maxstoke, terris, pratis, pasturis, reddituet advocacione, predictis factis non obstantibus. In cujus rei testimonium utrique parti hujus carte indentate tam ego prefatus Johannes quam prefatus comes sigilla nostra apposuimus. Datum decimo septimo die Maii anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum sextodecimo.

IV.

Grant of Henry Duke of Buckingham.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod nos Henricus Dux Buk', Comes Herford Staff' et Northamt', dedimus, concessimus, et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Reverendo in Christo patri et domino Thome miseracione divina tituli sancti Ciriaci in Thermis sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbitero Cardinali, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, tocius Anglie primati, et Apostolice sedis legato, Reverendo in Christo patri et domino Thome miseracione predicta Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, domino Johanni Eliensi Episcopo, domino Willielmo Dunolmensi Episcopo, domino Johanni Coventrensi et Lichfeldensi Episcopo, Johanni Lincolniensi Episcopo, Henrico comiti Essex, Willielmo domino Hastynges, Johanni domino Howard, Waltero domino Ferrers, Thome Burghe militi, Thome Vaughane militi, Thome Mountegomery militi, Willielmo Knyvet militi, Ricardo Chok militi, Guidoni Fayrfax militi, Ricardo Pygot, Johanni Catesby servienti ad legem, Johanni Jeffrey clerico, Willielmo Pastone, Johanni Dentone, Willielmo Harpour, Ricardo Harpour, Johanni Broune, Ricardo Isham, et Andree Dymmok, maneria nostra de Wawenswottone, Chirchsalford, Wolford magna, Wolford parva, Whatcote, castrum et manerium de Maxstok, Esthalle et Westhalle

in Sheldone in comitatu Warr' cum suis pertinenciis; Habenda et tenenda omnia predicta maneria, castrum, honora (*sic*), terras, et tenementa cum suis pertinenciis prefatis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Henrico comiti Essex, Willielmo domino Hastynges, Johanni domino Howard, Waltero domino Ferrers, Thome Burghe, Thome Vaughane, Thome Mountegomery, Willielmo Knyvet, Ricardo Chok, Guidoni, Ricardo Pygot, Johanni Catesby, Johanni Jeffrey, Willielmo Pastone, Johanni Dentone, Willielmo Harpour, Ricardo Harpour, Johanni Broune, Ricardo Isham, et Andree Dymmok, heredibus, et eorum assignatis imperpetuum, de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum per servicia inde debita et de jure consueta. Et nos prefatus Dux et heredes nostri omnia predicta maneria, castrum, honora, terras, et tenementa cum suis pertinenciis prefatis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Comiti, Willielmo domino Hastynges, Johanni domino Howard, Waltero domino Ferrers, Thome Burghe, Thome Vaughane, Thome Mountegomery, Willielmo Knyvet, Ricardo Chok, Guidoni, Ricardo Pygot, Johanni Catesby, Johanni Jeffrey, Willielmo Pastone, Johanni Dentone, Willielmo Harpour, Ricardo Harpour, Johanni Broune, Ricardo Isham, et Andree, ac heredibus suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus imperpetuum per presentes. Sciatis insuper nos prefatum ducem constituisse dilectos servientes nostros Thomam Rogger et Johannem Gunter, Ricardum Boteler et Thomam Draper veros et legitimos attornatos nostros conjunctim et divisim ad intrandum in omnibus et singulis premissis, plena et pacifica possessione inde habita, ad deliberandum nomine nostro et pro nobis prefatis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Comiti, Willielmo domino Hastynges, Johanni domino Howard, Waltero domino Ferrers, Thome Burghe, Thome Vaughane, Thome Mountegomery, Willielmo Knyvet, Ricardo Chok, Guidoni, Ricardo Pygot, Johanni Catesby, Johanni Jeffrey, Willielmo Pastone, Johanni Dentone, Willielmo Harpour, Ricardo Harpour, Johanni Broune, Ricardo Isham, et Andree, vel eorum in hac parte attorn' plenam et pacificam seisinam de et in omnibus predictis maneriis et ceteris premissis cum suis pertinenciis secundum vim et effectum hujus carte nostre, ratum et gratum habentes et habituri quidquid dicti attornati nostri conjunctim fe[ce]rint, aut eorum aliquis divisim fecerit, nomine nostro in premissis. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Datum vicesimo sexto die Februarii anno regni suppremi domini nostri Regis Edwardi quarti vicesimo.

XX. *On the Occurrence of Flint Implements in undisturbed Beds of Gravel, Sand, and Clay.* *By* John Evans, *Esq. F.S.A., F.G.S.*

Read June 2nd, 1859.

The natural connection between Geology and Archæology has at various times been pointed out by more than one writer[a] on each subject; and it must, indeed, be apparent to all who consider that both sciences treat of time past as compared with time present. The one, indeed, merges by almost imperceptible degrees in the other; while the object of both is, from the examination of ancient remains, to recall into an ideal existence days long since passed away, to trace the conditions of a previous state of things, and, as it were, to repeople the earth with its former inhabitants.

The antiquary, as well as the geologist, has "from a few detached facts to fill up a living picture; so to identify himself with the past as to describe and follow, as though an eye-witness, the changes which have at various periods taken place upon the earth."[b] Geology is, in fact, but an elder brother of archæology, and it is therefore by no means surprising to find that the one may occasionally lend the other brotherly assistance; although it has been generally supposed that the last of the great geological changes took place at a period long antecedent to the appearance of man upon the earth, and that the modifications of the earth's surface of which he has been a witness have been—with the exception of those due directly to volcanic agency—but trifling and immaterial.

The subject of the present paper—the discovery of flint implements wrought by the hand of man, in what are certainly undisturbed beds of gravel, sand, and clay, both on the continent and in this country—tends to show that such an opinion is erroneous; and that in this region of the globe, at least, its surface has undergone far greater vicissitudes since man's creation than has hitherto been imagined. A discovery of this kind must of necessity be of great interest both to the geologist, as affording an approximate date for the formation

[a] See especially an article by the late Dr. Mantell in the Archæological Journal, vol. vii. p. 327.

[b] Prestwich, "The Ground beneath us," p. 6.

of these superficial beds of drift, and as exemplifying the changes which the *fauna* of this region has undergone since man appeared among its occupants; and also to the antiquary, as furnishing the earliest relics of the human race with which he can hope to become acquainted—relics of tribes of apparently so remote a period, that—

> Antiquity appears to have begun
> Long after their primeval race was run.

But beyond the limited circle of those peculiarly interested in geology or archæology, this discovery will claim the especial attention of all who, whether on ethnological, philological, or theological grounds, are interested in the great question of the antiquity of man upon the earth.

It is, however, mainly from the antiquarian point of view that I intend now to regard it, though, for the better elucidation of the circumstances under which these implements have been found, it will be necessary to enter into various geological details.

It is now some years since a distinguished French antiquary, M. Boucher de Perthes, in his work, entitled, "Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes,"[a] called attention to the discovery of flint implements fashioned by the hand of man in the pits worked for sand and gravel in the neighbourhood of Abbeville, in such positions, and at such a depth below the surface of the ground, as to force upon him the conclusion that they were found in the very spots in which they had been deposited at the period of the formation of the beds containing them. The announcement by M. Boucher de Perthes, of his having discovered these flint implements under such remarkable circumstances was, however, accompanied by an account of the finding of many other forms of flint of a much more questionable character, and by the enunciation of theories which by many may have been considered as founded upon too small a basis of ascertained facts. It is probably owing to this cause that, neither in France nor in this country, did the less disputable and now completely substantiated discoveries of M. de Perthes receive from men of science in former years the attention to which they were justly entitled.

The question whether man had or had not coexisted with the extinct pachydermatous and other mammals, whose bones are so frequently found in the more recent geological deposits, had indeed already more than once been brought under

[a] Paris, 8vo. vol. i. 1847, (printed in 1844-6,) vol. ii. 1857.

the notice of scientific inquirers by the discovery of flint flakes and implements, and fragments of rude pottery, in conjunction with the remains of these animals in several ossiferous caverns both in England and on the continent.[a] Among the former may be mentioned Kent's Cavern near Torquay, and among the latter those of Bize, of Pondres, and Souvignargues, and those on the banks of the Meuse, near Liège, explored by Dr. Schmerling, where human bones were also found, apparently washed in at the same time as the bones of the extinct quadrupeds.[b] In some ossiferous caves in the Brazils similar discoveries had also been made by Dr. Lund and M. Claussen, and, from the condition and situation of the human remains, Dr. Lund concluded that they had belonged to an ancient tribe that was coeval with some of the extinct mammalia.

But it was always felt that there was a degree of uncertainty attaching to the evidence derived from the deposits in caverns, owing to the possibility of the relics of two or more entirely distinct periods becoming intermixed in such localities, either by the action of water or by the operations of the primitive human occupants of the caves, which prevented any judgment being firmly founded upon it.

Attention has however been lately again called to this question by the fact, that, in the excavations which have been carried on under the auspices of the Royal and Geological Societies in the cave at Brixham in Devonshire, worked flints, apparently arrow-heads and spear-heads, have been discovered in juxtaposition with the bones of the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, *Ursus spelæus*, *Hyæna spelæa*, and other extinct animals.[c] One flint implement in particular was met with immediately beneath a fine antler of a reindeer and a bone of the cave bear, which were imbedded in the superficial stalagmite in the middle of the cave.

In addition to this, investigations have been made by Dr. H. Falconer in the Grotta di Maccagnone near Palermo, where, imbedded in a calcareous breccia beneath the stalactitic covering of the roof, he observed "coprolites of the Hyæna, splinters of bone, teeth of ruminants and the genus *Equus*, together with comminuted fragments of shells, bits of carbon, specks of argillaceous matter resembling burnt clay, and fragments of shaped siliceous objects." These objects in flint closely resemble the obsidian knives from Mexico, and the flint knives or flakes so frequently found in all parts of the world; and it is to be remarked that, though they were in considerable abundance in the breccia, any amorphous fragments of

[a] See Lyell's Principles of Geology, ed. 1853, pp. 737, 738, &c.

[b] Mantell's Petrifactions and their Teachings, 1851, p. 481.

[c] Proceedings of Geological Society, June 22, 1859.

flint were comparatively rare, and no pebbles or blocks occurred either within or without the cave; so that there could be but little doubt of the flint flakes being of human workmanship.[a]

The question of the co-existence of man with the extinct animals of the Drift period being thus revived, Mr. Joseph Prestwich, F.R.S., a distinguished geologist, who for years has devoted his principal attention to the more recent geological formations, determined to proceed to Abbeville and investigate on the spot the discoveries of M. Boucher de Perthes, and invited me and several other Fellows of the Geological Society to accompany him. The others were unfortunately prevented from doing so; but at the end of April, 1859, I joined Mr. Prestwich at Abbeville, and with him inspected the collections of M. de Perthes (to whose courtesy and hospitality we were largely indebted), and also visited in his company several of the pits worked for gravel and sand in the neighbourhood of both Abbeville and Amiens, in which the flints in question were asserted to have been found.

Both these towns are situated upon the upper chalk, which is, however, overlaid, as is frequently the case, by beds of drift of a much later period. I need hardly say that *drift* is the term applied by geologists to those superficial deposits of sands, gravels, clays, and loams which we find to have been spread out over the older rocks in many districts by the driving action of currents of water, whether salt or fresh, or by the drifting action of ice. Though all belonging to a late geological period (the newer Pleiocene, or Pleistocene), these beds of drift are of various and distinct ages, and may be said to range from a point of time antecedent to the Glacial period, when nearly the whole of Britain was submerged beneath an ocean of arctic temperature, to the time when the surface of the earth received its present configuration, and even down to the present day; for the alluvium of existing rivers may be considered equivalent to the fresh-water drift of an earlier age.

The drift-beds occurring in different localities in the neighbourhood of Abbeville and Amiens, do not appear to have been all deposited at the same time, but to be of at least two distinct ages; the series on the lower level being distinguished by the occurrence within it of the bones and teeth of the *Elephas primigenius*, or Siberian mammoth, and of other extinct animals. These mammaliferous beds of sand, loam, and gravel extend over a considerable tract of country on the slopes of the valley of the Somme, and are worked in several localities for the repair of the roads and for building purposes.

[a] Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. xvi. p. 104.

The most notable places in the neighbourhood of Abbeville, where the gravel has been extensively excavated, are at the spot where is now the Champ de Mars, the pit near the Moulin Quignon, and that near the Porte St.Gilles; but the beds of gravel are spread over a large area, and are said to be continuous from the Moulin Quignon on the south-east of the town, and about ninety feet above the level of the river Somme, to the suburb of Menchecourt on the north-west of Abbeville, where the beds assume a much more arenaceous character, and where sand has been dug in immense quantities at a level but little more than twenty feet above that of the Somme.

At St. Roch, a suburb of Amiens, the deposit is also at a low level, like that at Menchecourt, and at both places large quantities of teeth and bones of the *Elephas primigenius*, *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, and other extinct animals, have been found.

In another locality, on the opposite side of Amiens to St. Roch, at the pits near the seminary of St. Acheul, the drift occurs at a higher level, viz. about ninety feet above the river Somme at that part of its course, or about one hundred and sixty feet above the sea. The depth of the beds, which consist of brick earth, sand, and gravel, arranged in layers of variable thickness, but with some approach to stratification, is here from twenty to twenty-five feet.

The following section was taken by Mr. Prestwich,[a] showing the beds in their descending order:—

1. Brown brick-earth, loam, and clay, with an irregular bed of flint gravel near its base. No organic remains. . . . . 10 to 15 feet.

(Divisional plane between 1 and 2, very uneven and indented.)

2. Whitish marl and quartzose sand, with small chalk grit. Land and fresh-water shells (*Lymnæa*, *Succinea*, *Helix*, *Bithinia*, *Planorbis*, *Pupa*, *Pisidium*, and *Ancylus*, all of recent species,) are common; mammalian bones and teeth are occasionally found. . . 2 to 8 feet.
3. Coarse subangular gravel, white, with irregular ochreous and ferruginous seams, and with tertiary flint pebbles and sandstone blocks. Remains of shells similar to those last mentioned in patches of sand; teeth and bones of the elephant, and of a species of horse, ox, and deer, generally in the lower part of the bed. It reposes on an uneven surface of chalk. . . . . 6 to 12 feet.

[a] Proceedings of the Royal Society, May 26, 1859.

One of the pits occupies the site of a Gallo-Roman cemetery, which appears to have continued in use for some centuries: large stone coffins, and the iron cramps of those in wood, are of frequent occurrence, but personal ornaments are rarely met with. Roman coins are found from time to time, some as early as the reign of Claudius, and I purchased from one of the workmen a second-brass coin of Magnentius, with the letters AMB in the exergue, showing that it had been struck at AMBIANVM, the name given in late Roman times to the neighbouring town of Amiens, which by the Gauls was known as SAMAROBRIVA.

At the Moulin Quignon near Abbeville, which is near the summit of a hill of no great elevation, the beds of drift are more ochreous and more purely gravelly in their nature than at St. Acheul, and their thickness is about ten or twelve feet. In this case also they rest upon an irregular surface of chalk; and in the lower part of the beds, at but a slight distance above the chalk, occasionally accompanied by the bones and teeth of the Siberian mammoth and other animals, flints shaped by the hand of man are alleged to have been found. At Menchecourt, the beds of sand and loam attain a thickness of from twenty to thirty feet; and in a layer of flints at their base, among which are found shells, land and fresh water as well as marine, have also been discovered a number of mammalian remains, together with flints showing traces of the hand of man upon them.

The following is the section of the pit at Menchecourt, as taken by Mr. Prestwich:—

1. A mass of brown sandy clay, with angular fragments of flints and chalk rubble. No organic remains. Base very irregular and indented into bed No. 2. . . . . 2 to 12 feet.
2. A light-coloured sandy clay (*sable à plaquer* of the workmen), analogous to the loess, containing land shells (*Pupa*, *Helix*, *Clausilia*,) of recent species . . . . . 8 to 25 feet.
3. White sand (*sable aigre*) with one to two feet of subangular flint gravel at base. This bed abounds in land and fresh-water shells of recent species of the genera *Helix*, *Succinea*, *Cyclas*, *Pisidium*, *Valvata*, *Bithinia*, and *Planorbis*, together with the marine *Buccinum undatum*, *Cardium edule*, *Littorina rudis*, *Tellina solidula*, and *Purpura lapillus*. With them have also been found the *Cyrena consobrina*, and numerous mammalian remains. . . 2 to 6 feet.
4. Light-coloured sandy marl, in places very hard, with *Helix*, *Zonites*, *Succinea*, and *Pupa*. Not traversed. . . . . 3 feet.

The flint implements are said also to occur occasionally in the beds of sandy clay above the white sand, but the pit has of late years been but little worked, and in consequence the implements but rarely found. In the section of the Menchecourt beds given by M. Boucher de Perthes,[a] the place where two of the worked flints were found is shown at about thirty feet from the surface, and another was discovered at about fourteen feet; they are, however, said to have been most commonly met with in the lower beds. At the Moulin Quignon, the Porte St. Gilles, and at other places in the *arrondissement* of Abbeville, as for instance at Yonval, the gravel-pit at Mareuil, the sand-pit at Drucat and at St. Riquier, similar flint implements are stated by M. de Perthes[b] to have been found under similar circumstances; but these last-mentioned places I have not visited.

The whole of the drift which I have described is of fluviatile origin; and in the beds of sand and clay, land and fresh water shells of existing species are frequently found in abundance, though at Menchecourt, as has been already mentioned, they are mixed with others of marine origin, which gives more of an estuarine character to the deposit at that place.

I think that it is by no means impossible that these arenaceous beds at Menchecourt may eventually be proved to be rather subsequent in date to the higher and more gravelly beds at the Champ de Mars, and Moulin Quignon, on the opposite side of Abbeville; their elevation above the river Somme is not much more than from twenty to thirty feet, so that under ordinary circumstances it might be considered by some, that they are due to its action under a state of things not very materially different from that at present existing, did not the mammalian remains, found at both Menchecourt and St. Roch, point to an entirely different *fauna* from that of the present day. In any case, as it is but reasonable to suppose the drift deposits on the higher slopes of the valley to be at least coeval with those at the bottom, even if not of greater antiquity, the mammalian remains of the lower deposits become of extreme importance, as a means of ascertaining the age of those at a higher level, from which precisely similar remains may be absent. This is, however, a purely geological question, into which I need not at present enter.

Mr. Prestwich, in the able Memoir upon this subject which he has communicated to the Royal Society, has gone so fully into the geological features of this part of the valley of the Somme, that any further details are needless, and I shall therefore content myself with this very general sketch of the position of the drift at Abbeville and Amiens, and refer those who desire further information to

[a] Ant. Celt. et Antédiluviennes, vol. i. p. 234. [b] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 118.

the paper by Mr. Prestwich in the Philosophical Transactions. I will merely add, that he considers that the gravel at St. Acheul closely resembles that on some parts of the Sussex coast, while the beds at the Moulin Quignon are nearly analogous to those near the East Croydon Station, and in many parts of the valley of the Thames.

Of the animals now for the most part extinct, and most of which have hitherto been regarded as having ceased to exist before the appearance of man upon the earth, and the bones of which have been discovered in the drift at Menchecourt, the following may be mentioned on the authority of M. de Perthes' "Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes," and M. Buteux' "Esquisse Géologique du Département de la Somme :"—

Elephas primigenius (Siberian mammoth).
Rhinoceros tichorhinus.
Ursus spelæus.
Felis spelæa ?
Hyæna spelæa.
Cervus tarandus priscus.
Cervus Somonensis.
Bos primigenius.
Equus fossilis ?

The mammalian remains from St. Acheul, and other places where bones have been found in the drift of the valley of the Somme, represent the same group, though confined to a smaller number of different species in any one locality. At St. Roch the teeth of the hippopotamus have also been recently found. The remains of the same group of animals have been met with in the cave at Brixham, and in that called Kent's Cavern, near Torquay, to which I have already alluded, and are constantly brought to light in the superficial freshwater drift which abounds in many parts of this country. The rhinoceros and mammoth belong to the same species as those whose frozen bodies, still retaining their flesh, skin, and hair, have been discovered beneath the ice-bound soil of Siberia. Both species appear to have been adapted for a far colder climate than their present congeners.

Let us now turn our attention to the flint implements alleged to have been discovered in the drift in company with the remains of what has usually been regarded an older world; and consider, first, how far in material, form, and workmanship they agree with or differ from the stone weapons and implements so commonly found throughout Europe; and then enter upon an examination of the

evidence of the circumstances of their finding, and the means at our command for ascertaining their degree of antiquity.

That they really are implements fashioned by the hand of man, a single glance at a collection of them placed side by side, so as to show the analogy of form of the various specimens, would, I think, be sufficient to convince even the most sceptical. There is a uniformity of shape, a correctness of outline, and a sharpness about the cutting edges and points, which cannot be due to anything but design;[a] so that I need not stay to combat the opinion that might otherwise possibly have arisen that the weapon-like shapes of the flints were due to some natural configuration, or arose from some inherent tendency to a peculiar form of fracture. A glance at the Plates will suffice to satisfy upon this point those who have not had an opportunity of examining the implements themselves.

The material of which they have been formed, flint derived from the chalk, is the same as has been employed for the manufacture of cutting implements by uncivilized man in all ages, in countries where flint is to be found. Its hardness, and the readiness with which it may be fractured so as to present a cutting edge, have made it to be much in request among savage tribes for this purpose; and in some instances[b] flint appears to have been brought from a distance when not found upon the spot. There is therefore nothing to distinguish these implements from the drift, as far as material is concerned, from those which have been called celts, except, perhaps, that the flints have not been selected with such care, nor are they so free from flaws as those from which the ordinary flint weapons of the Stone period were fashioned. There is, however, this to be remarked, that the aboriginal tribes of the Stone period made use of other stones besides flint, such as greenstone, syenite, porphyry, clay-slate, jade, &c., whereas the weapons from the drift are, as far as has hitherto been ascertained, exclusively of flint. As to form, the implements from the drift may, for convenience sake, be classed under three heads, though there is so much variety among them that the classes, especially the second and third, may be said to blend or run one into the other. The classification I propose is as follows—

[a] Since the publication of the report of this Paper in the Athenæum, there has been some correspondence in that and other journals upon the question whether these implements were of human or natural origin, which called forth the following expression of opinion from Professor Ramsay, a thoroughly competent judge in such a matter: "For more than twenty years, like others of my craft, I have daily handled stones, whether fashioned by nature or art, and the flint hatchets of Amiens and Abbeville seem to me as clearly works of art as any Sheffield whittle."—(Athæneum, July 16, 1859.)

[b] See Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, p. 121.

1. Flint flakes, apparently intended for arrow-heads or knives.
2. Pointed weapons, some probably lance or spear-heads.
3. Oval or almond-shaped implements, presenting a cutting edge all round.

In M. de Perthes' museum, and in the engravings of his "Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes," many other forms of what he considers to be implements may be seen, but upon them the traces of the hand of man are to my mind less certain in character. The flints resembling in form various animals, birds, and other objects, must I think be regarded as the effect of accidental concretion and of the peculiar colouring and fracture of flint, rather than as designedly fashioned. This is, however, a question into which I need not enter, as it in no way affects that now before us. Suffice it that there exists an abundance of implements found in the drift which are evidently the work of the hand of man, and that their formation cannot possibly be regarded as the effect of accident or the result of natural causes. When once their degree of antiquity has been satisfactorily proved, it will be a matter for further investigation whether there are not other traces to be found of the race of men who fashioned these implements, besides the implements themselves.

These objects I must now consider in the order proposed, with reference to their analogies and differences in form, when compared with those of what, for convenience sake, I will call the Stone period.

There is a considerable resemblance between the flint flakes apparently intended for arrow-heads and knives (the first of the classes into which I have divided the implements), and those which when found in this country, or on the continent, are regarded as belonging to a period but slightly prehistoric. The fact is, that wherever flint is used as a material from which implements are fashioned, many of the flakes or splinters arising from the chipping of the flint, are certain to present sharp points or cutting edges, which by a race of men living principally by the chase are equally certain to be regarded as fitting points for their darts or arrows, or as useful for cutting purposes: they are so readily formed, and are so well adapted for such uses without any further fashioning, that they have been employed in all ages just as struck from off the flint. The very simplicity of their form will, however, prevent those fabricated at the earliest period from being distinguishable from those made at the present day, provided no change has taken place in the surface of the flint by long exposure to some chemical influence. As also they are produced most frequently by a single blow, it is at all times difficult, among a mass of flints, to distinguish those flakes formed accidentally by natural causes, from those which have been made by the hand of man; an experienced eye will

indeed arrive at an approximately correct judgment, but from the causes I have mentioned, mere flakes of flint, however analogous to what we know to have been made by human art, can never be accepted as conclusive evidence of the work of man, unless found in sufficient quantities, or under such circumstances, as to prove design in their formation, by their number or position. Flint flakes apparently intended for arrow-heads and knives have been found in the sands and gravel near Abbeville, and some were dug out of the sand at Menchecourt, in the presence of Mr. Prestwich, quite at the bottom of the beds of sand. One from this locality is here engraved :—

Flint Flake from Menchecourt, Abbeville (full size).

Occasionally they are of larger size, and have been chipped into shape at the point, so as nearly to resemble the implements of the next class.

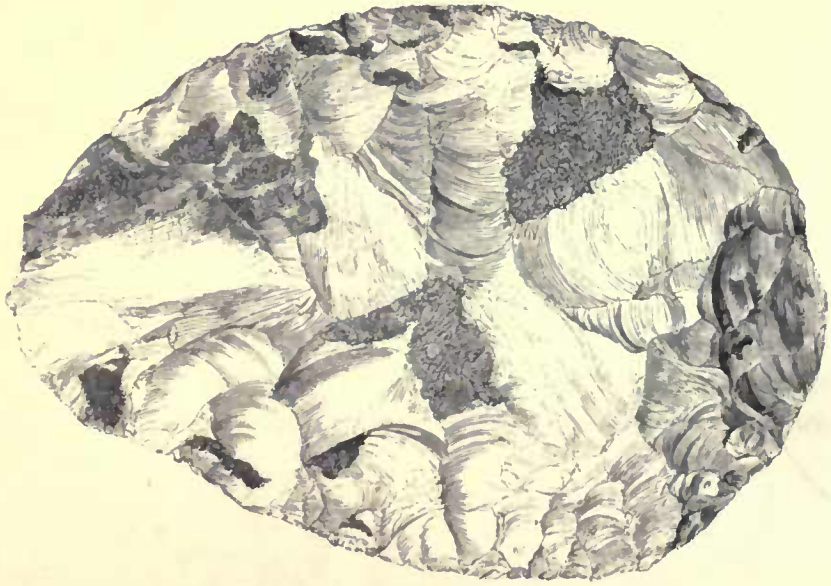
An argument may be derived in favour of the majority of these arrow-head-shaped flakes having been designedly made, not only from their similarity in form one to another, but also because the existence of more carefully fashioned flint implements almost necessarily implies the formation and use of these simpler weapons by the same race of men who were skilful enough to chip out the more difficult forms. But though probably the work of man, and though closely resembling the flakes of flint which have been considered as affording evidence of man's existence when found in ossiferous caverns, this class of implements is not of much importance in the present branch of our inquiry; because, granting them to be of human work and not the result of accident, there is little by which to distinguish them from similar implements of more recent date.

The case is different with the implements of the second class, those analogous in form to spear or lance heads. Of these there are two varieties, the one with a

1.

2.

3.



FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM THE VALLEY OF THE SOMME.

rounded cutting point, its general outline presenting a sort of parabolic curve (Pl. XV. No. 1); the other acutely pointed, with the sides curved slightly inwards (Pl. XV. No. 2). These have received from the workmen of St. Acheul the name of *langues de chat*, from their fancied resemblance in form to a cat's tongue. The sides of both kinds are brought to an edge by chipping, but are not so sharp as the point, and altogether these weapons seem better adapted for piercing than for cutting. In length, they vary from about four inches to eight or even nine inches. Both shapes are generally more convex on one side than the other, the convexity in some cases almost amounting to a ridge; they are usually truncated at the base, and not unfrequently at that end show a portion of the original surface of the flint; in some specimens the butt-end is left very thick, as if to add impetus to any blow given with the implement. The remarkable feature about them is, their being adapted only to cut or pierce at the pointed end; whereas in the ordinary form of stone hatchet or celt, the cutting edge is almost without exception at the broad end, while the more pointed end seems intended for insertion into the handle or socket, and the sides are generally rounded or flat, and not sharp.

These spear-shaped weapons from the drift are, on the contrary, not at all adapted for insertion into a socket, but are better calculated to be tied to a shaft or handle, with a stop or bracket behind their truncated end. Many of them, indeed, seem to have been intended for use without any handle at all, the rounded end of the flints from which they were formed having been left unchipped, and presenting a sort of natural handle. It is nearly useless to speculate on the purposes to which they were applied; but attached to poles they would prove formidable weapons for encounter with man or the larger animals, either in close conflict or thrown from a distance as darts. It has been suggested by M. de Perthes, that some of them may have been used merely as wedges for splitting wood, or, again, they may have been employed in grubbing for esculent roots, or tilling the ground, assuming that the race who formed them was sufficiently advanced in civilisation. This much I think may be said of them with certainty, that they are not analogous in form with any of the ordinary implements of the so-called Stone period.

The same remark holds good with regard to the third class into which I have divided these implements, viz. those with a cutting edge all round (Pl. XV. No. 3). In general contour they are usually oval, with one end more sharply curved than the other, and occasionally coming to a sharp point, but there is a considerable variety in their form, arising probably from defects in the flints from which they were shaped; the ruling idea is, however, that of the oval, more or less pointed.

They are generally almost equally convex on the two sides, and in length vary from two to eight or nine inches, though for the most part only about four or five inches long. The implements of this form appear to be most abundant in the neighbourhood of Abbeville, where that engraved was found; while those of the spear-shape prevail near Amiens, where both the specimens shown in the Plate were procured.

It is to be remarked that among the implements discovered in the cavern called Kent's Hole, near Torquay, were some identical in form with those of the oval type from Abbeville.

As before observed, in character they do not resemble any of the ordinary stone implements with which I am acquainted, though I believe some few of these also present a cutting edge all round,[a] but at the same time are much thinner, and more triangular than oval or almond-shaped in their form.

The implements most analogous in their oval form to those now under discussion, are some of those found in the mounds or barrows of the valley of the Mississippi, in several of which enormous numbers of lance heads and arrow heads have been discovered. In one of these mounds, within an earthwork on the north fork of Point Creek, there were found, arranged in an orderly manner in layers, some thousands of discs chipped out of hornstone, "some nearly round, others in the form of spear heads; they were of various sizes, but for the most part about six inches long by four wide, and three quarters of an inch or an inch in thickness." From the account given at p. 214, vol. i. of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, it would appear that these weapons were merely roughly blocked out, as if to be afterwards worked into more finished forms, of which many specimens are found: but in the rough-hewn implements shown by the woodcuts in the abovementioned work, there is a very close resemblance to some of the Abbeville forms, though the edges are more jagged.

As to the use which this class of flint implements from the drift was originally intended to fulfil, it is hard to speculate. The workmen who find them usually consider them to have been sling-stones, and such some of the smaller sizes may possibly have been, whether propelled from an ordinary sling or from the end of a cleft stick; many, however, seem to be too large for such a purpose, and were more probably intended for axes cutting at either end, with the handle securely bound round the middle of the stone, and if so there would be a reason why it might be desirable to have one end more pointed than the other, so that one instrument could be applied to two kinds of work. M. de Perthes has suggested, that

[a] Catalogue of the Museum of the Archæological Institute at Edinburgh, in 1856, p. 7.

they might also have been mounted as hatchets by insertion in a socket scooped out in a handle.

But all this is conjecture. In point of workmanship, I think it will be perceived that the weapons or implements now under consideration differ considerably from those of the so-called Stone period: of these latter, by far the greater number (with the exception of arrow heads) are more or less ground, and even polished; some with the utmost care all over, but nearly all ground sufficiently to ensure a clean cutting edge. The implements from the drift are, on the contrary, so far as has been hitherto observed, never ground, but their edges left in the rough state in which they have been chipped from the flint.

The manner in which they have been fashioned appears to have been by blows from a rounded pebble mounted as a hammer, administered directly upon the edge of the implements, so as to strike off flakes on either side. At all events I have by this means reproduced some of the forms in flint, and the edges of the implements thus made present precisely the same character of fracture as those from the drift.

In instances where (either from having been left accidentally unfinished, or from never having been intended to be ground,) the weapons of the Stone period have remained in their rough-hewn state, it will be observed that, with very few exceptions, they are chipped out with a greater nicety and accuracy, and with a nearer approach to an even surface, than those from the drift, and, rude as they may appear, point to a higher degree of civilisation than that of the race of men by whom these primitive weapons or implements were formed.

There is indeed a class of flint implements, which are stated to have been found in the peat deposits on the banks of the Somme, which in point of rudeness of workmanship appear to equal these more ancient forms from the beds of drift, though for the most part essentially different in shape; I have not, however, given sufficient attention to them to speak with confidence as to their precise character, and will not complicate the question by making further allusion to them.

I think that enough has been said to make it apparent to all who have made a study of the stone implements usually found (those of the so-called Stone period) that the spear-heads and sling-stones, or axes, or by whatever name they are to be called, which are now brought under their notice, have but little in common with the types already well known; they will therefore be prepared to receive with less distrust the evidence I shall adduce, that they are found under circumstances which show that, in all probability, the race of men who fashioned them must have passed away long before this portion of the earth was occupied by the

primitive tribes by whom the more polished forms of stone weapons were fabricated, in what we have hitherto regarded as remote antiquity.

I come, therefore, to the important question, how is it proved that these implements are actually found in beds of really undisturbed clay, gravel, or sand, and have not been introduced or buried at some period subsequent to the formation of the inclosing beds? The evidence is of two kinds, direct and circumstantial; and this I will now examine, giving the direct evidence, as being the more valuable, precedence. We have then, in the first place, that of M. Boucher de Perthes, the original discoverer of this class of implements, who, through evil report and good report, has delivered his constant testimony to the fact of their being discovered, in nearly all cases, in undisturbed drift, and usually at a considerable depth below the surface. That some few may have been discovered in ground that has been moved, or near the surface, in no way militates against the fact that the majority of them have been found in undisturbed soil. It only shows, what might have been expected, that the soil containing these implements may have been moved without their having attracted sufficient attention for them to have been picked out from it, or, in cases where they have occasionally been found in other and more recent soils, that they had been at some time picked out from the gravel, sand, or clay, and afterwards thrown away. For M. Boucher de Perthes' detailed account of his discoveries, I must refer the reader to his work already cited.

Scattered through its pages are notices giving full particulars of the finding of numbers of the weapons, and in M. de Perthes' museum are innumerable specimens, with the nature of their matrix of soil and the depth at which they were found, (many of them under his own eyes,) marked upon them. *Procès-verbaux* of many of the discoveries were taken at the time, and some are printed in the volumes referred to.[a] Nothing could be stronger than M. de Perthes' verbal assurances to Mr. Prestwich and myself of the finding of these implements in undisturbed gravels and sands, and occasionally clay, sometimes at depths of from twenty feet to thirty feet below the surface, and usually in beds at but a slight distance above the chalk. The testimony of other French geologists and antiquaries may also be adduced both as to the geological character of the beds and the fact of the flint implements being incorporated in them. M. Douchet, M.D.,[b] of Amiens, appears to have been the first discoverer of them at St.Acheul, and he addressed a memoir to the French Institute, expressing his firm conviction upon the subject. The printed testimony of M. de Massy and others is also brought forward by M. Boucher de Perthes,[c] in the book above cited; but the most import-

[a] Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes, vol. i. p. 263. [b] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 430. [c] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 459.

ant evidence is that of Dr. Rigollot, who received the distinction of being elected a Corresponding Member of the Institute but shortly before his death in 1855. In his "Mémoire sur des Instruments en Silex trouvés à St.Acheul, près Amiens," published in 1855, he enters fully into the question of the nature of the drift and the part of the beds in which the worked flints are found, and states distinctly that, after the most careful examination, he came to the conclusion that these implements are at St.Acheul found exclusively in the true drift, which incloses the remains of the extinct mammals, and at a depth of ten feet and more from the surface.

Of the accuracy of all these concurrent statements the experience of Mr. Prestwich and myself fully convinced us, and we had, moreover, the opportunity of seeing one at least of the worked flints *in situ*, at the gravel-pit near St.Acheul. Mr. Prestwich, who had been there a day or two previously, had left instructions with the workmen that in case of their discovering one of these "*langues de chat*" imbedded in the gravel it was to be left untouched, and he was at once to be apprized. The announcement of such a discovery was accordingly telegraphed to us at Abbeville, and the following morning we proceeded to Amiens, where we were joined by MM. Dufour and Garnier, the President and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Picardy, who accompanied us to the pit near St.Acheul. There, at a depth of eleven feet from the surface, and about four feet six inches from the bottom of the pit, in the bank or wall of gravel, was an implement of the second class that I have described, its narrower edge projecting, and itself for the greater part dovetailed into the gravel. It was lying in a horizontal position, and the gravel around it hard and compact, and in such a condition that it was quite impossible that the implement could have been inserted into it by the workmen for the sake of reward. The beds above it consisting of rudely stratified gravel, sand, and clay, presenting a vertical face, showed not the slightest traces of having been disturbed, with the exception of the twelve or eighteen inches of surface soil, and the lines of the division between the beds were entirely unbroken; so much so that their different characters can be recognised on a photograph of the section taken for Mr. Prestwich. Besides the *langue de chat* thus seen *in situ*, the workmen in the pit supplied us with a considerable number of these implements, as well as with some of the oval form, and gratefully received a trifling recompense in return. They shewed us the spots where they said several of them had been found (two of them that morning, at the depth of fifteen and nineteen feet respectively from the surface), and there appeared no reason to doubt their assertions. I may add, that since our return

Mr. Prestwich, in company with some other geologists, has revisited Amiens, and that one of the party, Mr. J. W. Flower, uncovered and exhumed with his own hands a most perfectly worked instrument of the lance-head form, at a depth of twenty feet from the surface. The party brought away, as the result of their one day's visit, upwards of thirty of the implements, which had been collected by the workmen.[a] From the manner in which these pits are worked, there is always a "head," or "face," of earth, which shows an excellent section of the soil; and any places where at any former time pits have been sunk or excavations made, (as, for instance, in the ancient cemetery of St.Acheul,) are, owing to the rough stratification of the beds, readily discovered. The workmen in the pits, both at Amiens and Abbeville, gave concurrent testimony of the usually undisturbed nature of the soil, and to the fact of the flint implements being generally found in the lower part of the beds, where also the fossil bones and teeth are principally discovered.

It may be observed that in the beds of brick-earth and sand overlying the gravel at St.Acheul are numerous freshwater shells, some of them of so fragile a character that they must have been destroyed had the soil at any time been moved.

The fossil bones are of comparatively rare occurrence in the gravel pits, but the number of the flint implements that has been found is almost beyond belief. Dr. Rigollot states that in the pits of St.Acheul, between August and December 1854, above four hundred specimens were obtained; and now, whenever the gravel is being extensively dug, hardly a day passes without one or two being found. This very abundance, for which however it is difficult to account, affords a secondary proof of the undisturbed nature of the drift; for how could such numbers of flint weapons have been introduced at any period subsequent to the formation of the drift, and yet leave no evident traces of the manner in which they were buried? They appear, too, to be detached and scattered through the mass of gravel, with no indications of their having been buried there with any design, but rather as if their positions were the result of the merest accident. Another remarkable piece of circumstantial evidence, is the discovery of implements and weapons of similar form under precisely similar circumstances, but by different persons, at Abbeville and Amiens, some thirty miles apart; though the discoveries are not limited to these two spots, but have also been subsequently made in various localities in that district, where there have been excavations in the drift. It is, however, only in

[a] See Letter in the Times, Nov. 18, 1859; and Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. xvi. p. 190.

such excavations that they have been found; which would not have been the case had their presence in the gravel been owing to their interment by human agency; for, supposing it possible that some unknown race of men had been seized with a desire to bury their implements at a depth of from ten to twenty feet below the surface, they would hardly have selected for this purpose the hardest and most impracticable soil in their neighbourhood, a gravel so hard and compact as to require the use of a pickaxe to move it.

In the cultivated soil and made ground above, and at much less depth from the surface, ground and polished instruments, evidently belonging to the so-called Stone period, have indeed been found; but this again only tends to prove that the shaped flints discovered at a much greater depth belonged to some other race of men, and inasmuch as they certainly are not the work of a subsequent people, we have here again a testimony that they must be referred to some antecedent race, which had perished perhaps ages before the Celtic occupation of the country. The similarity in form between the flint implements from the drift, and those found in the cave-deposits that I have previously mentioned, is also a circumstance well worthy of observation.

Again, many of the implements have a coating of carbonate of lime forming an adherent incrustation upon them: this, as M. Douchet has already remarked, is for these weapons what the patina is for bronze coins and statues, a proof of their antiquity. The incrustation occurs on all the flints in certain beds of the gravel, and is probably owing to the percolation of water among them, charged with calcareous matter derived from the chalky sands above, which it has gradually deposited upon the flints and pebbles. It has probably been a work of time, commencing soon after the formation of the beds, and possibly is still going on. If, therefore, the flint implements had been introduced into these beds at a subsequent date to the other flints and pebbles which are found with them, we might expect them to be either free from incrustation, or at all events with less calcareous matter upon them; neither of these appears, however, to be the case, but all the flints in these particular layers, whether worked or not, are similarly incrusted. The presence of the coating upon them also proves that the weapons were really extracted by the workmen from the beds in which they state them to have been found, and that they are not derived from the upper beds or surface soil.

Another similar proof is found in the discolouration of the surface of the implements. It is well known that flints become coloured, often to a considerable depth from their surface, by the infiltration of colouring matter from the matrix in which they have been lying, or from some molecular change, due probably to

chemical action. If these implements had been deposited among the beds of gravel, sand, or clay at some later period than the other flints adjacent to them, it might be expected that some difference in colour would testify to their more recent introduction; but in all cases, as far as I was able to ascertain, these worked flints were discoloured in precisely the same way as the rough flints in the same positions. Among the more ochreous beds they are stained of a reddish brown tint to some depth below their surface; in the clay they have undergone some change of condition, and have become white and in appearance like porcelain; while those which have been imbedded in the calcareous sands have remained nearly unaltered in colour.

This evidence, like that of the calcareous coating, is of value in two ways, both as proving the length of time that the implements must have been imbedded in the matrix, and also as corroborating the assertions of the workmen with regard to their positions when found. Some few of the implements present a more or less rubbed and water-worn appearance; a more convincing proof than this, of these flint implements having been deposited where found by the drifting action of water, can hardly be conceived. Apart from this, the chain of evidence adduced must I think be sufficient to convince others, as I confess it did me, that the conclusions at which Mons. de Perthes had arrived upon this subject were correct, and that these worked flints were as much original component parts of the gravel, as any of the other stones of which it consists.[a]

But how much more fully was this conviction brought home to my mind, when on my return to England I found that discoveries of precisely similar weapons and implements had been made under precisely similar circumstances in this country, and placed on record upwards of sixty years ago.

In the 13th Volume of the Archæologia, p. 204, is an account of Flint Weapons discovered at Hoxne in Suffolk, communicated by John Frere, Esq., F.R.S. and F.S.A., read June 22, 1797, and illustrated by two Plates showing two of the

[a] Since the reading of this paper, Amiens and Abbeville have been visited by many geologists of note, and, among others, by Sir Charles Lyell, who, in his address to the Geological Section of the British Association, at their meeting in 1859 at Aberdeen, expressed himself as fully prepared to corroborate the observations of Mr. Prestwich. M. Gaudry, and M. Pouchet, of Rouen, on the part of the French Académie des Sciences, and the town of Rouen, have also made researches at Amiens, and have both been successful in discovering specimens of the implements in trenches made under their own personal superintendence.—(Comptes Rendus, tom. 49, No. 13, and Report of M. Pouchet.) See also the Address of Lord Wrottesley to the British Association, at Oxford, in 1860. Some few other facts that have come to my knowledge since this paper was read have been incorporated in the text.

weapons, closely resembling in form that from Amiens, Plate XV. No. 2. Those engraved, as well as some other specimens, were presented to this Society, and are still preserved in our Museum. They are so identical in character with some of those from the valley of the Somme, that they might be supposed to have been made by the same hand. Mr. Frere remarks, that they are evidently weapons of war, fabricated and used by a people who had not the use of metals, and that, if not particularly objects of curiosity in themselves, they must be considered in that light from the situation in which they were found. He says, that they lay in great numbers at a depth of about twelve feet in a stratified soil, which was dug into for the purpose of raising clay for bricks, the strata being disposed horizontally, and presenting their edges to the abrupt termination of high ground.

The section is described by him as follows:—

1. Vegetable earth . . . . . 1½ feet.
2. Argill (brick-earth) . . . . . 7½ feet.
3. Sand mixed with shells and other marine substances . . 1 foot.
4. A gravelly soil, in which the flints are found, generally at the rate of five or six in a square yard . . . . . 2 feet.

The analogy between this section and some that might be adduced from the neighbourhood of Abbeville or Amiens is remarkable; and here also the weapons are stated to have been found in gravel underlying brick-earth.

To make the analogy more complete, "in the stratum of sand (No. 3) were found some extraordinary bones, particularly a jaw-bone of enormous size, with the teeth remaining in it," which was presented, together with a huge thigh-bone found in the same place, to Sir Ashton Lever.

I at once communicated so remarkable a confirmation of our views to Mr. Prestwich, who lost no time in proceeding to Hoxne, to which place I have also paid subsequent visits in his company. We found the brick-field there still in operation, but the section of course considerably altered since the time when Mr. Frere visited it. Where they were digging at the time when we saw the pit for the first time the section was as follows:—

1. Surface-soil and a few flints . . . . . 2 ft.
2. Brick-earth, consisting of a light brown sandy clay, divided by an irregular layer of carbonaceous clay . . . 12 ft.
3. Yellow sand and sub-angular gravel . . . . 6 in. to 1 ft.
4. Grey clay, in places peaty, and containing bones, wood, and fresh-water and land shells . . . . . 2 to 4 ft.

5. Sub-angular flint gravel	2 ft.
6. Blue clay, containing fresh-water shells	10 ft.
7. Peaty clay, with much woody matter	6 ft.
8. Hard clay	1 ft.

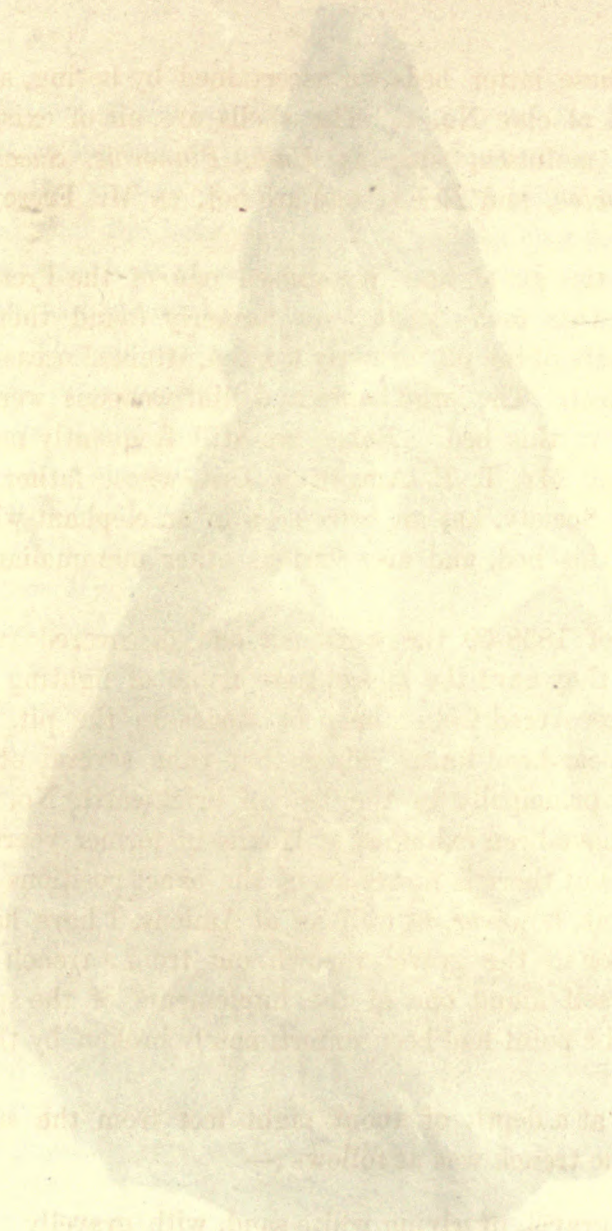
The thickness of these latter beds we ascertained by boring, as the pit is not worked below the bed of clay No. 4. The shells are all of existing species of fresh-water and land mollusca, such as *Unio*, *Planorbis*, *Succinea*, *Bithinia*, *Valvata*, *Pisidium*, *Cyclas*, and *Helix*; and are not, as Mr. Frere had supposed, of marine origin.

An old workman in the pit at once recognised one of the French implements shown him, and said that many such were formerly found there in a bed of gravel, which, in the part of the pit formerly worked, attained occasionally a thickness of three to four feet. The large bones and flint weapons were found indiscriminately mixed up in this bed. Bones are still frequently met with in the bed of clay No. 4, and Mr. T. E. Amyot, of Diss, whose father was for many years Treasurer of this Society, has an *astragalus* of an elephant which was found here, it is believed in this bed, and also various other mammalian remains from this pit.

During the winter of 1858-59 the workmen had discovered two of the flint implements (to which they gave the appropriate name of fighting stones), one of which Mr. Prestwich recovered from a heap of stones in the pit. It is more of the oval than of the spear-head form. Since that time several other specimens have been discovered, principally in the bed of brick-earth No. 2. Numerous other weapons which have been exhumed at Hoxne in former years are preserved in various collections, but there is no record of the exact positions in which they were found. At Hoxne, however, as well as at Amiens, I have had ocular testimony on this point; for in the gravel thrown out from a trench dug under our own supervision, I myself found one of the implements of the spear-head type, from which however the point had been unfortunately broken by the workmen in digging.

It must have lain at a depth of about eight feet from the surface, and the section presented in the trench was as follows:—

Ochreous sand and gravel, overlying white sand, with gravelly patches and ochreous veins	4 ft. 9 in.
Fine gravel, about	1 ft. 3 in.



FLINT IMPLEMENT FOUND IN GRAY'S INN LANE, LONDON.

Light grey clay and sand	1 ft.
Irregular bed of coarse gravel in which the implement was found	1 ft.
Light grey clay, mottled brown, containing fresh-water shells (*Bithinia*)	2 ft. 4 in.
Boulder clay.	

This trench was sunk at the margin of the deposit, not far from where the beds appear to crop out on the side of the hill, the previous section being about eighty yards distant, and the surface of the ground at that point higher by some feet. It will be observed that the beds of sand, gravel, and clay containing freshwater shells and peaty matter there attain a thickness of about twenty-five feet greater than in the trench, and therefore that they dip in the opposite direction to the slope of the hill. The character of the deposit is evidently fluviatile or lacustrine, and the beds, more especially those of clay, seem to become thicker as we approach the middle of the lake or river. The configuration of the surface of the country when this deposit was formed, must, however, have been widely different from what it is at present, as the high ground surrounding the lake or forming the bank of the river, and from which the successive beds must have been washed down, has, as Mr. Frere long ago observed, now disappeared; for skirting one side of the brick-field, and at the base of the hill on the slope of which the beds of drift crop out, is a valley watered by a small brook, a tributary of the Waveney.

There can be no question that these beds of drift, like those of similar character at Abbeville and Amiens, are entirely undisturbed. At this spot they rest upon the boulder clay of geologists, and are consequently of more recent date, though probably more ancient than the great mass of superficial gravel of the district, by which they in turn seem to be overlaid.

Hoxne is not, however, the only place in England where flint implements have been found under such conditions, for another weapon of the spear-head form has been obligingly pointed out to me in the collection at the British Museum, by Mr. Franks, and is thus described in the Sloane Catalogue:—

"No. 246. A British weapon, found with elephant's tooth, opposite to black Mary's, near Grayes inn lane—*Conyers*. It is a large black flint, shaped into the figure of a spear's point. K.[a]" This implement is engraved in Plate XVI. and is

[a] This K. signifies that it formed a portion of Kemp's collection; a rude engraving of it illustrates a letter on the antiquities of London by Mr. Bagford dated 1715, printed in Hearne's edition of Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. p. lxiii. From his account it seems to have been found with a *skeleton* of an elephant in the presence of Mr. Conyers.

precisely similar in all its characteristics to some weapons found at Hoxne and Amiens. It is not a little singular that it too should have been found in juxtaposition with a tooth and indeed other remains of an elephant.

It is satisfactory to find these instances of the discovery of flint implements of this class placed on record so long ago, as it places beyond all reasonable doubt the fact of their being really the work of man. They have been exhibited as weapons in our Museums for many years, and their artificial character has never been doubted, nor indeed could it ever have been called in question by an unprejudiced observer.

Other instances have occurred of such implements being found in England, but the exact circumstances of their discovery have still to be investigated from a geological point of view. In Mr. Bateman's[a] Catalogue of the Antiquities in his collection, No. 787 C, of objects found in 1850, is thus entered—"Eight instruments found near Long Low, Wetton, including one very large, and like some figured in the Archæologia, Vol. XIII. p. 204." Mr. Bateman informs me that these were found near the surface, a circumstance which in no way affects the question of their antiquity. In the collection of Mr. Warren of Ixworth are also two specimens of implements of the spear-head type (one of them broken), which were found at Icklingham, Suffolk, in the gravel dug in the valley of the Lark. I have visited the spot where they were found in company with Mr. Prestwich, but owing to the hurried nature of our visit further investigation is necessary before determining this to be a conclusive instance of the implements having been discovered in undisturbed drift. There appears, however, to be nothing in the character of the drift of that district, in which also we found traces of mammalian bones, to militate against such an hypothesis.

In France, similar implements, both of the simple and more elaborate forms, have been discovered by M. Gosse in the gravel-pits of La Motte Piquet near Paris, together with the remains of the mammoth and other animals; and I must not omit to record that this very spot had been pointed out by M. de Perthes, some years ago, as one in which such a discovery was more than probable.

I have no doubt that before many years have elapsed various other instances of the finding of similar implements, under similar circumstances with those from Hoxne and from the valley of the Somme, will have been placed on record, and that the existence of man upon the earth previously to the formation of these drift deposits will be regarded by all as a recognised fact.

[a] Bakewell, 1855. p. 59.

Who were the race of men by whom these implements were fashioned, and at what exact period they lived, will probably be always a matter for conjecture. Whether the existence of man upon the earth is to be carried back far beyond the limits of Egyptian or Chinese chronology, or whether the formation of these beds of drift, and the period when the mammoth and rhinoceros, the great cave bear and its tiger-like associate, roamed at large through this country, should be brought down nearer to our own days than has hitherto been supposed, are questions that will not admit of a hasty decision.

It must, however, I think be granted that we have now strong, I may almost say conclusive, evidence of the co-existence of man with these extinct mammalia. The mere fact that the flint implements have been found as component parts of a gravel also containing the bones or teeth of the mammoth or rhinoceros does not of course prove that the men who fashioned them lived at the same period as these animals. Their bones might, under certain circumstances, have been washed out of an older gravel, (as, for instance, by the action of a flooded river,) have then been brought into association with relics of human workmanship, and re-deposited in their company in a re-constructed gravel. But there does not appear to be any probability of this having been the case at Hoxne or in the valley of the Somme. The bones are many of them but little if at all worn, as they would have been under such circumstances; especially as the only alteration in structure that they have undergone is the loss of their gelatine; but, above all, there is the fact that in the lower beds of the sand-pits at Menchecourt, those in which the flint implements have been found, the skeleton of a rhinoceros [a] was discovered nearly entire; which could not possibly have been the case in a re-constructed drift. The bones of the hind leg of a rhinoceros, all in their proper positions, as if the ligaments had still been attached at the time of its becoming imbedded, were found in the same place.

I have already remarked on the possibility of the Menchecourt beds which contained these remains being rather more recent than those at a higher level; but under any circumstances the presence of the nearly perfect frames and limbs of the extinct mammalia in them is a matter of the highest significance in the present inquiry.

But there is another argument in favour of the co-existence of man with these extinct animals which must not be overlooked. If there had been but a single instance of the discovery of the flint implements in conjunction with the bones and teeth of the animals, the assumption that the implements and the mammalian

[a] See M. Ravin's Mémoire Géologique sur le Bassin d'Amiens, in the Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, 1838, p. 196.

remains were derived from different sources and belonged to two entirely distinct periods, would be difficult of disproof; but when we consider that the instances of such discoveries are already numerous, and have, moreover, taken place in such widely distant localities, that assumption is untenable.

We have at various places round Abbeville the flint implements found associated with the remains of the mammoth, rhinoceros, and other extinct animals; at St. Acheul, near Amiens, we have the like; in the pits of La Motte Piquet they are found with the remains of the mammoth, the *Cervus tarandus priscus*, the *Bos primigenius*, and probably the cave-lion; at Hoxne with the mammoth and other remains; and in Gray's Inn Lane with remains of an elephant. This constant association of the two classes of relics affords certainly strong presumptive evidence that the animals to which the bones belonged were living at the same period as the race of intelligent beings who fashioned the weapons of flint.

An argument has been raised against their having co-existed, upon the assumption that human bones have never been discovered in company with those of the extinct quadrupeds. But neither are they recorded to have been found in company with those implements which are acknowledged by nearly all to be of human workmanship.

It appears to me, moreover, very doubtful, in point of fact, whether human bones have not been really found associated with those of the extinct mammalia, more especially in cave-deposits. At all events it is a negative very difficult to prove. But, assuming the fact to be as stated, are there not reasons why it is probable that human remains should be of extremely rare occurrence, if not entirely absent, in such drifts as those of the valley of the Somme and at Hoxne? The mammalian remains found in them are probably mainly those of animals whose dead bodies had been reduced to skeletons, and were lying on the face of the earth before being carried off by the water, whether of an overwhelming cataclysm, or the torrent of a flooded river, and not simply those of animals drowned by its action. Whereas it may safely be assumed that the natural instincts of man would have led them to "bury their dead out of their sight," and thus place them beyond the reach of the currents of water.

It must also be borne in mind that there is no appearance of the drift at any of the places mentioned having been caused by anything like a general submergence of the country, or an universal deluge, as it does not extend over the highest points of ground; so that there is no reason for supposing the waters from which the drift was deposited to have caused any great loss of human life.

It is somewhat curious that we have already instances of the existence of

living creatures being proved to demonstration by other evidence than that of their actual remains (for those have never been discovered) in some of the chelonians, saurians, and batrachians of the new red-sandstone and other formations. Foot-prints of these animals, or ichnolites, are found in abundance, but the bones of the various species which have left these records of themselves "upon the rock for ever" have still to be found. Dr. Hitchcock enumerates no less than fifty-three species from the Jurassic, liassic, or triassic beds of the valley of the Connecticut, of which the existence has been determined by their foot-prints alone.

In the case of the *Pfahlbauten* lately discovered in the lakes of Switzerland and elsewhere, though implements of all kinds have been found in great abundance, yet human remains are of excessively rare occurrence. It is, however, almost beyond the bounds of probability to suppose that the flint implements from the drift are relics of a race of men who in like manner placed their dwellings upon artificial islands, though in far more remote antiquity than those who constructed the *Pfahlbauten*.

The question of the contemporaneous existence of man with the mammoth and other animals of the same age is of great importance, as the best if not the only means of fixing some approximate date to these flint implements, though from the nature of all geological evidence, and the possibility of the same results upon the earth's surface being attained in a greater or less period of time according to the greater or less energy of the agent producing them, any estimate of their age will always be liable to objections. But if the co-existence of man with this now extinct *fauna* be proved, then the basis of induction is enormously extended for arriving at some estimate of the antiquity of man: for the condition and probable age of drift-beds containing the mammalian remains alone, and unassociated with human relics, will then fairly enter as elements into the calculation. It is, however, at present premature to say more upon this point.

I will only add that the presence, in the drift of the valley of the Somme, of the *Cyrena consobrina*, or *trigonula*, a bivalve no longer European, though still found in the waters of the Nile, and which is frequently associated with elephant remains in the drift of our valleys, is also of significance in considering the question of the age of these implement-bearing beds.

If we are compelled to leave the mammalian remains out of the question, it seems to me by no means easy, in the present state of our knowledge, to assign even an approximate age to these deposits. Ranging as they do all the way up the slopes of the valley of the Somme near Amiens and Abbeville, there is great difficulty in arriving at any exact conception of the conditions under which they were

formed, far more so of the period of their formation. The clays, the sands, and the gravels, all appear to be such as would be formed by the action of a river occasionally in rapid motion, and then again dammed up so as to form as it were a lake, or series of lakes.

But that this could not have been effected in the present configuration of the valley of the Somme, or of the country near Hoxne, is apparent. There must indeed have been a considerable difference in the land-surface at those places, at some former time, for it to have been possible for such deposits to have been formed; but what the configuration was at the time of their formation, and how long a period must have elapsed for it to have become changed into what it is at present, are questions for the geologist rather than the antiquary, and even he would require more facts than are at present at his command to speak with confidence on these points.

Thus much appears to be established beyond a doubt; that in a period of antiquity, remote beyond any of which we have hitherto found traces, this portion of the globe was peopled by man; and that mankind has here witnessed some of those geological changes by which these so-called diluvial beds were deposited. Whether they were the result of some violent rush of waters such as may have taken place when "the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened," or whether of a more gradual action, similar in character to some of those now in operation along the course of our brooks, streams, and rivers, may be matter of dispute. Under any circumstances this great fact remains indisputable, that at Amiens land which is now one hundred and sixty feet above the sea, and ninety feet above the Somme, has since the existence of man been submerged under fresh water, and an aqueous deposit from twenty to thirty feet in thickness, a portion of which at all events must have subsided from tranquil water, has been formed upon it; and this too has taken place in a country the level of which is now stationary, and the face of which has been but little altered since the days when the Gauls and the Romans constructed their sepulchres in the soil overlying the drift which contains these relics of a far earlier race of men.

How great was the lapse of time that separated the primeval race whose relics are here found fossilized, from the earliest occupants of the country to whom history or tradition can point, I will not stay longer to speculate upon. My present object is to induce those who have an opportunity of examining beds of drift in which mammalian remains have been found, to do so with a view of finding also flint implements in them "shaped by art and man's device."

That instruments so rude should frequently have escaped observation cannot be a matter of surprise, especially when we consider that those educated persons who have been in the habit of examining drift deposits have been more on the alert for organic remains than for relics of human workmanship; while the workmen whose attention these implements may for the moment have attracted have probably thrown them away again as unworthy of further notice. I may mention as an instance of this, that in a pit near Peterborough, where Mr. Prestwich showed one of the Abbeville specimens to the workmen, they assured him that they had frequently found them there, and had regarded them as sling-stones; but none had been retained, nor on visiting the spot have I been able to find any traces of them.

As to the localities in England where mammaliferous drift, of a character likely to contain these worked flints, exists, it would occupy too much time and space to attempt any list of them. Along the banks of the Thames, the eastern coast of England, the coast of western Sussex, the valleys of the Avon, Severn and Ouse, and of many other rivers, in fact in nearly every part of England, have remains of the *Elephas primigenius* and its contemporaries been found. Almost every one must be acquainted with some such locality: there let him search also for flint implements such as these I have described, and assist in determining the important question of their date. A new field is opened for antiquarian research, and those who work in it will doubtless find their labours amply repaid.

JOHN EVANS.

Nash Mills,
Hemel Hempsted.

XXI. *An Account of the Latter Years of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell: his Imprisonment and Death in Denmark, and the Disinterment of his presumed Remains; in a Letter to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H., F.S.A., from the Rev.* R. S. ELLIS, *M.A., Chaplain to Her Majesty's Legation at Copenhagen.*

Read December 1, 1859.

Copenhagen, November 9, 1859.

MY DEAR UNCLE,—For some years past I have occupied my leisure time in collecting information of such of my countrymen as have dwelt in Denmark, or of whom memorials may here be found. These have been partly made use of in a small work entitled "Copenhagen and its Environs," published by me a few years ago for the use of English travellers.

The turbulent and ambitious Earl Bothwell naturally came within the sphere of such research, in which I availed myself of the information contained in a MS. of the late learned Icelander, Mr. Thorliefr Gudmundson Repp, kindly placed by him at my disposal. This MS. was, by the command of Queen Caroline Amalie of Denmark, grand-daughter of the sister of George III., compiled from documents discovered by Mr. Repp in the Royal Privy Archives of Copenhagen; and a summary of this MS. concludes the book above alluded to.

As an introduction to the principal subject of this letter it may be advisable again to make use of this summary:—

"After parting with Queen Mary on Carberry Hill, near Edinburgh, Earl Bothwell wandered about in the west and north of Scotland, probably in disguise, but, at all events, so as to elude the search of the Regent Murray's party, and at last reached the Orkneys and Shetland isles, where, as bearing the title of Duke of Orkney, conferred on him by the Queen, which carried with it seignorial rights, it would appear he deemed concealment less necessary. Bothwell soon found, however, that he had deceived himself in supposing that he was safer in the Orkneys than on the Scottish continent; for, the regent having despatched some ships of war in pursuit of him, he narrowly escaped capture by hurriedly embarking with some of his moveables on board of two vessels which, lying at Ounst in Shetland, he hired to convey him to Denmark. For this country he set sail; but, being driven by stress of weather to the coast of Norway, he was

there regarded as a pirate, and detained—a mistake arising from the circumstance of one of the vessels belonging to a noted pirate, David Wodt, of Hamburg. However, after a strict examination at Bergen, in which Bothwell's rank and marriage with Queen Mary were disclosed, the magistrate of that place, Erik Rosenkrantz, decided upon not dismissing Bothwell, but sending him, with a report of the examination, to Denmark, that the king, Frederik the Second, might deal with him according to his pleasure.

"Bothwell arrived in Denmark about the close of the year 1567, and was at first lodged in the Palace at Copenhagen, where, although regarded as a prisoner, he was treated honourably and as a person of high rank; the king even sending him valuable presents and advancing him money. Bothwell now lost no time in representing to the king in a memorial that he was sent by Queen Mary, his consort, to demand Frederik's aid and assistance against her rebellious subjects; that, in return, he was authorised by her to restore to the King of Denmark the isles of Orkney and Shetland (which had been pledged to the crown of Scotland in lieu of a pecuniary dowry that should have been paid at a former period on the marriage of a Danish princess with a Scottish king); and that, as soon as the object of his mission to Denmark was accomplished, he wished immediately to proceed to France, being charged with a similar mission to the French Court. But, just about this time, envoys from the Regent Murray arrived at Copenhagen, accusing Bothwell of *parricide (i.e.* the murder of Darnley) and other heinous crimes, and demanding that he should be delivered up to them to be taken back to Scotland, there to suffer death, or that he should be capitally punished in Denmark. The regent, moreover, strengthened his demand by representing himself as the bulwark of the *Protestant* cause in Scotland, and that Denmark ought to make common cause with England and Scotland against the Catholic powers, Spain and France, which aimed at the total extermination of Protestantism.

"Frederik, thus acted upon by powerful motives on both sides, resolved to do nothing hastily, but, in the first place, to remove Bothwell from Copenhagen to the Castle of Malmö, in Sweden, which at that time belonged to Denmark; and there he was detained from the beginning of the year 1568 till the year 1573. At Malmö Bothwell was still honourably treated, and, although great care was taken that he should not escape, much liberty was granted him, and free intercourse with such of his countrymen as chose to visit him. In the meanwhile the successive Scottish regents were indefatigable in sending envoys to Denmark claiming Bothwell at the hands of Frederik, whose claims even Queen Elizabeth supported in several energetic letters to the Danish king. On the other hand,

the King of France and the queen dowager (Catherine dei Medici) ceased not through their envoy at Copenhagen, Chevalier de Dantzay, to entreat Frederik by no means to deliver up Bothwell to the Scotch; and Dantzay actually obtained a promise from Frederik that Bothwell should not be delivered up without previous notice being given to the King of France. At this time Dantzay writes to Catherine, 'Bothwell has promised to surrender to King Frederik his claims to the isles of Orkney and Shetland,' and adds, 'For this reason I think that the King of Denmark will not easily deliver him up.'

"As long as there seemed to be any chance of Mary being restored to power in Scotland, it appears certain that Frederik was fully determined not to deliver up Bothwell, and even to treat him like a prince. But, although Frederik lay under some obligations to Queen Mary, inasmuch as she had permitted him to levy troops in Scotland for his late wars in Sweden, yet he would not by any positive act interfere for her restoration, lest by so doing he should be regarded as unfaithful to the Protestant cause, which would in those days have been such a stigma on his reign and memory as would be viewed with abhorrence by every Protestant prince. Yet, could Mary be restored by some other agency, he had then only to surrender to the queen her husband, and receive the isles of Orkney and Shetland in return. During the period between 1568 and 1572 Mary's party in Scotland was still so strong that her cause seemed to contemporary politicians by no means hopeless; it was not till the month of August in the latter year that it was considered as totally lost. The St. Bartholomew Massacre in France put an end to every chance which Mary might have had, because her connection with the league—indeed, that she was in some measure the author of it—was strongly suspected by the princes and nations of Europe, which suspicion the letters lately collected by Prince Labanoff have clearly proved was not without foundation. This event had great influence on the fate of Bothwell in Denmark. On the 28th of June, 1573, Dantzay wrote to the King of France, 'Le Roy de Dannemarck auoit jusques à present assez bien entretenu le Conte de Baudouel. Mais depuis peu de jours il l'a faict mettre en un fort mauluaise et estroite prison:' by which he meant the Castle of Drachsholm, in Sealand, where he died about five years later. After the removal of Bothwell to this last prison he seems to have been deprived of all communication beyond the castle walls; and from this period one of the chief reasons for his not being delivered up may have been the promise given through Dantzay to the King of France.

"Owing to the close confinement of Bothwell after his removal to Drachsholm, his history is involved in so great obscurity that even contemporary accounts widely vary as to the date of his decease. Dantzay, in a letter which he wrote to

the Court of France the 24th of November, 1575, reports him to be dead in that year, while others have stated that he died in 1576, and this seems to have been the opinion of Queen Mary herself. The best authorities, however, Danish[a] as well as Scottish, appear to establish it as a fact that Bothwell died on the 14th of April, 1578, at the Castle of Drachsholm, and that his remains were consigned to a vault in the parish church of Faareveile. It seems, too, that the Danish government, wearied by the Scottish and English demands on the one hand, and the French entreaties on the other, willingly permitted the report to be spread abroad that Bothwell died in 1575: this would put an end to a course of diplomacy which was beginning to run unsmoothly, and the Danish government had it in its power to keep him so closely confined at Drachsholm that he might, as regarded foreign powers, be the same as dead to all intents and purposes.

"For an analogous reason some doubt may be entertained, although Dantzay's veracity is entirely unimpeachable, whether Bothwell was harshly treated after his removal to Drachsholm; but such a report would in some measure be agreeable and conciliatory to the Scottish government, which had repeatedly complained of the too great lenity shewn to him at Malmö. The chief object of his removal to Drachsholm seems to have been that of more certain seclusion.

"With respect to the great discrepancies regarding the date of Bothwell's death, it is proper to observe that they may partly arise from a contemporary Danish Memorandum Book[b] of some authority and often referred to, in which we find the following notes: 'In the year 1575, the 14th of April, died John, the chaplain of Drachsholm, and was buried in the church of Faareveile, near Drachsholm.' 'In the year 1578, the 14th of April, died the Scottish earl at Drachsholm, and was buried in the same church. His name was James Hephune (*sic*, Hepburn is meant), Earl of Bothwell.' Here, it should be observed, that these notices or memoranda are arranged according to the days of the month, not according to the years: and thus, events which occur on the same day, although in different years, are placed in juxta-position."

In the hope, therefore, of seeing with my own eyes the coffin and the remains of this notorious earl, I made an excursion to the north-west part of this island in the summer of 1857, and bent my steps to Faareveile Church, prettily situated

[a] "Kong Frederik den Andens Kröniere samlet og sammenskrevet af adskillige Codicibus MSS. fra 1559 til 1588, af Peder Hansón Resen." 1680. The passage may be thus translated: "At the same time also died the Scottish Earl Bothwell after a long imprisonment at Dragsholm, and was buried at Faareveile."

[b] "Magazin til den Danske Adels Historie udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Selskab for Fædrelandets Historie og Sprog." 1824. This work is the commencement of the publication of a Manuscript in the collection or library of Karen Brahe at the Nunnery (Fröhenkloster) at Odense, the chief town of the island of Fyen, and contains only the entries relating to the months January to April.

on an eminence overlooking the Lamme Fjörd. But I was then doomed to disappointment. The vault which contained the coffin was in an unused so-called side

The Castle of Drachsholm, now Adelersborg, the residence of Baron Zutphen Adeler.

chapel, the opening of which would be attended with much time, labour, and expense. About three miles from the church lies Drachsholm (now a baronial residence called Adelersborg) in a sequestered spot, partly surrounded by a small wood: before it is the Great Belt, behind it the Lamme Fjörd: the country about open and bleak. The exterior of the castle, with its moat, is precisely the same as when Bothwell was its inmate. Baron Zütphen Adeler received me kindly and hospitably, and showed me the dungeon (now a wine-cellar) which tradition tells was Bothwell's prison, with a large iron ring in the wall, to which the prisoner was bound.

Aware of the great interest taken by his present Majesty in endeavouring at this time to ascertain the authenticity of the remains of some of the early kings of Denmark, I, on my return, memorialised his Majesty to use his influence in the present highly interesting case to obtain the consent of Baron Adeler to the opening of the vault in Faareveile Church. The king graciously entertained my

request, and the baron as kindly met the wishes of the king. On the 30th of May, 1858, by invitation of Baron Adeler, I went to Adelersborg, where, on the following morning, we were joined by Professor Worsaae (R. of D. and D. M. Professor extr. in Northern Antiquities at the University, &c. &c.) and Professor Ibsen (R. of D. Lecturer in Medical Science at the University), both appointed by his Majesty to be present at the opening of the vault. At noon we proceeded to the church of Faareveile, and found that the workmen, six in number, had just completed their task, on which they had been engaged since 4 p.m. of the day before. It was soon evident that there were but two coffins in the vault, of a date as ancient as the latter end of the sixteenth century; and, as Professor Ibsen pronounced the remains in one of them to be those of a female, all our attention and interest were concentrated on the other.

This coffin was of simple deal, without ornament or date, in perfect preservation, of a high square form, somewhat resembling a large trunk, and such as was commonly used in Denmark at the close of the sixteenth century. This very coffin had, several years ago, been pointed out to Professor Worsaae by the aged schoolmaster of Faareveile as the coffin of Bothwell, stating in addition that his predecessor had also informed him that such had always been the tradition in the parish.

The remains of the shroud proved it to have been of a rich texture. The pillow was of white satin. The coffin, shroud, &c. were such as would appertain to a man of rank, although poor, and corresponding exactly to that of a prisoner of state.

The skeleton was that of a strong, square-built man, from 5ft. 5in. to 5ft. 7in. long; light hair mixed with grey remained attached to the skull; the forehead was low and sloping; the cheek-bones high; the nose prominent; and the hair and teeth agreed with Bothwell's age.

On opening the coffin no skull was visible; but Professor Ibsen found it under the shoulders of the skeleton, and it was the professor's opinion that, at a previous examination, the skull had fallen off, and was then placed as now discovered; "for," added the professor, "the man, whose skeleton this is, was not beheaded."

After a thorough investigation of coffin, shroud, and skeleton, the conclusion come to, was "Nothing absolutely certain of its being Bothwell's remains, but nothing as yet against it." The coffin with its contents was then removed to a vault in the chancel of the church for further investigation at a future time, if necessary.

Since the foregoing occurrence I have tried at various sources, but unsuccessfully, to gain some description of Bothwell's personal appearance, in the hope of its tallying with the above. Perhaps if you would bring this subject before a

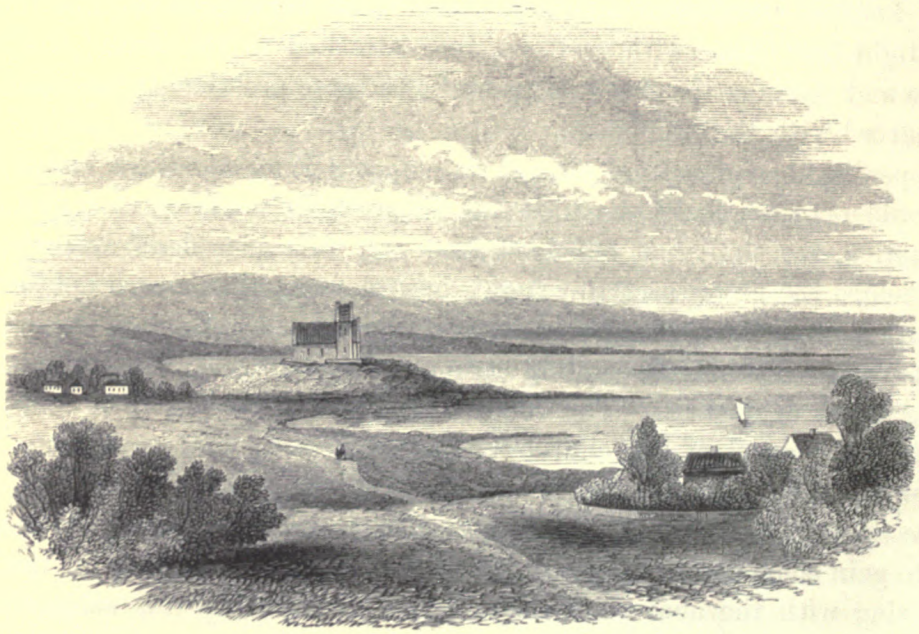
meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, it might lead, one way or another, to the solution of the mystery.

I remain, my dear Uncle, your affectionate Nephew,

To Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. &c. R. S. ELLIS.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing to you the above I have been fortunately able to find some additional evidence as to the date of the incarceration of Bothwell in Drachsholm Castle. The only evidence that had been hitherto obtained was the allusion by the Chevalier Dantzay, in a dispatch to the King of France dated June 28th, 1573, where he states that Bothwell had been placed in "un fort mauluaise et etroite prison." Now, however, thanks to Professor Kall-Rasmussen, I am in possession of further and more conclusive proof of Bothwell's incarceration at Drachsholm.

I have before referred to a MS. in the library of Karen Brahe at the nunnery of Odense in Fyen as containing the entry relating to Bothwell's interment at Faareveile. A portion only of this MS., containing the entries relating to the four first months of the year, had been published; but Professor Kall-Rasmussen has kindly obtained for me a copy of an entry relating to June 16, which is as follows: "Anno 1573, den 16 Junii, bleff den Schottske Greffne indsat paa Dragsholm;" that is, "in the year 1573, on the 16th of June, the Scottish Earl was placed at Drachsholm."



Faareveile Church, Sealand.

APPENDIX.

THE accompanying documents, copies from the originals in the State Paper Office at Westminster, not hitherto printed, bearing upon the foregoing narrative, will doubtless be acceptable, and increase the interest which all will naturally feel in this epoch of Scottish history.

(1.) Domestic Corresp. Eliz. vol. xiii. art. 73.—A Note of Occurrences in Scotland, 15th to 24th June, 1567. Among them is the following:—

"The Earl of Bothwell's escape: with a statement that Bothwell was present at the King's (meaning Darnley's) murder." This Note it appears is corrected by Sir William Cecill:

[State Paper Office, Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xiii. art. 73.]

Note. The corrections and additions to this paper marked by brackets [ ] are in the handwriting of Lord Burghley. The words erased in the original are here printed in Italics.

1567. Sonday the xvth of June tharles of Atholl, Moreton, Glencarne, Marr, wth other lordes [the L. Hume, L. Lyndsaye, L. Byron, L. Symm, L. Sacqwhar] confederate for the pseuting of the late kinges murther, and for the safety of the prince, having gotten the towne and castle of Edenburgh, *wth certen other townshipps thereaboutes at their devotion, went towards Du'barr to take,* [and y^{e} good will of sõdry borough tow's, understanding that] the Erle Bothwell, *if they might, being confessed by others whom they had apprehended to be the principall doer of the murther, w^{ch} being understood the same Erle B.*, [who was certenly know'e to be y^{e} pryncipall murderer of y^{e} kyng cum] wth the quene there and such company as they had, mett wth the lordes in the feildes not farr from [Musselbourgh], where there was not any slawghter don to ether pte, for that diverse that came wth the Q. went to the lordes side, wherupon therle B. escaped to Dũbar, but the Q. remayned still in the feildes, of whom the lordes demanded justice to be don upon the said Erle B. for the murder, w^{ch} she denied; and therupon those lordes conveyed her to Edenburgh, and so to Loghlevin, where it is sayed they meane to detein her untill justice may be don upon the murtherers for the hono^{r} of that contrey, *etc.* [for which purpooss the lordes make cõtynuall sute to hir, offrȳg to hir all lĩbty and other dutyes, but as yet she will not agree to have any thȳg doone wherby the Erle Bothwell shuld be in any dãger].

Therle B (as it is sayed) hath joyned him self wth the Hambletons, who were in the waye to have come to the Q. before that meting wth the lordes [and y^{e} Hamiltõs make *ther*, a pty ageynst y^{e} other lordes, to the cõd to more cyvill troble, *and to*, wishȳg nether to y^{e} Quene nor y^{e} Prynce well in respect of ther own interest to y^{e} crown.]

The xxiiijth of June Captain Blacketer was hanged, hedded, and his armes and legges broken for the murder. A Fleming w^{ch} was his man is also apphended for that matter.

One Capten Vallen (is sayed) to be likewise executed for that murder. And that a servant of therle Bothwelles shuld be taken who *shuld* [hath] confess[ed that] therle [was] *to be* in ꝑson at the murder, and that he *did* cary[ed] in two trūkes made for apparell only [certen gon] powder therin for the purpose.

[Sondry others ar also taken who confess ye Erle Bothwelle being at ye murdre, wt some other very strāg thȳges frome other noble mē that now joyne wt the Hamiltōs, were p̄ve that the kynge shuld be rydd out of his liff, but not p̄ve of ye mañer.]

(*In dorso,*) A note of the courrentes in Scotland,
sence the xiiijth of June.

(2.) Vol. xiv. art. 53.—A Letter from William Kyrkcaldy, Laird of Grange, to the Earl of Bedford, dat. Edinburgh, Aug. 10, 1567: informs him of Bothwell's arrival at Orkney, and of his (Kyrkcaldy's) appointment with Tullibardine to go in pursuit of him:

[State Paper Office, Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xiv. art 53.]

This is to geve yor L. maist hartly thankes for yor gentill lr̄e. At this p̄nte I have letell or nothyng to writ unto yor L. but yt me Lordes here, beyng surlie advtised yt the erll bothell is passit be see wt fyve shipis to Orkenay, they have causit ꝑpare wt all possible haist iij shipis to go thither to ꝑsew hym. And for the mair sure execution of the same thare LL. is contented yt the Lard of Tullibarne and I accept the charge to be the ꝑsewars of hym, the q'lk maist willingly we have taine upon us. And for my owne ꝑt, albeit I be no gud see mā, I promess unto yor L. gyff I may anes enconter wt hym, eyther be see or land, he sall eyther carie me wt hym or ellis I sall bryng hym dead or quik to Edinbrū, for I take God to witnes the onlye occasion that movet me eyther to procure or joyne my self to the Lords of this ye lait enꝑpryse was to restore my natyve cūtrye againe to libertye and honor, for yor L. knawis weill eneutht how we wer spoken of amonges all nations for yt tressonabill and horrobill' deed q'lk was coñitted be yt traitor Bothell. In this I can writ no mair at this p̄nt, ȝit and I gett so mekill leaser I sall writ ance agene er I dept, q'lk I trust salbe upon thirsday nixt. I maist hūblie tak my leave. At Edb. the x of August.

Yor L. awne to coñand,
W. KYRKCALDY.

(*In dorso,*) xth of August, 1567.
Kyrcaldy to my lard of Bedf.

(*Addressed,*) To the Ryt honabill and his verye gud Lord the Erll of Bedford,
Lord Govnor of Berwik.

(3.) Same volume, art. 82.—Letter from David Sinclar to the Earl of Bedford, Sept. 15, 1567. Entry of the regent (Murray) and the lords into the Castle of Edinburgh. Escape of Bothwell in Shetland from the Laird of Grange, and the capture of one of his ships:

[State Paper Office, Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xiv. art. 82.]

My Lord, Eꝑ my maist humyll comendationis of ȝvise. I reprewid syndrye of your lordshippes

ould acquẽtants that they wer so unkynd in wryteing to youʳ l. and pãtlye becaus of my ȝvandes repareing towart they partis I thocht goud to let your l. haif knowlege that my lord regent, with the rest of the lordes, dynitt in the castell this Fryday, and it was delyvitt to my lord regent thair ane shippe cũit from the laird of Grange and hes schawyn, that yᵉ Erll Bothell hes escapit narrolyc* in schytland, and left his shippis, and followeing so neir the unecorne one of the pryncepall shippis q'lk the laird of grange had is brokkin, and yᵉ men saif, and ye laird of grange wᵗ ye Cõstabill of Dundc is landit in Schytland, and hes tain ye pryncepall mã of ye cũtre, and hes takin ane of the lord Bothelles shippis, and two spetiall mariners callit David Willye and Geordc fogo: yᵉ laird of Tillebairn hes followit the rest of yᵉ shippis. This comytt youʳ l. to the protection of yᵉ eternall God. Fra your l. ever at power to coñand,

(*In dorso*,) Rᵈ in September, 1567, DAVID SYNCLER.
David Stcler to therle of Bedford.
(*Addressed*,) To the ryth wyrshippull my lord off Bedford.
(*Also*,) To Mʳ Secretary.

(4.) Same volume, art. 97.—"The King of Denmark to the King of Scotland, in answer to a letter of his Majesty respecting the murder of the late King Henry, and requesting that the Earl of Bothwell, who was stated to be the author of the murder, and had been *arrested in Norway*, might be sent back to Scotland. Stating that, inasmuch as the Earl of Bothwell had legally been acquitted of the charge, and for other reasons, he hopes to satisfy the King of Scotland's expectation by keeping Bothwell in *safe* and *stricter* custody. Dated Dec. 30th, 1567. Latin:"

[State Paper Office, Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xiv. art. 97.]

Fredericus secundus Dei gratia Daniæ, Norwagiæ, Gothorum, Vandalorumque rex, Dux Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, ac Diethmariæ, comes in Oldenbourgh et Delmenherst, Serenissimo Principi Domino Jacobo Scotorum regi consanguineo et fratri nostro charissimo, salutem ac continuum felicitatis incrementum. Serenissime Princeps consanguinee et frater charissime, Reddidit nobis die xv hujus mensis literas Serenitatis vestræ ultima Septembris Strivelingi scriptas presentium exhibitor fœcialis vester. Quibus nos de miserabili casu Illustrissimi Principis domini Henrici Scotorum Regis patris Serenitatis vestræ bone recordationis iterum certiores facit. Ac comitem Bothuallum non ita pridem a prefecto nostro in Noruagia captum, quem crudelissimæ cædis istius reum et authorem facit, ad supplicium deposcit eumque sibi a nobis dedi, et si ita nobis videatur tempus certum constitui petit quo is nostra ex jurisdictione in Scotiam reduci et pœna adfici possit. His nos amicè jam respondemus, nos sicut superioribus literis nostris testati sumus tragicum istum et plane miserandum casum optimi Principis tanto maiore cum animi dolore percepimus quanto magis nota fuerunt omnibus Serenitatis ipsius varia et animi et corporis dona et ornamenta, præsensque Serenitatis vestræ etas et rerum in Scotia status parentem et moderatorem talem requirere videbantur. Ideoque pro communi nostra regnorumque nostrorum necessitudine mortem Christiani et vicini regis

* This word is either struck out or has been blotted.

et vicem Serenitatis vestræ et universæ reipublicæ Scotiæ, quæ non bene inde incommodum percepit, vehementer dolemus et deploramus. Ac Deum precamur ut Serenitatis vestræ Imperium ea presertim ætate susceptum lætioribus auspiciis promoveat confirmetque ac presentibus tandem regnorum tumultibus remedium tempestivum adhibeat.

Quantum vero ad comitem Bothuallum pertinet, cognovimus eum nuper cum in regno nostro Norvagiæ vagaretur et nonnullam suspitionibus causam præbuisset cum navibus sociisque a nostris captum et in castrum nostrum Bergense deductum, indeque in regnum nostrum Daniæ transmissum esse. Is si cædem istam aliaque de quibus scribit Serenitas vestra horrenda flagitia commisit dignus profecto foret in quem pro scelerum autoritate graviter animadvertatur. Intelleximus autem ex relatione nostrorum eum cum de hiis argueretur purgandi sui causa plurima in medium adduxisse. Inter cætera purgationem ejus cujus insimularetur criminis in Scotia a se legitime factam. Ideoque in decisorio judicio per sententiam absolutum, se Regem Scotorum, serenissimam Reginam consanguineam nostram conjugem suam, contrariam factionem subditos rebellos asserens, nec ullam hac in causa Reginæ accusationem intervenire.

Cumque ea cum literis serenitatis vestræ et narratione fœcialis ejusdem (cui nihil certè derogandum esse duximus) plane non convenirent; Negotium vero ipsum maximi ut apparebat momenti et prejudicii altiorem indaginem maturamque deliberationem postulare videretur, Minime nobis committendum esse judicavimus ut in causa de cujus circumstantiis et forma nondum penitus nobis constaret certi aliquis decerneremus.

Ut autem ex sententia Serenitatis vestræ nostra ex potestate et custodia in Scotiam abducendum Bothuallum tradi permittamus, eo difficultatem aliquam inesse nec sine labefactatione regiæ jurisdictionis nostræ prestari jam posse visum est. Ideoque latius nobis de eo deliberandum. Memorato vero Serenitatis vestræ fœciali, cui persecutionem hujus causæ et rei accusationem commissum esse literæ Serenitatis vestræ testabantur, potestatem fecimus in proximo procerum nostrorum conventu legitimo judicio contra eundem experiundi disceptandique. Cumque is, propter alicujus temporis moram quam ob instauratam expeditionem nostram Sueticam et quorumdam consiliariorum nostrorum absentiam intervenire oportuit, reditum ad Serenitatem vestram maturaret, presertim quia se in itinere adversa tempestate impeditum quereretur, Existimavimus officio nostro regio et Serenitatis vestræ expectationi nos in hac parte jam satisfacturos esse si comitem Bothuallum tuta et arctiori in custodia tantisper apud nos asservandum demandaremus, donec de negotii istius circumstantiis legitime edocti hoc decernere possimus, quod et juris et equitatis norma mutuorum fœderum ratio ac res denique ipsa postulare videatur et requirere. Quod ad diligenter curaturi simus omnino confidimus Serenitatem vestram hanc responsionem nostram benigne accepturam, inque solita erga nos benevolentia perseveraturam esse. Cui valetudinem prosperam et felices salutarium consiliorum sucessus ex animo precamur. Ex Regia nostra Haffnia xxx° Dec. 1567.

(In dorso,) 30 December, 1567.

Copy of the K. of Denmarkes Letters to the K. of Scottes for answer of his towching y^e^ delivery and sending into S[c]otland of th'erle Bothwell.

(5.) Vol xv. art. 7.—Murray to Cecill. Begs his assistance in obtaining the

queen's letters to the King of Denmark for the return of the Earl of Bothwell to Scotland to suffer for the murder of the late king. Dat. Edinb. March 7, 1568:

[State Paper Office, Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xv. art. 7.]

After my maist hertlie comendations presentlie as alwayes quhen I have to do I mon burdyn 3ou, seing I find sic furtherance at 3our handes. My pñt sute is this, The Earle Boithuile, cheif murtheare of the King of gude memory, fader to the king my maister, being fugitive fra the lawes, is now deteint in Denmark. And howbeit be a herald I have requirit him to be send in Scotland thare to suffer according to his deꝑving, 3it find I na apparẽce to get the same 9discendit unto, onles the Queins Ma^tie 3o^r soverane will direct hir effectuus ƚre3 to the King of Denmark thairfore, in respect of the horrible cryme coñittet in the personn of a prince, and that he quha wes murtherit had the hono^r to be sa neir of hir Ma^tes blude. To the furtherance and expedition quhairof I will maist hertlie pray 3ou extend 3oure gudewill & crydett, and that hir Ma^tie will require the Ambassad^rs of France and Hispain3e resident thair to procure of thair soverains the like ƚres to be send in Denmark, qĩn as 3e 3all do a godlie werk and declare 3our affection to justice, sa in particular ue mon grant we to ressave a spẽall gude turn at 3our handes in this amangis mony ma thinges q^ch God offer the occasion that ue may worthelie acquite 3our benevolence. Sua, referring to 3our 9tinewall gudewill & wisdome, we coñit 3ou to Almightie God. At Edinburgh the day of Marche, 1567.

3our richt assurit freind,

JAMES, REGENT.

(*In dorso,*) Martii, 1567.
Therle of Murrey to M^r. Sec^y for the L. ƚres to y^e K. of Deñark to send therle Bothwell into Scotland.

(*Addressed,*) To my verie assurit freind S^r Willm Cecill, knyght, principall Secretary to the Q. Ma^tie of England.

(6.) Vol. xvi. art. 10.—Feb. 21, 1569. Earl of Murray writes again to Cecill. Forwards letters. Reminds him of her Majesty's letter to be sent to the King of Denmark about the Earl of Bothwell:

[State Paper Office, Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xvi. art. 10.]

After my maist hertlie commendationes. I have na new occasioun p̃ntlie to write to 3ow sen my last ƚre of the xix of this present, quhareof I luke be 3our good meanys to ressave confortable anꝑ. I have sent heirwith a ƚre of my awin to my lord the Cardinall of Chastillon, quhilk I pray 3ow hertlie cause be conveyed to him, as alsua that 3e will p̃ñt thir twa ƚres of my lord & uncle the Erle of Mar and my ladie his wiff to the queins Ma^tie. And last that 3e wilbe myndfull of hir hienes ƚre to be direct to the King of Denmark for Bothvile, quhilk culd not be readie at my departur be resoun of M^r Ascamis deceise. In all my triffles 3e see I am bauld and hamlie with 3ow, as I will effectuuslie desier 3ow to be with me, and gif it stand in my possibilitie in ony respect to shaw 3ow pleaꝑ assure your self of satisfactioun. Thus I wish 3ow weill as myself. At Striveling the xxj of Februar, 1568.

Yo^r richt assurit freind,

JAMES, REGENT.

(7.) Vol. xx. art. 5.—A Letter from Thomas Buchanan to Cecill, dated from Copenhagen, Jan. 19, 1571. Informs him of the daily correspondence between the murderer Bothwell and the Queen of Scots. The reason of Bothwell's detention in Denmark; his other practices; communication with England, &c.:

[State Paper Office, Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xx. art. 5.]

My Lord, efter my verray hairty commendaciouns. Being in thir pairtes of Dennemarke, w^th^ commissioun from my maister the Kinges Ma^te^ of Scotland to the Kinges grace of this realme annent the delivery of the mordorer Bothwell to justice; and apparsaving the particular practises that the said mordorer Bothwell daylie hes w^th^ the Kinges Majestes moder of Scotland who pntlie is in your country, I culd no les bot of my dewty for the weilfair of both our countryes geve your honor advertysement thairof, w^r^thro sum ordour myght be taken thairin as your honour thinketh expedient, and that the persons travellours betwix thame my^t^ be in all tymes herefter stoppet, pwnisched. Heerfore it may pleis your lordschip this to beleif and surly credit (yf men of great estimacioun in thir pairtes who heth reported the same to me be wordy of trust,) that the Kinges grace moder of Scotland hes send certane wretinges to this cuntry to Bothwell, desyring hym to be of good confort, w^th^ sondry other purposes, who alsue theth w^r^tin, to the great pjudice and hort of ane gentelman nemmed Capitane Johane Clark, be reassone that he at the comand of the Kinges Ma^tie^ my maister dyd diligentlie procuir and labour to have haid the said mordorer Bodwell delivered to hym to have bene sent in Scotland. Whairthrou and by utheres unjust accusacions he is imprisoned, and as yit small hoip of his delyvere, altho the Quenes Ma^te^ of Ingland heth wretin letters in hys favo^r^. The caus whoy the said Bothwell is not deliveret is judget to be, be reassone thay ar heir informet of certane devisiones to be in Scotland and Ingland, and thay dayle a wattching thairon be the meanes of one nemed Maister Horsey, who is send in England pairtlie be Bothwell and als be the cheifest of this land to espy whou all mattars doeth proceed both in England and Scotland; thairefter to bring here advertysement w^th^ tres of favour from the Kynges moder to this Kyng that the mordorer Bothwell be not delivered to be punisched, w^th^ sum promes of kyndnes to hym thairfore of the yles of Orknay and Schetland; whairfore I earnestlie request your lordschip to have er hento, and as your wysdome thinketh expedient to caus put ordour heirin, w^r^throu the said Mr Horsey be not licenced to have entres to that woman whair sche remaned, nathe 3it in lykmaner any uther stranger, for as I do understand thair is alsua ane page of Bothwelles send by hym in England w^th^ certane wretinges two months ago to the same woman for the same effect and purpos, w^ch^ page is a Danish borne, 3it not easilie to be knowin by a Scott be reasone he speketh perfyet Scottes, w^ch^ wretings yf thay cum to hyr handes may be prejudiciall and hortfull to both our countreyes and to the discontentment of the Quenes Ma^tie^ of England; whairfore I doubt not but your honor wyll that hir hynes have knowledge heirof, and suche ordour to be takyne heiranent as hyr grace shall thynk nedfull. It may alsua pleis your honor to wytt that I have wrettin certane wrettinges to my Lord Regentes hynes in Scotland, the w^ch^ wretinges I earnestlie desyre to be conveyed be your honor to hys hynes w^th^ the first comoditie. And thus bauldlie of small acquentance have I presumed to wreit unto your Lordschip, not dowbting your honores goodwyl and diligens to be had herunto, for the amitie, friendschip, and concord that remaneth betuix our countreyes,

the w^ch^ God of goodnes long to continew, w^th^ your lordschipes good helth and honour. Wretin at Copinahañen in Dannemark the 19 of Janner, 1571.

Be 3o^r^ at power,

TH. BUCHANAN.

(*In dorso,*) 19 Januar, 1570.
buckhanã frõ dẽmark,
y^e^ Erl Bothwell.
A. a.

(*Addressed,*) To the ryght worschipfull Schir Wylliame Cicile, knyght,
and secretar to the Quenes Maieste of England.

XXII.—*Petitions to Charles II. from Elizabeth Cromwell, Widow of the Protector, and from Henry Cromwell: communicated by Mrs.* M. A. Everett Green: *in a Letter to* John Bruce, *Esq. V.P.S.A.*

Read 9 June, 1859.

State Paper Office,
May 28, 1859.

My dear Sir,

I understand that the Society of Antiquaries plumes itself somewhat upon being possessor of what has been supposed to be the only known autograph of Elizabeth Cromwell, the Protectress. However, amongst an immense mass of petitions, which poured in, torrent-like, on the Restoration of Charles II., I have discovered one from this lady, signed by herself, though not written with her own hand. I inclose you a copy of the petition; the date is not given, but it can be proximately determined by the circumstance that the endorsement, a very characteristic one, is in the handwriting of Sir Edward Nicholas, whose period of secretaryship terminated in October, 1662. I doubt whether the prayer of the petition was ever granted, for I find no reference upon it, and in a large index to the warrants and other documents of the period, which exists in the State Paper Office, no notice occurs of a warrant for the solicited protection.

The same index book does contain a notice of a pardon granted to Henry Cromwell in October, 1660, but the warrant books for that year are missing, and therefore I cannot give you the document itself.

I send you also a copy of a petition from Henry Cromwell, the original of which is in his own handwriting, with a report annexed, from which it would appear that his petition met with consideration, and was probably granted. The referees on his petition are,—Sir John Clotworthy, created Viscount Massareen 21 Nov. 1660, for his services in promoting the Restoration, a privy councillor in Ireland, and a little later made one of the Commissioners for settling Claims on Lands there, and Sir Audley Mervyn, made prime serjeant-at-law for Ireland by Privy Seal 20 Sept. 1660.

I think these papers will possess some interest for the Society, and I have much pleasure in sending them.

I am, my dear Sir,
Very sincerely yours,
Mary Anne Everett Green.

I.

Petition of Elizabeth Cromwell.

[From the Original in the State Paper Office, Domestic Papers, Charles II., vol. xxii. No. 144.]

To the King's most Excellent Majestie.

The humble petition of Elizabeth Cromwell, widowe,

Sheweth,

That among the many sorrowes wherewith it hath pleased the All-wise God to exercise y^r^ Petitioner, she is deeply sensible of those unjust imputations whereby she is charged of detaining jewels and other goods belonging to y^r^ Majestie, which, beside the disrepute of it, hath expos'd her to many violences and losses under pretence of searching for such goods, to the undoing of her in her Estate, and rend'ring her abode in any place unsafe: she being willing to depose upon oath that she neither hath nor knowes of any such jewels or goods. And whereas she is able to make it appeare by sufficient testimony that she hath never intermedled in any of those publike transactions w^ch^ have been prejudiciall to your Majestie's Royall Father or y^r^ selfe, and is ready to yeild all humble and faithfull obedience to y^r^ Majestie in y^r^ government,

She therefore humbly prayes:—

That your Ma^tie^ would be pleased to distinguish betwixt the concernm^ts^ of your petitioner, and those of her relations whoe have been obnoxious, and out of y^r^ prince[ly] goodnesse vouchsafe her a protection, without w^ch^ she cannot expect now in her old age a safe retirement in any place of y^r^ Ma^tie's^ Dominions.

And she shall ever pray.

E Cromwell.

Endorsed, [by Sir Edward Nicholas,] "Old Mrs. Cromwell, Nol's wife, petition."

II.

Petition of Henry Cromwell.

[From the Original in the State Paper Office, Domestic Papers, Charles II., vol. xxxi. No. 72.]

To y^e^ Kings most excellent Ma^tie^.

The humble petic̃on of Col^ll^ Henry Cromwell

Sheweth,

That your Pet^r^ doth heartily acquiesce in y^e^ Providence of God for restoring your Ma^ty^ to y^e^ gouernment of these nac̃ons.

That all his actings haue been w^th^out malice either to y^e^ Person or interest of your Ma^ty^, &c., but onely out of naturall duty to his late Father.

That your pet^r^ did all y^e^ time of his power in Ireland study to preserue y^e^ peace, plenty, and splendor of that kingdome, did encourage a learned ministry, giuing not onely protection but maintenance to severall B^pps^ there, placed worthy persons in y^e^ seates of judicature and magistracy, and (to his owne great prejudice) upon all occasions was fauorable to your Ma^ts^ professed freinds. Hee therefore humbly beseeches your Ma^tie^ that y^e^ tender consideration of y^e^ premisses, and of y^e^ great temptac̃ons and necessities your petic̃oner was under, may extenuate your Ma^ts^ displeasure against him; and that your Ma^ty^, as a great instance of your clemency, and an acknowledgm^t^ of y^e^ great mercy which your Royall selfe hath receiued from Almighty God, would not suffer him, his wife, and children, to perish from y^e^ face of y^e^ earth, but rather to liue and expiate what hath been done amisse, with their future prayers and services for your Ma^ty^.

In order wherunto y^r^ Pet^r^ humbly offers to yo^r^ Ma^ts^ most gracious consideration, that since hee is already outed of about 2,000*l.* per Ann. which hee held in England, and for which 4,000*l.* porc̃on was payd by your pet^rs^ wives freinds to his late father, hee may obtaine your Ma^ts^ grant for such lands already in his possession upon a common accompt w^th^ many others in Ireland, as shall by law bee adjudged forfeited and in your Ma^ts^ dispose.

And forasmuch as your Pet^r^ hath layd out neere 6,000*l.* upon y^e^ premisses, that yo^r^ Ma^ty^ would recomend him to y^e^ next Parlam^t^ in Ireland to deale fauorably with him concerning y^e^ same, and according to your pet^rs^ deportm^t^ for y^e^ common good of y^t^ place. And lastly yo^r^ Pet^r^ most humbly beseeches your most Excell^t^ Ma^ty^ that no distinction between himselfe and other your Ma^ts^ good subjects may be branded on him to posterity, that so hee may without feare, and as well out of interest as duty, serue your Ma^ty^ all his dayes.

Who shall euer pray, &c.

H. Cromwell.

WHEREAS we were desired to testify our knowledge concerning y^e^ value of y^e^ lands to bee confirmed to Col. Henry Cromwell, We doe hereby certifie as followeth, viz^t^:—

That y^e^ lands in Ireland possessed by y^e^ said Col. Cromwell on y^e^ 7^th^ of May, 1659, were in satisfaction of twelve thousand pounds in Debentures, or neere thereabouts.

That Debentures were commonly bought and sold for fower, five, and six shillings in y^e^ pound, few yielding more even in the dearest times. According to w^ch^ Rates y^e^ said lands might have been had for between three and fower thousand pounds. Which said sum, with the emprovements by him made thereupon, is as much as the same is now worth to bee sold. And is all we know hee hath to subsist upon for himselfe and family. Given under our hands this 23^th^ of February, 1660.

MASSEREENE.

AU: MERVYN.

The letter alluded to by Mrs. Green as being in the Society's collection of manuscripts is contained in the volume of State Papers relating to Cromwell known as the Milton State Papers, and the greater part of which were published by John Nickolls, jun. F.S.A. in 1743, where this letter may be found at p. 40. It appears desirable to append a copy of this curious letter,[a] together with a fac-simile of the signature, in order to compare the latter with the signature to the petition. The whole letter is evidently in the same hand as the signature.

III.

Letter from Elizabeth Cromwell to her husband.

My deerist,

I wonder you should blame me for writing nowe oftnire when i haw sent thre for one: i cane not but thenk thay ar miscarid. truly if i knog my one hart i showld ase soune neglect my self ase to haw [?] the least thought towards you hoe in douing of it i must doe it to my self but when I doe writ my dear i seldome haw any satisfactore anser wich makse me thenk my writing is slited as well it mae; but i cane not but thenk your loue couerse my weknisis and infermetis. i should reioys to hear your desire in seing me but I desire to submet to the prouedns of god howping the lord houe hath separated vs and hath oftune brought vs together agane, wil in heis good time breng vs agane to the prase of heis name. truly my lif is but half a lif in your abseinse deid not the lord make it vp in heimself wich i must ackoleg to the prase of heis grase. i would you would thenk to writ sometims to your deare frend me lord schef iustes[b] of hom i haw oftune put you in mind: and truly my deare if you would thnk of what i put you in mind of sume it might be to ase much purpos ase others writing sum tims a letter to me presednt[c] and sumetime to the spekeir.[d] indeid my dear you cane not thenk the rong you doue your self in the whant of a letter though it wer but seldume. i prai thenk of and soe rest yours in al fathfulnise

desember
the 27, 1605 [*sic* for 1650].

[a] The letter is also printed in Noble's Memoirs of the House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 311; and in Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 6.

[b] St. John, Chief Justice of Common Pleas. [c] Bradshaw. [d] Lenthall.

The particular circumstances alluded to in the petition of Elizabeth Cromwell, communicated by Mrs. Green, do not seem to have been commemorated by any historical writer; but there are many traces in the Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons, of the anxiety with which the property of the late King in the possession of the Cromwells was sought after. Charles II. was proclaimed on the 8th May, 1660. On the day following a Committee was appointed by the House of Lords to receive information respecting any of the King's goods, jewels, or pictures, and to advise of some course how the same might be restored to his Majesty. The Committee consisted of the Earls of Northumberland, Berkshire, Dorset, and Oxford, with Lords Maynard, Hunsdon, Morley, and Grey.[a]

The Committee entered on their labours without delay. On the day following their appointment power was given to them to order the seizure of all royal property which they might discover.[b] Two days afterwards it was ordered that all persons who had in their possession any of the King's goods, jewels, or pictures, should bring them in to the Committee within seven days;[c] and on the 14th May a stay was put upon the conveyance over seas of all pictures and statues belonging to his Majesty.[d]

It seems probable that some of these orders had direct reference to Elizabeth Cromwell, for Kennet registers on May 16, that "Information had been given that there were several of his Majesty's goods at a fruiterer's warehouse near the Three Cranes in Thames Street, London, which were there kept as the goods of Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, wife to Oliver Cromwell deceased, sometimes called Protector; and it being not very improbable that the said Mrs. Cromwell might convey away some such goods, the Council ordered persons to view the same, and there were discovered some pictures and other things belonging to his Majesty, and the remainder lay attached in the custody of Lieutenant-Colonel Cox."[e]

The last notice of the Protector's widow in the Journals occurs under date of July 9. It is an order of the House of Lords, that "Elizabeth Cromwell, widow of Oliver Cromwell, Richard Cromwell, Esquire, and Henry Lord Herbert, should deliver to the Marquis of Worcester many deeds in their possession belonging to him."[f]

[a] Lords' Journals, xi. 19. [b] Ibid. 23. [c] Ibid. 26. [d] Ibid. xi. 27.
[e] Kennet's Register, p. 150. [f] Lords' Journals, xi. 85.

XXIII. *Report on Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Long Wittenham, Berkshire, in* 1859. *By* John Yonge Akerman, *Esq., Secretary.*

Read November 24, 1859.

The Valley of the Thames had naturally many attractions for our Saxon forefathers. Their cattle found in its meadows abundant pasturage, its marshes were the resort of myriads of wild fowl, while the stream itself afforded the means of transit between the towns and villages on its banks, many of which retain in their names evidence of their Anglo-Saxon origin.

It is not however in local nomenclature only that we discern traces of the early settlement of the Saxons in this valley. Still more certain evidence is furnished to us by the discovery of their cemeteries, proofs beyond all question of the occupation of the various sites by a people in undisturbed possession of the land. Before proceeding to describe the most recent of these discoveries, at Wittenham, it may be well to enumerate briefly all the instances which have come under my notice in that district.

These Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been brought to light at the following places:—

1. At Kemble, Wiltshire, an account of which may be found in the Archæologia, Vol. XXXVII. p. 113.

2. Near Cirencester, the existence of which I ascertained by personal inquiry.

3. At Fairford, Gloucestershire, which has furnished numerous remains. See Archæologia, Vol. XXXIV. p. 77, and Vol. XXXVII. p. 145; also the volume entitled "Fairford Graves," by W. M. Wylie, Esq., F.S.A.; see also Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, [1st Series,] vol. ii. pp. 122, 125, 132, 137, 186; vol. iii. p. 105.

4. and 5. At Filkins and at Broughton Poggs, Oxfordshire, two closely adjoining cemeteries, noticed in the Archæologia, Vol. XXXVII. p. 140.

6. At Cote, five miles S.W. of Witney, the existence of which came to my knowledge during the autumn of 1858.

7. At Brighthampton, five miles south of Witney, an account of which is given in the Archæologia, Vol. XXXVII. p. 391.

8. At Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, of the existence of which I was informed in the neighbourhood.

9. At Ensham, in Oxfordshire, which I ascertained to exist through inquiries there in the autumn of 1858.

10. At Milton, near Abingdon. In the fields around this village I have ascertained the existence of at least three cemeteries of the Anglo-Saxon period. I caused in the month of August last some excavations to be made which resulted in the finding of seven graves. Only two of them contained relics, although it was close to this spot that was found the beautiful circular fibula encrusted with garnets, which is preserved in the British Museum.[a]

11. At Streatley, in Berkshire, as we may infer from the notice of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, although he describes the remains as Roman.[b]

12. At Cookham, Berkshire. See Archæological Journal, Vol. XV. p. 287.

13. At Long Wittenham, in Berkshire, which forms the subject of this report.

14. At Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, where a pair of large dish-shaped fibulæ and other objects were found by labourers a short time since.

There are probably others which have not come under my notice; but this list, extending from the source of the Thames nearly to Maidenhead, is sufficient to show how extensive a population must have occupied this valley in Saxon times, and suggests that much light might be thrown on the habits, manners, and history of our ancestors by investigating the antiquities of the district.

The first thing which drew my attention to the cemetery which I have mentioned at Wittenham was an account given by the Rev. J. C. Clutterbuck, in the Archæological Journal, Vol. V. p. 291, of the discovery there of the skeleton of a man accompanied by a sword, spear, knife, and shield, with other indications of Saxon sepulture, by labourers engaged in excavating the foundations for a cottage at the southern entrance of the village.

A visit to Long Wittenham in March last led more particularly to the undertaking which is the subject of this report, for on that occasion Mr. Clutterbuck was induced at my suggestion to make a further investigation of the spot; his excavation succeeded beyond our expectations, and resulted in the almost immediate discovery of three more graves, one of them containing the skeleton of a woman, with a pair of circular fibulæ, a hair pin, and a glass bead.

[a] Engraved in my Pagan Saxondom, Pl. iii. Another fibula very similar in design was found in 1832 near the same spot, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; see Archæological Journal, vol. iv. p. 253.

[b] Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, vol. ii. part i. p. 53.

The Society will readily understand with what pleasure I viewed the continuance of these discoveries, confirming as they did so remarkably my own anticipations, and will believe how anxious I was to make further and more careful researches on a spot which had already proved so prolific in ancient remains. I had, indeed, good reason for supposing that Mr. Clutterbuck had lighted on the ancient Saxon cemetery of the village. It was therefore with no small personal satisfaction that, with the approval and support of the Society of Antiquaries, who placed the necessary funds at my disposal, and by the kind permission of Mr. Joseph Hewett, the owner of the land, I commenced the excavations towards the close of August last, and continued them till the 22d of October.

Long Wittenham is situated on the right bank of the Thames, about five miles below Abingdon. Many traces of British and Roman occupation have been accidentally discovered in this parish, as well as in the adjoining one of Little Wittenham, well known for its remarkable intrenchment called Sinadon Hill, which commands a view of the ancient town of Dorchester on the opposite bank of the stream. There was once a ford, near which a small bronze buckler was found, now in the British Museum.[a] The village of Long Wittenham is of easy access from Oxfordshire by an ancient ferry at Clifton. The greater part of the parish lies at the foot of a low range of hills, of the upper greensand formation, and consists superficially of a Gault clay covered by a dirt-bed of calcareous pebbles, with a soil easy of cultivation and very fertile.

The spot where the Anglo-Saxon graves were discovered is to the south of the centre of the village, in a field bounded on one side by the road to Wallingford, usually known as the Cross Lane, a name derived from the ancient village cross, which stands in an open space where the above-named road intersects the village street. The drift-gravel at this spot is reached at about two or three feet below the surface, and it was to this depth that the graves were usually sunk, the bodies generally resting upon it. This piece of land has been known as the *Free-acre*, and is so called at the inclosure of the parish in 1809. It is surrounded on all sides by leasehold and copyhold property held under St. John's College, Oxford, the President and Fellows of which are the lords of the manor, and possess nearly the whole property in the parish.

I exhibit this evening all the results of these researches, together with a plan drawn to scale by Mr. Clutterbuck. From this the Society will I hope be able to obtain a clear and satisfactory idea of the nature of the ground itself,

[a] Engraved in the Archæologia, Vol. XXVII. Pl. xxii.

and of the course I was compelled to take in carrying out these explorations. I must not omit here to express publicly my grateful thanks to this gentleman for the steady assistance he uniformly gave me during the whole of the time I was thus employed; a co-operation I feel to have been the more disinterested, as he was the first to ascertain what hidden archæological treasures were preserved under the soil of his parish. It would be of course impossible for me here to give a minute detail of the progress made in each day's diggings, or to narrate how little I sometimes met with, how occasionally I was quite cast down at my apparent want of success, and how, when often I least expected it, I stumbled on remains the most valuable, both as proving the abundance of the Anglo-Saxon interments, and as corroborating some of the views I have long held on this subject. I propose therefore to call attention to the more important of these results, and to leave the description of the more minute details for the catalogue which accompanies this report.[a]

I commenced my excavations by opening trenches in a barley field, near to the spot where the first discoveries to which I have alluded were made, in a line extending from south to north and at intervals of three feet; my reason for adopting this plan being the certainty that, if the skeletons were placed, as is usually the case with the Anglo-Saxon interments, from east to west, I should by this means intersect any graves that might happen to be there. My discoveries at first were not very promising; but, assuming from previous experience that such interments were likely to occur in groups, I continued my researches without desponding, and the results fully justified my anticipations.

The majority of the skeletons were found deposited at an average depth of about three feet in a dark alluvial soil, reposing on a bed of gravel; on this the bodies would seem in most instances to have been laid, and, in fact, whatever variation there was in the depth of the individual graves appears to have arisen from the desire of reaching this bed of gravel.

The disposition of the bodies was the same as that generally observable in other cemeteries of the Anglo-Saxon period, the heads being in most cases so raised that the pressure of the superincumbent earth had, in some instances, caused

[a] I may add, that, for convenience of reference, the objects have been labelled as follows:—

(1) The Arabic numerals from 1 to 127 indicate the graves in which skeletons have been found.

(2) Letters of the alphabet have been placed upon the urns that once contained burnt bones, proceeding from *a* onwards.

(3) Those urns that were found in connexion with the skeletons bear the same numbers as the graves from which they have been taken. I need not add that these urns were empty.

violent dislocation: this curious fact was strikingly exemplified in the case of grave No. 3, in which the head had been depressed upon the shoulder so much as to force one of the fibulæ into the mouth. In another, the head had actually been forced from the body, and lay beneath the left shoulder. I mention these facts simply to guard others against concluding that the bodies had been decapitated.[a]

In general, though not in every case, the heads of the skeletons were laid towards the south-west; but I noticed this remarkable fact, that, as I carried forward my diggings towards the north end of the field, the inclinations of the bodies became more and more easterly, till at length the direction, as in an instance hereafter to be more fully described, of the boy who was found with the Christian stoup in grave No. 93, was strictly from east to west. It has been suggested that I began upon the burial-place of a people semi-pagan, but that, as I went on, I came upon that of a population which had been subsequently converted to Christianity. If such was the case, these graves may perhaps be considered to indicate a transition period.

The skeletons themselves, from the remarkable size of their bones, were evidently those of a large robust race, the thigh bones of the men varying from 20½ inches to 17½ inches long, while those of the women varied from 18 to 14 inches. In one especial instance, I found the thigh-bone of a female skeleton exceeding 20 inches in length, but this was clearly an exceptional proportion, and its owner must have been a giantess in her day. With the remains of the men I generally found spears, umbos of shields, and knives, and in one instance a sword; with those of the women, fibulæ, often ornamented with well-known Saxon patterns, glass and amber beads, toothpicks, earpicks, tweezers, and occasionally bunches of keys.

The position of the skeletons of children differed generally from that of the adults, being usually from north to south.

I may add that the teeth were for the most part in a sound condition, and that there were fewer instances of *caries* than in the skeletons discovered in the Kentish graves.

The number of urns containing burnt bones, discovered *in situ*, appear to supply us with evidence that, in this neighbourhood, the earliest mode of burial practised by the Anglo-Saxons was by cremation, a conclusion to which I have been led by the fact of my finding different modes of interment prevailing in

[a] Examples of the crania are preserved in the Museum at Oxford. I am indebted to John Thurnam, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., and J. B. Davis, Esq., F.S.A., the authors of the *Crania Britannica*, for some notes on these remains, which are appended to this communication.

different portions of the same field. The urns with the burnt bones were placed at a greater depth than those which I discovered at Brighthampton, and the destruction of so many of them must, I believe, be ascribed to a different cause from that of the plough. It is worthy of remark that even those urns of which the bases alone were left contained calcined bones. My belief, therefore, derived from a careful study of the position in which these fragments have been discovered, is, that they were broken in pieces when, at a somewhat later period, cremation fell into disuse, and that they who were employed in digging the ordinary graves that followed desisted as soon as they had uncovered and damaged one of these urns.

With regard to the actual date of these interments, it is hardly possible to say more than that they would seem, generally, to have taken place at two different periods, between which many years may have elapsed; about one thing we may, however, be certain, from the number of mortuary urns discovered, viz., that this portion of the valley of the Thames was occupied at an early period by the Pagan Saxons. Whether the burial of the body unburnt was or was not the distinction between Heathen and Christian among this tribe (and of this I am willing to admit that we yet want complete and undoubted evidence,) we have, at least, the fact recorded by Bede of the baptism of Cynegils at Dorchester in the year A.D. 635, which demonstrates clearly enough at what time the light of Christianity dawned upon this portion of our island.

How long the remains of Heathens and Christians continued to be intermingled in one common cemetery, is a problem in Archæology which it will need further discoveries to solve satisfactorily. Much stress has been laid upon the words of the Capitulary of Charlemagne, bearing the date of the year A.D. 789; but it should be borne in mind that this edict refers expressly to the observances of the old Saxons, and not to those of the Franks. It is valuable, however, in one respect, inasmuch as it shows that, at this period, in France at least, cemeteries had been attached to churches; a state of things, which, at any rate, had not then become universal in England, since we find in the laws of Edgar, and yet later in those of Canute, that some Anglo-Saxon churches were still without burial-grounds.

It is very clear from these laws that the contest between Heathenism and Christianity was obstinately prolonged in England, and that among the people Paganism was not quickly eradicated, especially in their funereal rites and ceremonies. A desire to lie among their kindred may long have prevailed over the

remonstrances of the Christian priests: and such a feeling may, I think, be presumed to have influenced a considerable portion of the ancient population of Long Wittenham.

Having said thus much on the general conclusions which may, I believe, fairly be deduced from these excavations, I will mention briefly the contents of a few of the more remarkable graves.

In grave No. 21 the ferrule of the spear was found in the lap, perhaps because this weapon had in this instance been too long to be laid by the side of the corpse, and had been therefore broken. In grave No. 25 I met with a bucket of very unusual dimensions, and differing much in its construction from those usually found in Anglo-Saxon graves, the hoops being composed of iron. It is true that no traces of the staves could be discovered, but the form of these pieces of iron left no doubt as to the purpose for which they had been employed.

In grave No. 26 I found an unusual number of relics, among which was a shallow bronze dish, which is probably of a period antecedent to the advent of the Saxons. It has been rudely mended. Vessels of this description have been found thus patched, in confirmation of which I need only refer to the bronze dish engraved in the Archæologia, Vol. XXX. p. 132, and to the pail found at Cuddesden, which I have described in my "Pagan Saxondom." Besides this dish, I found also a cylindrical bronze object vandyked at the end (see p. 339.) This was in all probability the ferrule of a spear, which, like the spear noticed in a former grave, may have been broken on purpose.

The urn marked *v* contained an object of considerable interest, viz., a small knife with a blunt blade (see p. 342). In shape and general character it bears some resemblance to an example in the collection of the British Museum, which was discovered at Eye, in Suffolk.[a] From the unfinished and unsharpened edge it is clear that it could not have been intended for actual use. I am inclined, therefore, to think that it must have had a symbolical meaning—an opinion which derives some confirmation from the constant occurrence of undoubted knives in Anglo-Saxon interments.

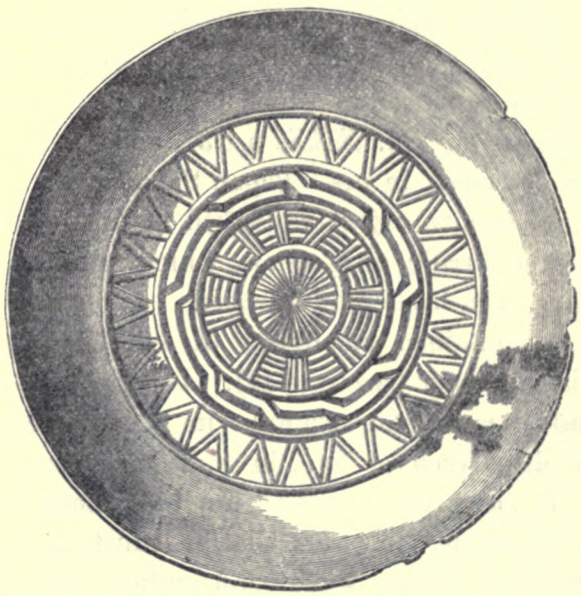
Grave No. 57 exhibited some other peculiarities; thus, at the waist of the dead person was a bronze buckle (Pl. XIX. fig. 10), ornamented with dragons' heads of very bold execution, and above the right shoulder was a small urn of black pottery (Pl. XX. fig. 2), bearing a stamped ornament, of a pattern not hitherto observed. I may remark, too, that in this instance the body lay with the head

[a] Engraved in my Pagan Saxondom. Pl. xxii. fig. 3.

to the south. On the other hand, in grave No. 59 the body lay with the head to the west, a small black but unornamented urn being placed to the right of the head. A similar urn was also found in grave No. 99, but in neither of these cases was there any trace of knives or other relics.

In each of the urns *q* and *x* was found, among the bones, a minute bronze pin, and in the former instance the pin had been bent back so as probably to form the fastening of a cloak. These are most likely the relics of women, and will remind the classical student of the *sagum spinâ consertum* of Tacitus.

Grave 71 was remarkable for the great number of amber beads (more than 270 in number) found in it, and for the unusual size of two dish-shaped fibulæ (Pl. XIX. fig. 2); these resemble very much a pair found at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, and now in the possession of Joseph Latham, Esq. who has kindly lent them to me for exhibition this evening; one is represented in the accompanying woodcut. By the side of this skeleton was also placed a bunch of large



SAXON FIBULA FOUND AT DORCHESTER.
FULL SIZE.

rude keys, which may be regarded as the insignia of a mistress of a household. There is a curious passage in the Laws of Canute, c. 77, in which the sanctity of the keys of the mistress of a house, which were evidently placed under her especial custody, is remarkably described. It seems not unlikely that it is mainly owing to the prevalence of this feeling among the Saxon population that these

keys have been found buried beside the skeleton of a woman; and I may add, as an additional illustration, the fact mentioned by Ducange,[a] viz. that it was customary in cases of divorce to give up the keys.

Finally, I may notice among the more miscellaneous objects of interest discovered in the course of these excavations a crystal spindle-whirl, cut in facets, from grave No. 100, and which, from the manner in which it has been cut, bears much resemblance to one I found at Brighthampton.[b] Another and very unusual object is a silver bracelet (Pl. XIX. fig. 6) from grave No. 113 : it is formed of a thin spiral band, and has been ornamented with figures stamped with a punch, as in the case of the dagger-sheath I discovered at Brighthampton.[c] I may also state that in grave No. 30, which was that of a young woman, I found a collar composed of a spiral strip of silver, which had evidently been worn round the neck, after the manner of a *torquis*.

I have reserved for the last a description of what I believe to have been really the most important relic I had the good fortune to discover, the stoup (Pl. XVII.), found in grave 93, to which I have already alluded, and the character of which is so unlike anything yet met with, as in my mind to mark a peculiar epoch, and to make this particular grave altogether *sui generis*.

The occupant of the grave was a mere boy, and his tomb was only 3 feet 8 inches long; his head lay to the west. At his feet was a bronze kettle, which had originally rested on a block of wood, the fibres of which were still discernible. On the breast was a small iron knife; and on the right of the head this remarkable stoup, 6 inches in height by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, formed of hoops and staves, like the well-known Anglo-Saxon buckets. On the outer surface it is covered with plates of metal, on which are stamped *en repoussé* the monogram of Our Saviour between the letters A and Ω, the whole inclosed in a circle, together with scenes from the life of Our Lord, such as the Annunciation, the Baptism, and the Marriage in Cana of Galilee.

Besides this curious vessel, the Christian nature of which every one will admit, I found also close to the right foot a spear-head with the point turned downwards. Now, although this weapon is sometimes found thus placed in the graves of the Franks, I am not aware that it has ever been noticed in Anglo-Saxon sepultures. What then does it imply? Are we to infer from its being found in that position that the child was devoted to some religious office, and that, though buried with

[a] Under *claves remittere*.

[b] Archæologia, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 97. Pl. III. fig. 8.

[c] Ib. fig. 6.

the national observances as one of the "spear-half," this arm was reversed to signify his renouncement of the weapon of a layman? Or must we regard this reversed spear as an indication that he was the last male member of his family? Whatever our theory may be, we can scarcely, I think, consider this arrangement accidental.

It is the stoup, however, which will prove, I believe, of most interest to the antiquary, especially if we carefully consider the purposes to which it is probable that it was applied. Now, the use to which it was consecrated seems to me obvious, for it will scarcely be doubted that it was intended for holy-water. Viewed in this light, we need no longer wander in the dream-land of conjecture, and the error into which we have so long fallen with respect to the buckets so frequently found in Saxon interments is in some degree dissipated. I had always expressed doubts as to the truth of the usual theory that these buckets were fashioned for holding wine; and I confess that my own conjecture that they were designed to hold food was opposed to the fact that they were of too fragile a construction to be applied to the ordinary purposes of domestic life. If, however, we look upon these vessels as consecrated to a religious service, we shall thereby obtain a glimpse at the purposes to which other well-known objects were also adapted I consider, therefore, the other bronze vessels found in these and similar graves to be simply mortuary, and probably, like the buckets, to have been wrought by the hands of the Anglo-Saxon priests, who, according to the ecclesiastical canons, were enjoined to occupy their leisure time in handicraft.[a]

To the same purpose, also, I believe were assigned certain peculiarly-shaped glass vases, having attached to them salient knobs.[b] These were, I think, fabricated with an especial view to their subsequent use in interments, while other glass vessels were perhaps occasionally adopted and consecrated to the same purpose.

In conclusion, I have but one other object to which I should wish to call the attention of the Society, because, in my mind, directly connected with this question of mortuary relics, although I have not actually met with one during my own excavations at Long Wittenham, I mean the spoon with a perforated bowl. It is, indeed, of rare occurrence, and so far as I know only three examples have been discovered,[c] and these are all from the graves of women. Their use has

[a] Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. p 404.

[b] See my Pagan Saxondom, pl. ii.; Archæologia, Vol. XV. pl. xxxvii. fig. 1, p. 402; Wylie's Fairford Graves, p. 17, pl. i.; Lindenschmit, Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen; Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii. pl. li.

[c] See Archæologia, Vol. XXXVI. pl. xvi. p. 179; Pagan Saxondom, pl. xxxiii.; Douglas, Nenia Britannica, pl. ii. fig. 9.

always been an enigma to antiquaries; but if it be admitted that we have obtained evidence from these graves that a portion at least of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, though buried among Pagans, had been brought within the pale of the Church, I think we need hardly doubt that these spoons were designed for the administration of some rite no longer observed, and the memory of which is shrouded in oblivion.

Detailed Account of the contents of each Grave at Long Wittenham.

1. Skeleton of a child with two amber beads at the neck.

2. Skeleton of a man, lying on the left side; the head to the south-west; the knees bent; both hands in the lap, in which were a knife, a buckle, and a pair of tweezers, all of iron. The femur measured 18 inches.

3. A young woman. Head south-west. Femur 16 inches. The hands by the side. Remains of two circular fibulæ, one on the shoulder, the other forced into the mouth by the pressure of the superincumbent earth. They are not of the ordinary type, the decorative portion having been originally formed by a thin embossed plate, now perished.[a] At the right side an ear-scoop, two amber beads, and what are probably the fittings of a purse.

4. Male. Femur 18 inches. The head south-west. The hands by the sides; on the left hip a knife.

5. A young woman. Head south-west. Hands in the lap; a gilt dish-shaped circular fibula on the breast; a knife and beads on the left hip (Pl. XIX. fig. 3.)

6. Girl. Head west. A plain circular fibula on the left breast.

a. Near this grave was discovered an urn without ornament, containing calcined human bones, and apparently a fragment of a fibula, which had been destroyed by the action of fire.

b. On the following day the greater part of an ornamented urn was discovered (Pl XX. fig. 1), containing the bones of a child.

7. Woman. The head south-west. On the shoulders the remains of two circular fibulæ once ornamented with embossed plates; on the breast several beads and a defaced third-brass Roman coin pierced for suspension. In the lap a knife. The hands were placed in the lap, and the femur measured 16 inches.

[a] See for similar fibulæ, Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. pl. xii. fig. 9; Proceedings of the Society, Vol. IV. p. 38.

8. A male. The head to the west. Femur 18¼ inches. The left hand in the lap, the right by the side. A knife on the breast, and above the right shoulder the head of a spear.

9. Male. Head to the west. Femur 18 inches. In the lap the umbo of a shield; on the breast a knife; at the feet another knife; above the left shoulder a bucket of the usual form; and above the right shoulder the head of a spear.

10. A child. The head to the north. A fragment of iron.

c. Fragments of an ornamented urn, with the calcined bones of a young person.

11. Child, north-west. No relic.

Near this grave were found the fragments of a half-baked urn, of light coloured pottery.

12. Young woman. Head south-west. Femur 16 inches. The right hand on the hip; the left on the breast. On the shoulders two flat circular fibulæ with punched ornaments; on the breast a knife.

13. Male. The head west. Femur 18 inches. The hand in the lap; a knife at the waist.

d. An ornamented urn, with the bones of a young person.

14. Child. Head south-west. No relic.

e. A plain urn, with the bones of an adult.

15. Girl. Head south-west. The hands in the lap, in which lay a knife. At the neck a bronze buckle.

16. Young person. The head south-west. No relic.

17. Child. No relic.

18. Young woman. Head south-west. On the shoulders two penannular ring fibulæ of bronze, of which the pins appear to have been of iron;[a] at the neck a glass bead; in the lap a knife.

19. Child. No relic.

f. Urn of reddish pottery, containing calcined bones, crushed by a large stone.

20. Young woman. Head south-west. On the shoulders two gilt dish-shaped fibulæ representing rude faces (Plate XIX. fig. 1); at the waist a clasp and other relics.

21. Man. Head north-west. Femur 16¾ inches. At the waist a pair of bronze tweezers, the iron ferrule of a spear, and a knife. Above the right shoulder the head of a spear. The hands by the side.

22. Female child. The hands in the lap, in which were eight glass beads. The head north-west.

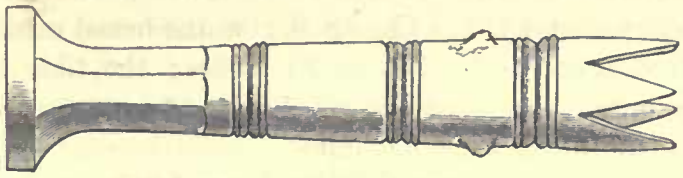
[a] A similar instance occurred at Harnham; Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. pl. xii. fig. 16.

23. Female child. The head north-west. At the neck three glass beads.

24. Man. The head west. The femur 17½ inches. The hands in the lap, in which was a knife; above the right shoulder the head of a spear.

25. Man. The head west. The femur 18 inches. At the feet the remains of a large bucket with four iron hoops. On the breast a knife. An umbo of a shield covering the left knee. Above the left shoulder an iron spear-head. At the head of the grave two large stones.

g. A plain urn, with the bones of a child.



Bronze Ferrule. Grave 26. Full size.

26. Man. The head west. The femur measuring 19½ inches. On the right foot a shallow bronze dish patched and mended, 13 inches in diameter. At the right shoulder a bucket (Pl. XVIII. fig. 1) and a bronze vessel. On the right of the head a spear-head. In the lap the umbo of a shield, a pair of bronze tweezers, and the bronze ferrule of a spear, represented in the accompanying woodcut The hands by the sides.

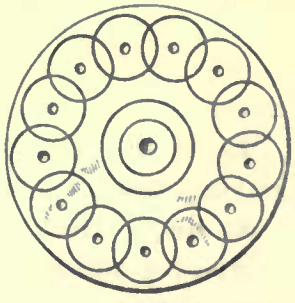
27. Man. The head to the south. The femur 18 inches. Legs crossed. The right hand in the lap; the left on the thigh. No relic.

28. Young girl. Head to the west. Legs crossed; the hands in the lap.

29. Young woman. The head to the south-west. In the lap a knife and pin of bronze. On the shoulder a circular fibula with punched ornaments.

30. Young woman. On the left side a knife; near the right arm a spindle-whirl of Kimmeridge coal. On the breast a bronze ear-scoop and pin hung together on a ring. Round the neck a collar, composed of a plain spiral strip of silver; and four amber beads.

31. Woman. The head to the west. Femur 15 inches. The left hand in the lap, in which was a bead and a bronze ring. On the shoulders two flat circular fibulæ of bronze, one of which is represented in the accompanying wood-cut.



Bronze Fibula.
Grave 31. Full size.

32. A child, with the head to the south, and a knife only.

33. Woman. The head south-west. The femur 16½ inches. The right hand in the lap; the left by the side. A knife on each side of the body. On the left breast twelve amber and two glass beads; on the right breast a defaced Roman coin pierced for suspension; on the shoulders a pair of flat circular fibulæ, a large ornamented glass bead, a bronze pin, &c.

34. An old woman. Head to the west. The hands by the sides. On the breast the remains of an iron pin.

35. Woman. Head to the west. Femur 18 inches. On the shoulders a pair of circular fibulæ of bronze tinned; on the left side a spindle-whirl of dark green glass with white ornaments (Pl. XIX fig. 9); on the breast a bead.

36. Man. Head south-west. Femur 20 inches; the tibia 17 inches. The umbo of a shield in the lap; above the left shoulder two spears; above the right shoulder a bronze kettle; in the lap a knife.

37. Woman. The head south-west. The femur 16 inches; the knees bent to the left. No relic. At the head of the grave two large stones.

38. Old man. The head to the south. A slender spear-head, 13 inches long, above the left shoulder; the arms folded on the breast.

h. A small urn, containing bones.

i. Another urn with bones, among which a fragment of bronze.

j. Another urn with a fragment of bronze.

39. Young person. The head south. No relic.

k. Another urn with bones.

l. The same.

m. An ornamented urn with bones.

40. A child. Head to the south. A knife on the breast.

41. Skeleton with the head to the south-west. No relic.

42. Man. Head to the west. Femur 17½ inches. The right hand by the side; an umbo above the knees. The left hand in the lap, in which lay a knife; above the right shoulder a spear-head, or javelin-head, 8¾ inches long, with depressions on the alternate sides of the blade, so as to produce a rotatory motion when thrown.[a]

43. Man. Head to the west. Femur 17½ inches. On the right side a knife; and on the right shoulder a buckle.

44. Boy. Head to the west. The right hand on the breast; the left by the side; near which was a knife; above the right shoulder a small spear-head 6¾ inches long.

[a] See Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. pl. x. figs. 5 and 6; Pagan Saxondom, Introduction, p. x.

n. A plain urn, with the bones of an adult.

o. The same.

p. The same.

q. A plain urn with bones, among which was a small bent bronze pin.

r. An ornamented urn with bones.

s. An urn, in better preservation. (Pl. XX. fig. 4.)

45. Man. Head to the west. An umbo above the right knee; the edge of the umbo serrated; five large iron studs to fasten it to the shield. The ornament on the apex of the umbo appeared to have been of tinned bronze; two detached studs of tinned bronze formed, no doubt, part of the shield—one of them is represented in the accompanying wood-cut; at the waist a bronze buckle and a knife. No spear.

Stud of Bronze.
Grave 45. Full size.

t. An ornamented urn with bones, nearly perfect. (Pl. XX. fig. 3.)

46. Old woman. Head to the south-west. The femur 16½ inches. On the left side a knife; on the shoulders a pair of gilt dish-shaped fibulæ (Plate XIX. fig. 4).

47. Old woman. The head south-west. On the left side a knife; on the breast a single flat circular fibula; a pin attached to a ring, connecting it, no doubt, originally with an ear-scoop, of which a portion only was found.

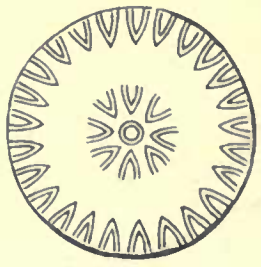
48. Man. Head to the west. The femur 20¼ inches. The tibia 16¼ inches; the right hand by the side; the left in the lap, in which lay an umbo; above the right shoulder a spear-head. No knife.

49. Child. Head to the south. Three beads on the breast.

50. Old woman. Head to the west. On the breast an iron buckle. No knife.

51. Young woman. The head south-west. On the breast the fragments of an iron pin.

52. Woman. Head south. Near the left arm forty glass beads; on the shoulders two flat circular fibulæ with punched triangular ornaments—one of them is represented in the accompanying wood-cut; on the right breast a knife.



Bronze Fibula.
Grave 52. Full size.

53. Woman. Head south-west. Within the left arm a knife; near the right arm ten glass beads, and one of crystal. On the shoulders two small dish-shaped fibulæ.

54. Woman. Head to the west. A knife in the lap; the right hand on the breast.

u. The fragments of an urn containing bones.

55. Child. Head to the south. No relic.

56. Man. Head to the south. A knife and an umbo in the lap; above the left shoulder a spear-head. The femur 18 inches; the arms folded on the breast.

v. A broken urn containing human bones, among which was a small iron knife with a blunt edge.

Iron Knife, from Urn *v*. Full size.

57. Woman (?) Head to the south. The femur 16½ inches. A knife at the right hip: at the waist a large bronze buckle (Pl. XIX. fig. 10); at the right shoulder an ornamented urn (Pl. XX. fig. 2). The grave 3 feet 8 inches deep.

58. Young woman. Head to the south. The femur 17½ inches. The legs crossed; at the neck fifteen amber and three glass beads; on the breast an iron pin; on the left shoulder a flat circular fibula, showing marks of the cloth with which it was covered.

w. A plain urn with bones.

59. Old woman of very small stature. Head to the west. Grave 3 feet 6 inches deep. On the right of the head a small black urn 3 inches high and 6 inches in diameter.

60. Boy. Head south-west. In the lap a knife. On the right side of the head a bucket and a spear-head 6½ inches long.

61. Man. Head south-west. The femur 19¼ inches; tibia 15½. The hands by the sides; in the lap a knife and a pair of bronze tweezers; above the left shoulder a spear-head of elegant form 11 inches long.

62. Child. Head to the south. No relic.

x. A shattered urn with bones, among which was a minute bronze pin.

y. A plain urn with bones.

63. Woman. Head to the west. The femur 19 inches. At the neck several beads; at the shoulders a pair of fibulæ; on the breast a knife.

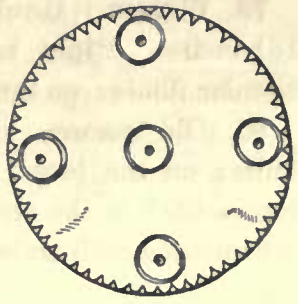
64. Boy. Head south-west. Above the right shoulder the head of a spear 7 inches long.

65. Woman. Grave 4 feet deep. Head to the south. Femur 15¼ inches. Left hand in the lap, in the which was a buckle. On the shoulders a pair of flat circular fibulæ of bronze tinned, one of which is represented in the accompanying wood-cut; on the breast a knife.

66. Boy. Head south-west. In the lap a knife. Above the right shoulder a spear-head 7½ inches long.

z. A plain urn with bones.

67. Man. The head to the west. The femur 19 inches; the tibia 15½ inches. On the right side an umbo resting on its edge. Near the right hand a small bronze buckle; above the right shoulder a spear-head 16½ inches long. On the left side a sword, the pommel under the arm-pit.



Bronze Fibula.
Grave 65. Full size.

68. Woman. Head south-west. The legs crossed at the ankles. The right hand by the side; the left in the lap. On the breast three worn third-brass Roman coins pierced for suspension, one of them of Constantine the Great, glass and amber beads, and a bronze pin; under the left arm-pit a knife; on the shoulders two flat circular fibulæ, a spiral iron ring, and a small ferrule or tube of bronze.

69. Old Man. Head south-west. Above the right shoulder the head of a small spear 6 inches long.

aa. A plain urn with burnt bones.

bb. An ornamented urn with bones.

70. Old woman. Head south-west. On the shoulders two fibulæ.

71. Woman. Head west. At the waist a bronze buckle; the right arm extended by the side; between it and the body two hundred and eighty amber beads of various sizes; on this arm lay a bunch of iron keys. A spiral ring on the third finger of the left hand; in the lap a knife. On the shoulders two large dish-shaped fibulæ. (Pl. XIX. fig. 2.)

cc. A plain urn with burnt bones, about 9 inches high.

72. Young woman. Femur 15 inches. The knife in the lap; an iron buckle at the waist.

73. A child. No relic.

dd. An ornamented urn with bones.

ee. A plain urn with bones.

74. Boy. Head west. A knife on the breast, and above the left shoulder a small spear-head 4¾ inches long.

75. Girl. Head west. Two fibulæ, a pin, and beads.

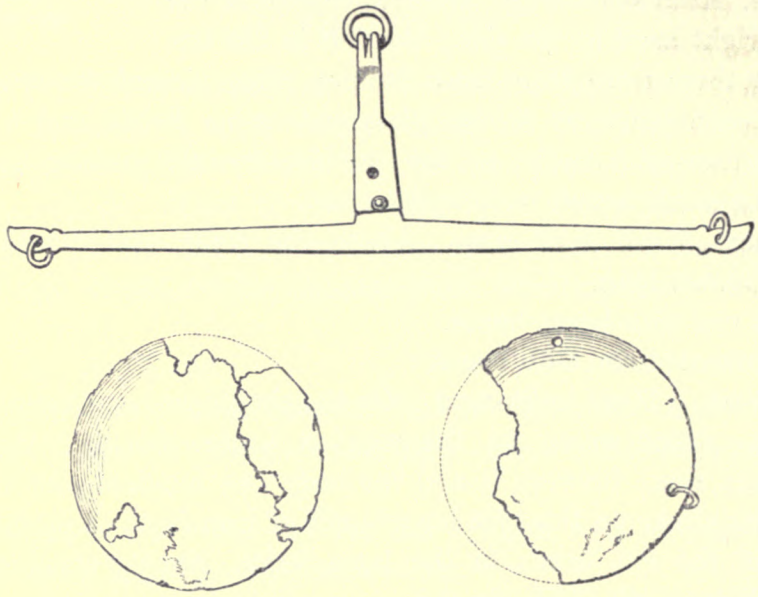
76. Young man. Head south-west. The femur 16 inches. On the left side a knife; above the right shoulder the head of a spear 6¼ inches long.

77. Young man. Head south-west. The femur 17 inches. No relic.

78. Woman. Head south-west. Femur 16½ inches. The legs bent to the right. In the lap a large iron key; on the shoulders two circular fibulæ.

79. Woman. Head south-west. The legs crossed at the knees. The femur 16½ inches. Right hand in the lap; the left by the side; on the shoulder a circular fibula; on the breast a spindle-whirl.

80. Old woman. Head south-west. Femur 16½ inches; on the left hip a knife; on the breast a bronze pin attached to a ring, and a pair of scales, represented in the accompanying wood-cut; on the shoulders two circular fibulæ ornamented with embossed plates, of which fragments only remained.



PAIR OF SCALES FROM GRAVE 80.
Full size.

ff. An ornamented urn with bones.

81. Old man. Head west. The femur 17½ inches; at the waist an iron buckle; on the left side a knife; on the body an umbo; above right shoulder a spear-head.

82. Man. Head west. The femur 17½ inches; near the left knee the umbo of a shield resting on its edge; the hands in the lap; above the right shoulder the head of a spear; above the left shoulder a bucket 4 inches high with bronze hoops and iron handle.

83. Man. Head west. Femur 16 inches; by the side of the lap an umbo; the right hand on the breast, the left by the side; above the right shoulder a spear-head.

84. Young woman. Head south. On the breast three amber beads; on the shoulders two flat circular fibulæ.

85. Man. Head south-west. Femur 18½ inches; tibia 16½ inches; at the waist an iron buckle; on the breast bronze tweezers, a knife, and an umbo crushed by the weight of the earth; above the right shoulder a spear-head.

86. Two interments, with the heads to the west; the bones in disorder. An urn of the usual character had been disturbed when this grave was formed.

gg. An ornamented urn with bones.

87. Woman. Head west. Femur 17½ inches; on the right breast a knife; on the left breast what appeared to be a large iron key, which fell to pieces.

88. Man. Grave 3 feet 6 inches. Head west. Femur 18½ inches; the hands in the lap. No relic.

89. Woman (?). Head south-west. No relic.

90. Woman. Head west; legs crossed; hands in the lap. No relic.

91. Man. Head south-west. Femur 17¾; the hands in the lap, in which lay an umbo; above the right shoulder a spear-head and a bucket; on the breast, immediately beneath the chin, an object formed of iron and strips of bronze.

hh. An ornamented urn with bones.

92. Man. Head west. The femur 17 inches; the hands on the hips; in the lap an umbo; above the right shoulder a small bucket 3¾ inches high, with bronze hoops and handle, and the head of a spear.

93. A boy. The head to the west. The grave 3 feet 8. At the feet a bronze kettle (Pl. XVIII. fig. 2) resting on a slab of wood; by the side of the vessel the head of a spear 5¾ inches long, with *the point downward;* on the breast a small iron knife; and on the right of the head a stoup, 6 inches in height and 4½ inches in diameter (Pl. XVII.), formed of hoops and staves like the well-known buckets, but the outer surface covered with plates of metal, on which are stamped *en repoussé* the monogram of Christ between the letters A and Ω, the whole encircled by a nimbus, and three scenes from the life of our Lord, namely, the Annunciation, the Baptism, and the Miracle at Cana.

94. Child. Head west. No relic.

95. Young woman. Head west. At the feet a fragment of bronze; on the shoulders two circular fibulæ, one of them dish-shaped, the other once ornamented with a thin embossed plate; on the left arm some minute glass beads; on the breast a spindle-whirl of bone,[a] and three iron rings lying one on the other, the handles of keys which had perished; under the chin other beads.

96. Woman. Head north-west. Femur 16¾ inches; by the left arm beads;

[a] Similar to one found at Harnham. See Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. pl. xi. fig. 8; Pagan Saxondom, pl. xxxvi. fig. 4.

at the neck other beads; on the shoulders two bronze fibulæ of the cruciform type, $2\frac{6}{10}$ inches long.

97. Old woman. Head west. Femur 16 inches; hands in the lap. No relic.

98. Girl. Head south-west. At the neck beads. A small bronze pin.

ii. A plain urn with bones.

jj. Another urn of plain form, 7 inches high, containing the bones of an adult, among which was an iron buckle.

99. Young person. Grave 4 feet deep. Head west. The legs crossed; at the back of the head a small black urn.

100. Old woman. Head west; femur $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Grave 4 feet deep; right hand by the side; left in the lap; in the lap a chrystal spindle-whirl cut in facets,[a] an iron buckle, and a finger-ring of bronze set with glass or enamel (Pl. XIX. fig. 12); on the breast amber beads and toilet implements, consisting of an ear-scoop and two pins of bronze, attached to a ring;[b] at the neck more beads; on the shoulders two flat circular fibulæ; a knife on the left side.

101. Young woman. Head west. Grave 4 feet 5 inches. Femur 16 inches; both hands in the lap. No relic.

102. Woman (?). Head west; right hand on the hip; left in the lap. No relic.

103. Old man. Head west; femur 19 inches. At the right hip a knife; at the waist an iron buckle.

104. Woman. Head north-west. On the shoulders a pair of long fibulæ.

105. Man (?). Head west. Femur 17 inches; tibia 14 inches; legs crossed at the ankles. A knife and an umbo of a shield on the breast.

106. A young man. Head south-west. Femur 18 inches. An umbo covering the left knee; above the right shoulder the heads of two spears, one of them $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the other 7 inches long; above the left shoulder fragments of a bronze vessel which had been in all probability destroyed by a fold-stake.

107. Young man.[c] Head south-west. Femur 18 inches; on the breast an umbo; above the right shoulder a spear-head.

108. Girl. Head north-west. Grave 3 feet 8 inches. At the left hip a knife; at the left wrist two glass beads; on the shoulders two circular fibulæ ornamented with thin embossed plates, fastened to the surfaces by a composition that had perished. (Pl. XIX. fig. 7.)

109. Girl. Head south-west. No relic.

[a] A similar spindle-whirl was found at Brighthampton. See Archæologia, Vol. XXXVIII. pl. iii. fig. 8.

[b] A similar set of implements was found at Harnham; Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. pl. xii. fig. 13.

[c] A photograph was taken of this skeleton, which shows the way in which it was lying, and the position of the weapons.

110. Young woman. Head west. On the breast amber and glass beads, tweezers, and pin; on the shoulders a pair of flat circular fibulæ; in the lap two knives.

Spiral Ring of Silver. Grave 111. Full size.

111. Woman. Head west. At the left wrist amber beads; on the left hand two rings of silver, one spiral, the other plain; in the lap a number of amber beads, a knife, three iron rings, the handles of keys that had perished; on the left breast a bronze pin, and a brass coin of Constantine the Great pierced for suspension, bearing the very common legend and type—SOLI. INVICTO COMITI; the sun standing. On the shoulders two gilt dish-shaped fibulæ. Among the relics in this grave was a triangular plate of bronze, represented in the wood-cut.

Bronze Ornament Grave 111. Full size.

112. Young man. Head west. Femur 16⅛ inches. The hands in the lap; a spear *over* the head. No knife.

113. Child. Head west. At the right hip a fragment of what was probably a bronze clasp. Throughout this and other graves there were traces of charcoal.

114. Boy. Head west. Hands in the lap; on the breast an iron pin; above the right shoulder a spear-head 7½ inches long.

115. Young woman. Head west. Right hand in the lap; left by the side. No relic.

116. Young person. Head west. In the lap a knife.

117. Young woman. Head west. In the lap a bronze buckle. (Pl. XIX. fig. 11.) Hands in the lap, in which was a single amber bead. No knife. By the right side of this skeleton lay that of an infant.

118. Young man. Head west. Femur 17⅛ inches; tibia 14 inches. Grave 3 feet 6. Left hand on the breast; right by the side; above the right shoulder a spear-head 10¾ inches long.

119. Young person. Head west. No relic.

120. Young person. Head west. No relic.

121. Young woman. Head west. Femur 17½ inches. Hands in the lap; on the shoulders two gilt dish-shaped fibulæ.

This grave was between and exactly in a line with the two former.

122. Young woman. Head west. Femur 15¾ inches. Hands in the lap; the legs crossed at the ankles; on the breast a small bronze pin.

123. Woman. Head south-west. Femur 17¼ inches; tibia 14¾ inches. Near the left arm amber beads; in the lap amber beads; at the waist a dish-shaped fibula (Pl. XIX. fig. 5); on the left breast the companion fibula; on the left wrist a silver bracelet (Pl. XIX. fig. 6) with punched ornaments.

124. Young person. Head west. Right hand in the lap. No relic.

125. Old woman. Head west. Femur 17 inches. On the breast an iron purse-guard (?); near the right arm a knife; on the shoulders a pair of flat circular fibulæ.

126. Man. Head west. Femur 18 inches; tibia 14 inches. On the breast the umbo of a shield; above the left shoulder the head of a spear.

127. Young girl. Head south-west. In the lap a knife; on the left wrist a bronze bracelet, formed of a flat band.

Notes on Skulls from Long Wittenham. By JOHN THURNAM, *Esq.*, *M.D.*, *F.S.A.*

Grave No. 2. From the small capacity of this skull, it might have been taken for that of a female; but the very prominent *glabella* and frontal sinuses, the high cheek bones and deeply impressed jaws, lead us to regard it as that of a man about 45 years of age. The small *calvarium* is of a tolerably regular ovoid form; the narrow forehead rising to a moderately elevated coronal region. The nose has projected very abruptly. The teeth are much eroded, and one of the molars carious; none of the wisdom teeth had been developed.

Grave No. 7. A well developed female skull, very smooth, and of remarkably regular ovoid form, typically Anglo-Saxon. Age about 35. Teeth slightly eroded.

Grave No. 8. Ovoid skull of a male of moderately large size, aged perhaps 30. The frontal suture is persistent; the frontal sinuses and *glabella* moderately developed. The teeth are thickly encrusted with tartar, a condition observed in the five other skulls from this cemetery. The crowns of the teeth are slightly eroded; the upper incisors and their alveolar processes large and prominent.

Grave No. 25. Skull of a man, aged about 50. The form inclines to the lengthened oval. The *glabella* and frontal sinuses very prominent. The nasal bones project very abruptly. Of the wisdom teeth only that on the right side of the lower jaw had been developed. Crowns of teeth much eroded, in the flattened form so distinctive of Anglo-Saxon skulls.

Grave No. 26. Skull deeply stained with ærugo on the left temple, from contact with some object of bronze or brass. It is that of a person of middle age. There may be a doubt as to the sex, though the full size and rather prominent frontal sinuses point to the male. The form is a tolerably regular

ovoid. The frontal suture is persistent. This skull deserves notice, from the great degree of distortion after burial, the left temporal region being pushed a full inch in advance of the right, and the upper jaw being so much dislocated that it is impossible to bring the upper and lower teeth in apposition. The lower jaw is rather small and shallow.

Grave No. 35. The full-sized skull of a female, aged about 50. The general form corresponds with that of No. 7. It has, however, been slightly distorted after burial, by the unequal pressure of the incumbent earth.

Notes on the Anglo-Saxon Skulls from Long Wittenham. By J. B. Davis, *Esq.*, *M.R.C.S., F.S.A.*

No. 61 is the cranium of a man of advanced age, probably not less than 70 years. It is thin and light, the latter, in some measure, by reason of its antiquity. Its sutures are almost wholly effaced. The teeth, thickly crusted with tartar, are much ground down by severe use. They have all been present in disinterment, save an upper wise tooth, and the two central incisors of the lower jaw. This latter is a deficiency so singular, and the *alveolus* at the spot presents such a striking similarity to the jaws of Australians, Kanakas, and other aboriginal races who adopt the practice of punching out the front teeth, that we are led to the conclusion that, if the two central incisors were not congenitally absent, they were lost by some accident in early life.

The *calvarium* is well filled out, capacious, equable, and of the *platycephalic* form; the forehead squarish, ample, and upright; and the nasal bones appear to have proceeded from it at a small angle. The face is of good size, the horizontal arch of the jaws well rounded, and the chin upright and expressed. The whole features give the idea of an agreeable, if not handsome, countenance.

The skull appertains to what we regard as the *typical* series of Anglo-Saxon *crania*, and has probably belonged to a tall, well-proportioned man. This idea is confirmed by the *femora* and *tibiæ*, which are long, robust, and of good form. The thigh bones, when measured to the extreme length, vary; the right is a little under, and the left a little over, nineteen inches; a difference which is compensated for by a reciprocated diversity of length in the shin bones, the right being a little more than fifteen inches and a half, and the left a little less.

Of the three other skulls, one, that of a man of about 60 years of age, presents the next common form of the Anglo-Saxon cranium—the *ovoid*—which has descended to the modern English race. The face is rather long, and the nose

aquiline, which was not a common feature among the Anglo-Saxons. The two other *crania* have belonged to persons of the female sex. That with which the 280 amber beads were found (No. 71), is the skull of a young woman, and is of beautiful form and proportions. It will be figured, of full size, in the "Crania Britannica," as the representative of the female sex among the Anglo-Saxon race. The other has belonged to a girl of about 16 years of age. It has undergone so much distortion, after burial, that it is difficult to recover its true form. It is, however, remarkable for the great prominence of the parietal protuberances—a feminine peculiarity.

Description of the Plates.

Plate XVII.

This Plate represents, of the actual size, the stoup found in Grave No. 93. The subjects in the three quadrangular compartments appear to be—1. The Annunciation. 2. The Baptism of our Lord, above which appears an attempt to form the word ΙΩΑΝΝΗC. 3. The Marriage of Cana. The prototype of these representations was not improbably Byzantine, modified perhaps by successive copies; but there can be little doubt of the Saxon origin of this vessel and its ornaments. The only object that I have met with at all similar to it in workmanship is a cylindrical relic, perhaps a portion of a circular box, or the mounting of a horn, found with other remains at Strood in Kent. It is engraved in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. xxxvi. p. 159, where it is thus described: "It is a small bronze coffer or box made of two thin plates of bronze riveted together, and bound round at the lower part with a narrow band of the same metal. The cover and bottom of the box are lost. On one side a ring is attached, from which it would seem that the box had been carried about the person, and suspended for security to the girdle or some part of the dress. Round the outer plate is stamped in low relief a group of three figures six times repeated; it consists of three personages, the middle one seated and nimbed, the others standing one on each side with their arms crossed upon the breast; above the head of one is a cross, and over the other a bird carrying a wreath. Below is a border of foliage, and birds partially concealed by the band." This curious object seems somewhat later in date than the stoup from Long Wittenham. It now forms part of the valuable Museum belonging to Joseph Mayer, Esq. F.S.A. at Liverpool.

Plate XVIII.

Fig. 1. A bucket, 5½ inches high, the staves of which are of wood, discovered above the shoulder of the skeleton of a man in grave No. 26. It resembles in general form and construction relics of a similar kind, representations of which may be found in Douglas's *Nenia Britannica*, pl. 12, fig. 11; Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 13; Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, vol. ii. pl. vi.; Pagan Saxondom, pl. xxvii. p. 54; Wylie's Fairford Graves, pl. viii. fig. 2; Neville's Saxon Obsequies, pl. 17; Archæological Journal, vol. xi. p. 96; Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. p. 161; Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute, vol. i. p. 328; Archæologia, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 87. For notices of foreign examples see *MuseumSchoepflini*, tab. xvj. fig. 1; Houben, *Römisches Antiquarium*, taf. xlviij.; Cochet, *Sepultures Gauloises*, &c., p. 282; Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. xlv.; Peigné-Delacourt, *Recherches sur le lieu de la Bataille d'Attila*, p. 55.

Fig. 2. A bronze vessel discovered at the feet of the skeleton of a boy in grave No. 93. It resembles in form a vessel found in the Saxon cemetery at Fairford; see Wylie's Fairford Graves, pl. viii. fig. 1. Others of the same form have been found at Little Wilbraham (Neville's Saxon Obsequies, pl. 16); and at Sawston, in Cambridgeshire (Archæologia, Vol. XVIII. pl. xxv. fig. 4).

Plate XIX.

Fig. 1. One of a pair of dish-shaped fibulæ of gilt bronze, with full-faced human faces, from grave No. 20. Specimens of a similar type have been found in Kent, Wilts, and the Isle of Wight. It is worthy of remark that in most cases one of the pair is of inferior execution to the other; in the present instance the human face can scarcely be distinguished in one of them. (See Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. ii.; Remains of Pagan Saxondom, pl. xxxiv. figs. 2 and 3; Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. pl. xii. figs. 3 and 4; Vol. XXXVIII. pl. iii. fig. 7.)

Fig. 2. One of a pair of dish-shaped fibulæ of bronze gilt from grave No. 71.

Fig. 3. A small dish-shaped fibula of bronze gilt from grave No. 5.

Fig. 4. One of a pair of dish-shaped fibulæ of bronze gilt from grave No. 46. Compare with it one of the silver discs, ornamented with feet of dragon-like figures, found at Caenby in Lincolnshire, engraved in Pagan Saxondom, pl. xv. p. 30; see also Archæological Journal, vol. vii. p. 38.

Fig. 5. One of a pair of dish-shaped fibulæ of bronze gilt, from grave No. 123.

Fig. 6. Bracelet of silver, found on the left arm of the skeleton in grave No. 123. The punched ornaments upon it resemble in workmanship those on the knife-sheath found at Brighthampton, engraved in this volume, pl. iii. fig. 6.

Fig. 7. Fragment of a circular fibula, from grave No. 108, the surface of which has been ornamented with a thin plate of bronze, on which is embossed a cross fleury, a type often found on Saxon coins; the body of the fibula is a plate of bronze, which appears to have been covered with cement, so as to attach to it the ornamental plate. See for similar fibulæ Pagan Saxondom, pl. xix. fig. 2; Archæologia, Vol. XXXIV. pl. x. fig. 4; XXXV. pl. xii. fig. 9; XXXVII. p. 146; XXXVIII. pl. iii. fig. 9; Proceedings Soc. Ant. vol. iv. p. 38.

Fig. 8. one of the numerous button-like fibulæ of bronze, ornamented with circles and other patterns made with a punch, and of which the surfaces appear to have been tinned. The present example is from grave No. 29.

Fig. 9. A spindle-whirl of dark green glass, with a pattern of a lighter colour; it is from grave No. 35.

Fig. 10. A bronze buckle, found at the waist of skeleton in grave No. 57.

Fig. 11. A bronze object, found near the waist in grave No. 117.

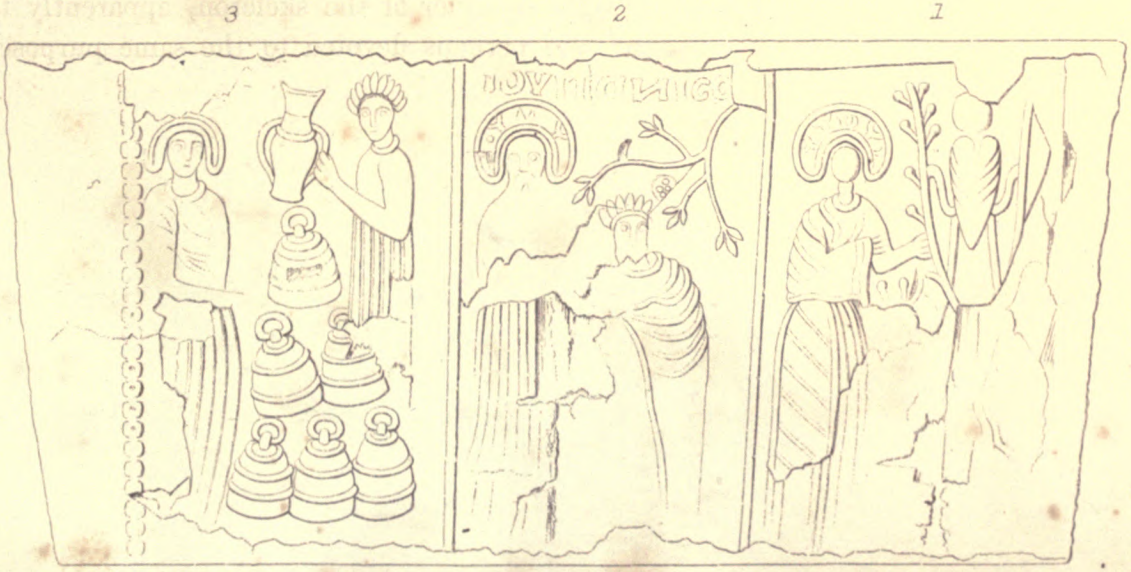
Fig. 12. A bronze finger-ring, inlaid with blue paste, or enamel, from grave No. 100. It resembles the finger-rings of the later Roman period.

Plate XX.

In this plate are represented four urns from the cemetery at Long Wittenham. Nos. 1, 3, and 4 contained calcined human bones.

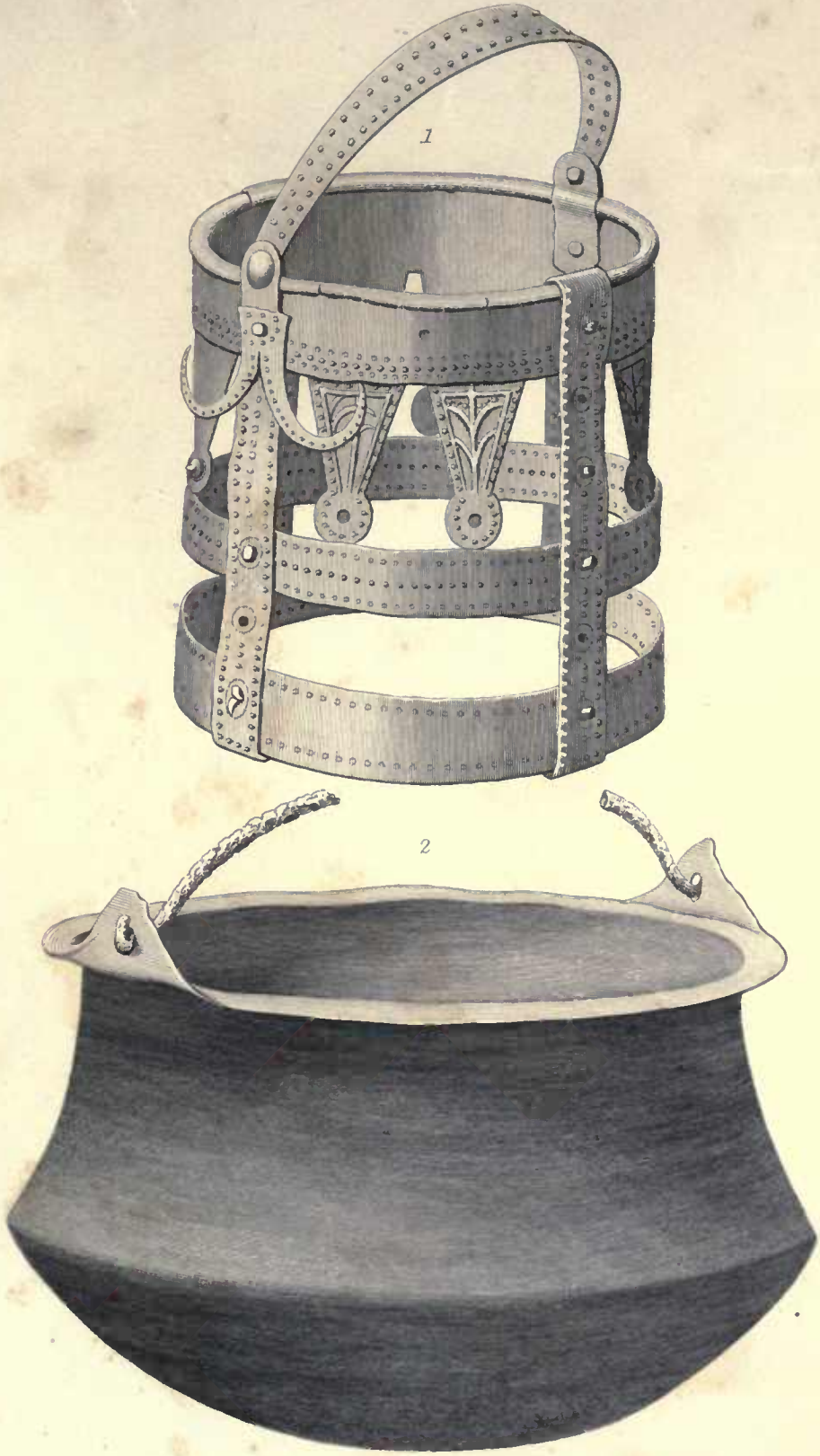
No. 2 was found empty at the right shoulder of the skeleton, apparently that of a woman, in grave No. 57, and was perhaps devoted to the same purpose as the buckets.

Full size



J Basire del. et sc.

ANGLO SAXON STOUP FOUND AT LONG WITTENHAM. BERKS



J. Basire del. et sc.

BUCKET AND BRONZE VESSEL FOUND AT LONG WITTENHAM, BERKS.

Full size

J. Basire del. et sc.

ANGLO SAXON ORNAMENTS FROM LONG WITTENHAM, BERKS.

1

2

3

4

Scale

J. Basire del. et sc.

ANGLO SAXON URNS FROM LONG WITTENHAM, BERKS.

XXIV.—*Inventory of the Goods of Dame Agnes Hungerford, attainted of Murder* 14 *Hen. VIII.; with Remarks thereon by* JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, *Esq.*, F.S.A., *and the Rev.* JOHN EDWARD JACKSON, M.A., F.S.A.

Read May 19, 1859.

BY the kindness of the Rev. Edgar Edmund Estcourt, M.A., Fellow of the Society, we are presented with a transcript of an Inventory,[a] of which the original is now preserved in H. M. Record Office, bearing the following title: "Inventory of the goods belonging to the King's grace by the forfeiture of the Lady Hungerford, attainted of murder in Hilary term Anno xiiij. Regis Henrici VIII."

The fact of a lady of this name having suffered execution at Tybourn on the 20th of February, 1523, has been handed down by the chronicle of Stowe, and it is stated by that historian that she died for murdering her husband. Stowe cites in his margin the Register of the Grey Friars, meaning a volume now preserved in the British Museum, and including among its other contents a London chronicle, which in the year 1852 was printed for the Camden Society under my editorship, and entitled, "The Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London."

We find that the body of the convicted lady was buried in the church of the Grey Friars;[b] and that circumstance evidently occasioned the notice taken of her execution in their chronicle.[c] The passage is as follows:

[a] The transcript, having been made at Mr. Estcourt's expense, was offered by him for the use of the Gentleman's Magazine, and transferred, with his consent, by John Henry Parker, Esq. F.S.A., to the Society.

[b] "*In medio navis Ecclesiæ.* Redeundo juxta columpnam in plano jacet domina Alicia Hungerforthe, Quæ obijt 20 die mensis Februarij anno Domini 1523. *(In a side note, written by a later, but old, hand,)* Suspendit apud Tyborne." (Register of the Grey Friars of London, MS. Cotton. Vitellius, F. XII. p. 294 b.)

[c] The only other place in which any mention of Lady Hungerford's execution has been found, is a local chronicle of Ludlow in Shropshire, which contains the following entry: "1522. The Lady Hungerford hanged." (Wright's History of Ludlow, 1852, p. 490.) Whether this is due to any connection of the unhappy woman with that part of England remains to be ascertained: but the Corbets (see the Inventory, p. 364,) were numerous in Shropshire.

"And this yere in feverelle the xxti day was the lady Alys Hungrford was lede from the Tower unto Holborne, and there put into a carte at the churchyard with one of her servanttes, and so caryed unto Tyborne, and there both hongyd, and she burryed at the Grayfreeres in the nether end of the myddes of the church on the North syde."—(Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 31.)

Besides Stowe, the only author whom I could find offering any information in illustration of this passage was Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who printed, in 1823, a small octavo volume entitled "Hungerfordiana." The tragic event was there connected with that branch of the Hungerfords which resided at Cadenham, in Wiltshire; but, as Sir Richard Hoare's conjecture in that respect did not appear to be satisfactory, I appealed to the Rev. John Edward Jackson, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Leigh Delamere, and the zealous Secretary of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, by whom I knew that large collections relative to the Hungerfords had been formed.

Mr. Jackson was able to say decisively that Sir R. C. Hoare was wrong. There were no knights in the Cadenham branch of the Hungerfords before a Sir George, who died in the year 1712; and the only knights of the family living at the date of the execution in 1523 were Sir Walter Hungerford of Farley Castle and Heytesbury, and Sir John Hungerford and Sir Anthony his son, both of Down Ampney, whose wives had other names and are otherwise accounted for.

No other Alice Lady Hungerford, identifiable with the culprit, could be discovered but the second of the three wives of Sir Walter, who was summoned to parliament as Lord Hungerford of Heytesbury in 1536; and, considering that the extreme cruelty of that person to all his wives is recorded in a letter written by the third and last of them,[a] and that his career was at last terminated with the utmost disgrace in 1540,[b] when he was beheaded (suffering at

[a] Printed in the collection of the Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, by Miss Wood (now Mrs. Green), 1846, vol. ii. p. 271.

[b] "Cromwelle for tresone and lorde Hungerforthe for bockery." (Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 44.) "The eight and twentith of Julie the lord Cromwell was beheaded, and likewise with him the lord Hungerford of Heitesburie, who at the houre of his death seemed unquiet, as manie judged him rather in a frensie than otherwise: he suffered for buggerie." (Holinshed's Chronicle.) In contradiction to this hateful charge, however, we find that in the survey of his lands he is described as "Walter Hungerford knyght, late lord Hungerford, of *hyghe treason* attaynted." (Hoare's Modern Wiltshire, Hundred of Heytesbury, p. 104.) It is also stated that part of his offence was maintaining a chaplain named William Bird, who had called the King a heretic, and that he had procured certain persons, by conjuration, to know how long the King should live. (Dugdale's Baronage, ii. p. 212.)

the same time as the fallen minister, Thomas Crumwell, Earl of Essex), it was deemed not improbable that the unfortunate lady might have been condemned for some desperate attempt upon the life of so bad a husband which had not actually effected its object, or even that her life and character had been sacrificed to a false and murderous accusation.

In this state the mystery has remained until the discovery of the present inventory; when, although the particulars of the tragedy remain still undeveloped, we find that the culprit must have been a different person from the lady already noticed; and the murdered man, if her husband, of course not the lord Walter.

It is ascertained by the document before us that the Lady Hungerford who was hung at Tybourn on the 23d of February, 1523, was really a widow, and that she was certainly attainted of felony and murder; moreover, that her name was Agnes, not Alice, as was stated in the Grey Friars Chronicle. This inventory further shows, by the mention it contains of Heytesbury, Farley Castle, and other places, as well as by the great amount of personal property described, that the parties were no other than the heads of the Hungerford family. The initials E and A placed upon some of the articles point to the names of Edward and Agnes. In short, it is made evident that the lady was the widow of Sir Edward Hungerford, the father of Walter Lord Hungerford already mentioned; and we are led to infer that it was Sir Edward himself who had been poisoned or otherwise murdered by her agency.

It is a remarkable feature of the inventory, that many items of it are described in the first person, and consequently from the lady's own dictation; and towards the end is a list of "The rayment of my husbond's, which is in the keping of my son in lawe." By this expression I understand step-son, and that the person so designated was Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir Edward's son and heir. From this conclusion it follows that the lady was not Sir Walter's mother, who appears in the pedigree as Jane daughter of John lord Zouche of Haryngworth, but a second wife, whose name has not been recorded by the genealogists of the family.

To this circumstance must be attributed much of the difficulty that has hitherto enveloped this investigation. The lady's origin and maiden name are still unknown: but Mr. Jackson has favoured me with some particulars which clearly identify her as the widow of Sir Edward Hungerford. His observations are as follow:

"So long as the Christian name of the Lady Hungerford executed at Tybourn in 1523 was understood to have been *Alice*, it was impossible to do anything more than vaguely conjecture whose wife she might have been. The present inventory, under the light of other documents, appears to leave no longer room for any reasonable doubt. It describes her as '*Agnes* Lady Hungerford, *wydowe*.' It does not, indeed, mention the husband by name: nor do the pedigrees of the family give us at this period any lady bearing the Christian name of Agnes. But that she was the second wife of Sir Edward Hungerford, of Heytesbury, may now be safely declared upon the evidence following.

"Of this Sir Edward very little is known. But it is quite certain that he was twice married, and that his first wife was a Zouche. The pedigrees uniformly call her Jane;[a] and the arms of Hungerford impaling Zouche were found by myself some years ago on stained glass, in a cottage near Farley Castle, and were transferred to the church of that parish. By this first wife Sir Edward had one only son, Walter, afterwards created Lord Hungerford of Heytesbury. The date of the first wife's death is not known. The name of the second wife is found in Sir Edward's last will. He resided chiefly at Heytesbury; and, from the circumstance of the eleven witnesses' names all belonging to that immediate neighbourhood, it is most likely that he died there. The will is short, and is dated 14th December, A.D. 1521; 13 Hen. VIII. He describes himself as 'of hole and perfite mynde and of good memory, being sike in body;' and desires to be buried 'in my parish church of Heightesbury.'[b] After bequeathing small legacies to various churches and friends, it concludes thus: 'The residue of all my goodes, detts, catalls, juells, plate, harnesse, and all other moveable whatsoever they be, I freely geve and bequeth to *Agnes Hungerforde my wife:* And I make, ordeyn, and constitute of this my present last wille and testament the said Agnes my wife my sole executrice.'

"Sir Edward must have died very soon afterwards, as the will was proved in London 'on the oath of Robert Colett, Clerk, proctor for the Lady Agnes, relict and executrix,' on the 29th January, 1521-2.

"After an interval of twelve months comes the fact supplied by the heading of the present 'Inventory:' that '*Agnes* Lady Hungerford, *wydowe*, was atteynted

[a] She is the Jane Zouche mentioned in her grandmother's (Lady Dynham) will, 1496; Testamenta Vetusta, p. 432.

[b] There is no visible memorial to him in Heytesbury church; whether there is any accessible vault that might contain a coffin-plate I do not know.

of felony and murder in Hillary Term xiiij Henry 8:' *i.e.* between January 11 and January 31, A.D. 1523. And on the 20th February following (as the Grey Friars Register and Chronicle state), Lady Hungerford, whom those documents call *Alice*, was executed at Tybourn. That the name of Alice in that Register and Chronicle is a mistake for Agnes, there can now scarcely be a doubt. But, should any remain, it seems to be quite dispelled by the next and last link in the evidence following in due order of time. Five months after the execution at Tybourn, viz. 'on 15th July, 1523, Walter Hungerford, Esquire, son and heir of Edward Hungerford, Knight, obtained the royal license to enter upon all the lands and tenements of which the said Sir Edward was seised in fee, or which *Agnes*, late wife of Sir Edward, held for term of her life.' (Addit. MSS. 6364, fol. 39.)

"The inventory agrees with the will in another point. By the will, all the goods, debts, chattels, jewels, plate, harness (*i.e.* armour), and all other moveables whatsoever, were 'freely given' to Agnes the wife. These are precisely the articles specified in the inventory; and that they were the absolute property of Agnes the widow is clear, from their being forfeited to the Crown, which would not have been the case had they been hers only for her life.

"But though this inventory assists materially in clearing up three points in this transaction, viz. 1. The lady's christian name; 2. Whose wife she had been; and 3. That her crime was 'felony and murder;' the rest of the story remains as much as ever wrapped in mystery. It is not yet certain who was the person murdered, and of the motives, place, time, and all other particulars, we are wholly ignorant. John Stowe, the chronicler, who repeats what he found in the Grey Friars Chronicle, certainly adds to that account the words, 'for murdering *her husband*.' But as Stowe was not born until two years after Lady Hungerford's execution, and did not compile his own chronicle until forty years after it, and as we do not know whether he was speaking only from hearsay or on authority, the fact that it *was* the husband still remains to be proved.

"Excepting on the supposition that the Lady Agnes was a perfect monster among women, it is almost inconceivable that she should have murdered a husband who, only a few weeks, or days, before his death, in the presence of eleven gentlemen and clergymen known to them both, signed a document by which he made to her (besides the jointure from lands, above alluded to,) a free and absolute gift of all his personal property, including the accumulated valuables of an ancient family: and this, to the entire exclusion of his only son and heir! When the character of that son and heir, notoriously cruel to his own wives, and subse-

quently sent to the scaffold for an ignominious offence, is considered; and when it is further recollected that he was not the son, but only step-son, of this lady, certain suspicions arise which more than ever excite one's curiosity to raise still higher the curtain that hides this tragedy. We have also yet to learn of what family this lady was; for so far we have only just succeeded in obtaining accurately her christian name. It is to be hoped that the particulars of the trial may hereafter come to light among the Public Records."

The Inventory, as already remarked, is one describing an extraordinary accumulation of valuable property, and is therefore proportionately curious in illustration of the manners and habits of the times, and useful towards the elucidation of other documents of the like character.

It commences with a list of "Plate and Jewels." Much of the former was adorned with the Hungerford arms, and with the knot of three sickles interlaced, which was used as the family badge or cognisance.[a] A spoon was inscribed with the motto "*Myn assuryd truth:* " which same motto, under the form *Myne trouth assured*, occurs also on the beautiful seal of Margaret Lady of Hungerford and of Botreaux (ob. 1476), engraved in Hoare's Hundred of Heytesbury, plate viii.[b]

The vestments and ornaments of the Chapel are next described; and then the furniture of the Hall, Parlour, an adjoining Chamber, the Nursery, the Queen's Chamber, the Middle Chamber, the Guest Chamber, the Chapel Chamber, the

[a] The ancient badge of the Hungerfords was a single sickle or, handled gules. (Collectanea Topogr. et Geneal. iii. 71.) The sepulchral brass in Salisbury Cathedral of Walter Lord Hungerford (ob. 1449) and his wife, and another supposed to be that of his grandson Robert Hungerford (ob. 1463), were both semé of sickles: see their despoiled slabs or matrices engraved in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, vol. ii. plate lvii. The Hungerford knot was formed by entwining three sickles in a circle. Three sickles and as many garbs, elegantly disposed within the garter, formed one of the principal bosses of the cloisters to St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. The standard of Sir John Hungerford of Down Ampney (temp. Hen. VIII.) was as follows: Red and Green, in the first compartment, out of a coronet or, a garb of the same (charged with a mullet), between two sickles erect argent, handled gules, banded or; and in the same compartment three similar sickles, each charged on the blade with a mullet; in the second compartment, three sickles interlaced, around a mullet; in the third, three like knots of sickles between two single sickles charged as before. (MS. Coll. Arm. I. 2, and Excerpta Historica, 8vo. 1831, p. 317.) The Hungerford crest was a garb between two sickles, all within a coronet; the garb is supposed to have come from the family of Peverel, one of whose coheirs married Walter Lord Hungerford, K.G. who died in 1449. By that alliance the silver sickles met the golden wheatsheaf.

[b] Also inserted in Nicolas's Testamenta Vetusta.

Lily Chamber, the Knighton Chamber, the Wardrobe Chamber, the Gallery, the chamber within the Gallery, the Women's Chamber, the Cellar, the Buttery, the Kitchen, the Storehouse, and the Brewhouse. After which follows a list of the agricultural stock "belonging to the Grange Place," and the particulars of some parcels of arms and armour "left in the Castle of Farley."

A long and curious catalogue of the lady's own dress and personal ornaments is next given; with a list of some obligations or bonds for money, some items of household stuff remaining at her husband's house at Charing Cross (where the Hungerford name still lingers in the market and bridge), and, lastly, the raiment of her husband, which was in the keeping of her son-in-law, as before alluded to.

The particular dwelling-house at which the principal part of the goods and furniture here described lay, is not positively mentioned by name; but, as from the expression above quoted regarding the arms and armour it would seem *not* to have been Farley Castle, there is every probability that the document chiefly relates to the manor-house of Heytesbury, where Sir Edward Hungerford died. This manor was thus described in a survey made upon the attainder of Walter Lord Hungerford in 31 Hen. VIII.:—

"The sayde lordship standeth very pleasauntly, in a very swete ayer, and there ys begon to be buylded a fayre place, whiche, yf it had bene fynyshed, had bene able to have receyved the Kynges highnes; a fayre hall, with a goodly new wyndow made in the same; a new parlor, large and fayre; iiij fayre chambers, wherof one is gylted, very pleasant; a goodlie gallerie, well made, very long; new kitchen; new larder, and all other howses of office belonging unto the same; moted round aboute; whereunto dothe adjoyne a goodly fayre orchard, with very pleasaunte walkes in the same."[a]

This account seems to describe a house that had been erected by Walter Lord Hungerford within the space of the last few years. However, it is certain that his father Sir Edward had also resided at Heytesbury, and the present document shows that in his time the Manor Place was already one of "good receipt" and ample furniture.

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

[a] Sir R. C. Hoare's Modern Wiltshire, Hundred of Heytesbury, p. 105.

Inventory of the Goodes belongyng to the Kynges Grace by the forfettoure of the Lady Hungerford, atteynted of murder in Hillary Terme, Anno xiiij. Regis Henrici viij^{i}.

Theis parcelles of plate and goodes belongyng unto Dame Agnes Hungerforde, wydoe, late atteynted of felony and murder.

Plate and Juels.

In primis, a basen and an ewer of sylver parcell gylte, with Hungerford armes in the bothom.

Item, a standyng cuppe of sylver with a cover, dobble gylte, with Hungerford armes in the bothom.

Item, too wrethed[a] salts with one cover, dobble gylte.

Item, too grett bolles of sylver, dobble gylte, inbossed.

Item, too flate boolles of sylver, parcell gylte, with knottes of sykelles[b] in the bothom.

Item, too wrethed pottes of sylver, parcell gylte, of galons a pece, with Hungerford armes in the bothom.

Item, too plane pottes of sylver, of galons a pece.

Item, a basen and an ewer of sylver, parcell gylte, with knottes of sykylles in the bothome.

Item, a payre of salts, with a cover, dobble gylte, with rosys.

Item, iij flate saltes, one of them parcell gylte, inbossed.

Item, a bolle of sylver of a quarte, dobble gylte, with a cover.

Item, ij bolles of sylver, of quartes a pece, doble gylte, inbossed.

Item, iiij^{er} flate bolles of sylver, with a cover, parcell gylte, with knottes of sykkyles in the bothom.

Item, ij standyng cuppes of sylver with ther covers, doble gylte, inbossed.

Item, a payre of flagons of sylver, parcell gylte, with knottes of sykyls in the syde, of iij quartes and a pynte a pece.

Item, a shavyng basyn of sylver, with an ewer.

Item, ij goblettes of sylver, parcell gylte.

Item, a goblet of sylver with a cover, doble gylte, with a childe of sylver on the hed of the cover.

Item, a ewer of sylver, parcell gylte, inbossed.

Item, a leyer[c] of sylver, doble gylte, with a straibere[d] on the topp.

[a] *Wrethed.* Ornamented with a twisted or wreath pattern. In the Inventory of the Regalia and Gold Plate of Henry VIII. (Kal. and Inv. of the Exchequer, ii.) we find several entries containing this term, for instance (p. 289), "A litelle salte of golde chasid, wrethyn w^{t} litelle perles."

[b] *Knottes of sykelles.* Three sickles interlaced, the Hungerford knot, as already described in the note, p. 358. A good example of them may be seen in paving-tiles in Canninge's House, Bristol: see Shaw's Specimens of Tile Pavements, pl. xlii. &c.

[c] *Leyer.* A vessel, the exact form of which is not known. It appears to have been intended to hold water, to have had a cover, and to have been frequently made of rich materials. See Inventory of Regalia and Gold Plate of Henry VIII. sec. xi., "Layers, ewars, and basones of golde, &c." (Kal. and Inv. of Exchequer, ii. p. 294.) See also Inventory of the Goods of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, in the 18th Henry VIII. (Camden Society,) p. 10. In the Inventory of Jewels of James III. of Scotland (1488) we find "a lewar of sylver overgilt, with a cover."

[d] *Straibere.* A strawbery.

Item, a lytell botell of sylver, with a cheyn, doble gylte.
Item, iij dossen of sylver sponys, with knottes of sykyls on the hed.
Item, a dossen of sylver spounys with knoppes, gylte.
Item, halfe a dossen of sylver spounys, with mayden heedes on the end, gylte.
Item, a dossen of sponys with akornes on the end.
Item, a gret spone of sylver, doble gylte, with the Hungerford armes on the end.
Item, v spones, doble gylte.
Item, one spone of sylver, wryten on the ende, "myne assurȳd truth."
Item, one spoyne of sylver, parcell gylte, with A graved in the ende.
Item, too forkes with ther spones, doble gylte, to eete grene gynger with all.[a]
Item, one forke, with hys spone, parcell gylte, to eete grene gynger with all.
Item, a rounde salte of sylver, parcell gylte, with a knote of sykylles in the syde.
Item, a potte of sylver of a quarte, with a knote of sykylles on the cover.
Item, a forke of sylver, doble gylte, graved with lybertes[b] on the end.
Item, halfe a dossen of spones with *(blank)* . .
Item, thre chales[c] of sylver, doble gylte.
Item, vj cruettes of sylver, parcell gylte.
Item, thre candylstykes of silver with the pykes, with ther sokettes[d] to set vj candyls in.
Item, a pax of sylver, with a crusyfyxe with Mary and John in the same paxe, doble gylte.
Item, a sakryng bell of sylver.
Item, a halywater stokke of sylver, with a knott of sykkyls in the syde, with a halywater styke of sylver.[e]

Thes be the gere belong to the Chaple. [*i.e.* Furniture of the Chapel.]

Item, ij masse bookes of parchement, with claspys of sylver gylte.
Item, a grette Frenche booke of parchement, with ij claspis of sylver.

[a] *To eete grene gynger withall.* Such is the usual destination of the forks mentioned in English inventories. Thus, in an inventory of plate belonging to Edward III., Richard II. &c., taken in the first year of Hen. IV. we find the following entries:—"Item, j. fourche de berille garniz d'or pur vert gyngivre garnise d'un baleys, j. saphir, ij. petites perles pris xxs. Item, ij. furches pur zinziber vert d'argent ennorrez. Item, j. petit fourche pur grenginger d'argent. Item, j. large fourche d'argent endorez pur ginger vert poisant j. unc." (Kal. and Inv. Exchequer, vol. iii. pp. 339, 343, 351, 353.) In an inventory of the plate of the Duchess of Kent, 1 May, 1415, we find—"j. forke pur vert zz." (Kal. and Inv. Exch. vol. iii. p. 367.) The forks in the inventory under consideration are mentioned as spoons as well; they may have either had prongs at one end and a bowl at the other, or have been made like the folding spoons of a more recent period, where a bowl fits over the prongs of the fork.

[b] *Lybertes.* Leopards.

[c] *Chales.* Chalices.

[d] *Sokettes.* These candlesticks were evidently prickets, like most of those of the middle ages, and over them was fitted a double branch terminating in sockets.

[e] *Halywater styke of sylver.* Sprinkler.

Item, a fronte to the auter of rede damaske with a crucyfyx imbrodered, with Mary and John.

Item, a pere of vestiments and a coope of rede damaske.

Item, a fronte of white damaske, with a pere of vestiments of white damaske, with a blewe coppe.

Item, a fronte for the auter of red and grene saten of burges,[a] inbrodered with the garter.[b]

Item, a pere of vestments to the same.

Item, a fronte of cremesen velvet, velvet apon velvet *(sic)* rased with golde.

Item, a corprax of velvet a pon velvet.

Item, a corprax of cremesyn velvet and gren, inbrodered in letters of golde with E and A.

Item, ij. fronts of lynyn cloth with blake letters.

Item, ij pare of vestments to the same.

Item, a canabe[c] of russet velvet frynged with red and grene sylke, with all sylke thynke (things) belonging to the sepulker.[d]

Item, viij auter clothes.

Item, iiij^{er} towels to the same.

Theis be the parcelles belongying to the Halle.

In primis, thre peses of red and grene say panyd to hange the hall with all.

Item, iiij^{er} tabulles with iiij^{er} fourmes longyng to them.

Item, a cubbe borde.

In the Parlour.

Item, in the parlure a spruys table[e] with ij jonyd fourmmes.

Item, a dosen of jonyd stoylles.

Item, a joned cube borde[f] in the same parlur.

Item, in chamber *(sic)* a trussyng bede the *(blank)*

[a] *Burges.* Bruges.

[b] *Garter.* Walter Lord Hungerford, who died in 1449, was a Knight of the Garter. If this frontal had been made in his time, it was nearly a century old when this inventory was taken.

[c] *Canabe.* Canopy.

[d] *Sepulker.* The Easter Sepulchre.

[e] *A spruys table.* A table of spruce (or Prussian) fir, or deal. See Unton Inventories, p. 39.

[f] *A joned cube borde.* A joined cup-board. It must be remembered that cupboards were not, as they are now, closets set even into the walls, but literally a board or table on which plate was set out, more like the modern sideboard. A considerable list of cupboard cloths may be found in the Inventory of the Wardrobe Stuff of Katharine of Arragon (Camden Society), p. 28. See also Notes by Sir Harris Nicolas to Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. p. 313; Inventory of the Goods of the Countess of Leicester, 1634-5, edited by J. O. Halliwell, p. 53; and Unton Inventories, p. 41.

Item, a spurver[a] to the same bed, red and grene sarcenet, new, with curteyns of the same to the same bedd.

Item, an olde sperver of red and grene sarcenet, with curteyns to the same.

Item, a joned cubborde in the same chamber.

[*The Nursery.*]

Item, in the nursare [a hanging] of red and grene say.

Item, a sparver to the same in the nursare, with curteyns to the same.

Item, a cubbord in the same chamber.

[*The Queen's Chamber.*]

Item, in the quenys chamber a hangyng of red say with a hundurt peyre of pyn apples inbrodered with golde to put on the same hangyng.

Item, a sperver of blake velvet with the gronde golde, and the curteyns to the same of red and tawney sarcenet.

Item, a joned cupborde in the same chamber.

[*The Middle Chamber.*]

Item, in the midle chamber a hangyng of new arres.

Item, viij peces and the counterpeyn to the same in the same chamber.

Item, a sparver payned with cremesyn tynsyn,[b] and blake velvet, with curteyns of red and grene sarcenet to the same.

Item, for vj pesys of arres, with the sperver of the same.

Item, a cownterpeyn to the same, and a spruse borde in the same.

Item, a joned cubborde.

The Grete Chamber.

Item, in the gret chamber a hangying of arres.

Item, vj peces with rosys, and the counterpayn to the same.

Item, a syller and tester of arres to the same chamber.

Item, a cheste in the same chamber, and within that chest ij° spervers of sarcenet, rede and grene, and curteyns to the same.

Item ij copbordes in the same chamber, one joyned and the other pleyne.

[a] *Spurver.* The canopy of a bed. "Some have curteynes, some *sparvers*, about the bedde, to kepe awey gnattes: conopeum lecto circumspergunt." (Horman's Vulgaria.) "*Padiglione*, a pavilion, or the *sparviour* of a bedde." (W. Thomas, Italian Dictionary, 1548.) See also Notes by Sir Harris Nicolas to Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, p. 256; Inventory of Plate, &c. in Kenilworth Castle, 1588, edited by J. O. Halliwell, p. 129; and Unton Inventories, p. 46.

[b] *Tynsyn.* A kind of satin.

In the Chapelle Chamber.

Item, in the chappelle chaumber a hangyng of red say inbrodered with braunches of iiij^{er} peces and a sparver of rede and grene sarcenet, and curteyns of the same.

Item, a counterpaynt of verder and a pleyn cubborde.

Lilly Chamber.

Item, in the lylly chamber a hangyng of rede say, of iiij^{er} peces.

Item, a sperver of the same.

Item, a playne cubborde in the same chamber.

Knyghton Chamber.

Item, in the knyghton chamber a hangyng of redde say, v. peces.

Item, syler[a] and tester of whyte set apon with cornys choyghes[b] and the conterpoynte of the same and a quylte of whyte to the same bede, and a joyned cubberd to the same chamber, and a carpett.

Wardrope Chamber.

Item, in the wardrope chamber in a presse vij^{en} kuowshynes of velvet of dyvers colers inbrodered with golde with C and A, and sum of them an elle lenghe and sume of a yerde of lenghe.

Item, iiij^{er} quyshynges of russet damaske, inbrodered with golde with E. C. A.

Item, one quyshyn of blake velvett and white payned, inbrodered with A and E.

Item, one quyshyn of blake sarcenet, set apon with dropis of white velvet.

Item, iiij^{er} quyshyns of tawney sarcenet inbrodered with branchis.

Item, iiij^{er} quyshyns of fyne arres with rosys.

Item, halfe a dosen quyshyns of fyne arres pleyn.

Item, a dosen of quyshyns of verder.

Item, vj gret quyshyns of arres.

Item, vj fyne carpettes for cobburds.

Item, iij^{e} gret kerpettes for tables, ij of them of fyne arres and the other of verder.[c]

Item, vij bastard[d] carpettes for cubbords and tables.

Item, a quylte of rede and yelo sylke.

Item, ij cownterpoyntes of sylke arres.

Item, ij^{o} gret cownterpoyntes of verder.

Item, iiij^{er} gret cownterpoyntes of tapstre werke.

Item, lyeng in the wardrope chamber, a hangyng for the chaple of red and grene say; Item, iiij^{er}

[a] *Syler.* The ceiler or roof of the bed; the tester was the back part, behind the head.

[b] *Cornys choyghes.* Cornish choughs, corbies, or *corbeaux*: the cognisance of the Corbet family.

[c] *Verder.* A kind of tapestry representing foliage.

[d] *Bastard.* A mixed cloth.

peces of sperver red and gren say, and xxiii fatherbeddes in the place, vi of them beddes of downe, the whiche one of them vj persons may lye in.

Item, ther ar ij° fetherbeddes at the Blakefrers at Salysbury.

Item, vij palett beddes in the place of Hachebery, every bedde and palet his bolster and cownterpeyn.

Item, x pare of blankettes.

Item, too redd mantelles.

The Galere.

Item, in the galere a gret chest, bonde with iron and coverd with lether, with ij° lokkes, and within that chest xxxiiij. pare of sheyttes of fyne Normandy canvas; x pare of them of thre bredes, xxx elles, in a pare; and all the residue of ij° breydes et di.

Item, in the same galare standyth iiij^{er} chests with old wrytyng, and a spruse table and a bastard carpet on the same.

Item, iij^{e} fourmnes and iiij^{er} joyned stoles.

Item, a cubborde with a carpet on hym.

And in the same galare hangyth a pece of red and grene say, and in the same galare in a wyndoe standys a grett glasse, and under the glasse lyes a carpet.

A Chamber within the Galare.

Item, in the same chamber is a trussyng bedd; the sperver of the same bedd is of whyte and blake damaske payned, inbrodered in golde with A and D, and the curteyns of the same.

Item, in the same chamber standith a chest covered with lether with iij^{e} lokkes, and within that chest xxv pare of sheyttes of Normande canvas, x pare of them new, never wette, of ij breddes, x elles in a pare, and the residue of ij breydes et di.

Item, in the same chest ix scoore eeles of fyne Normandy canvas.

Item, in the same chest an image of ivere, the gymalles of hit of sylver.

Item, by the bed syde stondys a coffer full of broken sylke, and in the same coffer is a pare of fyne shets, of ij bredys and a halfe.

And also in the same coffer is a tabylcloth of dyapure, of v eelles of lenghe and ij° eelles of brede.

And also the hangyng of the same chamber is of redde say.

Also a pleyn cubborde in the same chamber with a carpett.

Item, a glasse standyng in the wyndoe, with a knotte of sykelles in the cover; within the same chamber a closett hanged with grene say, ther on standyng a prase,[a] and within the prasse lyeng a pece of Normandy canvas of xlj eells, and in the same prasse ij peces of past,[b] inbrodurt with letters of golde with C and A, and one pece of paste inbrodered with knottes of sykylles, and in the same prasse a newe horse harnes of blake velvett, with the bytte and the bosse3 gylte.

[a] *Prase.* Press, or smaller closet.

[b] *Past.* A paste or passement of gold lace, &c. made for ladies' head-dresses; also called occasionally a bride paste. See Sussex Archæological Collections, viii. p. 137. See also note below (p. 369) on the word *ægge*.

Item, a nother horse harnes of blake velvet that is olde.

And also an other horse harnes of velvet frynged with blake sylke and golde.

Item, a syde sadle covered with blake velvet, with a pece of blake lynyng in the same prasse.

Item, a pare of sturroppes parcell gylte and a pare of sporres parcell gylte.

Item, in the forseyd closet a sugre stue, and in the same stue a hundredth bagges of white sooppe.

Item, in the same clossett standyth an other prasse full of glasses with waters in them.

Item, in the same closet hangys ij crosbowes with their raks.

Item, in the same closet standyth a coffer with spicez.

And in the prasse a new tyke of a beedd.

The Wemens Chamber.

Item, in the same chamber is a hangyng of rede say and a sparver to the same.

Item, in that chamber is standyng a gret chest, and in that chest is xxxiiij pyloos of downe, of eelles and yerdes of lenghe.

Item, in that chest ij° spervers of white clothe and curteyns to the same.

Item, in the same chest is xij payre of fustyans of iij breids and ij° breids and a halfe.

Item, in the same chest is a payre of bryggyn irons[a] with knottes of sykkylle gylte.

Item, in the same chest ij° horse harnes of cremesyn velvett.

Item, in the same chest is x payre of palett sheyttes.

Item, in the same chamber stondith iij coffers with sheetes and nappere, and in one of them is xj payre of palet sheyts.

Item, in an other is ij dyaper clothys of damaske warke for tables.

Item, in the same coffer is iij[e] dyapure towelles of damaske warke.

Item, in the same is halfe a dossen napkyns of dyapure werke, of an elle of lenghe.

Item, in the same coffer is a paire of fyne sheyttes of ij° breds et di.

Item, in the same coffer is a dossen of napkyns of Normandy canvas.

Item, in the same coffer is a dossen and a halfe dyapur napkyns.

Item, in the same coffer is x bordclothys for the halle of canvas, of iiij eells of lenghe.

Item, in the same coffer is ij dossen and a halfe of lokeram[b] napkyns.

Item, in the thyrde chest is xv cubberde clothes of Normandy canvas, of an elle et di. lenghe.

Item, in the same coffer is v new bordeclothes for the halle, of canvas.

Item, in the same coffer is vj payre of shettes of ij° bredes and a halfe.

Item, xij payre of shettes that were left abrode in dyvers chamburs.

Item, v payre of them were ij breides et di. and the other vij payre were palett shettes.

Item, in a chest underneyth my weryng geyre, is viij borde clothes of dyapur, of v ells of lenghe.

Item, in the same chest is x dyapure towelles and vj fyne cupberd clothes.

Item, ix dossen of fyne dyapur napkyns.

[a] *Bryggyn irons.* Possibly another form of the word brigandines?

[b] *Lokeram.* A kind of linen, so named from the place of its manufacture, Lokeren in East Flanders.

Item, a dossen of fyne pleyn napkyns of an elle of lenghe.

Item, in the same chest is viij fyne tabulle clothis pleyn, of ij breides, sume of them of v elles of lenghe and others of iij of lenghe.

Item, in a coffer that is covered with lether and in hym is xx pare of fyne shettes of fyne Holan and raynes, and vj payre of them is iiij breides and all the rest iij bredes.

Item, in the same coffer is x fyne cubbord cloths of dyapure.

Item, in the same coffer is a pece of dyapur of xij eells.

Item, in the same coffer is Hungerford petagre.

Item, in a pleyne chest ther is xxj payre of fyne shetts of Hollande of ij° bredds et di.

Item, in the same chest is a grett whyte boxe with the sykkylle on hym; and in hym is all the writyngs of my joynter and husbondes testament, and his father's, with many other writyngs in the same boxe. In the foreseid chest ther be xxx[ti] pare of fyne pyllos beeres.

Item, iiij fyne coverpeyns, ij of them of fyne dyaper, and other.

The Seller.

Item, left in the sellar halfe a tonne of gaskyn wyne and xii torches of clene waxe wroght with golde.

The Buttre.

Item, laft in the buttre vj tabull clothes, ij° of them of ij breides.

Item, in the same buttre a dossen and a halfe of lokkeram napkyns.

Item, a dossen et di. belle candylstykes.

Item, a sheth of carvying knyffes with every[b] haftys.

Item, iiij buttre towelles and cubbord clothes.

Item, a dossen et di. lether poots.

Theis be the parcells left in the kechyn.

Item, in the kechyn v garnyshe pewder vesselle.

Item, vj brochis rounde and square.

Item, iiij rakkes. Item, dryppyng pannes.

The Stoore house.

Item, in the stoore house xxj potts, gret and smalle.

Item, iiij[er] chaffers.

Item, xx pannes and kettelles, vj of them of ij bushels a pece.

Item, ij° fryyng panns. Item, ij gyrde irons.

Item, iiij[er] dressyng knyves.

Item, iiij bolles for the larder.

[a] *Pyllos beeres.* Pillow cases.

[b] *Every.* Ivory.

Item, a straynyng basen of laten.
Item, vj other pleyn basens.
Item, a pype of bay salte laft in the larder.
Item, a gret brasen morter and a lytell brasen morter, with ther pestelles.

Theis ben the parcelles left in the bruhowse.

Item, in the bruhowse a furnes. Item, iiij gret fattes.
Item, vii grett kelders[a] of a hundreth galons.
Item, xxx^ti beer barelles. Item, iiij boolles.
Item, iiij bokettes. Item, xj sakes.
Item, ij° wyndoyng shettes, one of sake clothe and the other of canvas.
Item, ij° heyrys[b] for the kylne.

All maner of greyn.

Item, of all maner of greyn that wer sawen belongyng to the place extendeth to CC and xl acres and more, and of that wer vj scoore of whete, and ther was left iiij^xx acres of medoe grounde.

Theis be the parcelles belongyng to the Grange place.

Item, x gret cart horses, x smale carte horse3.
Item, ij° plowe oxen.
Item, a gret grey colte for the sadle.
Item, a bay colte for the sadle.
Item, a bay amlyng geldyng.
Item, iij^e comyng[c] sadells of white boffe lether, the whiche wer all newe.
Item, ij cart iron bondes.
Item, a yaggyn[d] with iiij^er whelis iron bond, with all that belongyth therto.
Item, all maner of geyr belongyng to ploughe, and also CC. of yewes with ther lambes.

Theis be the parcelles left in the Castelle of Farley.

Item, in the same castelle sex score pare of harnes of Alman ryvetts[e] and brygendens,[f] with l. sheffe of arrows.

Item, four score bylles, a pype full of male of apurnes and gorgettes, CC. saletts, and a pavylyan.

[a] *Kelders.* Coolers.

[b] *Heyrys.* Hair-cloths used in malting. See Promptorium Parvulorum, *voce* Hayyr. Its more usual sense was the hair-shirts worn for mortification.

[c] *Comyng.* Query, common?

[d] *A yaggyn.* A wagon.

[e] *Alman ryvetts.* Armour imported from Germany.

[f] *Brygendens.* Brigandine armour was formed of small plates of metal quilted within linen or other tissue. See Archæological Journal, xiv. p. 345; Archæologia, Vol. XXI. p. 271; Hewitt's Ancient Armour, iii. p. 550.

Thes be the parcelles of rayment.

Item, longyng to myne awne body, a gown of cremesyn velvet with Frenche sleeves, lyned with tyncell and borded with the same.

Item, a gowne of russet velvet with French sleves, lyned with tyncell and bordyd with the same.

Item, a gowne of blake velvet with Frenche sleeves, lyned with right cremesyn saten.

Item, a gowne of blake velvet with narrowe sleves, bordet with blake saten.

Item, a gowne of tawney chamlet with a depper purselle [a] of cremesen velvet.

Item, a gowne of tawney chamlet, furred.

Item, a kyrtell of purpell saten.

Item, a kyrtle of blake saten.

Item, a kyrtle of popynjay coler.

Item, a kyrtle of tawney chamlet.

Item, a payre of sleves of cremesen tynsselle.

Item, a payre of sleves of cloth of gold a damaske.

Item, a payre of sleves of grene tynssell.

Item, a payre of sleves of yelo saten.

Item, a quarter of an elle of cloth of golde a damaske.

Item, a quarter of a yerde of grene tyncell.

Item, ij eelles of sarcenett for [of?] cypurs of dyvers colors.

Item, halfe a dossen of rybens, a gret blew ryben.

Item, a corse of golde a damaske, resyd, ij° yerds of lenghe.

Item, a frontlet of golde lynyd with tawney velvet.

Item, a frontlet of golde lyned with cremesen saten.

Item, a frontlet of gold, reysed, lyned with cremesyn saten.

Item, a frontlet of golde lynyd with whyte saten.

Item, a frontlet of grene saten with a cawle of golde and flate golde underneythe.

Item, a frontlet of right cremesen velvet, lyned with cremesen saten.

Item, a garneshed bonet of velvett; a playn of velvet.

Item, an œgge [b] of golde sny3the wyrke for a past set with perle, the weyght ix pounde.

Item, ij egges of golde of damaske for the same past, xiiij. scoore perles of viij[d] every perle.

Item, xxiiij rooppes of smalle perle.

Item, xxxiiij knottes of smale perle with trulufe [c] knottes.

Item, a gret flowre of golde, and in the same is a saffer, an amytys. and a gret perle.

Item, a flowre of golde with a saffeir and iij perles.

[a] *Purselle.* Purfle?

[b] *Œgge.* An edge or edging of goldsmith's work, its weight no doubt being of the value of 9 £ sterling in gold. In an inventory taken on the death of James III. of Scotland (1488) we find among the Queen's jewels "ane ege of gold w[t] foure grete diamantes pointit and xxviij grete perlis about thame." Also "ane uther grete ege w[t] viij rubies and xxxvj perlis grete." (Thomson's Scotch Inventories, p. 10.) In the sumptuary law of 33 Henry VIII. c. 5, is the following passage: "Any Frenche hood or bonnet of velvett with any habiliment, past, or egge of gold, perle, or stone."

[c] *Trulufe.* True-love.

Item, a flowre of fyn rubyis with a trulufe.

Item, iij oryant perls hangyng by *(blank)*

Item, a flowre of golde, fulle of sparkes of dyamondes set abowte with perles, and the Holy Gost in the mydste of yt.

Item, a table of golde with the pyktor of Seynt Christofer in hym.

Item, a harte of golde inhand with a wyd chene, inameled with white and blewe.

Item, a gret broiche of golde with a man and a woman in hym, the valure iiij pounde . . . . . iiij^{li}.

Item, ij broches of golde with the pykter of Seynt Kateren in them, the value of them v marcs . . . . . v marc.

Item, xxxv payre of aglettes of golde, which coste . . . iiij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}.

Item, vj buttons of golde with herts inameled in them.

Item, vj buttons of golde with E and A.

Item, vj buttons of golde of blewe in aneeled.

Item, a cheyne of fyne golde weyng xlj li.

Item, a small cheyne of golde, weyng vij li.

Item, a tabulle of golde, hangyng of hit the Passion of Crist.

Item, xx fyne kerchers of elles a pece.

Item, xx fyne ralys[a] of elles et di. a pece.

Item, x fyne kerchers, one of Holand and the other fyne cameryke.

Item, ij fyne smoks of cameryke wroight with golde.

Item, xij smokes of holand cloth.

Item, x pare of slevys of fyne cameryke, an ele of every sleve.

Item, viij partlettes of Sypers,[b] iij of them garnyshed with golde and the rest with Spanyshe warke.

Item, iij partlettes of whyte, garnyshed and wroght with stole werke.

Item, iiij partlettes, one of cremesyn saten, and one of blake saten, furred with blake lambe, and another of russet velvet.

Item, x yerdes of doble Sypers, egged with blake sylke.

Item, a casket of saweng sylke in hyme and in the same xxiiij quarterons of Venyse golde.

Item, iij pypes of damaske golde, in the same casket.

Item, v s. of boyde money[c] to divers seyntes.

[a] *Ralys.* "Rayle for a woman's necke, *crevechief, en quarttre doubles.*" (Palsgrave.) See Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary, *sub voce.*

[b] *Partlettes of sypers.* The partlet was a gorget for woman; the present instances seem to have been of Cyprus cloth.

[c] *Boyde money.* Bent money. In the will of Sir Edward Howard, Knight, Admiral of England, 1512, (Test. Vetusta, p. 533,) "I bequeath him [Charles Brandon] my rope of bowed nobles that I hang my great whistle by, containing ccc. angels." Money was often bent or bowed when intended to serve as love-tokens, a custom perpetuated to the days of Butler:—

"Like commendation Ninepence bent,
With 'from and to my love' he went."

In the present instance it appears to have been bowed for offerings to saints.

Item, ij ryggs[a] of golde, one of them with an emrolde with iiij sparkes of dyamondes in the medle of it, and the other rounde.

Item, ij hoopes of golde wroight lyke a strawbere.

Item, a gawberdyn[b] of scarlet gardyd with velvet.

Item, an obligacion of dett of dame Anne Sawers, in the countee of Wilteshire, of CC. marcs, due to me at Cristenmes next commyng.

Item, an obligacion of William Bonnames,[c] dwellyng in Wyshford, in the countee of Wyltes, of xx li., due to me the day expyred and paste.

Item, an obligacion of William Jonnes younger, dwellyng in Marleborowe in the same county, of x marc., due to me at Michalmes last past.

Item, Robert Temmes, gentleman, dwellyng in Red Aston,[d] in the same countie, owyng to me xviij li. and more, to be payd at Penticost last paste.

Item, John Stanlake, dwellyng in Warnloft, in the same countie, owyng me for wodsale v li. and more.

Item, Richard Inge,[e] dwellyng in Hachebery, in the same countie, for wode of myne that he solde, that drays to the some of x li. and more money.

Item, lafte in the tenauntes hands at the lordeship of Hachebery of my rent for the halfe yeres rent, so that I receyved vj li.

Item, remayning in my husbond house[f] at Charyng Crosse vij beddes, with all thyng longyng therto.

Item, remanyng in the same house other housholde stuffe.

Item, iiij^{er} potts, iiij^{er} pannys, ij^{o} kettylles, a garnyshe et di. vesselle, with other stuff not in my remembrance.

Thcis parcelles left at Grenwyche Parke.

Item, in Grenwyche Parke with Thomas Trossel.

Item, ij nagges, one of them donne,[g] and other skewed,[h] remaynyng with the same man.

[a] *Ryggs.* Query rings?

[b] *Gawberdyn.* A cloak, from the Spanish *gavardina.*

[c] *William Bonnames.* Of the Bonham family, of Great Wishford, Sir R. C. Hoare gives some particulars in his History of Modern Wiltshire, Hundred of Branch and Dole, p. 49.

[d] *Red Aston.* Rood Ashton, in the parish of Steeple Ashton, in North Wilts, was formerly a small distinct property of itself: and from about A.D. 1440 to about 1598 belonged to the Temys family. Robert, mentioned above, was the elder brother of Joan Temys, the last Abbess of Lacock. Rood Ashton subsequently merged in the larger estates of the Long family, and is now the principal residence of Walter Long, Esq. M.P.

[e] *Richard Inge.* The family of Inge formerly flourished in the neighbourhood of Heytesbury and Stockton.

[f] *My husbond house.* Hungerford House, in the Strand, was converted into a market temp. Charles II. See its history in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1832, part ii. p. 113.

[g] *Donne.* Dun.

[h] *Skewed.* Skew-bald, a variety of pie-bald.

Item, ij syde sadelles, one of them coverd with blake velvet, with the harnes of the same.
Item, the other covered with fustyon in apys, with the harnes of the same.
And also delyvered to the seid Thomas, xxx^{s} and a golde ryng.

Item, remaynyng in the place of Fayrley, a C loode of hay.

The rayment of my husbondes, which is in the kepyng of my son in lawe.

Item, a gowne of blake velvet lynede with sarcenet and the forquarters lyned with tyncelle.
Item, a doblet of yeloe saten, and the forsleves of it of cloth of golde, and the plagarde[a] of the same.
Item, a jakett of blake tyncell, the whiche cost . . . . . xv li.
Item, a cote of cremesen velvet leyde under with cloythe of silver.
Item, a doblet of blake satten, the forsleves and the plagarde of tyncell.
Item, a coote of blake saten garded with iij . . . . [b] of blake velvet furred.
Item, a bonnet of blake velvet and a broyche on hym, cost . . . v marc.

[For the greater part of the notes to this Inventory I am indebted to A. W. Franks, Esq., Director of the Society.—J. G. N.]

[a] *Plagarde.* The stomacher.

[b] Illegible.


feet
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XXV. *On a Historical Tablet of the Reign of* Thothmes III. *recently discovered at Thebes.* *By* Samuel Birch, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read June 14, 1860.

I am enabled by the kindness of Mr. Perry to lay before the Society an impression in paper from a large tablet, dated in the reign of Thothmes III., which has been recently discovered at Thebes. The impression of it was made by Lord John Hay, when on a visit to Thebes, and has only just reached this country. The tablet contains a text of twenty-four lines of hieroglyphs, accompanied by a scene representing Thothmes in adoration to the principal Theban deities. The purport of the text is religious, announcing the benefits conferred by the god Amen Ra on the monarch, but it contains several historical allusions of importance to the history of this reign. As it helps to complete the "Annals of Thothmes III." of which I have already given some account to the Society, I trust the short accompanying notice of the inscription and its contents may prove acceptable.

The tablet is of the usual rounded Egyptian form at the top, called in the hieroglyphs *hai*, or *hutu*. Above is the winged disk, the supposed *Hutu*, or Sun, as the Lord of Edfu, with the ordinary title of "great god, lord of the Heaven." On the right side stands Amen Ra, with his usual type and attributes; and before him is Thothmes, wearing an uræus on his head, and offering two small globular vases, containing, no doubt, water, as the inscription below states that he "gives water." Above the head of the monarch are his titles, "the good god, lord of the earth, lord of diadems, Sun establisher of creation, Thothmes giver of life." Immediately before him is part of another inscription, "Who gives life like the Sun." Behind Thothmes stands the goddess of the West, wearing the emblem of that region on her head, and holding five arrows in her left hand and a bow in her right. This goddess was an especial protectress of Thothmes. She is called "Keft, the Mistress of the West." This scene is divided from the next by a vertical line of hieroglyphs, containing the usual Pharaonic titles, "Giver of life, health, like the Sun," applying to both scenes. The second scene exactly resembles the first; the only difference being that Thothmes "offers incense,"

represented by two vases with fire, instead of water. The name of the god "Amen Ra, king of the gods, lord of the Heaven," remains, and the name of the goddess is encircled by a representation of a square-walled enclosure, as if she were resident in some precinct belonging to this monarch.

The text reads—

(1.) Says Amen Ra, lord of the thrones of the world, Come rejoicing; behold my goodness, my son, my defender, Sun establisher of creation, ever living! I shine as thou wishest, my heart

(2.) dilates at thy good coming to my temple, directing thy arms with life, thy . . . . . rejoice . . . . . to my . . . . . .

(3.) I am set up in my hall, I reward thee, I give to thee victory, and power over all foreign lands. I give thy spirits and thy terrors in all lands, thy terrors over all

(4.) up to the props of the Heaven increasing thy fear in their bellies. I cause the roarings of thy majesty to turn back the Libyans; all the chiefs of the evil lands are entirely in thy grasp.

(5.) I stretch my own arms to tow thee, I subdue the Libyans (*an put*) for tens of thousands and thousands, the north by millions of . . . . . .

(6.) I cause thy insulters to fall under thy sandals; thou hast scared and turned back the cowards; likewise I ordered for thee the earth in its length and breadth, the west and east, under thy seats.

(7.) Thou treadest in all lands elated, no one can resist before thy majesty. I am leading thee and making thee approach to them, thou hast gone round the great river

(8.) of Naharana with power and strength. I have ordered to thee that they listen to thy roarings, going in their recesses. I have deprived their nostrils of the breath of life.

(9.) I have made the victories of thy majesty turn their hearts; my light is on thy head dazzling them, leading captive the wicked shepherds;

(10.) it burns all those who belong to them with its flame, decapitating the heads of the Amu; none of them escape, their children fall into its power.

(11.) I allow thy force to go round all lands; my head shines on thy body; thou hast no weakness at the orbit of heaven; they come bearing tribute on their backs, beseeching

(12.) thy majesty as I have ordered them. I place the weak bound before thee, their hearts and their limbs burn [or roast] led along.

(13.) I have come; I give thee to afflict the chiefs of the Gaha; I place them

under thy feet; the foreign lands turn back. I let them see thy majesty as their lord; thy light gleams above their heads as my image.

(14.) I have come. I grant to thee to afflict those who belong to the Senktt, to lead captive heads of the Amu of the Ruten. I let them see thy majesty equipped in thy decorations, taking thy weapons, fighting in thy chariot.

(15.) I have come. I grant thee to afflict the East; thou treadest upon those who are in the confines of Taneter [the Holy Land]. I let them see thy majesty like a burning star, shedding the heat of its flames, giving its stream.

(16.) I have come. I give thee to afflict the land of the West, the Kefa, the Asi under thy sandals (?). I let them see thy majesty as a young bull, resolute, pointing his horns, irresistible.

(17.) I have come. I give thee to afflict those who are in all the submissive lands of the Maten, dragged under thy terror. I let them see thy person in all fearful wrath, as a stream that cannot be checked.

(18.) I have come. I let thee afflict those who are in the isles of the ocean with thy roarings. I let them see thy majesty as a sacrificer raised on the back of his victim.

(19.) I have come. I let thee afflict the Tahnu, the Rutennu, as thy spirits prevail. I let thy majesty be seen as a vexed lion leaping on their bodies, raging in their valleys.

(20.) I have come. I have let thee afflict the ends of earth, and the confines of ocean are bound in thy grasp. I let them behold thy majesty as a swooping hawk, taking at a glance what it chooses.

(21.) I have come. I let thee afflict those who are before; thou bindest the Herusha, (those in the midst of the desert,) as captives. I let them behold thy majesty as a southern jackal, which has doubled and escaped a great hunter.

(22.) I have come. I let thee afflict the Libyan, the Remen of . . . t are in thy grasp. I let them behold thy majesty like thy two brothers. I have joined their hands to thee in . . . . . .

(23.) thy two sisters, I let them place their hands over thy majesty behind for protection, terrifying the evil. I made them protect thee, my beloved son, as the mighty bull rising from Western Thebes. I have begotten thee as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

(24.) Thothmes, the ever-living, I have done all my will wishes; my hall thou hast set up with eternal constructions, elongated and made broader than ever, where is a great gate . . . . . .

(25.) . . . . . all best. . . Amen Ra, greater giver than any king, doing what I ordered thee, taking thy delight in it, set up on the throne of millions of years, thou passest a life . . . . . .

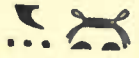
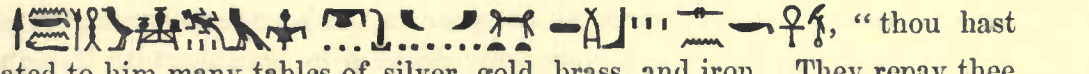
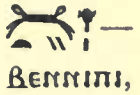
It will be seen from the above translation that the text of the new inscription found at Karnak contains several points of historical interest of a nature similar to those already detailed in the "Annals." The whole is the speech of the god Amen Ra, the Theban Jupiter, who in measured language of a poetic nature, resembling that of the Hebrew prophets, announces to the king the various benefits and conquests he has conferred upon him. The contents of the speech of the god are a sacerdotal bulletin of victory addressed to a victorious monarch on his return from a career of conquest Comparing it with the historical texts in the vicinity of the granite shrine, it appears to have been placed at a late period of the king's reign, probably as late as the fortieth regnal year—certainly later than the erection of the obelisk of the Atmeidan, although close upon that period, as the first fact mentioned on the tablet is the passage of the Euphrates. Undoubtedly this was the extreme point reached by the arms of Egypt, which alone accounts for its constant repetition in the inscriptions of the period. The arms of Aahmes, the founder of the dynasty, had been directed to the expulsion of the Shepherds from Avaris: the regent Hatasu had recovered the ancient mines of the Wady Magarah in Arabia Petræa, but it was reserved for Thothmes III. to transport the arms of Egypt to the Euphrates, and extort a tribute from Nineveh and Babylon. The other people, who are subsequently mentioned, are the Amu,[a] or Asiatics in general, or, at all events, so large a geographical extent of territory, or of races, that they cannot be identified with any particular people or tribe. It will, however, be seen from the 14th line, that they are called the *Amu*, or nation of the Ruten. In the Amu it is now generally agreed to recognise the Gentiles, or Gojim of the Hebrews. The name is already well known as designating the Asiatics in the ethnic representations of the four races in Hades.

In the 13th line the king is reminded of his conquest of the Gaha. At one time I had thought that the Gaha, or Taha, meant the Scythic people of the Dahæ; but, notwithstanding the supposed identification of the people of Gaza in another name, I incline to the notion that the Gaha are really the latter people. The first mention of them occurs in[b] the fifth campaign of the twenty-ninth year

[a] In one text they are mentioned, antithetic to the whole world, as "thou hast cut down the world, thou hast smitten the *Amu*, or nations." Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 348.

[b] See Archæologia, XXXV. p. 116, 140, 162.

of Thothmes III., on which occasion the monarch attacked the land of Tunp and the city of Artut, or Aradus, and in his 35th regnal year the monarch again marched into the land of Gaha, and plundered the fortress of Ar-ana, on his march to Mesopotamia; and in the thirty-eighth, or a later year, the king was still in that district, and various objects, the work of that people, were received as tribute during the same reign. These people supplied works of art and cattle to Egypt, and this shows that they must have been an artistic as well as an agricultural people. Some, indeed, have thought to recognise in the Gahai, or Tahai, the people of Damascus, or Da-Meshek, especially as they continue to be mentioned in the hieroglyphical texts as late as the Ptolemies.[a] At all events, the Gahai, are to be placed in Northern Palestine.[b]

In the 14th line are mentioned the *Se[nke]t*,  , who in all the ethnic lists form one of the largest sub-divisions, and were evidently a great and powerful nation. They are mentioned as early as the twelfth dynasty in the Sallier Papyrus, where Amenemha I. says, "I led the Ua, I took the Matai, I prevailed over Se[nk]ti who go like dogs (*tasem*)."[c] This land has been placed amongst the southern neighbouring states of Egypt in connection with the *An*, or *Annu*, the People of the Plains, and is often preceded by the expression *mena nu*, the Shepherds, or Nomads, of the Senkett.[d] The phonetic name of this region has now been determined: the hieroglyph represents a bracelet,[e] and is used in connection with a metal, supposed to be iron, in two passages; one mentioning "a door of true acacia wood inlaid with iron,"  ;[f] and another saying  , "thou hast consecrated to him many tables of silver, gold, brass, and iron. They repay thee with life."[g] On a tablet of the British Museum[h] a serpent is called  —"iron-faced;" and as the word for iron is *ba*, the root of the Coptic ⲃⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲓ, perhaps the *ba en pe*, "heavenly wood," the probability is that this word was pronounced *ba*. It was not, however, by any means particularly a southern country,

[a] See Archæologia, XXXV. p. 158; Brugsch, Die Geographie der Nachbarlaender Ægyptens, 4to. Leipzig, 1858, ss. 35, 36; Champollion, Notice Descriptive, p. 158.

[b] The idea of the Dahæ, the old name of the Daiæ, Herodot. I. 125, does not appear to me to answer the geographical conditions, and I therefore abandon it.

[c] Select Papyri, pl. xi. xii.

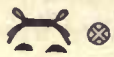
[d] Brugsch, Geogr. ii. 5, taf xiii. 8. taf. xvii. 1–8.

[e] Rosellini, M. d. c. ii. 3; Rect. Sarc. Eg. Room, Brit. Mus. 6,665.

[f] Brugsch, Geogr. iii. taf. xviii. 188; Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 130.

[g] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 111.

[h] Egyptian Gallery, Brit. Mus. 808.

for the Ruten are stated in the 13th line of the present inscription to belong to the race of the  , in which the word is determined by a pool, showing that its root is to be referred to the idea of plains, or marshes, while at a later period the goddess Anka, or Anucis, the Egyptian Hestia, appears as the eponymous goddess of the region  .[a] At a later period in the reign of Rameses III. the monarch is particularly mentioned as leading captive the Se[nk]ti, and it was against them that the campaign was directed, and the Se[nk]ti were made to retreat, driven out of their evil lairs, and not going to Egypt itself. Many of the Egyptian monarchs attacked these people, and Amenophis III. is particularly described as smiting them.[b] At Medinat Haboo, Rameses III. is said in the text to have "slaughtered the *Mena en Se[nk]ti*," while the prisoners dragged before him are the Philistine Gakrru and the Rabu.[c] In the conquests of Seti I. at Karnak, the *Mena nu Set* precede the Khita in the sequence of prisoners; and in his triumphal picture at Karnak the king is represented "smiting the chiefs of the Amu, the shepherds, *mna*, all distant, and numerous lands, the seats, *hem*, of the *Mena nu Set*, Shepherds of the Waste going round the Ocean.[d] Here they are placed antithetic to the Sea, as if the other limit of conquest; all tending to prove their great distance from Egypt.[e] This word appears to be *Sati*, the name of the goddess mentioned by Brugsch as Sati, mistress of Pân, or Phœnicia,[f] of which country Bes was also the god. It will be remembered, that the goddess Anuka, or Anucis, who wears the same head attire as the Pulusata, or Philistines, is called the mistress of Sat, the land in question. From the variants of the word *setu*, the sun's arrows or beams, which occur on the later monuments, the phonetic value of Set had been already correctly deduced by M. Brugsch.[g] The product of this land was especially *hesti*, or iron,[h] with which the doors and other parts of religious edifices were plated. In the magical Papyrus of Harris, Shu is said to slaughter the Mena and the Setu.[i]

[a] Egyptian Gallery, Brit. Mus. 370.

[b] Greene, Fouilles à Thèbes, pl. i. line 4. Champollion, Not. Descr. 165. Tablet of Philæ.

[c] Rosellini, Mon. Real. exxxiv. In a subsequent part of the inscription the Sea and Isles are mentioned.

[d] Rosellini, Mon. Real. lxi.

[e] Under Amenophis II. they are described "as coming on horses," Brugsch, Geogr. tom. i. taf. viii. 307; and at a later period identified with the Persians, ibid. taf. lviii.

[f] Geographie, ii. taf. xvii. No. 32.

[g] Geographie, iii. taf. xvii. No. 146, 14, 147a, s. 56.

[h] Geographie, iii. taf. xvii. No. 158. It is remarkable that the Coptic for steel is *stahli*; *hesti* might be read *stahi*; and then, as in Bennippe, the *li* might be some qualificative added; but the word *stahli* seems borrowed from a foreign source. The form *ba en pe*, perhaps for "iron," occurs Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 194, 10.

[i] Chabas, Le Papyrus Magique Harris, 4to. Chal. 1860, p. 49, 50.

In the series of inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period given by M. Brugsch, the Sat are mixed up with others, although not in any regular sequence. In the first they precede the Ionians or Greeks,[a] the Tamahu or Northern Libyans, and the Ruten or Regines. In the second, the monarch is said to draw them by the hair of their head;[b] in the third the Menti, or Shepherds, and Sati are divided, as if distinct nations. Another gives a more distinct reference, which states that the Ptolemy "is on the throne, dwelling in the land of Ra, Heliopolis, in Kenus [Derri], smiting the Setu, cutting the Mena, or Shepherds."[c] A still more important text, apparently the speech of a deity, states,[d] "I gave to him the valleys, *an*, of the Setu, they follow his breath; I gave to him the Shepherds of Setu, they touch with their foreheads the earth before him." Repetitions of these texts afford no further information, but the last quoted show that the Setu was a country of plains, occupied by pasturing nomads, and quite in accordance with the historical facts of the occupation of Palestine by the kings of Egypt.

There is great reason for believing that it was pronounced *Senk* or *Se[nk]ti*. In the interior of the coffin of Ankhsensaneferhat, the wife of Amasis II., containing a long ritualistic formula of address to the gods, occur two parallel passages,[e] in which the word *Senkti* is phonetically substituted for this word. In the first it says,—

naham ten su em kahab[f] *hat mshni en Amu, Hesu, Senkti-u neb en Kam.*

"Save ye her from the hardener of the hearts of the enemies, the Amu, the Hes, the Se[nk]ti, of Egypt."

In the second passage the form occurs as usual,

men kahab hat en net en kam Amu, Hes, Senkti, ar ar tui er.

"Not hardening the hearts of the men of Egypt, of the Amu, the Hes, and the Se[nk]ti to oppose her."

Another phonetic variant of this word reads simply *set*, apparently in the sense

[a] Brugsch, Geogr. iii., vii. 3.
[b] Brugsch, Geogr. iii. taf. vii. 4.
[c] Brugsch, Geogr. viii. 6.
[d] Brugsch, Geogr. ix. 10.
[e] Brugsch, Geogr. ii. s. 5. Eg. Gallery, Brit. Mus. No. 32.

[f] This word *kahab*, determined either by an oryx or a horn, is probably ϫΗϐ, to sharpen, harden, render proud. It will be found in the Inscription of Rameses II., Prisse, Mon. xxi., *Kahab tu er ta Nehsi*, "Giving sharp words to the negroes;" and in two passages of the Ritual the name of the demon of the fifth gate. Lepsius, Todt. lxi. 145 e, lxviii. 147, 15, *Nebt her kahab hat*, "Fuming face, exciting time."

of a cake,[a] in a list of offerings; and this tends to prove the following philological fact, the constant equation of *sen* and *set*, both of which had only the value of S; and the determinative value of the bowl, or K, which has no phonetic value in certain words. The word *s[enk]ti* is, in fact, only *sti*, "sunbeams," the *n* not being pronounced, and the bowl *k* being a determinative.[b]

The term "Shepherds," *mena*, was also applied to other races, as in the inscription at Elephantine, "The collector of all the Shepherds of his Majesty of the Island of Elephantine.[c]

The next region mentioned which has its geographical position better defined[d] by this inscription, is Ta-neter, the Holy Land of Egyptian geography, here distinctly placed to the east of Egypt. In the conquests of Seti I. the legends assert that "the lands bring loads of silver, gold, lapis of Taneter, and all the excellent spices, *anta*, and fine wood of Taneter,"[d] or Holy Land. This name has been principally found in the inscriptions of Rameses II., but it is also mentioned at this age in the statistical tablet. In an inscription, cited by Brugsch, Amon says to Rameses II., "I give to thee, that they shall bring their tribute loads of silver, gold, and lapis lazuli, and all noble stone of the land of Taneter." In a second inscription of the age of Rameses X. the text declares that "he has conquered to the land of Taneter; its road was never known before."[e] In the celebrated inscription of the reign of Rameses XII., when the king was in Nehar or Naharaina, "the places offered tribute, each one outvying the other—gold, silver, lapis, copper, and all the good wood of Taneter on their backs."[f] In the inscription cited by Mr. Harris, the peculiar contribution of Taneter was *khesbet*, or "lapis lazuli," a stone principally found east of the Euphrates in Persia and Cisgangetic India, and it appears hence highly improbable that Taneter can be a country so near Egypt as Kanana or Canaan, to which the Phœnicians applied the term of the Holy Land. Nor could Rameses X. have been properly said to have been the first to arrive at the borders of Canaan, as that country had been often traversed by the monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty.

[a] Lepsius, Denkm. ii. 19.

[b] Many examples show that in monosyllables the second consonant was *not* pronounced: thus, the well-known *ses-mu*, "mare," is written *sem-sem* in Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 276 e, and repeated with the syllabic form *sam-sam* on a Ptolemaic monument, Clarac, Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 242, No. 369; and the word *ba-ba*, the "roof," "cap," or "tip," of an obelisk, is indifferently *ben-ben*, Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 97 e, 24 w; or *ber-ber*, Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 237; Brugsch, Geogr. xlvii. 1249–53.

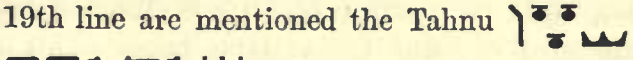
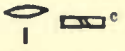
[c] Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 223.

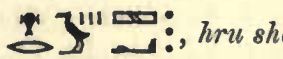
[d] Rosellini, Mon. Real. lxi.

[e] Brugsch, Geogr. ii. s. 17.

[f] Transact. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. iv. 230.

The next regions are the Kefa and the Asi: these are placed by the 16th line to the west of Egypt, which corresponds with the position of Cyprus.[a] But the position of the Asi is unexpected; for their product was pitch, or bitumen,[b] which had given rise to the idea that they were the people of the ancient Is in Mesopotamia, where naphtha springs are still found. The Asi must consequently have been situated in Libya, perhaps in the northern part, or in the west; either in the Cyrenaica, or beyond it to the west; and we must probably recognise in their productions the *kedrion*, supposed to be either the cedar oil or pyroligneous acid used for the purpose of embalming. The name resembles in sound that of the Asii or Asians, but it is not possible to determine without further data the people intended to be described.

In the 19th line are mentioned the Tahnu  in an unusual form, and also the  , Ruten nu. The three pools at the commencement, however, of the latter name are found with the phonetic *Ru*,  [c] or  [d], the mouth of a river, or valley; for instance, *ru an*, a name applied to Eileithyia.[e] In a Ritual, the form *Ru*, with the determinative of a drop, appears as the equivalent of the word *She*, a pond or pool, in the Turin papyrus.[f] The form of *Ruu* seems also to replace, or be the phonetic name of, "isles" in the description of conquests of Rameses III.[g] In the word *Ruten nu* the initial form is written quite distinct from the usual word *Ta*, the earth, and is by no means to be confounded with it.

In the 21st line, one of the people conquered by the monarch is called the  , *hru sha*, the two words composing which are known to mean "over the food;" but, as such a sense is quite inadmissible in the present inscription, it must be intended for the name or position of a people. The first word, *hru*, besides the sense of "over," has often that of "in" or "among;" and the word *shá* is probably put for the Coptic ϣω, "sand" or Desert. One of the people

[a] Cf. Brugsch, Geogr. ii. 87; and Birch, Mémoire sur une Patère Egyptienne du Louvre, p. 24. This position cannot be shaken by the list of a private tomb, such lists being often irregularly drawn up.

[b] Why Brugsch, Geogr. ii. 51, asserts that it is iron, I do not know; the word *seft* is both the ancient and modern word for pitch or bitumen, and appear in lists of substances as an oily, not mineral, substance, used in embalming (Leemans, Mon. xxxviii. 15; Lepsius, Denkm. ii. 42 e.) See also the *sefi em arp*, "lees (?) of wine." Champ Not. Descr. 195.

[c] Lepsius, Denkm. iv. 67 d.

[d] Eg. Gallery, Brit. Mus. 221.

[e] Cf. for example, Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 270; and Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 80 e.

[f] Papyrus Salt, 828, loco Lepsius, Todt. c. 125, l. 53.

[g] Rosellini, Mon. Real. cxxxii.

hostile to Egypt are called the  , *shá*,[a] and the people of the Desert would naturally be conquered by the king.

The last nations mentioned as conquered are the *An*, or people of the Libyan and Arabian "valleys," and the  , *Remen*, either the Armenians or the people of the Libanus; the bird's claw  being already known in the ethnic lists as indicating the name of a separate people. The earliest appearance of this last form, followed by the eagle and purse, is in the ethnic lists of Thothmes IV.;[b] it recurs in the list of captives of Sethos I.,[c] while the Ermenn or Remonn are mentioned with the usual phonetic name.[d] The conquests of Egypt in this direction were for the sake of the cedars which grew there, and which were used for various sacred purposes. At the time of Thothmes IV. the sacred barge of the god Amen Ra at Thebes was made of the cedar-wood, *ash*, cut by the monarch in the land of the Ruten,[e] which comprised the Ermenn. The name of Ruten corresponds with the Regines of Josephus, who are placed amongst the Aschanaioi,[f] which connects them with the Assakanoi, or Assakeni of Strabo[g] and Arrian,[h] and which correspond with the Ashenaz, called by the Greeks "Regines," who are placed in Northern India, and may have been intended for the Raj-poots. The connection of the Remenn and the Herusha, or Helusha, perhaps the Elisha, is found as late as the Ptolemies, these people being mentioned together in the pylon of Ptolemy Philometor at Philæ. The text asserts that the "Nine bows are fallen, the Tamahu are cut up before Thee, the Kheta are turned back at my blows, the Sam have been decapitated, the Tahennu have been chastised, the *Herusha* are at the block, the *Remen* are annihilated, the Seti are destroyed by my sword."[i] The form, indeed, may be the Remen of . . . . . *at*, if the last group is a separate word, in which case the phonetic value has still to be discovered; for the bird's claw is limited to this name, and that of the Egyptian σπιθαμη, or "span," indicating that measure in several ancient cubits. There is some reason for thinking, however, that the span was

[a] Lepsius, Denkm. iv. 52 d.

[b] Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. pl. viii. 2; Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 486, Mon. clvii.

[c] Rosellini, Mon. Real. lxi.

[d] Rosellini, Mon. Real. cclii.

[e] Ungarelli, Interpretatio Obeliscorum. Obel. Lateran, tab. i col. 2.

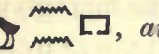
[f] Γομαρόυ δὲ τριῶν ὑιων γενομένων Ἀσχάναζην μὲν Ἀσχαναιος ὥκισεν, οἳ νῦν Ρηγῖνες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλοῦνται. Josephus, Antiq. i. 67.

[g] xv. 698.

[h] Anab. iv. 50; Ind. i. 80.

[i] Champollion, Not. Descr. 207.

called *ermen*. Mr. Edwin Smith has communicated to me the following passages from his index of the ritual, in which the group ERMEN occurs, followed by the determinative of one or two arms: Ch. 17, l. 52, "Save me from that god whose form is secret, his eyebrows are the arms (*ermen*) of the balance; the night of judging the spoiler." And again, in l. 88 of the same chapter, "I have shouldered or touched millions." In the 71st chapter, 11th line, there is an invocation, "Oh, seven lords over," or "upon, the arms of the balance the day of judgment." The sense of "hand" seems to correspond with the same group in ch. 105, l. 5, and the same sense will apply to ch. 124, l. 4, 5.

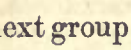
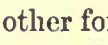
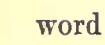
I shall now proceed to discuss the values of some new hieroglyphical groups which appear in this inscription, and which are interesting and important for the interpretation of this and other texts. The first word to which I shall refer is  , *aunu*, or rather *au*, "hall," "hypæthral court," which occurs in the 3rd and 24th lines.[a] It is doubtful in this group whether the two undulating lines are phonetic or determinative. On a tablet of the XIIth dynasty in the British Museum the same group, determined by three lines of water and a boat, signifies to "go" or "return." But in other inscriptions this word occurs in the form  *auni.t*[b] in the sense of a "hall" or "colonnade," or with the variant only of a cord for the bird in the same word.[c] This word may be the Coptic ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧ, or "recess," or ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ, "within" or "interior." A less correct and less full form of the same word is  *aui.t*,[d] in which form it occurs on a tablet of Amenophis II. at Amada, to designate the great hypæthral court or colonnade, for the inscription states that the monarch "made a great propylæon of hewn stone . . . . . a hall of festivals in the great *auit*," or "a hypæthral court surrounded by columns of hewn stone,"[e] a phrase which proves the meaning of the word. The next word to consider is  , *bait*, which immediately follows it. This word appears to signify "reward," as the reward of Victory, the Coptic ⲃⲁⲓ. In one of the legends of Seti I. occurs the phrase *Bai nak nahamu en neb neteru*,[f] "thou hast imparted joy to all the gods," which shows that *bai* had the sense of a "gift" of some kind. In the legends of the kings this

[a] Deveria, Sur le Basilicogrammate Thouth ou Teti, 8vo, Paris, 1817, for the value *d* of the initial of this group.

[b] Lepsius, Denkm. abth. iii. bl. 65. [c] Lepsius, iii. 72.

[d] Sel. Pap. xix. 2. Tabl. Eg. Gallery, Brit. Mus. 589, has "let me be like the dogs (*âu*) of the court (*âui.t*)." Cf. De Rougé, D'Orbiney Pap. viii. l. 8.

[e] Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 106. [f] Rosellini, Mon. Real. lxi.

word occasionally occurs; here the sense evidently requires "gift" or "present," and it is remarkable that in a ritual of the British Museum [a] this group replaces the form  , *baa*, apparently in the sense of "clod" or "matter," probably from the fourth character, the sledge, being the synonym of the material it transported. The next group to consider is  , *aui*, "to stretch," the initial hieroglyph being the variant of the calf, or A.[b] The word is here determined by the man striking, a form of the verbal determinative common in the hieratic, but rarer in the hieroglyphical texts. This initial occurs only in a limited number of words, and has till recently had the value KH attributed to it, from its appearing in later texts as the initial of *khaui.t*, "altar." [c] It often occurs, determined by the heart, in the sense of "magnanimous" or "generous," if not "all gracious;" the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΑΓ ΧΑΡΗΣ of the translation of Hermapion,[d] being the *NeB AuT* of the hieroglyphical texts. The other forms with this initial are,  , *au.t*, some kind of "food" or "bread;" [e] and  ,[f] *ausu*, the "scale" or "balance," perhaps a form of the word  , *baksu*, which is used in the same sense. In the negative confession, the deceased says, *nen uah her mu t enti ausu*, "I do not throw up the weight of the scale;" [g] the word *uah* meaning "to throw," [h] to spoil, or to augment,[i] and alludes to the deceased either not weighing out unfairly from his balance, or being found wanting in the balance of the Great Judgment. In these texts the word "weight," *mut* is expressed by a vulture, according to Horapollo a didrachm, and in the inscription of Philæ the *mut* is a submultiple of the *mna*.

The group  , *khaku*, is of frequent occurrence in the texts, and is apparently the Coptic ϣωωϣϵ "to wound," or "hurt;" or possibly ωϫ "fool," being always accompanied by the determinative of the heart, as in the text cited by Brugsch,[k]  , *khak;* and in the later inscription published by Lepsius,[l]  *khak*, where it is accompanied by the packet, determinative of a corpse; and again, in the ritual [m]  , with the determinatives

[a] Determined by a block of stone. De Rougé has given the same sense.

[b] Deveria, loc. cit.

[c] Salvolini, An. Gram.

[d] Ammian. Marcellin. xvii. c. 4, pp. 121-127.

[e] Lepsius, Denkm. iii 135 a, 89.

[f] Pap. Salt, Brit. Mus. 828, loco Lepsius, Todt. c. 145; in the corresponding place, Pap. E. R. 9900, the determinative of a branch of wood is replaced by a balance.

[g] Lepsius, Todt. 125, l. 8, 9.

[h] De Rougé, D'Orbiney Papyrus, pl. i. l. 6, pl. x. l. 1.

[i] De Rougé, Stèle Égyptienne, Journal Asiatique, p. 241.

[k] Geographie, Taf. xxiv. No. xvii.

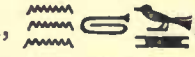
[l] Denkm iv. 74 e.

[m] Lepsius, Todt. lxii. 145, 20.

of the heart and body, and in all cases applied to the enemies of the Good, or the Egyptians.

The monarch is said in some inscriptions "to strike off the heads of the *khaka*," or foolish.[a] In the texts of the coffin of the Queen Ankhsensaneferhat, the *khaka* are classed with the *mes betsh*, those born depraved, and the *sbau*, as, "Ye do not attack her; ye do not do her ill; ye do not prevail against her; ye make the profane, the depraved, the foolish, the agitators fall to your faces."[b] The term is, however, too general to attach to it a special meaning.

The word  , *stma*, in the same line, "to make to grasp," is only remarkable for the  after the , of which it forms a kind of non-phonetic adjunct, in the same manner as , which in  or simply expresses the form *su*, "they;" and for the  , usual *ter*, "quiver," being here employed in a determinative and non-phonetic sense[c] as the equivalent of "the sword." This verb, in the same form, occurs on the Flaminian obelisk, and the determinative of the quiver is replaced by the trap in the ritual,[d] as determinative of the same word.

In the 7th line occurs a variant of the word *Uat-ur*, or Ocean,  , the Egyptian victories on which may be traced as early as the XIIth dynasty,[e] and continued till the time of the Persians,[f] when mention is made of the defeat of the Ionians, or Greeks, on that element. In the 8th line the king is said to go in, or approach the , *babau*, or caves. The word occurs in many senses, as , *baba t*, to exhale,[g] which is logically connected with the idea of depriving the enemies of Egypt of the breath of life. Another form , *babu*,[h] occurs in some rituals as the equivalent of the ordinary word , *bu*, "place," in which case it would mean "going in their places;" while the circle is found attached as determinative to the word , *au*,[i] "a place." A form *baba t*, found in the ritual,[k] also has the signification of

[a] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 128.

[b] Eg. Gallery, Brit. Mus. No. 32.

[c] The verb *tem*, Ungarelli, i. iv. 16, 19; *khesr*, to disperse, has the sword (Rosellini, Mon Real. cxxxix.) and the quiver (Lepsius, Denkm. iv. 85 a) for its determinatives.

[d] Lepsius, Todt. xlvi. 124, 9. Cf. Champ. Mon. 223 c.

[e] Lepsius, Denkm. ii. 149 g.

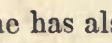
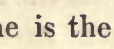
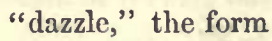
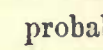
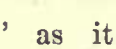
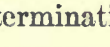
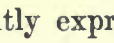
[f] Brugsch, Geogr. taf. lviii. 12, 13.

[g] Lepsius, Todt. liv. 133, 3.

[h] Papyrus Salt, 828, loco Lepsius, Todt. 149, 27.

[i] Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 28, B.

[k] Lepsius, Todt. xvii. 38, 1.

"place" or "cavern," and the name of the Destroying God appears under a similar form. The same line has also the unusual group  , *ka*, "to deprive;" and in the following line is the form  , *akht* or *khut*, followed by the determinative of the serpent placed upon a basket  , which expresses in the Rosetta stone the idea of "diadem;" it is here placed after the head  , *api*, in the 11th line, and follows words expressing the head or its parts. In the same line is the word , *ssan*, "to burn," or "dazzle," the form  ,[a] *s'sannu*, "torment," elsewhere occurring. In the groups following this expression, the phonetic form  "to twist," is probably the abridged  , *nebt*, "the twisted," or "depraved," as it occurs on the coffin of the Queen Ankhsenraneferhat;[b] the sense here being twisting or catching in a noose, from its radical form *nebt*, "plait" or "lock" of hair, which occurs in the Romance of the Two Brothers,[c] and which is the Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲧ. The following word,  , *kat*,[d] expresses either the especial name of the foreign nation afflicted in this manner by the monarch, or the confederates or subordinates—the .[e] The unusual determinative of the ring or circle which accompanies this group occurs in another inscription,[f] possibly in the same sense. The word  , *s-tens*, in the 11th line, is applied to the decapitation of enemies; it consists of the preformant *s* and the verbal root *tens*, the Coptic ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉ, to "remove," and is literally "causing to remove their heads."[g] In the expression "on thy body," the undulating line is interposed between the preposition and the verbal root, a common occurrence in the texts. In the following line  , *tekk-u*, a form which rarely occurs, apparently expresses "attached," or "bound;" it is similar to the verb  , *tek*,[h] often applied to the "attaching" or destroying the frontier of the lands hostile to Egypt. In the same line the

[a] Cf. Lepsius, Todt. xvii. 32, 10.

[b] Lepsius, Todt. xviii. 40, 2.

[c] Egypt. Gallery, Brit. Mus. No. 32.

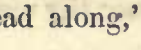
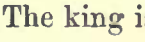
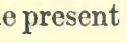
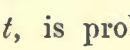
[d] D'Orbiney Papyrus, ii. 10, xi. 3.

[e] Brugseh, Mon. iii.; Lepsius, Todt. xxxvii. 100, 4; Lepsius, Denkm. iv. 52 a. Lately it appears M. Deveria reads this group *Sat*.

[f] Lepsius, Denkm. ii. 106, 7.

[g] The verbal root occurs in the Chapter of the Net, Lepsius, Todt. 153, 3.

[h] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 129.

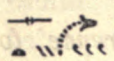
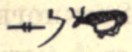
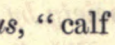
verb "to lead along,"  , *stau*, has the unusual determinative of a vulture, as referring to victory and conquest. The expression *ta ta*,  , repeated in almost every line, is only a variant of the form, *at at*, to attack, or afflict.[a] The form *at at*, in the sense of to "overthrow," is generally accompanied by the determinative of a man wearing the pschent, and holding in each hand a weapon, as in the exploits of Seti I. at Karnak, "overthrowing (*at at*) the Mena nu Set, trampling on the numerous lands, striking their chiefs dead in their blood, he goes among them like a flame of fire, making them no more."[b] In another text occurs the phrase, "the hour or moment of overthrowing," *atat*.[c] *Sesh*, in the same line, apparently in the sense of "to open," here corresponds to that of "to pass," as "I *pass* them under thy feet."[d] The word *uu*, which appeared to me formerly to be the "mounds," is evidently here in the sense of "the edge," or "border" of the enemies' countries. The king is compared in this same line to the star  , *sesht*, and in this case some particular burning or fiery star must be intended, such as a comet; the phonetic root of this word is already known as to "pierce" or "penetrate," and the present group may be only a variant of  , *sesht*, "the orbit" of the sun, or its tropical path, of the inscription of Medinat Haboo,[f] where it speaks of the monarch running like the planets in their orbits or "combustions," the Coptic ϲⲁϩⲧⲉ. This sentence is again repeated in the speech of Amen Ra to Seti I. in the scene of his conquests at Karnak. The god there says, *ta a maa su snin k kha s'shet set bas f- em khet ta f- att f-*. "I let them see thy majesty, or person, like a comet shedding its heat of fire which causes its train."[e] This last word  , *at-t*, is probably synonymous with ⲉⲓⲁⲧ, dew, or ⲱⲧϩ, to knit, either of which ideas might be conveyed as the Egyptian expression of the comet's tail. In the inscription of Rameses III. at Medinat Haboo, the same form *sesht* is determined by a disk shedding its rays of light, and has been interpreted "orbit" or "sphere." The king is said to be "a courser, strong on his feet, running like the stars in their course (*sesht*) on high."[f] But this interpretation does not correspond with the present passage, where the king is compared to the *sesht* itself. The final part of the inscription occurs in a speech of Amen

[a] Rosellini, Mon. Real. lviii. [b] Ibid. lvii. [c] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 128.

[d] Chabas; Greene, Fouilles, i. 3. [e] Rosellini, Mon. Real. lxii.

[f] Greene, Fouilles à Thèbes, p. 4, pl. i. 3; M. de Rougé, L'Athén. Fr. 1856. The phrase is *kha siu her sesht*, like stars in their combustion.

Ra to Seti I., in which the god again declares, "I let them see thy majesty as the flame of fire Pasht makes in her train."[a]

The word  , *set*, "to pour forth," is the earlier form of the same verb  *set*, which is found at the Ptolemaic period.[b] In the 18th line occurs  *sma* or *mas*, "calf" or "victim;" and in the 20th the form  , *tma.t*, "to swoop," found also in the inscription of the coffin of the Queen of Amasis.[c]

[a] Rosellini, Mon. Real. lxi.

[b] Champollion, Not. Descr. 183.

[c] Eg. Gallery, No. 32; Horus is also called the *tema nekht*, the "powerful swooper," *i.e.* as a hawk. Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 241.

XXVI. *Notices of John Lord Stanhope of Harrington, with reference to certain Letters to him, communicated to the Society by the* EARL STANHOPE, PRESIDENT, *and by* RICHARD ALMACK, *Esq. F.S.A.; together with some Account of Sir Thomas Holcroft and Sir John Wotton, the writers of two of those Letters. By* GEORGE R. CORNER, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read January 26th, 1860.

ON the 17th of June, 1858, several interesting original letters of and to members of the Stanhope family, in the time of Queen Elizabeth and King James I., were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Richard Almack, Esq. F.S.A., but, being produced late in the evening of the last meeting of the season, I think they hardly received so much attention as they deserved. Among those letters were several to John Lord Stanhope of Harrington, to whom was addressed the highly interesting letter communicated to the Society by our noble President, and read, with observations by Robert Lemon, Esq. F.S.A., on the 22nd December last.[a]

The production of these letters has induced me to think that some notices of John Lord Stanhope of Harrington may be acceptable to the Society, although not pretending to be a regular memoir of that nobleman; they are merely a collection of particulars respecting him, from various sources, which may serve to give a notion of the character and career of one of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers, who seems to have preserved her favour to the last, and to have been equally if not more highly honoured by her successor.

Mr. Almack is good enough to allow me to append to this communication five letters from his collection, four of them addressed to Lord Stanhope of Harrington. Of the writers of two of these letters, Sir Thomas Holcroft and Sir John Wotton, I have added some few particulars.

John Lord Stanhope of Harrington.

Sir John Stanhope, afterwards Lord Stanhope of Harrington, was the third son of Sir Michael Stanhope, the King's Steward of Holderness and Cottingham,

[a] See this volume, p. 246.

Lieutenant-Governor of Hull in the reign of King Henry VIII. and Chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King Edward VI. Sir Michael's sister of the half blood, Anne Stanhope, was wife of the Protector Somerset, in whose ruin Sir Michael became unfortunately involved, and, being attainted after a mock trial, was beheaded on Tower Hill, 26th February, 1552. The wife of Sir Michael, and mother of Sir John, was Anne Rawson, daughter of Nicholas Rawson, Esq. of Aveley, Essex, who was son of Alured, or Averey, Rawson, eldest son of Richard Rawson, citizen and mercer of London, sheriff of that city in 1476, and alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without.

Sir Michael left his wife with five sons and three daughters, all of whom she brought up and settled well. The Nottinghamshire estates of Sir Michael, (which had been granted to him by King Henry VIII. "in consideration of his good, true, and faithful service," by letters patent in the 29th, 30th, 31st, and 32nd years of that king's reign,) were granted to Sir Michael and his wife Anne, and the heirs male of Sir Michael. After her husband's attainder Lady Stanhope obtained a demise of those estates, by letters patent of 21 April, 6th Edward VI. for forty-four years, at the rent of twenty pounds; and in the 1st and 2nd of Philip and Mary she had a grant of the reversion of the same estates, and others in Derbyshire and Yorkshire, in exchange for the prebend of St. Michael in Beverley Minster, and the collegiate chapel of St. James at Sutton in Yorkshire, which had been settled upon Lady Stanhope for her life, in augmentation of her jointure, and which ecclesiastical property she surrendered to the Crown. And by letters patent of the 11th May, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, the reversion of the estates in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire was granted to Lady Stanhope for her life, with remainder to all her sons successively in tail general; and on her decease they descended to Thomas, her eldest son; who, by Act of Parliament of the 1st of Mary, Sess. ii. c. 6, was restored in blood and made capable of inheriting.

Lady Stanhope was connected through her mother, Beatrice, sister of Sir Thomas Cooke, with Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, whose wife, Mildred, was one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Cooke, and therefore a cousin-german of Lady Stanhope; a connection which no doubt enabled her to obtain for her sons advantageous positions about the court. She died in 1588, having survived her husband thirty-five years; and was buried[a] at Shelford, Notts, where there is a monument to her memory, with her effigy recumbent and a long inscription. By her will,

[a] See a long letter from her son, Sir Thomas Stanhope, to Lord Burghley respecting her funeral, in the possession of Mr. Almack, printed in the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 212.

dated 16th Sept. 1583, she bequeathed to each of her sons and daughters, and their respective wives and husbands, a ring, with the motto "Vinclum caritatis indissolubile," and she charged them, before the tribunal seat of God, to love each other as God hath loved us, having always in their minds the holy prophet David's saying, "Behold, how good and comfortable a thing it is for brethren to dwell in unity and love together." She constituted the Lord Treasurer of England (Burghley) supervisor and overseer of her will, giving to him a ring of ten shillings, with these words, "Blessed be the peacemakers," requesting him that, as she and hers had always been bound and beholden to him in her lifetime, so now, being called away, as her hope was into a better life, from her children, he would be as a father to her fatherless children, (and especially to her youngest son, Michael, whom she last provided for), desiring him also to cease and order all strifes and debates, if any should arise betwixt any of her other children, either for legacies or other debt or duty, and straightly charging all her children, upon God's blessing and hers, to be ruled and ordered by the good advice of her supervisor, then their father. Also she gave to her good lady and cousin, the wife of the said supervisor, a ring of value and price like unto her husband's, with the words, "I die to live."[a]

In November, 1556, John Stanhope matriculated as a Pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge;[b] and in the same year he was admitted a member of Gray's Inn (of which society as many as eighteen members of the Stanhope family were admitted between 1556 and 1654); and on the 26th January, 1568, he became an Ancient of that society.[c]

In 1572 he was returned as M.P. for Marlborough to the Parliament which met 8th May.[d]

In 1578 he occurs as a Gentleman of the Queen's Privy Chamber.

In 1585 he was elected M.P. for Beverley in the Parliament which met 23rd November;[e] and in 1586 he was elected M.P. for Truro in the Parliament which met 29th October.[f]

In 1588-9 he was returned to the Parliament which met on the 4th February as Member for Rochester.[g]

[a] Proved in Exchequer Court, York, 10 Oct. 1588.

[b] C. H. Cooper, Esq. F.S.A. Cambridge, to whom I am indebted for much of this information.

[c] MS. Harl. 1912.

[d] Willis's Not. Parl. vol. ii. p. 96.

[e] Willis's Not. Parl. vol. ii. p. 101.

[f] Ibid. p. 109.

[g] Ibid. p. 121.

June 20, 1590, he was constituted by patent Postmaster of England for life, with a fee of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum.[a]

Sept. 27, 1592, he was elected M.A. at Oxford, the Queen then being there.[b]

He married[c] on the 6th May, 1589, at Chelsea,[d] Margaret Macwilliams, otherwise Cheke, daughter and heir of Henry Macwilliams, Esq. of Stambourne, Essex, one of the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners, and Governor of Colchester Castle, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Hill, serjeant of the wine-cellar to King Henry VIII. and widow of the learned Sir John Cheke, schoolmaster and secretary of state to King Edward VI.

In the previous year (March, 1588) he had obtained a grant from the Queen of the manor of Chelsea[e] for his life, at the rent of twenty marks: he had however surrendered it in 1592, when it was granted by the Queen to Catherine Lady Howard, wife of the Lord Admiral, upon the like terms. The Lord Admiral dated letters from Chelsea in 1589, 1591,[f] and 1597.[g] It would seem, however, that Mr. Stanhope was resident at Chelsea until 1595, for his daughter Elizabeth was baptized there in 1593,[h] and his son Charles in 1595.

In Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, from the MSS. of the Howards, Talbots, and Cecils, at the College of Arms, (published in 1791,) there are some letters of John Stanhope; the first of which is from him to Lord Talbot, dated at Richmond, 22nd December, 1589, conveying thanks for a Sherwood hind, praises of Lady Talbot, and foreign news. He adds the following postscript: "The Queen is so well as I assure you six or seven gallyards in a morning, besides music and singing, is her ordinary exercise."[i]

Another letter, in Lodge's Illustrations, is from John Stanhope to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated Richmond 9th Dec. 1590, as to the Queen's letter of condolence to the earl on the death of his father, and disposal of the lieutenancy of Derby, Notts, Stafford, and Warwickshire, &c. in which he says, "God be thanked, she is better in health this winter than I have seen her before; her favour holdeth

[a] Pat. 32° Eliz. pt. 2, m. 40. Report of Secret Committee on Post Office to House of Commons, 1844, Appendix, p. 36.

[b] C. H. Cooper, Esq.

[c] In Collins's Peerage, 1741, iii. p. 308, Sir John Stanhope is stated to have first married Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir William Knowles of Bilton in Holderness: but, as this marriage is omitted in the 3rd edition of Collins, 1756, ii. 335, the editor had probably ascertained that it belonged to another John Stanhope. See Poulson's History of Holderness, 4to. 1841, ii. 250.

[d] Lysons's Environs of London, vol. ii. p. 118.

[e] Lord Burghley's Notes, Murdin's State Papers, p. 794.

[f] Harl. MSS. iii. pp. 476-478.

[g] Lansd. MSS. lxxxiv. 66.

[h] Lysons's Environs of London, ut supra.

[i] Lodge, vol. ii. p. 410.

in reasonable good terms to the Earl of Essex. I hope you shall hear that my cousin Robert Cecil shall be sworn secretary before Christmas; whether Mr. Woutton, or who else, is yet uncertain."[a]

There is also a long and interesting letter from him to Lord Talbot, written in 1590, containing a jocular excuse for not having written before, and giving an account of the Queen's entertainment of Viscount de Turenne at Windsor, in which we read, "This night, God willing, she will go to Richmond, and on Saturday next to Somerset House; and, if she could overcome her passion against my Lord of Essex for his marriage, no doubt she would be much the quieter; yet doth she use it more temperately than was thought for, and, God be thanked, doth not strike all she threats." . . . . . "The favours of the Court be disposed as you left them; and I assure you never a man that I know hath cause to brag of any. My Lord Treasurer hath been ill of his gout of long, and so continues; our new maid, Mrs. Vavasour,[b] flourisheth like the lily and the rose." He then notices the foreign news, return of Sir John Hawkins, prizes taken at sea, and concludes with professions of attachment, &c.[c]

Mr. Lodge gives also another letter from John Stanhope to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 10th March, 1590.[d]

July 5, 1596, he was sworn Treasurer of the Chamber, and he was knighted in the same year.[e]

In 1597 he was elected M.P. for Preston, in the Parliament which met 24th October.[f]

On the 3rd November, 1598, Sir John Stanhope writes to Sir Robert Cecil: "I have been reading Mr. Edmonds's letter and yours to Her Majesty, which came not to my hands till six o'clock; for I was all the afternoon with Her Majesty at my book; and then, thinking to rest me, went in again with your letter. She was pleased with the philosopher's stone, and hath been all this day reasonably quiet, and hath heard at large the discourse of the calamities in Kerry —French news and visitors to the Queen."[g]

In 1601 he was appointed Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen's Household,[h]

[a] Lodge, vol. iii. p. 23.

[b] Mrs. Anne Vavasour, a lady of a Yorkshire family, and one of the Queen's Maids of Honor. She was a very beautiful woman, but the subject of much mirth and scandal on account of her attachment to the old but gallant Sir Henry Lee.—Note by Lodge.

[c] Lodge, vol. iii. p. 15.

[d] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 26.

[e] C. H. Cooper, Esq.

[f] Willis's Not. Parl. p. 140.

[g] Lodge, vol. iii. p. 95.

[h] Mr. Chamberlain to Mr. Carleton, Feb. 3, 1600–1:—"In the absence of the Lord Chamberlain (Lord

which office he retained in the following reign; and in June or July of the same year he was sworn of the Privy Council.[a]

In 1601 he was elected M.P. for the county of Northampton, in the Parliament which met 7th October.[b]

June 17th, 1602, he was named in a Commission to reprieve felons, and to commit them to serve in the galleys.

29th January, 1602-3, he was named in a Commission touching Jesuits and Seminary Priests.

In 1603-4 he was Member for Newton in the Isle of Wight, in the Parliament which met 19th March.[c]

The style of his letters is very easy, and free from the affectation and extravagant phrases common at that period. They seem to me to approach more to the lively character of Horace Walpole's epistolary writings than any I have ever seen of the time of Elizabeth.

There are numerous letters and documents of and referring to Lord Stanhope of Harrington in the State Paper Office, as we learn from Mrs. Green's admirable calendar.

On his accession King James granted, June 21, 1603, to Sir John Stanhope and Charles his son the office of Keeper of Colchester Castle for life.[d] Sir John also retained the offices of Vice-Chamberlain and Master of the Posts under King James.

In the State Paper Office is a letter, dated 19th October, 1603, from Mercury

Hunsdon), Sir John Stanhope was appointed to serve as Vice-Chamberlain, which most men interpret to be a goode step to the place." Chamberlain's Letters, (Camden Society, 1861,) p. 100. In the same volume are the following earlier passages respecting Sir John Stanhope's expectations of preferment:—

"Aug. 30, 1598. The Lord Cobham, the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir John Stanhope, are in speech to be sworne shortly of the Counsaile." (p. 18.)

"Oct. 3, 1598. Here hath been much speech of new Counsaillours, and some have been very neere it, and appointed to be sworne: but the contrarietie of opinions, the number that stand for it, and the difficultie, or rather impossibilitie, to please both sides, kepes all backe; yet it is certainly thought that Sir John Stanhope shalbe shortly Vice-Chamberlain." (p. 21.)

"June 28, 1599. We have yet no Chauncellor of the Duchie; there be so many competitors that they hinder one another, and there be three that pretend an absolute promise,—Sir Edward Stafford, Sir John Stanhope, and Dr. Harbert." (p. 52.)

"Oct. 10, 1600. It is every day expected that Sir John Stanhope shalbe made Chancellor of the Duchie." (p. 89.)

[a] "July 8, 1601. We had lately a new call of Counsaillors,—the Erle of Shrewsbury, who is likewise named to be President of Wales, the Erle of Worcester, Master of the Horse, and Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain." (Ibid. p. 112.)

[b] Willis's Not. Parl. p. 150.

[c] Willis's Not. Parl. p. 163.

[d] State Papers, Dom. James I. vol. ii. No. 12.

Patten to Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain, concerning Raleigh's conference, soon after he got into trouble, with Parks, of the Stannary, about Lord Cecil, where he desires Parks may be questioned about it.[a]

1604. February 5. A Commission was issued to the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Cecil, Sir John Stanhope, and Sir George Hume, to make an inventory of all robes or apparel left by the King's progenitors.[b]

1604. October 14. A warrant was issued to Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain, to preserve the game in the hundreds of Rowell, Orlingbury, Gilsborough, Hookeslow, and Fawsley, in Northamptonshire.[c]

As steward of the manor of Eltham he had a residence at that royal palace; and in the State Paper Office there is a letter dated 22nd October, 1604, to the Lord Treasurer and Sir John Stanhope, steward of the manor of Eltham, to compound with owners of land to be added to the Middle Park there.[d]

1605, March. Sir John Stanhope writes to Viscount Cranbourne, inclosing him two letters out of France from Furtado the Spanish friar, and a note from Lady Adeline Nevill, sister of the late Earl of Westmoreland.[e]

1605, April 19. There is a letter from Sir John Stanhope, Sir John Fortescue, and Lord Chief Justice Popham, to Sir Julius Cæsar, from which it appears that the aldermen of London were "so obstinate and tied to their own will," that they would neither attend to the petition of Thomas Stanley and others about the House of Correction, nor reimburse their expenses. There would be no way to deal with them, unless the King were to write to the mayor and aldermen; they inclose the draft of a letter which they think suitable.[f]

In the same year (1605), 4th May, Sir John Stanhope was created by King James I. Baron Stanhope, of Harrington, in the county of Northampton,[g] being the first of his family who was raised to the peerage.

1605, May 21. A warrant to pay to Lord Stanhope 2,000*l.* for the expenses of his office as Treasurer of the Chamber.[h]

On the 3rd June, 1605, a Commission had issued from the Court of Exchequer, directed to Lord Stanhope as High Steward, Sir Edward Cooke (Attorney-General), Sir Thomas Walsingham (of Mottingham), Sir Perceival Hart (of Lullingstone), Sir Oliff Leigh, John Doddridge (Solicitor-General), Sir Francis Bacon, one of the King's Council, and others, to make a perfect survey of the royal manor house

[a] State Papers, Dom. James I. vol. iv. No. 22.
[b] Ibid. vol. vi. No. 51.
[c] Ibid. vol. ix. No. 75.
[d] Ibid. vol. ix. No. 83.
[e] Ibid. vol. xiii. No. 51.
[f] Ibid. vol. xiii. No. 74.
[g] Ibid. vol. xiv. No. 1 (Grant Book, p. 14.)
[h] Ibid. vol. xiv. No. 11.

and demesne of Eltham, which was commenced on the 11th July in the same year, and resulted in a very full and particular description of the palace, manor, and the crown lands and woods. The Survey is still preserved among the Records of the Court of Exchequer.[a]

During his lordship's residence at Eltham he is frequently mentioned in the parish books, particularly as a communicant.

"1605. Paid for the communyon, the sycxt of October, when my Lord Stannope received, for bread and wyne . . . . . xx d.

"Item, paid for a communion ,the ix of September, 1606, for wyne and breade, when my Lorde Stanhop and others receyved . . . . . ij s. j d.

"1610. Payd for brede and wyne for ij communions for my Lor Stanup's i s. ix d."

King James visited again Lord Stanhope at Eltham in the year 1611, as appears from the following entry in the churchwardens' accounts:—

"Paied for ryngers, when the Kinges Ma[s] came to lye at Ealtham . xij d."

The last notice of Lord Stanhope at Eltham that I find in the parish books is in 1614—

"Receifed of the honorabell Lord Stanhope, at a communione, the 4th of September, for wine . . . . . i s."

Oct. 10, 1605. Warrant for increase of payment to Lord Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber, because of his being ordered to discharge the salaries of the Prince's chamber servants. Annexed is a list of the Prince's servants and their salaries.[b]

In 1607, April 7th, the King granted to John Lord Stanhope and Charles his son the custody of Colchester Castle, as theretofore held by Thomas Lord D'Arey, John Earl of Oxford, Henry Macwilliams (Lord Stanhope's father-in-law), and Sir John, then Lord, Stanhope.[c]

In the same year, July 26, the King, on the surrender of the former patent, granted to John Lord Stanhope and Charles his son the office of Postmaster in England for their lives.[d]

1608, June 5th. A letter from Lord Stanhope to the Earl of Salisbury; in which he states that he purposes to go to Northamptonshire for the benefit of his health, and prays the earl's favour if any prejudice should arise against him for his absence.[e]

In August 1608, the King wrote to Lord Stanhope reproving him for negligence

[a] Queen's Remembrancer's Records, formerly First Secondary's, No. 34.

[b] State Papers, Dom. James I. vol. xv. No. 83.

[c] Ibid. vol. xxvii. No. 4.

[d] Ibid. vol. xxviii. No. 26.

[e] Ibid. vol. xxxiv. No. 8.

in allowing spoil of game near the house at Eltham, of which he had the charge, and exhorting him to greater vigilance, and to proclaim the execution of the laws with all severity against the offenders.[a]

August 30, 1608. Lord Stanhope wrote to the Earl of Salisbury from Eltham, with thanks for the view of occurrences in the Low Countries, and states that he is ready for service when commanded.[b]

August 31. Another letter from Eltham soliciting licence for his nephew, son of Sir Edward Stanhope of York, to travel.[c]

In this year he appears to have had some transactions with Sir Thomas Holcroft respecting, most probably, a mortgage on the lands of the latter, to which refer the two letters in Mr. Almack's collection, printed at the end of this communication (Nos. III. and IV.).

In 1609, June 14, he was named in a Commission to raise an aid on Prince Henry being made a knight.

In 1610, June 14, he was in a Commission for banishment of Jesuits and Seminary Priests.

In 1616, May 31, he was named in a Commission for the rendition to the States General of Flushing, Ramakins, and Brill.

In 1617, April 5, he was in a Commission to enlarge certain prisoners from the Gatehouse.

In 1618, June 23, he was in a Commission for banishment of Jesuits and Seminaries.

In 1620, April 29, he was nominated a Commissioner for Causes Ecclesiastical.

And November 17, in the same year, he was named in the Commission for repair of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Lord Stanhope resigned his office of Vice-Chamberlain in the 14th James I. (1617), but he retained the office of Postmaster until his death, as appears by his will, in which he styles himself Master and Comptroller-General of all his Majesty's Posts, and one of the Lords of the Privy Council. It is dated 5th October, 1620, and he therein expressed his desire to be buried in the chancel of St. Martin's in the Fields, because he had lived in that parish thirty years and more. He desired his wife not to display any pomp at his funeral, but only to remember the poor. He gave to the poor of St. Martin's five pounds, to the poor of Harrington five pounds, and to the poor of Eltham forty shillings. He gave to his son Sir Charles Stanhope all his furniture and household stuff in his house at Harrington,

[a] State Papers, Dom. James I. vol. xxxv. No. 75.

[b] Ibid. vol. xxxv. No. 73.

[c] Ibid. vol. xxxv. No. 74.

and all his armour, pistols, calivers, and instruments of war in a little chamber in his house at St. Martin's called the Armoury Chamber; and he also gave him all the plate which he brought with him from court when he was a courtier (specifying the articles); he gave to his daughter the Lady Tollemache a piece of plate, value ten pounds; and to his daughter the Lady Cholmondeley a piece of plate of like value. He gave to his wife, Margaret Lady Stanhope, his house in St. Martin's, with all the furniture therein, and all his furniture remaining in the steward's house at Eltham, and in the house there occupied by Mr. Dyer. He also gave her, with many expressions of affection, all his plate, some of which had been called her plate, or her cupboard plate, and all his jewels, chains, and carcanets, and his best diamond ring, which he wore daily on his finger, and which had been given to him by her, and all the residue of his personal estate. And he constituted her sole executrix of his will; which she proved on the 14th April, 1621.[a]

His lordship died March 9, 1620-1, leaving by his first wife one son, Charles, second Lord Stanhope of Harrington[b] (who died in 1675, without issue, when this title became extinct); and by his second marriage, two daughters, Elizabeth, who married Sir Lionel Tollemache, Bart. of Helmingham, ancestor of the Earls of Dysart; and Catherine, who married Sir Robert Cholmondeley, Bart. afterwards created Viscount Cholmondeley of Kells, in Ireland, and Earl of Leinster.

By an inquisition taken after the death of John late Lord Stanhope, 29 March, 3 Charles I., it was found that he died seized of Harrington Park, Northamptonshire; the site of the late College of Stoke, in Suffolk; the manors of Rothwell and Ardingworth; the parsonage, rectory, and advowson of Rothwell, in Northamptonshire; lands in Wittlesea, Cambridgeshire; a mansion house at Charing Cross, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex; and other lands in Harrington and elsewhere in Northamptonshire; and that he died 9th March, 1620.[c]

Harrington Park and manor had been acquired in the 41st Elizabeth. On the front of the house are the arms of Stanhope with three other quarterings (probably Maulovel, Longvilliers, and Lexington, as borne by Sir Michael Stanhope, his father). After the death of Charles Lord Stanhope, the Harrington estate descended to his sister, Elizabeth Lady Tollemache.

[a] Prerog. Office, 31 Dale.

[b] See a letter from him, p. 16.

[c] Additional MS. 6073. In 1672-3, Stanhope House "near Whitehall" was occupied by the Duke of Albemarle, as appears from an advertisement of a trunk cut off from the duke's carriage, in the London Gazette, No. 748, reprinted in Cunningham's Handbook for London, 1849, p. 772.

Lord Stanhope's house in St. Martin's was probably where Stanhope Court formerly was, *i.e.* on the west side of the highway at Charing Cross, to the north of Buckingham Court, and between that and Spring Gardens.

Lord Stanhope was buried at St. Martin's (where his father-in-law and mother-in-law, Mr. Macwilliams and his wife, were buried), but I do not find mention of any monument in Strype's Stowe, although he describes a memorial there for Mr. and Mrs. Macwilliams, with an inscription recording the alliances of their daughters.[a]

His widow, Margaret Lady Stanhope, died on the 7th April, 1640, at Stanhope House, Charing Cross, and was also buried in the chancel of St. Martin's church, as appears by her funeral certificate in the College of Arms.

I.

Letter from Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, to Sir John Stanhope, addressed—

To my verry lovyng frend Sir Jhon Stanhop, Tresorer of the Chamber.
(*Below, in another hand,*) My Lo. Admyrall.

My good Jhon,—Howsoever it shall fall out, I must ever thynk myselfe most beholdyng unto you, and wyll ever in all afection show it to the uttermost of my poure, if it fal not owt as I know you wyshe it shuld. I assure you, wth me the dise is caste; and yet, whersoever I shal be, you shal have poure to youse me; and wyll ever rest,

Your (*torn*) trew and lovyng frend,
C. HOWARD.

I met my wyfe yesterday at Horset[b] wth her dawghter Sowthwell: the most wekest woman that I ever saw w^{h} lyfe. God helpe her. I browght my wyfe away a more sorroful woman. If this day she escape her fect[c] ther may be some hope, if not ther wyll rest no hope.

I pray you comend me to Mr. Secretary. I wyll wryt to him tomorro.

[Wafer-seal, with arms of Howard, quartering Brotherton, Warren, and Mowbray, within a garter.]

[a] Strype's Stow, vol. ii. book vi. p. 70.

[b] Probably Horsheath, in Cambridgeshire, the seat of Sir Giles Allington, who married Lady Dorothy Cecil.

[c] Fit of illness.

Note by R. Almack, Esq. F.S.A.

Charles Howard succeeded his father as second Lord Howard of Effingham in 1573; he was created Knight of the Garter in December, 1574, and was appointed Lord High Admiral 1584-5. After his successful expedition against Cadiz, Queen Elizabeth raised him on the 22nd October, 1597, to the earldom of Nottingham. He died 14th December, 1624, aged 87.

The letter has no date, but it was probably written in 1596 or 1597, for Sir John Stanhope is addressed as Treasurer of the Chamber, an office conferred on him for life, July 5th, 1596, and from its signature the letter may be presumed to be anterior to the writer's becoming Earl of Nottingham, in 1597.[a]

The first wife of Charles Howard was Catherine Cary, daughter of Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon, and she died (one month before Queen Elizabeth) 25th Feb. 1602.[b] Their eldest daughter, Frances, married Sir Robert Southwell, and died 1608. It is of Catherine Countess of Nottingham that the story is related, that Queen Elizabeth shook her on her death-bed for having withheld the ring which the Earl of Essex had given in charge to her for the Queen, as a token which entitled him to her forgiveness whenever sent back by him.

II.

Sir John Wotton, Knight, to Sir John Stanhope, Knight, addressed—

To the right Wo^{r} my sp'iall good Cosen S^{r} John Stanhopp, Knight.

My good Cousen, I have wrytten so often unto you and receyved no answere, as nowe the estate of my body is growen so weake that nowe I am dryven to entreate others to wryte for me.

Of my former request I know not what became, for that I never hearde reporte of any pte therof. But nowe to my last request. My good Cousen, so handle the matter w^{h} her Majestie that Mr. Arthur Hopton may by her Ma^{ts} favo^{r} be pmytted to agree w^{h} me for my penc̃oner's roome. The mony shall burye me. The gent. shall appeare freshe in my place, and of a stocke that her Majestie affectith well.

Once agayne, my good Cosen, fayle me not, I beseche you, in thies things. They

[a] A letter from him signed "Notingham" may be found in Lansd. MSS. lxxxvii. 13. It is written to Mr. Michael Hickes in consequence of the death of Sir Robert Southwell, and dated 26 Oct. 1598.

[b] Lysons's Environs of London, 1795, ii. 120.

are the last you shall doo for me. Lyving, I shall love you. Dead, my soule shall remẽbre you. And so, my honn'able Cousen, farewell. Froome, the xxijth of January, 1596.

Yo^{r} deade Cousen,

JOHN WOTTON.

Seal: a coat of arms, containing a saltire engrailed.

Note respecting Sir John Wotton.

Sir John Wotton was the third son of Thomas Wotton of Boughton Malherbe, Kent, by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Rudstone, Lord Mayor of London in 1528. He was born at Boughton 11 April, 1550, and married Lady Lucy Percy, daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland. Lodge[a] states that he "was elder brother of the famous Sir Henry, and his equal in parts and accomplishments. Elizabeth knighted him soon after (1590), and intended to have placed him among her ministers, but he died in the prime of his age, about the year 1592;" but that is an error,—he died without issue in 1597, and by his will, dated 31 December, 1596, he desired to be buried in the church of Temple Combe, Somerset; he gave to Edward Earl of Oxford and Duke Brooke, Esq. of Temple Combe a rent-charge or annuity of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, charged upon the lands of his father, Thomas Wotton; he gave to Edward Earl of Oxford and Lord Bulbeck[b] (Bolebec, a barony then vested in the De Veres) his pension of 100*l.* per annum; and he appointed the Earl of Oxford and Duke Brooke, Esq. executors of his will. It was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 7 May, 1597.

The letter now printed shows his reduced fortunes at the time of his death. He was desirous to obtain a price for the resignation of his "roome" of a Gentleman Pensioner; and the purchaser in view was Mr. Arthur Hopton. This gentleman was of Witham, in Somersetshire, for which county he served sheriff in 1583. He was made a knight of the Bath at the coronation of James the First, and was uncle of Ralph Lord Hopton, a distinguished cavalier in the army of Charles the First.

Sir John Wotton's eldest brother, Sir Edward Wotton, after having distinguished himself in several embassies, was Comptroller and at last Treasurer of the Household to James the First; and was created Lord Wotton of Marley, or Merley, in Kent. And he was half-brother to the learned Sir Henry Wotton, who was his father's son by his second wife.

[a] Illustrations of British History, iii. 25.

[b] The will is expressed to have been made after the execution of two deeds between the testator and the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bulbeck.

III.

Letter from Sir Thomas Holcroft to Lord Stanhope of Harrington, addressed—

To the right Honorable my verie good Lord the L^{d} Stanhop, Vice-Chamberlain to the K$\tilde{g}$s M$\tilde{a}$tie, thes bee d^{d}.

I doe humblye praye yo^{r} l'p that, since it is so harde for me to conclude wth yo^{r} l'p, & wth yo^{r} brother S^{r} Mighell, you beinge both a sunder, that yo^{r} l'p would be plesed to appointe some spedy tyme ffor me to attende you both together, that I might know yo^{r} resolutions, I have wth quiet and wth letle adoo my owne, & ffor itt paye in some conveniente tymes my moneye where and when I ought, and shal be apointed to doe itt, ffor wth continuinge in this state of uncertentie I cannott but offende yo^{r} l'p & yo^{r} brother, and I doe also in my mynde nourishe an excedinge greefe & disquiett & in my estate no letle scandale, and for yo^{r} l'p's favour to me in this my trouble I will ever rest,

Your l'p's most assured to my power,

April 28th, 1608. THO. HOLCROFT.

IV.

Letter from Sir John Stanhope of Elvaston, to his Uncles Lord Stanhope (of Harrington) and Sir Michael Stanhope, addressed—

To the right ho^{ble} my very loving uncles, the Lo. Stanhope, one of the Lo^{ds} of his Ma^{ties} most ho^{ble} privie counsell, and the right wor^{ll} S^{r} Michael Stanhope, Knight, Gent., of his highnes privie chamber.

My honnorable and lovinge Uncles—Accordinge to the Agreement betweext you and myself at London, and your privity and consent synce, there have passed writings betweext me and S^{r} Thomas Holcroft, for the reassuringe of his land, but I have not acknowledged them to bee inrolled untill he shall first geeve you securyty for payment of the 800^{li} w^{ch} by the said agreemente he is to pay unto you twoe. And, touchinge the matter of Mr. Purefy whereof you writ to me, I have seince written my answere thereunto (what succes soever it hath had in the deliv'y) wherein I not havinge spoken at that tyme wth Mr. Purefye did write what I thought and was advised touchinge my right. And, Mr. Purefy havinge seince come unto mee about that matter, I have geven him new dayes for payment of his money unto mee, and reestated his land uppon him, w^{ch}, beeinge meerely my right without any collor to the contrary, I hope in your wisdomes that neyther of you will mislyke any more then I doe those great fortunes w^{ch} it hath pleased

God by the same meanes to lay uppon you, w^ch^ I will ever pray to Almighty God to blesse and increase w^th^ all manner of contentment and happines in the enjoyinge thereof to his good pleasure. And soe doe humbly take leave.

Y^r^ assured loving Nephew,

Elvaston, the xxj of October, 1608. JHON STANHOPE.

The letter in another hand, the signature and "Y^r^ assured loving nephew," autograph.

Notice of Sir Thomas Holcroft.

Sir Thomas Holcroft, of Vale Royal, in Cheshire, was a gentleman of the privy chamber to King James the First. His sister Isabella having married Edward third Earl of Rutland (who died in 1597), he was also uncle to the Lady Elizabeth Manners, the sole daughter and heiress of that Earl, who was married to William Cecil the grandson of the great Lord Burghley, and became mother of William Cecil, Lord Roos.

Sir Thomas Holcroft's father was Sir Thomas Holcroft, who, with his elder brother, Sir John Holcroft, K.B., distinguished himself in the Scotish campaign in 1548, and became Receiver[a] of the Duchy of Lancaster. Queen Mary gave him the post of Knight Marshal, in which his noble conduct to Dr. Sandys, afterwards archbishop of York, who had been committed to his custody by Gardiner, is celebrated by Foxe and others.[b]

After the dissolution of the monasteries, Sir Thomas Holcroft, then Thomas Holcroft, Esq., of Holcroft, Lancashire, in 31st Henry VIII. had obtained a grant of lands in Lancashire formerly belonging to Whalley abbey; in 32 Henry VIII. he had a grant of the priory of Cartmel and lands belonging thereto, and in 35th Henry VIII., he obtained a grant of part of the possession of the monastery of Vale Royal, in the parishes of Whitegate, Weverham, and Over; and in 38th Henry VIII. (having been knighted in the interval,) he purchased of the King other parts of the possessions of the same monastery, and also property in Lancashire.

His son's letter to Lord Stanhope seems to refer to a mortgage of these lands, or some of them, to Lord Stanhope and his brother Sir Edward.

A pedigree of the Holcroft family will be found in Ormerod's History of Cheshire, vol. ii. p. 75.

[a] He was disgraced with Sir John Thynne and Whalley, the Receiver of the duchy of Lancaster, in 1552. "Holcroft hath surrendered his office of receivership of the Duchie." Lodge, Illustrations of British History, i. 140.

[b] Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 70.

V.

Letter from Charles Lord Stanhope of Harrington to his Sister Elizabeth Lady Tollemache.

Most lovinge and dear Sister,—Whereas you desyre soe earnestly y^t^ I should signe y^e^ release for your howse at Chayringe Crosse, I shall onely desyre you before you send your commissioner to mee, with that writinge to seal, y^t^ you would bee pleased to send y^e^ conveyance made to you by my mother, for till my councell have seen that, they can give mee noe positive answer. After w^ch^ I shall bee readdy to serve you in all thinges, as beinge,

Dear Sister,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

CHARLES STANHOPE.

At Haringeton, February y^e^ 20^tieth^, 1647.

To my noble and woorthy sister y^e^ Lady Tallmatch, these present.

XXVII.—*On the Examination of a Chambered Long-Barrow at West Kennet, Wiltshire.* *By* JOHN THURNAM, *Esq., M.D., F.S.A.*

Read 15th March, 1860.

THE investigation described in the following paper may perhaps throw some light on the nature of those remarkable sepulchral mounds, known as "long barrows," which as yet remain the *crux* and problem of the barrow-digger and archæologist. Many of the long barrows of South Wiltshire were examined at the beginning of this century by Mr. Cunnington and Sir Richard Colt Hoare; but with so little return for the pains bestowed on them, that, though Sir Richard was satisfied of their high antiquity, he was utterly at a loss to determine the purpose for which such immense mounds had been raised.[a] In another part of his "Ancient Wiltshire," he tells us that he and his colleague "had at length given up all researches in them, having for many years in vain looked for that information which might tend to throw some satisfactory light on their history."[b] In the various long barrows which were opened by these investigators, we find that, with very few exceptions, human skeletons were discovered on the floor of the barrow, at the broad, or east end, "lying in a confused and irregular manner, and generally covered with a pile of stones or flints." The total absence of bronze weapons, of all personal ornaments, and of urns of pottery, such as were constantly found by them in the circular barrows of the same district, is repeatedly noticed by Sir Richard Hoare, who observes that "their original purport is still involved in obscurity, and a further explanation of them would be a great desideratum."[c]

In his second volume—"Ancient North Wiltshire"—Sir Richard points out that in this district many of the long barrows have a cistvaen, or stone chamber,

[a] Ancient Wilts, vol. i. p. 21.

[b] Ibid. p. 93. Mr. Cunnington's own observations on the Long Barrows will be found in the Archæologia, vol. xv. p. 345.

[c] Ancient Wilts, vol. i. *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 110. Modern Wilts; Hundreds of Ambresbury, Everley, &c. 1826, pp. 54, 57. Tumuli Wiltunenses, 1829, p. 5.

constructed at the eastern end; [a]and, referring to North Wiltshire and Somersetshire, he observes, that in those counties where stone abounds we frequently find a cromlech, or cistvaen, at the east end, which, in general, is the highest part of the barrow.[b] In a paper in the Archæologia, Sir Richard proposes to denominate this species of tumulus the "stone barrow;" observing, however, that it differs from the long barrow, "not in its external, but its internal construction. None of this kind," he proceeds, "occurred to me during my researches in South Wiltshire, for the material of stone, of which they were partly formed, was wanting. But some I have found in North Wiltshire, and will be described in my Ancient History of that district."[c] In 1816 the zealous baronet assisted in

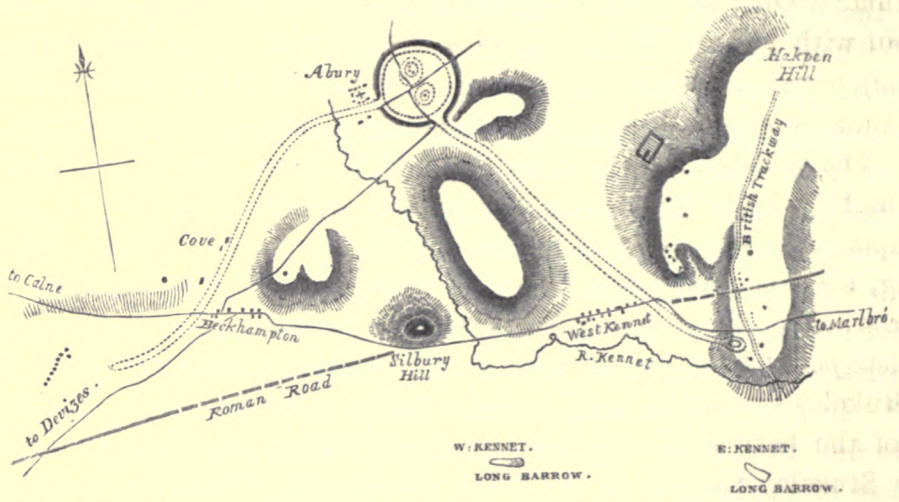


Fig. 1. Plan showing the position of the Long Barrow at West Kennet, in relation to the circles at Avebury, Silbury Hill, &c.

the exploration of the remarkable chambered tumulus at Stoney Littleton in Somersetshire, which elicited these remarks; and, in 1821, of that at Littleton Drew;[d] but, with the last exception, he made no excavations in the long stone barrows of North Wiltshire.

[a] Ancient Wilts. vol. ii. pp 99, 116.

[b] Ancient Wilts, Roman Era, p. 102.

[c] Archæologia, vol. xix. p. 43. Account of a Stone Barrow at Stoney Littleton. The Chambered Tumulus at Uley, Gloucestershire, described by the writer in the Archæological Journal, vol. xi. p. 315, closely resembles that at Stoney Littleton.

[d] Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xcii. Feb. 1822, p. 160. See Wilts Archæological and Natural History Magazine, 1856, vol. iii. p. 164, for the completed account, by the writer, of this long barrow, with its contained cists and the remarkable *trilith* still standing at its east end.

I will now proceed to describe the results of the examination of a chambered tumulus at West Kennet, made in the autumn of last year under the auspices of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society. I hope on some future occasion to report the result of similar researches in other long barrows in this part of Wiltshire; and then to make some general observations in regard to their age and period, and to the people by whom they were probably erected.

The long barrow near West Kennet is situated on the brow of a hill which commands a view of Avebury to the north, and St. Anne's Hill and Wansdyke to the south, being about two miles distant from each. It has often been described: John Aubrey, in his "Monumenta Britannica,"[a] written between 1663 and 1671, gives a rude sketch of it, accompanied by a brief and inaccurate description: "On the brow of the hill, south from West Kynnet, is this monument, but without any name: It is about the length of the former, (four perches long—*sic*), but at the end only rude grey-wether stones tumbled together. The barrow is about half a yard high." So far as it can be relied upon, Aubrey's sketch is interesting, as it shows that in his time the whole of the barrow was set round at its base with stones, which formed a complete *peristalith*.

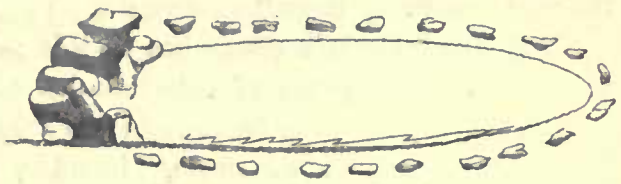


Fig. 2. The Long Barrow at West Kennet.
(From a rude sketch by John Aubrey, *circa* 1660).

Dr. Stukeley's description was written about 1725, in which year, probably, his sketch of the barrow, which he absurdly designates that of an Arch-Druid, was made.[b] Stukeley gives it the name of South Long Barrow, from its situation in respect to Silbury Hill, and the circles of Avebury. He says: "It stands east and west, pointing to the dragon's head on Overton-hill. A very operose congeries of huge stones upon the east end, and upon part of its back or ridge, piled one upon another, with no little labour—doubtless in order to form a sufficient chamber for the remains of the person there buried—not easily to be disturbed. The whole tumulus is an excessively large mound of earth, 180 cubits long (*i. e.* 320 feet), ridged up like a house. And we must needs conclude the

[a] Since 1836, the MS. of this unpublished work of Aubrey's has been preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

[b] Abury, p. 46. Tab. xxxi. compare Tab. xxx. for the date; and Tab. xxi. and xxii. or distant views of the barrow. In a collection of unpublished sketches and papers of Stukeley's, which fell into the hands of Gough and are now in the Bodleian, are two or three plans and drawings of South Long Barrow, showing the position of the stones on the surface at the east end, much as they still remain.

people that made these durable *mausolea* had a very strong hope of the resurrection of their bodies, as well as souls, who thus provided against their being disturbed." Stukeley's large view, taken from the south, shows no *peribolus* of stones on that side; but in two distant views six or eight standing stones appear at the east end. The rest of these stones, figured by Aubrey sixty years previously, had probably been removed by that great depredator of the Avebury circles and avenues, "Farmer Green," who, about the year 1710, as we learn from Stukeley, removed similar stones from a neighbouring barrow, "to make mere-stones withal"—the boundaries probably of his own sheep-walks. Among the unpublished papers of Stukeley's, referred to in a previous note, is a further notice of this tumulus, as to which he says, "Dr. Took, as they call him,[a] has miserably defaced South Long Barrow by digging half the length of it. It was most neatly smoothed up to a sharp ridge, to throw off the rain, and some of the stones are very large."

Sir Richard Hoare's researches in this neighbourhood were made about the year 1814. He speaks of this tumulus as one of the most remarkable of several stupendous long barrows in the neighbourhood of Abury. "According to the measurement we made," he adds, "it extends in length 344 feet; it rises, as usual, towards the east end, where several stones appear above ground; and here, if uncovered, we should probably find the interment, and perhaps a subterraneous kistvaen.[b]"

In 1849 it was visited and described by the late Dr. Merewether, Dean of Hereford, who very much underrates the length of the barrow, but whose description in other respects is both more full and more accurate than those of his predecessors. "At the east end," says he, "were lying in a dislodged condition at least thirty sarsen stones, in which might clearly be traced the chamber formed by the side uprights and large transom stones, and the similar but lower and smaller passage leading to it; and below, round the base of the east end, were to be seen the portion of the circle or semicircle of stones bounding it."[c]

South Long Barrow has suffered much at the hands of the cultivators of the soil. Whilst the "Farmer Green" of Stukeley's days seems to have removed nearly all the stones which bounded its base, two being all which remain

[a] Meaning no doubt the Doctor Toope, whose letter to Aubrey is preserved in his "Monumenta Britannica."

[b] Ancient Wilts, vol. ii. p. 96.

[c] Proceedings Arch. Inst. at Salisbury, 1849, p. 97. A very similar description is that by Mr. Long, in his paper on Abury in the Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag. vol. iv. p. 342. Mr. Long's measurements, however, are much more accurate than those of the Dean.

standing, later tenants, even in the present century, have stripped it of its verdant turf, cut a waggon-road through its centre, and dug for flints and chalk rubble in its sides, by which its form and proportions have been much injured. In spite of all this, however, the great old mound, with its grey, time-stained stones, among which bushes of the blackthorn maintain a stunted growth, commanding as it does a view of a great part of the sacred site of Avebury, has still a charm in its wild solitude, disturbed only by the tinkling of the sheep-bell, or perhaps the cry of the hounds. Shade, too, is not wanting; for on the north side of the barrow, occupying the places once filled by the encircling upright stones, are, what are rarely seen on these downs, several ash and elm trees, of from fifty to seventy years' growth. At the foot of the hill, half a mile away to the east, lies one of those long combs or valleys, where the thickly scattered masses of hard silicious grit, or *sarsen* stone, still simulate a flock of "grey wethers," which, as Aubrey says, "one might fancy to have been the scene where the giants fought with huge stones against the gods." From this valley there can be little doubt were derived the natural slab-like blocks, of which our "giant's chamber" and its appendages were formed.

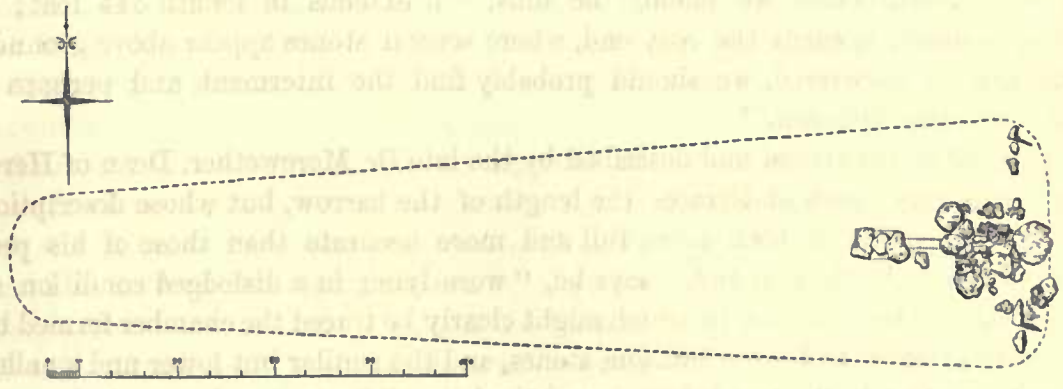


Fig. 3. Plan of the Chambered Long Barrow at West Kennet. (Scale, 60 feet to an inch.)

On proceeding to examine the barrow we found it to be 336 feet long, 40 feet wide at the west end,[a] and 75 at the east. Its elevation was somewhat less at the west than at the east end, which at the highest point was about eight feet.[b] The stones projecting from and scattered over the mound, are all within 60 feet from its eastern end. Three large flat stones, those most to the west, and lying in a row,

[a] A considerable excavation was made near the West end of the Barrow, but without discovering any trace of interment.

[b] In taking these measurements and in the accompanying plans, the writer had the valuable assistance of Mr. W. Hillier, Mr. J. Robinson, architect, and the Rev. W. C. Lukis, F.S A.

appeared to form the covering of a chamber, the uprights of which jutted up below them. To the east of these was a space, whence the cap-stones seemed to have been removed,—two or three, of large size, perhaps these very stones, lying on the mound at some distance. Nearer to the east the stones were scattered in a confused heap, but beneath them appeared the tops of two projecting uprights, separated by little more than a foot's space, and probably indicating the narrowest part of the gallery leading to the chamber. At the very end of the barrow, scarcely, if at all, raised above the natural level, was a large flat slab, nearly twelve feet square, partly buried in the turf. Near the north-east and south-east angles of the tumulus two stones remain standing, and we found traces of two or three others, which had fallen or been broken away, and were partially buried in the turf. These stones, doubtless, formed part of a peristalith, by which the entire barrow was originally surrounded, just as was the great chambered cairn of New Grange in Ireland. Some of the chambered long barrows of the West of England, such as those of Stoney Littleton and Uley, have been inclosed by a dry walling of stone in horizontal courses, carried to a height of from two to three feet.[a] The peristalith of the long barrow at West Kennet, as the writer has found was the case with similar tumuli in the same district, seems to have united both methods, and to have been formed by a combination of ortholithic and horizontal masonry. This was ascertained by digging between the stones at the north-east angle of the tumulus. Here, at one spot, were several tile-like oolitic stones, the remains, no doubt, of a dry walling, by which the spaces between the sarsen ortholiths had been filled up, after the manner shown in the accompanying wood-cut, (fig. 4.) though carried, probably, to a greater height. In the present year the writer made an excavation in a long barrow on Walker's Hill (Alton Down), about three miles to the south of West Kennet. At the base of this large mound, near the east end, is an upright of sarsen, and below the turf, at a little distance on each side, another fallen ortholith was uncovered. Between these, on each side of the remaining upright, was a horizontal walling of oolitic stones, neatly faced on the outside, five or six courses of which remained undisturbed. Long barrows of the large proportions of those near Avebury, finished with a peristalith of this description, must in their original condition have possessed a certain barbaric grandeur. Though apparently more important monuments, they call to mind the tumuli of ancient Greece, such

Fig. 4. Peristalith. (Scale 10 feet to an inch.)

[a] *Ante*, p. 406, note c. For a description of the inclosing wall of the tumulus at Stoney Littleton, see the Rev. H. M. Scarth's paper, in Proceedings of Somerset Archæological Society, vol. viii. p. 52.

as that on Mount Sepia in Arcadia, in Homer's time regarded as the burial-place of Æpytus, and which is described by Pausanias as a tumulus of earth, inclosed at the base by a stone wall set round it in a circle.[a]

Permission had not been given to move any of the stones on the surface, and our operations were confined to the neighbourhood of the presumed chamber, and to digging on the east and west sides of the three large cap-stones.[b] Westward of these was a considerable hollow in the mound, marking the site of some ancient digging, which the discovery of a bit of well-fired pottery, the foot of a small vessel, seemed to connect with the Roman period. The west wall of the chamber was soon exposed, formed by four large sarsen stones, each about a ton in weight, placed horizontally; below these were two larger uprights, one of which had been split, perhaps by the weight of the covering stone. Entrance to the chamber was obtained by the removal of the upper flat stones, by the use of

Fig. 5. View in the Gallery looking towards the Chamber.

Fig. 6. View in the Chamber looking through the entrance.

"screw-jacks" and rollers of timber; a process afterwards applied with great

[a] Homer, Il. lib. ii. 604. Pausan. lib. viii. c. 16., λίθου κρηπῖδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον.

[b] For the sanction to excavate, the writer must express his obligation to the proprietor, the Rev. R. M. Ashe, of Langley Burrell, near Chippenham.

dexterity by our men to the removal from the chamber, and subsequent replacement, of the second cap-stone, weighing more than three tons, which had fallen in during the excavations. By the opening thus obtained, the chamber was in part cleared, and two days later another party of men entered it from the opposite side, having successfully tunneled under the large eastern cap-stone. The portion of the gallery which was cleared out was nearly fifteen feet in length, and averaged three feet six inches in width. Its walls are formed of rude upright blocks, four or five feet in height, and above these by smaller blocks placed horizontally, giving an additional height of from two to three feet. The entrance to the chamber is formed by two large uprights, that on the south, which projects most into the gallery, being nearly eight feet in height, whilst that on the north, being of less elevation, is made up at the top by two horizontal stones, somewhat overhanging the whole, forming with the large incumbent stone a perfect but narrow doorway. This opens into a chamber of nearly quadrangular form, measuring about eight feet in length from east to west, and nine feet in breadth. It is about seven feet nine inches in clear height: the construction of its east and west ends has already been described. The north and south sides are each formed of one large upright slab, about nine feet in full height, and somewhat more than five feet wide. The angles between the uprights are completed above by flat overhanging blocks, below which the chalk rubble, of which the barrow consists, fills up the interspaces. At two points, however, within the chamber, on its very floor, and at two in the gallery, just without the entrance, these angles, to the height of one foot, are filled up with dry walling, of tile-like stones of calcareous grit, a stone not to be found within a less distance than the neighbourhood of Calne, about seven miles to the west. A bit of the coarse oolitic stone called coral rag, probably from the same locality, was also found. The floor of the chamber and gallery consisted of the gravelly clay, which here forms the natural subsoil; and the upright stones, which had been sunk a foot or two in the earth, were supported by small blocks of sarsen stone, closely rammed down in the floor.

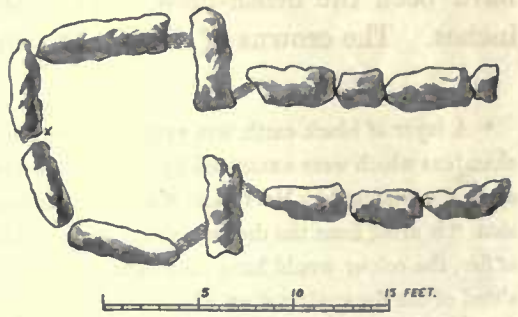


Fig. 7. Ground-plan of the Chamber and Gallery in the Long Barrow at West Kennet. (Scale 10 feet to an inch.)

Both the gallery and chamber were filled with chalk rubble, covered at the top, to the depth of about a foot, with recent rubbish, which had found its way under the cap-stones. In clearing out the gallery, a few scattered bones of animals,

flakes and knives of flints, and fragments of British pottery, of various patterns, were picked up. There were also part of a rude bone pin, and a single bead of Kimmeridge shale, roughly made by hand. At the depth of five feet in the chamber, and extending slightly into the gallery, was a layer, three to nine inches in thickness, of a blackish, sooty, and greasy-looking matter, mixed with the rubble, and most marked on the south side of the chamber. This blackish stratum, the nature and origin of which are by no means clear, was so defined that it could never have been disturbed since its original formation or deposit.[a] At this level the flint flakes and implements and bones of animals were much more numerous than above. The bones were nearly all those of animals likely to have been used for food,—the sheep or goat, ox of a large size, roebuck (of which there was part of a horn), swine of various ages, including boars with tusks of large size. There were also some of the bones of a badger[b], an animal still sometimes eaten by the peasantry.

Beneath the black stratum, the chalk rubble, of a dirty white colour, extended to a depth of two feet; and in this were found four human skeletons, and parts of two others, all resting on the floor of the chamber. The exact position in which the bodies had been deposited was by no means evident; the bones, without being scattered, were further apart than usual, as if the chalk rubble had fallen down gradually on the decaying bodies and separated the bones.

No. 1. In the south-east angle of the chamber, to the left of the entrance, was the skeleton of a youth of about seventeen years of age, apparently in a sitting posture. The skull was extensively fractured at the summit by what appeared to have been the death-blow. The thigh-bones measured about sixteen and a half inches. The crowns of the large teeth were slightly eroded. The wisdom teeth

[a] A layer of black earth was very commonly found at or near the bottom of the long barrows without chambers which were examined by Sir R. C. Hoare, and gave rise to various conjectures. Some of the black earth was analysed by Mr. Hatchett and Dr. Gibbes, eminent chemists of that day. Dr. Gibbes was of opinion that "it arose from the decomposition of vegetable matter; if," it was said, "it had undergone the process of fire, the colour would have been converted into red, and not black." Sir Richard conjectured that it consisted of the decayed turf on which these mounds had been raised; though, if this were the case, it would be difficult to explain the absence of such a stratum in the circular barrows. Ancient Wilts, vol. i. p. 92. Mr. Cunnington appears to have regarded it as consisting of "charred wood and ashes," with which, he says, the floor of the long barrow which he opened at Sherrington was covered. Archæologia, vol. xv. p. 344. Ancient Wilts, vol. i. p. 100.

[b] Bones of the badger have been previously found in barrows. See Archæologia, vol. xxxii. pp. 358, 361. As, however, the badger is a burrowing animal, it is not always easy to determine whether its remains, so found, formed part of the original deposit. They, perhaps, rarely if ever do so.

had not penetrated the gums. Behind this skeleton, and in the very angle of the chamber, was a pile of fragments of pottery.

No. 2. Almost in the centre of the floor was the skeleton of a man of about fifty years of age, of large and powerful frame, the humerus thirteen inches and the thigh-bone twenty inches in length. The teeth were very much eroded, the bones thick and heavy. A fracture, probably the death-wound, extended from one temple to the other, through the forehead into the right cheek, entirely severing the malar bone, which had fallen off below the skull, and was preserved by the clay in which it was embedded, of an ivory-like hardness, contrasting strongly with the light friable character of the bones from which it had been separated.[a] The skull, somewhat large and flat, was of an elongated oval form.

No. 3. Behind the last, and near the south-west corner of the chamber, was the skeleton of a man of medium stature, from thirty to thirty-five years of age. The skull, which bears no marks of injury, is of a beautifully regular and somewhat lengthened oval form. The lower jaw was found at the distance of a foot or more from the skull, and at a lower level.

No. 4. In the north-west angle of the chamber was the skeleton of a man of middle size, about the same age as the last. The legs were flexed against the north wall. The thigh-bone measured seventeen and three-quarter inches. The skull faced the west, and the lower jaw was found about a foot nearer to the centre of the chamber, as if it had fallen from the skull in the process of decay. Being imbedded in the clayey floor, the jaw was singularly well preserved, of an ivory whiteness and density, and even retained distinct traces of the natural oil or medulla. The form of the skull is a decidedly elongated and narrow oval, differing much from that usual in ancient British skulls from the circular barrows of Wilts and Dorset. All its characteristics are more marked; but it bears a singular resemblance, especially in the face, to skull No. 3; and, like that, presents no marks of violence. Lying over this skull was a small slab of sarsen stone, and beneath this two fragments of a fine and peculiar black pottery, (see wood-cut, fig. 8,) neatly marked with lattice lines, corresponding fragments of which were found in a distant part of the chamber. Near the skull, was a curious implement of black flint, a sort of circular knife with a short projecting handle, the edges elaborately chipped.[b] (wood-cut, fig. 11.) This skeleton was perhaps that of the chief for

[a] That the malar bone had really been severed before burial, and probably during life, is curiously proved by an angular fragment of this bone, which remains attached to the superior maxillary, and has the same yellow colour and friable character as the rest of the skull.

[b] This implement is that referred to in the Archæological Journal, vol. xvii. p. 170. It is slightly concave

whose burial this chamber and tumulus were erected, and in honour of whom certain slaves and dependants were immolated.

No. 5. Between and behind the two last skeletons, close to the middle of the west wall of the chamber, were parts of the skeleton of a man of middle age, consisting of the occiput, temporal bones, lower jaw, cervical vertebræ, sternum, and bones of the arm. Close to these was a portion of a curious saucer of coarse pottery, perforated with a series of holes at the bottom, so as to form a kind of strainer (see woodcut, fig. 9.) and with a hole at each side by which it might have been suspended: another fragment of the same vessel was found at the opposite side of the chamber.

Fig. 8. Fragment of Black Pottery. (Actual size.)

Fig. 9. Fragment of Perforated Vessel. (Two-thirds size.)

No. 6. Very near the last, and between the sides of the two upright stones forming the west wall, was the chief part of the skull of an infant about a year old, with no other part of the skeleton, but which perhaps might have been found outside the chamber. With the skull-bones were three sharp flint flakes, and a large heap of fragments of pottery.

A third heap of pottery was found in the north-east angle of the chamber. A morsel of decayed wood was picked up near this part of the floor, which two skilled microscopic observers have ascertained to be oak, as Professor Queckett believes, of the now less common species, *Quercus sessiliflora*. In the south-west corner, between the two adjacent uprights, was a curious ovoid sarsen stone (hard silicious grit) weighing 4¾ lbs.; it was tinged of a red colour, from

on one side, and has some resemblance to the objects of flint found in Ireland and Denmark, which have been compared to spoons by Professor Worsaae (Afbildninger, 1854, p. 15, No. 60), and by Mr. Wilde (Catalogue of Antiquities, 1857, p. 16, fig. 8), who describes them as "of a very unusual shape, presenting the appearance of a circular disc, with a prolonged handle, not unlike a short spoon." Like other less perfect objects of a similar kind, (see wood-cut, p. 416, fig. 12,) they are probably knives, the prolonged thick ends of which were intended for handles, to be held between the finger and thumb, or possibly for attachment to a short wooden shaft.

exposure to fire, was broken at one end, and chipped and battered at the other. It had obviously been used as a mallet, perhaps for breaking the flints of which the numerous flakes and knives found in the chamber were formed. A globular nodule of flint, one pound in weight, chipped all over, appeared to have been used for the same purpose. A very large number of flint flakes, with sharp cutting edges, were obtained from the black stratum, and from near the floor of the chamber. Nearly three hundred were collected; but of these perhaps two-thirds might be regarded as refuse, but clearly not as accidental. Some flint nodules, such as abound in the chalk, appeared to have been broken and the resulting flakes used as knives, probably at a funeral feast on the spot. Three or four cores, from which such flakes had obviously been broken off, were found. The surfaces

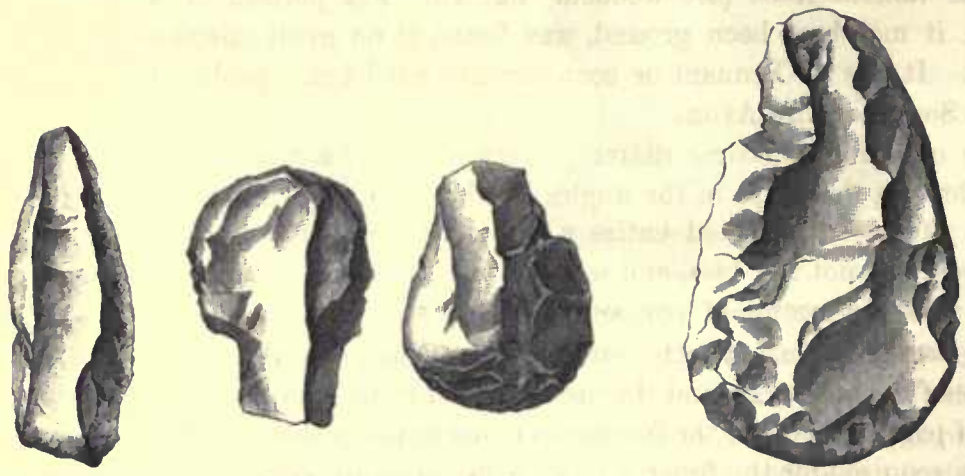


Fig. 10. Fig. 11. Fig. 12. Fig. 13.

Flint Implements (knives, &c.) from the Chambered Long Barrow, West Kennet. (Two-thirds size.)

of the flakes are almost all stained of a milky white; some throughout, others only in patches, perhaps from having parted with much of their water of crystallization.[a] These white stains do not extend very deep into the substance of the flakes. Some of them retain their original black surfaces almost unchanged; and one in particular, found with the skull of the infant (No. 6), near shards of black pottery, and among clean chalk rubble, is actually transparent. Most of

[a] "It is a peculiarity of fractured chalk flints to become deeply and permanently stained and coloured, or to be left unchanged, according to the nature of the matrix in which they are imbedded. In most clay beds they become outside of a bright opaque white or porcelainic; in white calcareous or silicious sand their fractured black surfaces remain almost unchanged; whilst in beds of ochreous and ferruginous sands the flints are stained of a light yellow or deep brown colour."—Prestwich, On Flint Implements, &c. Proceedings Royal Society, 1859, vol. x. p. 55.

them are as struck from the nodules, having the sharp smooth edges resulting from the original conchoidal fracture; and these have mostly an elongated or blade-like shape (see woodcut, fig. 10). Ten or twelve of a round form have been carefully chipped by repeated blows at the edges, by which means a serrated edge has been obtained;[a] more useful, perhaps, than a smooth edge for dividing the coarse and gristly fibres of the food.[b] The regularly serrated edge of one of the oblong flakes may be compared to that of a saw, very similar to one figured in the Proceedings of the Society;[c] the chief difference being that the teeth of the saw in our example are not so deep or defined. Only one of the flint implements had been ground at the edges; and this is a beautiful thin ovoidal knife, three and a half inches long, which may have been used for flaying the animals slaughtered for the funeral feast (see woodcut, fig. 13). A portion of a whetstone, on which it may have been ground, was found at no great distance from skeleton No. 4. It was of Pennant or coal-measure sandstone, probably from the valley of the Somersetshire Avon.

The quantity of coarse native pottery was very remarkable. At first it was thought that the heaps in the angles of the chamber would prove to be the fragments of vases, deposited entire when the funeral rites were completed. This, however, was not the case, and whence the fragments came, and why here deposited, must be matter of conjecture. They at least remind us of the "shards, flints, and pebbles," which our great dramatist connects with the graves of suicides (Hamlet, v. 1), and the use of which in mediæval times may have been a relic of paganism. That the fragments found in the chamber were those of domestic vessels required for the funeral feast, is by no means clear; for in such case, had the mass of fragments been deposited, it would have been possible to have recon-

[a] These are the implements referred to in a preceding note, p. 413. In excavating what was probably a hut-circle, about two miles from Kennet, Dean Merewether, in 1849, found numerous flint objects of this description, two of which he has figured in the Salisbury Volume of the Archæological Institute, p. 106. He describes them as "pieces of flint of about 1½ inch across, evidently chipped into form, as if to be held in the hand or fastened to some handle."

[b] Knives were but little used for this purpose by the rude Celtic tribes, down to a late period. In the century before our era, Posidonius describes those of South Gaul, in their feasts, as "taking up whole joints, like lions, biting off portions, and if any part proved too hard to be torn off by the teeth, they cut it with a small knife, which they had beside them in a sheath."—Athenæus, lib. iv. c. 36. The knife, μαχαίριον, referred to by Posidonius, was probably of bronze; but at an earlier period, and by the ruder tribes, knives of flint would doubtless be those employed. Rough flakes and implements of this material, Worsaae tells us, are found in Denmark among heaps of the broken bones of animals, shells of oysters, &c, the remains, no doubt, of the feasts of the primitive Scandinavian people.—Athenæum, Dec. 31, 1859.

[c] Found at Brighthampton, Oxon. See Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 233.

structed at least some of the vessels. As it is, the variety of form and ornament, of colour and texture displayed by them is even more remarkable than their number. In hardly more than three cases were two or more fragments of the same vessel met with. In stating that there were parts of not fewer than fifty different vessels, we shall probably be very much within the truth. They have been of every size, from that of a small salt-cellar to a vase holding a couple of gallons. That the pottery had been formed of the "plastic clay" of the district,

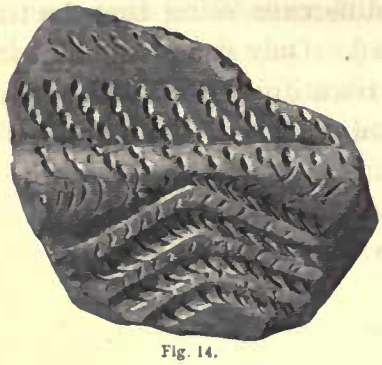


Fig. 14.

Fig. 15.

Fig. 16

Fig. 17.

Fragments of British Pottery from the Chambered Long Barrow, West Kennet. (Fig. 14, actual size; figs. 15, 16, 17, two-thirds size.)

of which bricks are still made, appears from the amount of flint, in the shape of angular fragments white from the fire, which the black or red paste contains. It is needless minutely to describe the character of the pottery, which is unequivocally hand-made, and of the British or Celtic type. It appears, however, to have been more profusely covered with ornament, impressed or scored, than the cinerary urns in the barrows of South Britain usually are. In this respect it assimilates more to the style of the "drinking cups" of these barrows, and to that of the

vases found in the Celtic barrows of North Britain and Ireland. There are parts only of one small vessel found in the chamber, respecting which it may be questioned whether it is strictly British and Celtic. These are the pieces found on the skull No. 4, corresponding fragments of which were met with in another part of the chamber (fig. 8): they were composed of a fine black paste, which has been imperfectly baked, and is easily cut with a knife, contrasting in this respect with the fragment of undoubted Roman pottery found on the outside of the chamber. The scored, lattice-like lines with which the exterior is ornamented are not parallel; but, on the other hand, are not in the prevailing British taste. Still, as somewhat obscure traces on the inner surface appear to show, the vessel itself was perhaps formed on the wheel; and, on the whole, we think it must be referred to the Roman period. If this be admitted, the conclusion that the chamber had been opened during the same period, seems necessarily to follow. The piece of Roman pottery found to the west of the chamber is probably an indication of the same fact, and also that it had been entered from that end.[a] By whomsoever it was opened, its contents were but partially disturbed, as is proved by the condition and order of the skeletons, and by the defined character of the layer of black matter immediately above them.

It is worthy of remark that not a bit of burnt bone or other sign of cremation was met with; that there were no traces of metal, either bronze or iron; or of any arts for the practice of which a knowledge of metallurgy is essential.

It has been already suggested that some of the skeletons in the chamber, on the skulls of which marks of violence are evident, are those of slaves or dependants, immolated on the occasion of the burial of their chief. That this was the custom of the Celtic tribes at one period, cannot be doubted; as Cæsar tells us that, only a little before his time, the Gauls devoted to the funeral pile the favourite slaves and retainers of the dead. Mela even speaks of these immolations as being voluntarily performed, with the hope of joining the dead in a future life.[b] These remarks apply to cremation, the usual though perhaps not universal concomitant of burial among the Gauls in the times of Cæsar and Mela. There can, however, be little doubt that they are equally applicable to burial unaccompanied by combustion of the body. It may likewise be inferred that, as in the case of cremation the devoted persons would be burnt with the body of their dead lord, so, where burning was not practised, they would be simply slaughtered, and consigned with

[a] If not at that end, it had probably been entered by raising the central cap-stone, which is much smaller than the two others, and appears to have been broken at one side.

[b] B. G. lib. vi. c. 19; Mela, lib. iii. c. 2.

him to a common grave. Such, at least, is probable, from the description, by Herodotus, of the funerals of the kings of the Scythians, who by modern critics are regarded as an Indo-European people,[a] and perhaps as nearly allied to the Celtic as to the Teutonic races. From this passage, also, we may perhaps derive some light as to the mode of burial among those rude Celtic tribes, by whom probably the long-chambered barrows of Western Britain were raised. This applies not merely to the immolation of victims, practised alike by both people, but also to the thatched roof erected by the Scythians over the body of the king, a similar structure to which, when decayed, may have given rise to the black stratum of earth observed in the chambered barrow at Kennet, and in most of the long barrows of Wiltshire.[b] From the same historian it is known that among some of the Thracian tribes, the wife supposed to have been most loved by the deceased was slain on the sepulchral mound, and buried in it with her husband. In what manner the Thracian widows were slain is not described. Those of the Scythian chiefs were strangled; whilst the condition of at least two skulls in the Kennet tumulus makes it probable that among these Western Celts death was caused by cleaving the skull with a sword[d] or hatchet, perhaps of stone. Evidence had been previously obtained from the barrows of Wiltshire of this mode of immolation of funereal victims; and it is remarkable that two out of three instances which may be cited are in the case of long barrows. In 1801 Mr. Cunnington opened the long barrow near Heytesbury, called "Bowls' Barrow," in which he found several skeletons crowded together at the east end, the skull of one of which "appeared to have been cut in two by a sword."[e] In a circular

[a] Rawlinson's Herodotus, 1858, vol. iii. Essay 2, Ethnography of the European Scyths.

[b] The passage in Herodotus (lib. iv. c. 71), though often quoted, deserves to be here given. After describing the rough embalmment of the body, and the savage cutting and maiming practised by the Scythians in token of mourning, the historian thus proceeds: "The body of the dead king is laid in the grave prepared for it, stretched upon a mattress; spears are fixed in the ground on either side of the corpse, and rafters stretched across above it to form a roof, which is covered with a thatching of osier twigs. In the open space around the body of the king, they bury one of his concubines, first killing her by strangling her, and also his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his lacquey, his messenger, some of his horses, firstlings of all his other possessions, and some golden cups, for they use neither silver nor brass. After this they set to work and raise a vast mound above the grave, all of them vying with each other, and seeking to make it as high as possible."

[c] Herod. lib. v. c. 5.

[d] The human victims of the Gauls, from the observation of whose death-throes future events were predicted, were slaughtered by striking with a sword on the back, above the diaphragm.—Diodorus, lib. v. c. 31; Strabo, lib. iv. c. 4, s. 5.

[e] Hoare, Ancient Wilts, vol. i. p. 87.

barrow near Stonehenge, Sir R. C. Hoare found "a skull, which appeared to have been cut in two by some very sharp instrument, and as nicely as any instrument of Savigny could have effected."[a] In 1855 the writer found in a cist in the curious long barrow near Littleton Drew, the fragments of a skull, "the fractured edges of which were very sharp, suggesting the idea of having been cleft during life."[b] Attention having been directed to the subject, other instances of skulls thus cleft and fractured may perhaps be observed and described. Such appearances may easily be overlooked, or, if noticed, misinterpreted; but it will be admitted that their occurrence is curious, and has an important bearing on the estimate to be formed of the general grade of civilization of those who must be regarded as our remote ancestors.

[a] Archæologia, vol. xix. p. 48; Ancient Wilts, vol. i. p. 163.

[b] Crania Brit. No. 24, p. 3. Wilts Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag. vol. iii. p. 172.

XXVIII.—*Notes on the Origin and History of the Bayonet.* *By* John Yonge Akerman, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*, *Secretary.*

Read 3rd May, 1860.

In attempting to investigate the origin and history of the bayonet, we encounter, at the outset, considerable difficulty; even the derivation of its name is involved in obscurity. In the dictionary of Cotgrave, first published in 1611, we find, "*Bayonnette*, a kind of small flat pocket-dagger, furnished with knives; or a great knife to hang at the girdle, like a dagger." The same authority gives us "*Bayonnier*, as *arbalestier*[a] (an old word)." In the "Glossaire de la Langue Romane," of Roquefort, "*Baionier*" is explained as a crossbow-man. Neither of these words occurs in the dictionary of Palsgrave, published in 1530.

In the "Dictionnaire des Origines," a recent edition of which was published at Paris in 1833, we are told that the bayonet was first used by the French at the battle of Turin, in 1692, and that it was first adopted by the English in the following year. According to the same authority, the first regiment in France which was armed with bayonets, was that of the Fusiliers, afterwards the Royal Artillery. These statements are, however, liable to some objections, as will be hereafter shown. The use of the bayonet as a weapon of war must be referred to a date much earlier than those there given. In the Memoirs of M. de Puysegur, we find the following notice of this arm: "Pour moi, quand je commandois dans Bergues, dans Yprès, Dixmude, et Laquenoc, tous les partis que j'envoyois, passoient les canaux de cette façon. Il est vrai que les soldats ne portoient point d'épées, mais ils avoient des bayonnettes qui avoient des manches d'un pied de long, et les lames des bayonnettes étoient aussi longues que les manches, dont les bouts étoient propres à mettre dans les canons des fusils pour se défendre, quand quelqu'un vouloit venir à eux après qu'ils avoient tiré."[b]

[a] "Arbalestier" he explains as "a crosse-bow-man, that shoots in, or serves with, a crosse-bow; also a crosse-bow maker."

[b] Les Mémoires de Messire Jacques de Chastenet, Chevalier, Seigneur de Puysegur. Paris, 1747, tom. ii. p. 306.

This relates to the year 1647; but, notwithstanding the obvious advantage of the contrivance, it appears for a time to have been utterly neglected. Thus, in the "Mareschal de Bataille," of Lostelneau, which was published in the same year, 1647, we find no mention of the bayonet, and the musketeers are uniformly armed with swords.[a]

More than twenty years afterwards, the invention mentioned by Puysegur appears to have been revived. Sir James Turner, writing in the year 1670-71, thus recommends its adoption: "And, indeed, when musketeers have spent their powder, and come to blows, the butt-end of their musket may do an enemy more hurt than these despicable swords which most musketeers wear at their sides. In such medleys, knives whose blades are one foot long, made both for cutting and thrusting (the haft being made to fill the bore of the musket), will do more execution than either sword or butt of musket."[b]

In a treatise on "English Military Discipline," published by Robert Harford in 1680, the author observes: "The bayonet is much of the same length as the poniard [12 or 13 inches]; it hath neither guard nor handle, but onely a haft of wood, eight or nine inches long. The blade is sharp-pointed and two-edged, a foot in length, and a large inch in breadth. The bayonet is very useful to dragoons, fusiliers, and souldiers that are often commanded out on parties; because that, when they have fired their discharges, and want powder and shot, they put the haft of it into the mouth of the barrel of their pieces, and defend themselves therewith, as well as with a partizan." (p. 13.) "We remark also," says he, "that except on the occasions of which I am about to speak (viz., in field engagements), the pike-men are altogether useless, not being eligible for advanced posts, where, in order to give the alarm, it is necessary to make a noise." He further observes, "that in the attack and assault of places, soldiers should be armed with weapons easy to be handled, and which make a great noise, the effect of which is to intimidate those who are attacked." "These reasons," he adds, "and many others have led to the giving this year, to some musqueteers, bayonets to fix in the muzzles of their pieces when attacked by cavalry, thus having the effect of pikes, the use of which will, ere long, no doubt, be abandoned."

To the foregoing contemporary notices of the bayonet and its application may may be added the following: "*Bayonette* (f.), a dagger, or knife dagger-like, such

[a] The cumbrous musket then in use was, in reality, the true cause of the bayonet being so long neglected. The adoption of the lighter arm, the fusil, rendered it at once available.

[b] Pallas Armata, London, 1683, p. 175.

as the dragoons wear."—Miège, Great French Dict., London, 1688. "*Bayonette,* a long dagger, much in use of late, and carried by the grenadiers."—Phillips's World of Words, 1696. "*Bayonette* (Fr.), a broad dagger, with a round taper handle, to stick in the muzzle of a musket."—Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum; or, a General Eng. Dict., by John Kersey, 1715. "*Bayonette,* a broad dagger, without a guard, made with a round taper handle, to stick in the muzzle of a musket, so that it may serve instead of a pike, to receive the charge of horse."—New World of Words, by Edwd. Phillips, fol. 1720. We do not learn much from these descriptions; but in the "Travaux de Mars," by M. Manusson-Mallet, published in 1685, we find, not only a description, but also an engraving of the bayonet then in use. It appears to have been formed on the model of that mentioned by Puysegur, and is thus described: "Une bayonette, ou une petite lame montée dans un manche de bois; le soldat s'en sert dans quelques occasions comme une demi-pique, en mettant son manche dans le canon de son mousquet ou son fusil."[a]

The accompanying engraving (plate xxi. fig. 3) exhibits this weapon without a guard, and of the simplest form, as described in the "Treatise on English Military Discipline," above mentioned.

In the following year, the form of the bayonet appears to have been changed, and, in this country at least, a uniform or regulation pattern to have been adopted. An example of one of superior execution and finish is exhibited, which has inscribed on the blade, in four lines, GOD . SAVE . KING . IAMES . 2 : 1686.[b]

This new species of arm, the introduction of which soon led to the disuse of the pike, was found most effective; but it was attended with inconvenience, which led to the adoption of a contrivance whereby the soldier could discharge his musket, and retain his bayonet fixed.[c] When this was first adopted does not appear; but it was clearly resorted to by the forces under Mackay in the Scottish

[a] Les Travaux de Mars, ou l'Art de la Guerre. Par A. Manusson Mallet. Amst. 1685. Tome iii. p. 30.

[b] This bayonet was kindly sent for exhibition by Mr. Joseph Clarke, of Saffron Walden, who states that it was found on the demolition of an old house in that town. An example is preserved in the Tower Armoury. (See No. 1 in our plate.) Mr. John Hewitt informs me that 2,025 plug-bayonets were destroyed in the Great Fire at the Tower in 1841. I believe all the bayonets of this pattern to have been made in Germany. The greater part of them bear the Solingen forge-mark,—*a crowned head in profile.*

[c] In a communication with which I have been favoured by Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, he remarks: "When I was at Rome, in 1835, it was the fashion to have plug-shaped handles for the knives used in boar-hunting, so as to fit into the muzzle of the rifle; a very injudicious arrangement, as a very slight thrust will often set the knife so firmly into the barrel as to render its removal by the hand alone impracticable."

war in 1689, who says: "All our officers and souldiers were strangers to the Highlanders' way of fighting and embattailing, which mainly occasioned the consternation many of them were in; which to remedy for the ensuing year, having taken notice on this occasion that the Highlanders are of such a quick motion, that if a battalion keep up his fire till they be near to make sure of them, they are upon it before our men can come to their second defence, which is the bayonet in the musle of the musket: I say, the general having observed this method of the enemy, he invented the way to fasten the bayonet so to the musle without, by two rings, that the soldiers may safely keep their fire till they pour it into their breasts, and then have no other motion to make but to push as with a pick."[a]

The merit of this contrivance, however, cannot be claimed for Mackay, for Puysegur mentions that he had seen before the Peace of Nimeguen (1678) a regiment which was armed with swords without guards, but furnished with brass rings, one at the junction of the blade and the handle, the other at the pommel. But he does not state that the regiment thus armed was a French one, and we have sufficent evidence that the plug-bayonet continued in use for some years afterwards. That it was not quickly adopted by the French, is very clear from the same author, who says in his "Art de la Guerre," chap. viii., "Durant la guerre de 1688 on avoit proposé au feu Roi de supprimer les piques et les mousquets; il fit même faire une épreuve de bayonnettes à douille à peu près comme celles d'aujourd'hui sur les mousquets de son régiment; mais comme les bayonnettes n'avoient pas été faites sur les canons qui étoient de differentes grosseurs, elles ne tenoient pas bien ferme, de sorte que dans cette épreuve qui fut faite en présence de S. M. plusieurs bayonnettes en tirant tomboient, à d'autres la balle en sortant cassoit le bout, cela fit qu'elles furent rejettées. Mais peu de temps après des nations contre lesquelles nous avons été en guerre quitterent les piques pour prendre les fusils avec des bayonnettes à douille, ausquelles nous avons été obligés de revenir.

At any rate, we have in Mackay's account the fact of its application in actual warfare, so early as the year 1689; but how shall we reconcile it with the retention of the old method of screwing the bayonet into the muzzle of the musket? for this is directed in a book of exercises, published by royal authority in the following year.

Grose, in his history of the English army,[b] says, "I have in vain endeavoured to ascertain the precise time when the bayonets of the present form were first adopted

[a] Mackay's Memoirs of the Scottish War, p. 52, 4to. Edinb. 1833. [b] Lond. 1801. Vol. i. p. 162.

here; that improvement, as well as the original invention, is of French extraction. The following anecdote respecting that weapon was communicated to me by Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Maxwell, of the 30th Regiment of Foot, who had it from his grandfather, formerly lieutenant-colonel of the 25th Regiment of Foot. "In one of the campaigns of King William III. in Flanders, in an engagement the name of which he had forgotten, there were three French regiments, whose bayonets were made to fix after the present fashion, a contrivance then unknown in the British army. One of them advanced against the 25th Regiment with fixed bayonets; Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell who commanded it, ordered his men to screw their bayonets into their muzzles to receive them, thinking they meant to decide the affair point to point; but to his great surprise, when they came within a proper distance, the French threw in a heavy fire, which, for a moment, staggered his people, who by no means expected such a greeting, not conceiving it possible they could fire with fixed bayonets: they nevertheless recovered themselves, charged, and drove the enemy out of the line.

"Notwithstanding this instance," he adds, "of the superiority of the socket bayonet, it seems as if that invention was not immediately adopted, but that the old bayonets underwent a mutation or two before they arrived at their present form. One of them was a couple of rings fixed into their handle, for the purpose of receiving the muzzle of the piece, like the socket of the present bayonet, by which means the soldier was enabled both to fire and load his musket without unfixing it. The late Rev. Mr. Gostling, of Canterbury, who was extremely inquisitive respecting military affairs, told me he remembered to have seen two horse grenadiers ride before the coach of Queen Anne, with their bayonets fixed, by means of the rings here described."

Daniel, in his "Histoire de la Milice Françoise," says, "Cette arme est très moderne dans les troupes. Je croi que le premier corps qui en ait été armé est le Régiment des Fusiliers, créé en 1671, et appelé depuis Régiment Royal-Artillerie. Les soldats de ce régiment portoient la bayonette dans un petit fourreau à côté de l'épée. On en a donné depuis aux autres régimens pour le même usage, c'est-à-dire, pour la mettre au bout du fusil dans les occasions."[a]

Voltaire, speaking of Louis XIV., says, "L'usage de la baïonnette au bout du fusil est de son institution. Avant lui on s'en servait quelquefois; mais il n'y avait que quelques compagnies qui combattissent avec cette arme. Point d'usage uniforme, point d'exercice: tout était abandonné à la volonté du général. Les

[a] Daniel, Histoire de la Milice Françoise. Paris, 1721, tome ii. p. 592. In tome i. pl. 22, p. 415 of the same work is a representation of a plug bayonet, and in pl. 33, p. 466, of a socket bayonet.

piques passaient pour l'arme la plus redoutable. Le premier régiment qui eut des baïonnettes, et qu'on forma à cette exercice, fut celui des fusiliers établi en 1671."[a]

The sword was, in fact, retained till the commencement of the eighteenth century, according to the Marquis de Feuquiere :—

" On conserve encore au soldat, outre sa bayonnette, une épée large et pesante, et un ceinturon large et pesant : c'en est trop, il l'accable par son poids. La gargouche qu'on passe dans ce ceinturon large devient aussi trop incommode au soldat, lorsqu'il faut qu'il se baisse souvent, ou qu'il dorme sous les armes. Mon avis seroit qu'une bonne baïonnette un peu longue et tranchante suffiroit, dont le soldat pût se servir à la main et au bout de son fusil, et que cette arme fût pendue à un ceinturon moins large, dans lequel la gargouche seroit passée. Il seroit beaucoup moins chargé, et embarrassé, et par conséquent beaucoup plus agile, et vif dans toutes ses fonctions.

" On s'est aussi enfin défait des piques, et on a reconnu qu'un bataillon frézé de bayonnettes, et dont il sortoit un grand feu, étoit plus capable de résister à la cavalerie en plaine, que mal frézé du peu de piques, qu'on pouvoit conserver dans la suite d'une campagne."[b]

The precise period of the adoption of the socket bayonet in the English army is, I believe, unknown, but it was doubtless in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Cannon, in his " Records of the Army,"[c] quotes the following document in the State Paper Office :—

" 2 April, 1672.

" Charles R.

" Our will and pleasure is, that a Regiment of Dragoones which we established and ordered to be raised in Twelve Troopes of four score in each besides officers, who are to be under the command of Our most deare and most intirely beloved Cousin Prince Rupert, shall be armed out of Our stoares remaining within Our office of the Ordinance, as followeth: that is to say, three corporalls, two serjeants, the gentlemen-at-armes, and twelve souldiers of each of the said twelve Troopes, are to have and carry each of them one halbard, and one case of pistolls with holsters ; and the rest of the souldiers of the several Troopes aforesaid, are to have and carry each of them one match-locke musquet with a collar of bandaliers, and also to have and to carry one bayonet, or great knife. That each lieutenant have and carry one partizan ; and that two drums be delivered out for each Troope of the said Regiment."

It will be observed that the date of this document is scarcely a year later than

[a] Siècle de Louis XIV. (Œuvres Complètes, Basle, 1785, tom. xxi. p. 205, chap. xxix.)

[b] Mémoires de M. le Marquis de Feuquière, Lieutenant-Général des Armées du Roi. A Londres, 1736, p. 68.

[c] First Dragoon Guards, Introduction, p. x.

that in which Père Daniel and Voltaire state that the bayonet was first introduced into the French army. It may be noticed, too, that the order directs the regiment to be armed out of the stores remaining in the Office of Ordinance, showing that the efficacy of this weapon had been recognised by military men in this country almost, if not actually as early as in France.

Puysegur (Art de la Guerre, chap. vi.) says, "Lorsque cette guerre commença, il y avoit déjà quelques régimens qui avoient quitté les piques, le reste avoit toujours le cinquième des soldats armés de piques; mais l'hyver de 1703 à 1704 elles furent entièrement abandonnées et les mousquets le furent aussi peu de tems après. Durant cette guerre les officiers ont été armés d'espontons de huit pieds de long; les sergens d'hallebardes de six pieds et demi, et tous les soldats de fusils avec des bayonnettes à douille, pour pouvoir tirer avec la bayonnette au bout du fusil."[a]

I have sought in vain for the origin and source of the tradition that the bayonet was invented at Bayonne. The story runs, that in a battle which took place in a small hamlet in the environs of that city, in the middle of the seventeenth century, between some Basque peasants and a band of Spanish smugglers, the former, having exhausted their ammunition, defeated their opponents by charging them with their long knives, fastened in the muzzle of their muskets.

Such an event may have occured, but it requires authentication, and the relation begets a suspicion that the mere similarity of name has laid the foundation of the supposed connexion of the bayonet with Bayonne.

True or false, the story is immortalized in the verse of Voltaire, who, in the eighth book of the "Henriade," thus alludes to this weapon:—

> "Cette arme, que jadis, pour dépeupler la terre,
> Dans Bayonne inventa le démon de la guerre,
> Rassemble en même temps, digne fruit de l'enfer,
> Ce qu'ont de plus terrible et la flamme et le fer."

Voltaire, however, was not the inventor of the figment, if it is really to be regarded as such, for we find "bayonet" thus glossed in the dictionary of Ménage, published in 1694: "*Bayonette*, sorte de poignard, ainsi appelée de la ville de Baionne."

In thus attempting to give the true history of this formidable weapon, I may, in conclusion, be permitted to refer to its common appellation of "bagonet." This is at once a vulgarism and an archaism, for it was so designated by men and

[a] Art de la Guerre, par le Maréchal de Puysegur, mis à jour par M. le Marquis de Puysegur, son fils. Paris, 1748. Tome i. ch. vi. p. 57.

officers in the English army almost coeval with its introduction. In a small MS. volume in my possession, written in the latter half of the seventeenth century, the exercise of the dragoons (for, as has been already shown, it was not confined to the foot soldier,[a]) is thus described. It is stated to be the "Exercize of Dragoons, composed for his Ma^{ts} Roy^{l} Regiment by y^{e} R^{ht} Hon^{ble} Louis, Earle of Feversham, Colonell." Among other instructions, I find

"handle yo^{r} baggonnetts.
"draw out yo^{r} baggonnetts."
"mount your baggonetts altogether."
"fasten them in to y^{e} mussells of your musket."

They are further instructed to "march through a towne with musketts advanced and through a quarter wth baggonetts in y^{e} mussells of y^{e} musketts."[b]

A review of the evidence here cited gives us the following results:—

1st. That "bayonette" was the name of a knife, which may probably have been so designated, either from its having been the peculiar weapon of a crossbow-man, or from the individual who first adopted it.

2nd. That its first recorded use as a weapon of war occurs in the Memoirs of Puysegur, and may be referred to the year 1647.

3rd. That it is first mentioned in England by Sir J. Turner, 1670-71.

4th. That it was introduced into the English army in the first half of the year 1672.

5th. That before the Peace of Nimeguen, Puysegur had seen troops on the continent armed with bayonets furnished with rings which would go over the muzzles of muskets.

6th. That in 1686 the device of the socket bayonet was tested before the French King and failed.

7th. That in 1689 Mackay, by the adoption of the ringed bayonet, successfully opposed the Highlanders at the battle of Killiecrankie.

[a] Among the Harleian MSS. (No. 6,844) is a copy of a "Treaty between the Sovereign of this kingdom and the Duke of Sax Gotha, Nov. 6, 1691," by which there are "delivered in service to His Majesty of Great Brittaigne, three Reigments," one of which is "a Regim^{t} of Dragoons of nine Companys, provided with good Horses, Carabins, Pistols, Sabels (*sic*), Bajonetts, and all the same clothing." A regiment of foot is to "be provided with good Musquetts, fire-Locks, and Swine-feathers."

[b] Even so late as the year 1735 the name was written and printed "bagonet." "*Bagonet* is a short broad dagger, made with iron handles and rings that go over the muzzle of the firelock, and are screwed fast; so that the soldier fires with the bagonet on the muzzle of the piece, and is ready to act against horse."—Glossary appended to "Memoirs Historical and Military of the Marquis de Feuquière." Translation from the French. London, 1735.

8th. Lastly, that the bayonet with the socket was in general use in the year 1703.

I must, in conclusion, offer my thanks to the various exhibitors who have contributed specimens to illustrate this communication. By the kindness of the Council of the United Service Institution, I am enabled to exhibit examples of the bayonet in their museum. I am also indebted to Captain Tupper, Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A. Mr. Robert Porrett, F.R.S. Mr. J. W. Bernhard Smith, Mr. Robert Pritchett, Mr. Charles Reed, F.S.A. Mr. T. Godfrey Faussett, F.S.A. and Mr. Charles Spence, for the loan of interesting specimens in their possession, some of which are engraved in the accompanying plate.

Description of Plate XXII.

No. 1. A plug-bayonet, with the following inscription engraved on the blade:—GOD . SAVE . KING . IAMES . THE . 2 : 1686.—(*Tower Armoury.*)

No. 2. The bayonet of an officer in its leather scabbard, with small knife and fittings. On the blade is engraved the Royal Arms, and the inscription GOD . SAVE . KING . WILLIAM . AND . QVEEN . MARY.—(*Mr. R. Pritchett.*)

No. 3. A bayonet of the same period as the two former, without ornament.

No. 4. A sword, the guard of which is so adapted that it may be screwed into the muzzle of a musket, and thus used as a bayonet. This specimen bears evident marks of its having been frequently so used. An example in the Tower Armoury has lost the finger-guard.—(*Museum of the United Service Institution.*)

No. 5. Bayonet, probably of a Spanish officer, with its scabbard, on which is engraved "Soi de dⁿ Manuel Monsalve."—(*Tower Armoury.*)

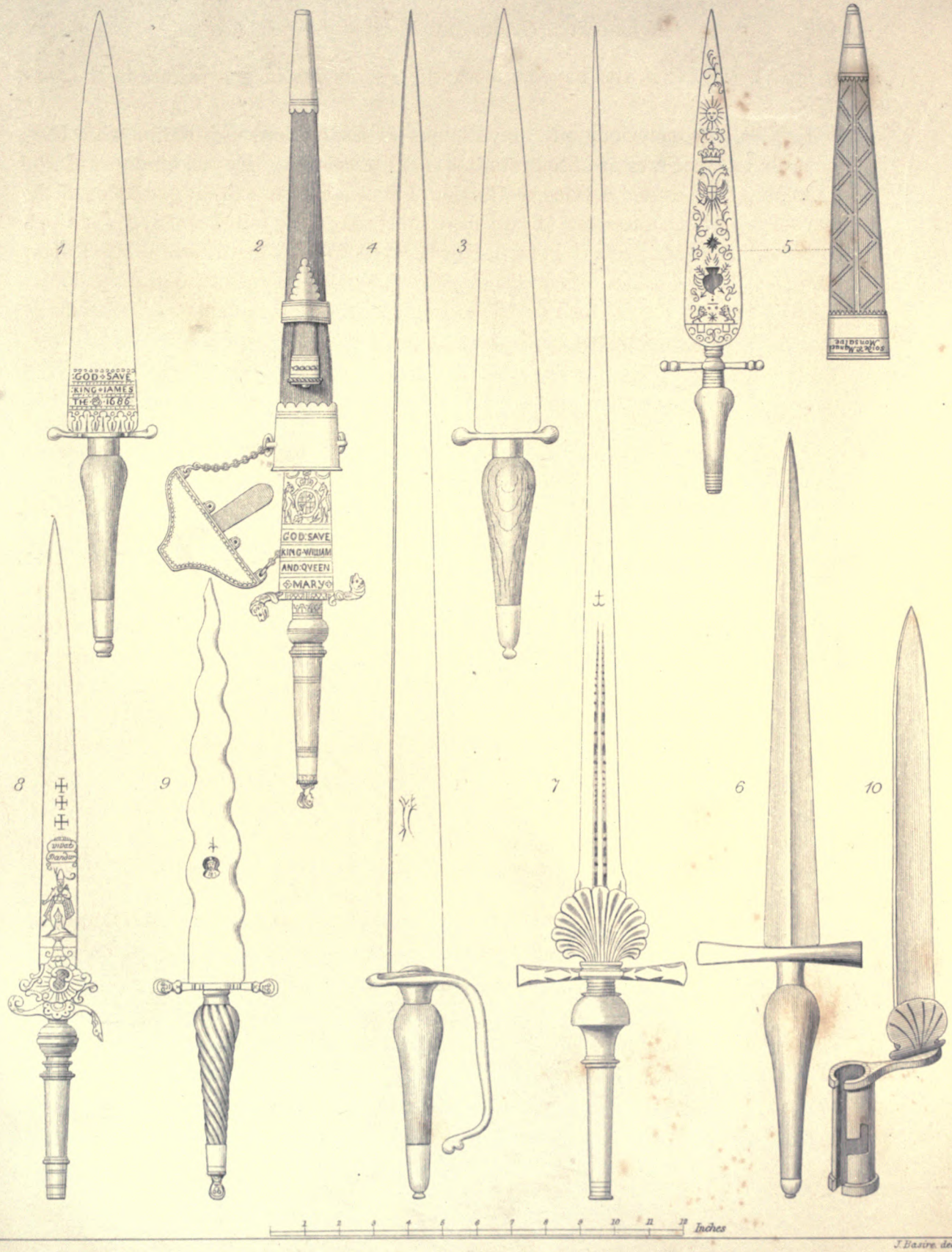
No. 6. A large two-edged bayonet, the guard terminating at one end in a hammer, and in the other in a turnscrew.—(*Tower Armoury.*)

No. 7. A long sword-bayonet, probably of Italian workmanship.—(*Tower Armoury.*

No. 8. The plug-bayonet of a Croat mercenary, engraved on both sides with figure of one of the band, and the words "Vivat Pandur." Purchased in Venice.—(*Captain Tupper.*)

No. 9. A plug-bayonet, with a fluted handle and flamboyant blade, which appears to be of foreign workmanship.—(*Captain Tupper.*)

No. 10. A socket bayonet of very rude workmanship, formerly in the collection at Alton Towers.—(*Tower Armoury.*)



J. Basire. del. et sc.

BAYONETS.

XXIX.—*On Mural Paintings in Chalgrove Church, Oxfordshire. Communicated through J. H. Parker, Esq. F.S.A. by* William Burges, *Esq.*

Read March 1st, 1860.

Were we to believe the general run of antiquaries, the interior of every old building invariably glowed with the richest gold and colour, and every village church was a Sainte Chapelle, or a St. Stephen's, Westminster. Few, however, appear to have thought of supporting their theory by carefully taking off the whitewash of some of our smaller churches, on the chance of finding a rich polychromy underneath. Of late years the mania for church-restoration has been performing this office, and the old painters are found to have been no less consistent in their profession than were the old architects.

Thus the latter did not build imitations of Westminster Abbey when a parish church was required, neither did the former employ gilding and bright colours when their turn came to complete the edifice. On the contrary, we find that the artists who executed the paintings in our village churches, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, generally contented themselves with lamp-black and red and yellow ochre. The outlines were made with the red ochre mixed with a little black, and the draperies filled in with broken tints of the three colours, for they generally avoided employing a pure colour in any position, and preferred breaking it up with other tints in the same manner as was done in the ornaments of illuminated manuscripts, which are always shaded; a tint of that kind giving variety and relief to the eye, which a flat one never does. In the fifteenth century a demand occurred for a greater variety of colours, and most of the paintings of that period, even in village churches, are very much more gaudy than those of the preceding centuries. The reason was probably this: in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries coloured glass was perhaps more expensive than it afterwards became, and in a village church, and indeed in some cathedrals, such as Salisbury, it was thought sufficient to have all the windows, excepting the eastern and western ones, executed in *grisaille*. Now paintings in a few broken tints would harmonise far better with *grisaille* than those executed with many colours, and this in all probability accounts for the Early English and Decorated paintings

being so simple. When, however, in the Perpendicular period, highly coloured windows became cheaper, or more fashionable, it was doubtless considered necessary to work up the paintings to the same key of colour as the surrounding windows; but, except in a few instances, these Perpendicular paintings are barbarous in style, when compared with those of the Early English and Decorated times, and, after going from bad to worse, they were finally stopped by the Reformation, when our churches received the whitewash which has continued to the present day.[a]

But to return to the paintings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It would take far too great a space to attempt to mention every instance where portions or fragments have been discovered. They have generally been destroyed as soon as exposed to view, and a short notice in some archæological publication, with perhaps an outline woodcut, is the only record of their existence. Some few, however, have been preserved, thanks to the general spread of archæological knowledge among the clergy; such are those over the chancel arch at Preston Church, near Brighton; the subjects of which (the Martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket, and St. Michael weighing the souls of the departed), will be found engraved in Vol. XXIII. of the Archæologia.

A very perfect series has lately been brought to light in Charlwood Church, Surrey, by the care of the rector, who removed the whitewash with his own hands, and has likewise had the good sense to keep them *in statu quo*. The stories represented were *Les Trois Morts et les Trois Vifs*, and the legends of St. Nicholas, St. Eulalia, St. Margaret, &c.

In Arundel Church, Sussex, may be seen The Seven Acts of Mercy, represented in the compartments of a circle, with the Angel of Mercy standing in the middle; but this interesting painting has unfortunately been restored.[b]

In all these instances the paintings are only parts of a series, and indeed it is very doubtful whether any perfect series has ever been discovered before that which now covers the internal walls of Chalgrove Church, Oxfordshire.

These last were brought to light in 1858, and have been preserved by the perseverance of the vicar, the Rev. Robert Lawrence, and his family.

The chancel of Chalgrove Church is of Decorated architecture, with two windows on each side, and a larger one at the east end, all with flowing

[a] A fair series of paintings of the Perpendicular period, from the chapel of the Holy Trinity in the church at Stratford-on-Avon, has been published by Thomas Fisher.

[b] In some cases the churchwardens insist either on the restoration or the demolition of the paintings; here I think we can hardly quarrel with the restoration, however much we may disapprove of it as Archæologists.

tracery; there are also sedilia and a piscina of a somewhat uncommon type; but besides this there is nothing at all unusual in the architecture to distinguish it from hundreds of similar chancels of the same date. The mason having finished his work, and brought up the rubble walling to a surface with rough mortar, the plasterer, or perhaps the mason himself, went over the whole of the church with a coating of fine stuff about one-eighth of an inch thick; this was edged off at the stone dressings until it became little more than a slight wash, the object being to make the whole, *i. e.* the walls and dressings, of a uniform colour.[a]

The painter now began his work. He left the tracery of the windows quite white; the rear arches (those which support the rubble) were also left white; the scoinson arches (the internal window arches) received a series of red stars on their mouldings and soffits, but their labels were left white. The jambs of the windows had on each of them a figure, these figures being considerably larger than those in the other subjects.

The artist next proceeded to divide the whole height of the walls above the window string into three bands by means of horizontal red lines, serving as ground lines for the various groups, which had no vertical separation between them, except where they were divided by the windows or architecture.

He then proceeded to sketch in the outlines of his figures, &c. with charcoal, which outlines he afterwards went over carefully with red ochre.

The following notes, taken with some care on the spot, will perhaps give an idea of his manipulation and resources, although some things are a little doubtful by reason of the damage caused by the whitewash and its subsequent removal. There is no trace of diapering on the back-grounds.

Flesh.—The ground is red ochre mixed with white until it became very light; indeed, in some cases, as in the figure of St. Helena, the face would appear to have been left white designedly. A little red was used for the cheeks and mouth. The outlines of the features in red lines, as usual. Pupils of eyes light black or slate colour.

Hair.—Yellow ochre worked over with red lines.

Black Drapery.—The lamp-black was mixed with white until it became slate colour, and the lines of drapery put in with white. In some cases it would appear that the slate-coloured drapery was shaded with black mixed with red. Black is also used in two distinct ways, viz.:—1, as black with very little white; and

[a] The internal dressings and the surface of rubble walling were on the same face, or nearly so.

2, as slate colour, *i.e.* with a great deal of white; but the latter was by far the more usual, as the dark black would have been too prominent and have made patches in the composition.

White Drapery.—The white drapery has the usual red lines, and is sometimes shaded with very light red. Occasionally it was left quite plain, with little or no shading; but then its under side is painted of a very light red colour, giving the same effect as a general shading, more especially when the drapery is rather complex.

Yellow Drapery.—Yellow ochre with red lines, and apparently shaded with white.

Red Drapery.—Some draperies have light red ground, red lines, and white high lights. It is probable that the pure red drapery had white high lights, and either white or black lines. Occasionally it would appear to have been shaded with yellow.

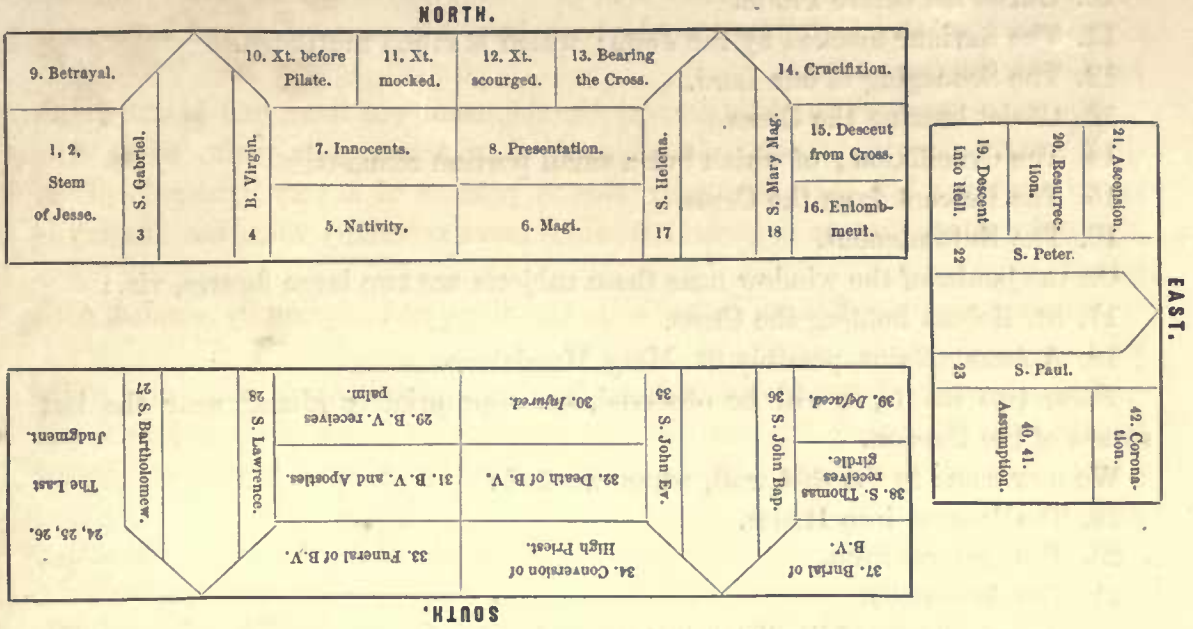
Having thus far endeavoured to give an idea of the manipulation of the artist, it now remains to consider what his subjects were, and how he arranged them.

They are divisible into two parts, viz.: those relating to the Life of our Lord, and those relating to the Death and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.[a] Now, according to the general rule of Christian iconography, when there are two series of subjects, one of which is of a higher character than the other, the higher subject is placed on the south side and the other on the north. Thus the Apostles are placed on the south side in the glass at Fairford Church, and their persecutors on the north. When, however, it happens that the two subjects are to be placed in an eastern wall, or in a picture, then the heraldic dexter, *i.e.* the left side of the spectator, is the place assigned for the more worthy one. In the present instance we have both the north, south, and east walls; but, the eastern wall being more important than the others, and the subjects on it being parallels—such as the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin and the Ascension of our Lord—the north and south walls give way to the claims of the east wall, and consequently the north wall has the life of our Lord (the worthier subject), because it was necessary to place the most important stories forming its termination on the dexter or northern side of the eastern wall.

The subjects from not being divided by lines are not always easily distinguished from each other, but their disposition will be best shown by the accompanying plan, on which will be found the numbers referred to in the following description.

The paintings over the east side of the chancel arch are destroyed.

[a] See Ecclesiologist, No. cxix. p. 91.



1 and 2 form one subject, representing the *radix Jesse*, the vine, in its twisting forms. It consists of only two oval compartments, in the upper of which is the Blessed Virgin, and in the lower David. On each side of the vine are two prophets, pointing to scrolls in their hands. The subject it will be seen is so treated as not to interfere with the general arrangement of the other pictures.

3. A large figure of St. Gabriel on the jamb of the window; he forms a pendant to—

4. A large figure of the Blessed Virgin; these two figures consequently represent the Annunciation.

5. The Birth of our Lord; the Virgin is on a couch, behind which is a handmaid holding the Child; at the foot of the couch is seated St. Joseph.

6. The adoration of the Magi; one king is kneeling, the second is turned towards the third king or an attendant.

7. This evidently represented the Slaughter of the Innocents. It is much defaced; but the hand of a soldier is still to be distinguished holding the dead body of a child upon the top of his spear. On one side of the subject is Herod seated.

8. The Presentation in the Temple.

The series is now continued along the uppermost row, where we find:

9. The Betrayal of our Lord. The subject is much mutilated, but the figure of St. Peter can clearly be distinguished, who is cutting off the ear of Malchus.

10. Christ led before Pilate.
11. The Saviour mocked by the Jews; which is much mutilated.
12. The Scourging of our Lord.
13. Christ bearing the Cross.
14. The Crucifixion; of which but a small portion remains.
15. The Descent from the Cross.
16. The Entombment.

On the jambs of the window near these subjects are two large figures, viz.:

17. St. Helena holding the Cross.
18. A female Saint, possibly St. Mary Magdalene.

These two Saints, it will be observed, are appropriately placed near the last scenes of the Passion.

We now come to the east wall, where we find:

19. The descent into Hades.
20. The Resurrection.
21. The Ascension.
22. A large figure of St. Peter on the window-jamb.
23. Another of St. Paul.

Here this series of subjects stops, and we must go to the west end of the south wall, where we find—

24—26. The General Resurrection and Last Judgment, which occupy the space usually allotted to three pictures; the design is however arranged in three tiers, so as not to interfere with the general order.

27. In the window-jamb is a large figure of St. Bartholomew; and opposite to it
28. A saint in deacon's dress, probably St. Lawrence, holding a book.

We now come to the second series of subjects, viz. the Death and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Our authority for their explanation will be the account of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin given by Jacobus de Voragine, in his Golden Legend. After the Ascension of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin lived with St. John, or rather in his house, for twenty-four years, as some say, or only twelve years, according to others. One day she was seized with a violent desire to see her son again, and suddenly an angel appeared, bringing her a shining branch of a palm-tree from paradise, who announced to her the approach of death, and ordered her to have the branch borne before her bier.

29. Represents this subject.

30. In a great measure destroyed by a modern monument. It is almost impossible to suggest the subject, as only two figures remain, one on either side of

ALL.

EAST WALL

SKETCHED BY C.A. BUCKLER, JUNE 21 1859.

J. BASIRE LITH.

MURAL PAINTING IN THE CHANCEL OF
CHALGROVE CHURCH,
OXON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1861.

the monument; that on the dexter is a female wearing a wimple, and that on the sinister is the Blessed Virgin kneeling. It is just possible that it may be the first of the series, and represent the desire of the Blessed Virgin to see her son; or it may allude to an earlier portion of the legend in which St. Dionysius expressed a wish to see the Virgin, from which we learn that her oratory had a little window with a purple curtain; this window may possibly be indicated by the two little shafts from which hangs a purple curtain.

31. The Blessed Virgin announces her departure to the Apostles, who were miraculously conveyed to Jerusalem for the occasion.

32. The death of the Blessed Virgin. Our Lord takes her soul.

33. The funeral procession of the Blessed Virgin. We see the bier of the Blessed Virgin carried by the Apostles; at the upper part of which is the high priest, with his hands attached to the bier which he had impiously touched; the two little figures below are perhaps Jews who had been struck blind.

34. The repentant high priest is being sprinkled with holy water by St. John, and further on he is healing the Jews who had been struck blind.

35. In the window-jamb is a large figure of St. John the Evangelist holding a palm-branch.

36. A corresponding figure of St. John the Baptist.

37. The entombment of the body of the Blessed Virgin.

38. This is out of its place as regards the order of time; but, as the artist wanted to put the Assumption on the east wall, to form a parallel with that of the Resurrection, he consequently placed the present subject here. St. Thomas was absent from the Assumption, and, not being willing to believe the fact, the girdle attached to the dress of the Blessed Virgin was sent down to him from above. He is represented in the painting as showing this girdle to the Apostles as they sit at supper.

39. This is destroyed *in toto*.

40—41 form one compartment. At the bottom of the picture is the tomb, and above the reception into heaven of the body of the Blessed Virgin.

42. The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin. This completes these very curious paintings, which are certainly some of the most perfect, if not the most perfect, we have remaining in this country. The chancel of Chalgrove Church is probably the only place where an idea can be formed of the general effect of the more humble class of paintings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The figures have not the wonderful action and fine proportions of those of the thirteenth century (for instance, those in Charlwood in Surrey); but the drawing is more

equal, and their preservation much better. Full-sized and coloured tracings of the whole series have been obtained by J. H. Parker, Esq., F.S.A., and drawings of them have been executed by Charles A. Buckler, Esq., from which the accompanying Plates (XXIII. and XXIV.) have been prepared.[a] There seems further to be every probability that the originals will be allowed to remain uncovered, so as to furnish to archæologists a good example of the mode of decoration adopted in one of our humbler village churches during the middle ages.

[a] A communication on these paintings by Mr. Buckler was read before the Oxford Architectural Society, and has been printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, June 1860, p. 547.

XXX.—*On the Discovery of Australia by the Portuguese in* 1601, *Five Years before the earliest hitherto known Discovery: with Arguments in favour of a previous Discovery by the same Nation early in the Sixteenth Century. By* RICHARD H. MAJOR, *Esq., F.S.A., in a Letter to Sir* HENRY ELLIS, *K.H., F.S.A.*

Read 7th March, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

IF any doubt could be entertained of the importance of collecting and embodying in our literature the scattered relics of the early history of geographical discovery, the doubt might find its answer in the eager curiosity with which the more cultivated Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of America look back to every minute particular respecting the early history of their adopted country.

A vast field of colonization, second only to America, is rapidly developing itself in the South; and we may naturally presume that it will be a question of no inconsiderable interest to those who shall have chosen Australia as the birthplace of their children, to know who were the earliest discoverers of a land so vast in its dimensions, so important in its characteristics, and yet whose very existence had for so many thousands of years remained a secret.

In the year 1859 I had the honour of editing for the Hakluyt Society a work entitled "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," comprising a collection of documents and extracts from early manuscript maps illustrative of the history of discovery on the coasts of that vast Island from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the time of Captain Cook. In my introduction to that work it became my duty to show that in the early part of the sixteenth century there were indications, on maps, of Australia having been already discovered, but with no written documents to confirm them; while, in the seventeenth century, there was authoritative documentary evidence that its coasts were visited by the Dutch in a considerable number of voyages, although the documents *immediately* describing these voyages had not been found. The earliest of these Dutch voyages was made in 1606, and it consequently stood before the world as an unquestioned point in history that in that year the first authenticated discovery of Australia was made by the Dutch.

It is my purpose in this paper to announce that, within the last few days, I have met with a document in the British Museum which unequivocally transfers

that honour from Holland to Portugal, inasmuch as it gives to the latter country an advantage over the former of five years in unquestionable priority. The fact that Australia had been in reality discovered more than sixty years earlier, and in all probability also by the Portuguese, does not, I think, set aside the importance of this further fact—which I now wish to record as for the first time made known to the world—that the earliest known voyage to Australia to which a date and the discoverer's name can be attached, was made by the Portuguese in 1601. Were I, however, to confine myself to the bald enunciation of this fact, without showing the position which it will take in the history of supposed and authenticated Australian discovery, I fear my announcement would prove as uninteresting to you as it would be unsatisfactory to myself. In order, therefore, fairly to state my case, I feel it my duty to lay before you a summary of that which I have already written in ample detail in the introduction to my "Early Voyages to Australia," premising that for brevity's sake I have omitted the minuter details, and in some cases remodelled my language; but that, where no advantage was to be gained thereby, I have not pretended for the mere sake of appearances to alter the language in which I had written before. Such a proceeding seemed to me to be disingenuous and therefore unworthy.

I spoke of supposed indications of Australia, because, as in the case of America, so in that of Australia, surmises of the existence of these respective countries can be traced in the writings of the ancients, in geographical monuments of the middle ages, and still more palpable evidences of Australia individually on well delineated manuscript maps of the early part of the sixteenth century.

Among the very early writers, the most striking quotation that I am able to supply in connection with the Southern Continent, is that which occurs in the Astronomicon of Manilius, lib. i. lin. 234—238, where, after a lengthy dissertation, he says:—

> Ex quo colligitur terrarum forma rotunda:
> Hanc circum variæ gentes hominum atque ferarum
> Aeriæque colunt volueres. Pars ejus ad arctos
> Eminet, Austrinis pars est habitabilis oris,
> Sub pedibusque jacet nostris.

The date at which Manilius wrote, though not exactly ascertained, is supposed, upon the best conclusions to be drawn from the internal evidence supplied by his poem, to be of the time of Tiberius.

At a later period, the belief in the existence of a great Southern Continent anterior to the discoveries of the Portuguese in the Pacific Ocean, is shown from

manuscript maps and other geographical monuments brought together by the researches of my lamented friend, the late learned and laborious Vicomte de Santarem, in his "Essai sur l'Histoire de la Cosmographie et de la Cartographie du Moyen Age." In vol. i. p. 229 of that work, he informs us that "D'autres cartographes du moyen-âge continuèrent à représenter encore dans leurs mappemondes l'Antichthone, d'après la croyance qu'au delà de la ceinture de l'Océan Homérique il y avait une habitation d'hommes, une autre région temperée, qu'on appelait la terre opposée, ou il était impossible de pénétrer à cause de la zone torride."

The earliest *assertion* of the discovery of a land bearing a position on early maps analogous to that of Australia, has been made in favour of the Chinese, who have been supposed to have been acquainted with its coasts long before the period of European navigation to the East.

Thévenot, in his "Relations de divers Voyages Curieux," part i. preface, Paris, 1663, says: "La Terre Australe, qui fait maintenant une cinquième partie du monde, a esté découverte à plusieurs fois. Les Chinois en ont eu connaissance il y a long temps; car l'on voit que Marco Polo marque deux grandes isles au sud-est de Java, ce qu'il avait appris apparemment des Chinois."

Marco Polo's statement describes a country in the direction of Australia, containing gold, elephants and spices, a description which clearly does not apply to Australia. An error was doubtless made in the direction of the course suggested, and there is little doubt that the country intended to be described was Cambodia. I do not here stop to dilate upon the various blunders to which this statement gave rise on the face of the early engraved Dutch maps of the latter part of the sixteenth century. I have spoken of them in detail in my Hakluyt volume. They are interesting in connection with the important country to which they appeared to refer, and they are really amusing from their nature, variety, and number.

The earliest discovery of Australia to which *claim* has been laid by any nation, is that of a Frenchman, named Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, a native of Honfleur, who sailed from that port in June, 1503, on a voyage to the South Seas. After doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he was assailed by a tempest which drove him on an unknown land, in which he was hospitably entertained, and whence, after a stay of six months, he returned to France, bringing with him the son of the king of the country. Unfortunately Gonneville's journals on his return fell into the hands of the English and were lost; but a priest, a descendant of one of the natives of this southern region, who had married a relative of Gonneville's, collected from the traditions and loose papers of his family, and also from a judicial declaration which had been made before the French Admiralty under date of the

19th of June, 1505, materials for a work, which was printed at Paris by Cramoisy in 1663, entitled, "Mémoire touchant l'Etablissement d'une Mission Chrétienne dans la Terre Australe; par un Ecclésiastique, originaire de cette mesme terre." The author, in fact, was animated by a strong desire of preaching the gospel in the country of his ancestors, and spent his life in endeavouring to prevail on those who had the care of foreign missions to send him there, and further, in some sort to fulfil a promise that had been made by the original French navigator, that he would visit that country again. The friendly intercourse with the natives, described by Gonneville, who speaks of them as having made some advances in civilisation, is quite incompatible with the character for treachery and barbarous cruelty which we have received of the natives of North Australia from all the more recent voyagers. "Let the whole account," says Burney, "be reconsidered without prepossession, and the idea that will immediately and most naturally occur is that the Southern India discovered by Gonneville was Madagascar. Having passed round the Cape, he was driven by tempests into calm latitudes, and so near to this land that he was directed thither by the flight of birds. Another point deserving of notice, the refusal of the crew to proceed to the Eastern India, would scarcely have happened if they had been so far advanced to the east as New Holland."

A more reasonable claim than the preceding to the discovery of Australia in the early part of the sixteenth century, may be advanced by the Portuguese from the evidence of various MS. maps still extant, although the attempt made recently to attach the credit of this discovery to Magalhaens, in the famous voyage of the Victoria round the world in 1520, is, as I shall endeavour to show, perfectly untenable. The claim of this honour for Spain is thus asserted in the "Compendio Geografico Estadistico de Portugal y sus posesiones ultramarinas," by Aldama Ayala, 8vo., Madrid, 1855, p. 482:—"The Dutch lay claim to the discovery of the continent of Australia in the seventeenth century, although it was discovered by Fernando Magalhaens, a Portuguese, by order of the Emperor Charles V., in the year 1520, as is proved by authentic documents, such as the atlas of Fernando Vaz Dourado, made in Goa in 1570, on one of the maps in which is laid down the coast of Australia. The said magnificent atlas, illuminated to perfection, was formerly preserved in the Carthusian Library at Evora."

A similar claim was also made for their distinguished countryman, though the voyage was made in the service of Spain, in an almanack published at Angra, in the island of Terceira, by the government press, in 1832, and composed, it is supposed, by the Viscount Sa' de Bandeira, the present Minister of Marine at

Lisbon. In the examination of this subject, I have had the advantage of the assistance of Dr. Martin, of Lisbon, the editor of "Mariner's Tonga Islands," whose examination of Dourado's map leads me to the conviction, that the tract laid down on the map as discovered by Magalhaens is in fact a memorandum or cartographical side-note of the real discovery by Magalhaens of Tierra del Fuego, and that from its adopted false position on the vellum it was subsequently misapplied by Mercator to that part of the world now recognized as Australia, and hence the claim in question.

But I now pass to a more plausible indication of a discovery of Australia by the Portuguese in the early part of the sixteenth century, which ranges between the years 1512 and 1542. This indication occurs in similar form on several MS. maps, all of them French, on which, immediately below Java, and separated from that island only by a narrow strait, is drawn a large country stretching southwards to the verge of the several maps. This country is called Jave la Grande. In most of these maps this large country is continued all along the southern portion of the world, forming the great Terra Australis, which from time immemorial had been so extensively believed in, and again joining the known world at Tierra del Fuego. But in one of these maps a striking exception to this rule occurs, the coastline both on the east and west side of Jave la Grande ceasing at points which present remarkable evidence that they represent actual discoveries. For example, the southernmost point at which the western coastline terminates is in 35 degrees, the real latitude of the south-western point of Australia. The eastern coastline is not so correct, but extends far lower even than the southernmost point of Van Diemen's Land, but from its distant position it would be the part least likely to be explored, and, though incorrectly delineated, it accords with the general fact that the southing of the eastern coastline is much greater than that of the western. As regards the longitude of this Great Java, it may be advanced that, with all the discrepancies observable in the maps, there is no other country but Australia lying between the same parallels, and of the same extent, between the east coast of Africa and the west coast of America, and that Australia does in reality lie between the same meridians as the great mass of the country here laid down. As regards the contour of the coast, a single glance of the eye will suffice to detect the general resemblance on the western side, but on the eastern the discrepancies are, as might be expected, much more considerable.

On the most fully detailed of these maps are inscribed some names of bays and coasts which were noticed in the first instance by Alexander Dalrymple, the hydrographer to the Admiralty and East India Company, to bear a resemblance

to the names given by Captain Cook to parts of New Holland which he had himself discovered. In his memoir concerning the Chagos and adjacent islands, 1786, p. 4, speaking of this map, he says: "The east coast of New Holland, as we name it, is expressed with some curious circumstances of correspondence to Captain Cook's MS. What he names Bay of Inlets is in the MS. called Bay Perdue; Bay of Isles, R. de beaucoup d'Isles; where the Endeavour struck, Coste Dangereuse. So that we may say with Solomon, 'There is nothing new under the sun.'"

The unworthy insinuation met with a sensible refutation, I am happy to record, from the pen of a Frenchman, M. Frederic Metz, in a paper printed at p. 261, vol. xlvii. of "La Revue, ou Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique," Nov. 1805, who very shrewdly observes: "If Cook had been acquainted with the maps in question, and had wished to appropriate to himself the discoveries of another, will any one suppose him so short-sighted as to have preserved for his discoveries the very names which would have exposed his plagiarism, if ever the sources which he had consulted came to be known. The 'dangerous coast' was so named because there he found himself during four hours in imminent danger of shipwreck. We must suppose, then, that he exposed himself and his crew to an almost certain death, in order to have a plausible excuse for applying a name similar to that which this coast had already received from the unknown and anonymous navigator who had previously discovered it. Moreover, names, such as 'Bay of Islands,' 'Dangerous Coast,' are well known in geography. We find a Bay of Islands in New Holland; and on the east coast of the island of Borneo there is a 'Côte des Herbages.'"

The sound sense of this reasoning, apart from all question of honour on the part of a man of the high character of Captain Cook, would seem conclusive; yet this similarity of the names has, to my own knowledge, been remarked upon by persons of high standing and intelligence in this country, though without any intention of disparaging Captain Cook, as an evidence that this country was identical with Australia. The similarity of the expression, "Côte des Herbages," with the name of Botany Bay, given to a corresponding part of the coast by Captain Cook, has been particularly dwelt upon, whereas it ought to be known that this bay, originally called Stingray, but afterwards Botany Bay, was not so named on account of the fertility of the soil, but from the variety of plants new to the science of botany which were discovered on a soil otherwise rather unpromising. It is plain that early navigators would assign such a designation as "Côte des Herbages," to a shore remarkable for its rich growth of grass or other vegetation, rather than from

the appreciation of any curious botanical discovery.[a] Had the similarity of the names "Rivière de beaucoup d'Isles," and "Côte Dangereuse," with Cook's "Bay of Isles," and the place "where the Endeavour struck," names descriptive of unquestionable realities, been advanced by Dalrymple as evidence of the high probability that the country represented on the early map was New Holland, without volunteering an insinuation against the merit of his rival, we should have accepted the reasonable suggestion with deference and just acquiescence.

That New Holland was the country thus represented, became an argument supported by a variety of reasonings by more than one of our French neighbours. Mr. Coquebert Montbret, in a memoir printed in No. 81 of the "Bulletin des Sciences," 1804, quotes Dalrymple's injurious observation, and silently allows it to have its deceptive effect on the mind of the incautious reader.

An atlas now in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, containing similar indications to those I have described, fell into the possession of Prince Talleyrand at the beginning of this century; and attracting the attention of the celebrated geographer M. Barbié du Bocage, drew from him a long notice, which was read at a public session of the Institute on the 3rd of July, 1807. In this he says that "we must come to the conclusion that these atlases have been copied from Portuguese maps, and consequently that the discovery of New Holland belongs to the Portuguese. This is the opinion," he continues, "of MM. Dalrymple, Pinkerton, De la Rochette, and several others; and I do not believe that any good reason can be alleged in refutation of an opinion so well founded." M. Barbié du Bocage, however, follows up this expression of his conviction by an attempt to fix the period of the discovery, in which attempt he has fallen into errors which I have endeavoured to refute, but which it would be tedious here to allude to.

The evidence which these maps afford of having been based on Portuguese discoveries, is as follows. They are all French; and that they are all repetitions, with slight variations, from one source, is shown by the fact that the inaccuracies are alike in all of them. The indications of Portuguese occur in some of the names, such as "terre ennegade," a gallicized form of "tierra anegada," *i. e.* "land under water," or "sunken shoal;" "Graçal," and "Cap de Fromose." The question then arises, judging from such evidence as this, Were the French or the Portuguese the discoverers? In reply, I offer the following statement.

In the year 1529, a voyage was made to Sumatra by Jean Parmentier of Dieppe,

[a] This unanswerable reason was supplied to me by the late distinguished Dr. Brown, who not only, as Humboldt has described him, was "Botanicorum facile princeps," but himself acquainted with the locality of which he spoke.

and in this voyage he died. Parmentier was a poet and a classical scholar, as well as a navigator and good hydrographer. He was accompanied in this voyage by his intimate friend the poet Pierre Crignon, who, on his return to France, published, in 1531, the poems of Parmentier, with a prologue containing his eulogium, in which he says of him, that he was "le premier François qui a entrepris à estre pilotte pour mener navires à la Terre Amérique qu'on dit Brésil, et semblablement le premier François qui a descouvert les Indes jusqu'à l'Isle de Taprobane, et, si mort ne l'eust pas prévenu, je crois qu'il eust ésté jusques aux Moluques." This is high authority upon this point, coming as it does from a man of education, and a shipmate and intimate of Parmentier himself. The French, then, were not in the South Seas beyond Sumatra before 1529. The date of the earliest of our quoted maps is not earlier than 1535, as it contains the discovery of the St. Lawrence by Jacques Cartier in that year; but even let us suppose it no earlier than that of Rotz, which bears the date of 1542, and ask, what voyages of the French in the South Seas do we find between the years of 1529 and 1542? Neither the Abbé Raynal, nor any modern French writer, nor even antiquaries who have entered most closely into the history of early French explorations, as, for example, M. Léon Guérin, the author of the "Histoire Maritime de France," Paris, 1843, 8vo.; and of "Les Navigateurs Français," Paris, 1847, 8vo. offer the slightest pretension that the French made voyages to those parts in the early part or middle of the sixteenth century.

It is certain, moreover, that France was at that time too poor, and too much embroiled in political anxieties, to busy herself with extensive nautical explorations. Had she so done, the whole of North America and Brazil might now have belonged to her. At the same time, however, we know that the Portuguese had establishments before 1529 in the East Indian Islands, and the existence of Portuguese names on the countries of which we speak, as thus delineated on these French maps, is in itself an acknowledgment of their discovery by the Portuguese, as assuredly the feelings entertained by the French respecting the covetousness and exclusiveness of the Portuguese would not only have made the former most ready to lay claim to all they could in the shape of discovery, but would have prevented any gratuitous insertion of Portuguese names on such remote countries had they themselves discovered them. In tom. 3 of Ramusio's Collection, in the account of the Discorso d'un gran Capitano di Mare Francese del luogo di Dieppa, etc., now known to be the voyage of Jean Parmentier to Sumatra in 1529, and in all probability written by his companion and eulogist the poet Pierre Crignon, occurs this expression: "Io penso che li Portoghesi

debbano haver bevuto della polvere del cuore del Re Alessandro . . . e credo che si persuadino che Iddio non fece il mare nè la terra, se non per loro e che l'altre nationi non siano degne di navigare e se fosse nel poter loro di mettere termini e serrar il mare del Capo di Finisterre fin in Hirlanda, gia molto tempo saria che essi ne haveriano serrato il passo." But, further, as an important part of this argument, we must not overlook the jealousy of the Portuguese in forbidding the communication of all hydrographical information respecting their discoveries in these seas. It is stated by Humboldt, "Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent," tom. iv. p. 70, upon the authority of the letters of Angelo Trevigiano, secretary to Domenico Pisani, ambassador from Venice to Spain, that the kings of Portugal forbad, upon pain of death, the exportation of any marine chart which showed the course to Calicut. We find also in Ramusio, "Discorso sopra el Libro di Odoardo Barbosa," and the "Sommario delle Indie Orientali," tom i. p. 287*b*, a similar prohibition implied. He says that these books "were for many years concealed and not allowed to be published, for convenient reasons that I must not here describe." He also speaks of the great difficulty he himself had in procuring a copy, and even that an imperfect one, from Lisbon. "Tanto possono," he says, "gli interessi del principe."

A notion may be formed of the knowledge possessed by the Spaniards in the middle of the sixteenth century, on the part of the world on which we treat, from the following extract from a work entitled "El Libro de las Costumbres de todas las Gentes del Mundo y de las Indias," translated and compiled by the Bachelor Francisco Thamara, Antwerp, 1556: "A treynta leguas de Java la menor, está el Gatigara a nueve y diez grados de la Equinocial de la otra parte azia el Sur. Desde aqui adelante no ay noticia de mas tierras, porque no se ha navegado por esta parte mas adelante, y por tierra no se puede andar por los muchos lagos y grandes y altas montañas que por aqui ay. Y aun dizese que por aqui es el parayso terrenal." Although this was not originally written in Spanish, but was translated from Johannes Bohemus, it would scarcely have been given forth to the Spaniards had better information on such a subject existed among that people.

The facts which I have thus been able to bring together lead me to the conclusion that the land described as La Grande Jave on the French maps to which I have referred, can be no other than Australia; and that it was discovered before 1542 may be almost accepted as a demonstrable certainty, but how long before is not clear. I hope also that I have succeeded in showing the high probability that the discoverers were the Portuguese.

In a map to illustrate the voyages of Drake and Cavendish by Jodocus Hondius,

New Guinea is made a complete island, without a word to throw a doubt on the correctness of the representation; while the Terra Australis, which is separated from New Guinea only by a strait, has an outline remarkably similar to that of the Gulf of Carpentaria. These indications give to this map an especial interest, and the more so that it is shown to be earlier than the passage of Torres through Torres' Straits in 1606, by its bearing the arms of Queen Elizabeth, before the unicorn of Scotland had displaced the dragon of the Tudors.

In the article "Terra Australis," in Cornelius Wytfliet's "Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum," Louvain, 1598, we find the following passage: "Australis terra omnium aliarum terrarum australissima tenuique discreta freto Novam Guineam Orienti objicit, paucis tantùm hactenus littoribus cognitam, quod post unam atque alteram navigationem, cursus ille intermissus sit, et nisi coactis impulsisque nautis ventorum turbine rarius eo adnavigetur. Australis terra initium sumit duobus aut tribus gradibus sub æquatore, tantæque a quibusdam magnitudinis esse perhibetur, ut si quando integrè detecta erit, quintam illam mundi partem fore arbitrentur." The above significant statement was printed, it will be remembered, before any discovery of Australia of which we have an authentic account.

But while examining these indications of a discovery of Australia in the sixteenth century, it will be asked what explorations had been made by the Spaniards in that part of the world in the course of that century. From the period of the voyage of Don Alvaro de Saavedra to the Moluccas in 1527, we meet with no such active spirit of exploration on the part of the Spaniards in the South Seas. Embarrassed by his political position, and with an exhausted treasury, the emperor, in 1529, definitely renounced his pretensions to the Moluccas for a sum of money, although he retained his claim to the islands discovered by his subjects to the east of the line of demarcation now confined to the Portuguese. In 1542 an unsuccessful attempt to form a settlement in the Philippine Islands was made by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos; but its failure having been attributed to mismanagement, a new expedition in 1564 was dispatched with the like object under Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, which was completely successful, and a Spanish colony was established at Zebu. It is not impossible that this settlement gave rise to voyages of discovery about this time by the Spaniards, of which no accounts have been published. In 1567 Alvaro de Mendana sailed from Callao on a voyage of discovery, in which he discovered the Solomon Islands and several others. There are great discrepancies in the different relations of this voyage. In 1595 he made a second voyage from Peru, in which he discovered the Marquesas, and the

Santo was an island, and then continued his course westward in pursuance of the exploration. In about the month of August, 1606, he fell in with a coast in 11½ degrees south latitude, which he calls the beginning of New Guinea—apparently the south-eastern part of the island, afterwards named Louisiade by M. de Bougainville, and now known to be a chain of islands. As he could not pass to windward of this land, Torres bore away along its south side, and himself gives the following account of his subsequent course: "We went along three hundred leagues of coast, as I have mentioned, and diminished the latitude 2½ degrees, which brought us into 9 degrees. From hence we fell in with a bank of from three to nine fathoms, which extends along the coast above one hundred and eighty leagues. We went over it, along the coast, to 7½ degrees south latitude; and the end of it is in 5 degrees. We could not go farther on for the many shoals and great currents, so we were obliged to sail south-west, in that depth, to 11 degrees south latitude. There is all over it an archipelago of islands without number, by which we passed; and at the end of the eleventh degree the bank became shoaler. Here were very large islands, and there appeared more to the southward. They were inhabited by black people, very corpulent and naked. Their arms were lances, arrows, and clubs of stone ill-fashioned. We could not get any of their arms. We caught, in all this land, twenty persons of different nations, that with them we might be able to give a better account to your Majesty. They give much notice of other people, although as yet they do not make themselves well understood. We were upon this bank two months, at the end of which time we found ourselves in twenty-five fathoms, and 5 degrees south latitude, and ten leagues from the coast; and, having gone four hundred and eighty leagues here, the coast goes to the north-east. I did not search it, for the bank became very shallow. So we stood to the north."

The very large islands seen by Torres in the 11th degree of south latitude, are evidently the hills of Cape York; and the two months of intricate navigation were passed in the passage through the strait which separates Australia from New Guinea. A copy of this letter of Torres was fortunately lodged in the archives of Manilla; and it was not till that city was taken, in 1762, by the English, that the document was discovered by Dalrymple, who paid a fitting tribute to the memory of this distinguished Spanish navigator, by giving to this dangerous passage the name of Torres Strait, which it has ever since retained.

De Quiros himself reached Mexico on the 3rd of October, 1606, nine months from his departure from Callao. Strongly imbued with a sense of the importance of his discoveries, he addressed various memoirs to Philip III. advocating the

Cordova (a work which I have not had the good fortune to meet with), the discovery of a large island in twenty-eight degrees south latitude, which latitude is farther south than Quiros or his companions are otherwise known to have made in any voyage. Thirdly, the printed memoirs of Quiros bear the title of "Terra Australis Incognita," while the southern Tierra Austral, discovered by Quiros himself, and surnamed by him "del Espiritu Santo," is none other than the "New Hebrides" of the maps of the present day.

To both Quiros and Dalrymple we are in fact indirectly indebted for the earliest designation which attaches in any sense to the modern nomenclature connected with Australia, viz. for the name of Torres Strait. That Quiros, whether by birth a Portuguese or a Spaniard, was in the Spanish service, cannot be doubted. The viceroy of Peru had warmly entertained his projects, but looked upon its execution as beyond the limits of his own power to put into operation. He therefore urged Quiros to lay his case before the Spanish monarch at Madrid, and furnished him with letters to strengthen his application. Whether Philip III. was more influenced by the arguments of De Quiros, as to the discovery of a Southern Continent, or rather by the desire to explore the route between Spain and America by the east, in the hope of discovering wealthy islands between New Guinea and China, we need not pause to question. It is possible that both these motives had their weight, for Quiros was despatched to Peru with full orders for the carrying out of his plans, addressed to the Viceroy, the Count de Monterey; and he was amply equipped with two well-armed vessels and a corvette, with which he sailed from Callao on the 21st of December, 1605. Luis Vaez de Torres was commander of the Almirante, or second ship, in this expedition. The voyage was looked upon as one of very great importance; and Torquemada, in his account of it in the "Monarquia Indiana," says that the ships were the strongest and best armed which had been seen in those seas. The object was to make a settlement at the island of Santa Cruz, and from thence to search for the Tierra Austral, or Southern Continent.

After the discovery of several islands, Quiros came to a land which he named Australia del Espiritu Santo, supposing it to be a part of the great southern continent. At midnight of the 11th of June, 1606, while the three ships were lying at anchor in the bay which they had named San Felipe and Santiago, Quiros, for reasons which are not known, and without giving any signal or notice, was either driven by a storm, or sailed away from the harbour, and was separated from the other two ships.

Subsequently to the separation, Torres found that the Australia del Espiritu

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desirableness of further explorations in these unknown regions; but, after years of unavailing perseverance, he died at Panama in 1614, leaving behind him a name which, for merit though not for success, was second only to that of Columbus; and with him expired the naval heroism of Spain. "Reasoning," as Dalrymple says, "from principles of science and deep reflection, he asserted the existence of a Southern Continent, and devoted with unwearied though contemned diligence the remainder of his life to the prosecution of this sublime conception." In a document addressed to the King of Spain by the Fray Juan Luis Arias, is given an account of De Quiros' earnest advocacy of the resuscitation of Spanish enterprise in the southern seas, and especially with reference to the great Southern Continent.

But, while the glory of Spanish naval enterprise was thus on the wane, the very nation which Spain had bruised and persecuted was to supplant her in the career of adventure and prosperity. The War of Independence had aroused the energies of those provinces of the Netherlands which had freed themselves from the Spanish yoke; while the cruelties perpetrated in those provinces which the Spaniards had succeeded in again subduing, drove an almost incredible number of families into exile. The majority of these settled in the northern provinces, and thus brought into them a prodigious influx of activity. Among these emigrants were a number of enterprising merchants, chiefly from Antwerp—a town which had for many years enjoyed a most considerable though indirect share in the transatlantic trade of Spain and Portugal, and was well acquainted with its immense advantages. These men were naturally animated by the bitter hatred of exiles, enhanced by difference of faith and the memory of many wrongs. The idea which arose among them was to deprive Spain of her transatlantic commerce, and thus to cripple her resources and strengthen those of the Protestants, and by this means eventually to force the southern provinces of the Netherlands from their oppressors. This idea, at first vaguely entertained by a few, became general when the Spaniards forbad Dutch vessels to carry on any traffic with Spain. This traffic had existed in spite of the wars, and had furnished the Dutch with the principal means of carrying it on.

Being thus violently thrust out of their share in transatlantic commerce, the Dutch determined to gain it back with interest. Geography and hydrography now became the subjects of earnest study and instruction; and the period was distinguished by the appearance of such men as Ortelius, Mercator, Plancius, De Bry, Hulsius, Cluverius, etc. whom we are now bound to regard as the fathers of modern geography. Among these, the most earnest in turning the

resources of science into a weapon against the oppressors of his country, was Peter Plancius, a Calvinist clergyman, who opened a nautical and geographical school at Amsterdam for the express purpose of teaching his countrymen how to find a way to India, and the other sources whence Spain derived her strength. We do not here dwell on their efforts to find a northern route to the East. Their knowledge of the direct route to that wealthy portion of the world had become greatly increased by the appearance of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's great work (Amst. 1595-96). Linschoten had for fourteen years lived in the Portuguese possessions in the East, and had there collected a vast amount of information. The Dutch East India Company was established in 1602; and, in 1606, we find a vessel from Holland making the first authenticated discovery of that great south land to which they gave the name of New Holland. In our own time that designation has been exchanged, at the suggestion of Matthew Flinders, to whom we are so largely indebted for our knowledge of the hydrography of that country, for the distinct and appropriate name of Australia.

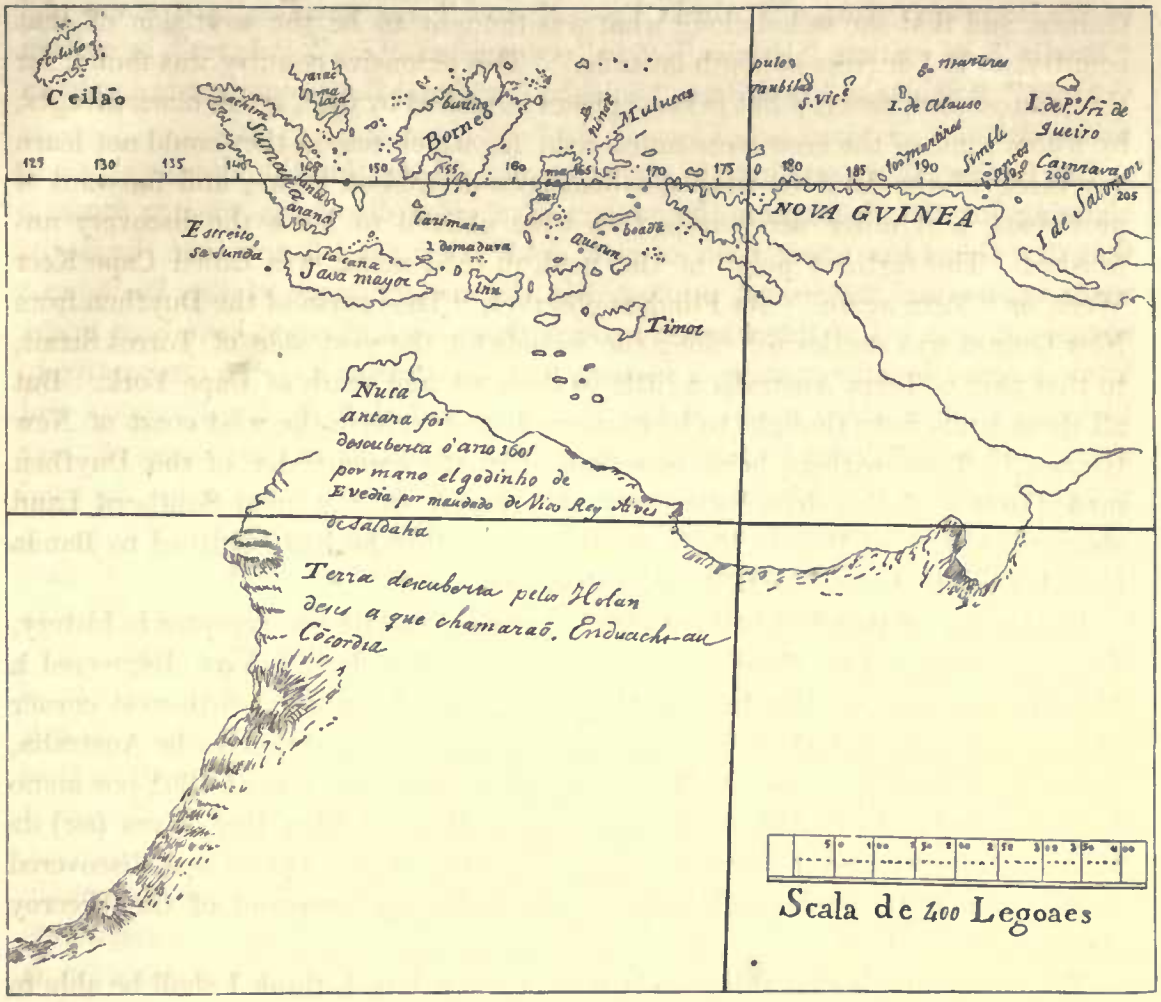
Of the discoveries made by the Dutch on the coasts of Australia, our ancestors of a hundred years ago, and even the Dutch themselves, knew but little. That which was known was preserved in the "Relations de divers Voyages Curieux" of Melchisedech Thevenot (Paris, 1663-72, fol.); in the "Noord en Oost Tartarye" of Nicolas Witsen, (Amst. 1692-1705, fol.); in Valentyn's "Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien" (Amst. 1724-26, fol.); and in the "Inleidning tot de algemeen Geographie" of Nicolas Struyk, (Amst. 1740, 4to.). We have, however, since gained a variety of information, through a document which fell into the possession of Sir Joseph Banks, and was published by Alexander Dalrymple (at that time hydrographer to the Admiralty and the East India Company), in his collection concerning Papua. This curious and interesting document is a copy of the instructions to Commodore Abel Jansz Tasman for his second voyage of discovery. That distinguished commander had already, in 1642, discovered not only the island now named after him, Tasmania, but New Zealand also; and, passing round the east side of Australia, but without seeing it, sailed on his return voyage along the northern shores of New Guinea. In January, 1644, he was despatched on his second voyage; and his instructions, signed by the Governor-General Antonio Van Diemen and the members of the council, are prefaced by a recital, in chronological order, of the previous discoveries of the Dutch.

From this recital, combined with a passage from Saris, given in Purchas, vol. i. p. 385, we learn that, "On the 18th of November, 1605, the Dutch yacht, the Duyfhen (the Dove), was despatched from Bantam to explore the islands of New

Guinea, and that she sailed along what was thought to be the west side of that country, to 19¾ degrees of south latitude." This extensive country was found, for the greatest part, desert; but in some places inhabited by wild, cruel, black savages, by whom some of the crew were murdered; for which reason they could not learn any thing of the land or waters, as had been desired of them; and for want of provisions, and other necessaries, they were obliged to leave the discovery unfinished. The furthest point of the land, in their maps, was called Cape Keer Weer, or "Turn again." As Flinders observes, "The course of the Duyfhen from New Guinea was southward, along the islands on the west side of Torres Strait, to that part of Terra Australis a little to the west and south of Cape York. But all these lands were thought to be connected, and to form the west coast of New Guinea." Thus, without being conscious of it, the commander of the Duyfhen made the first authenticated discovery of any part of the great Southern Land about the month of March, 1606; for it appears that he had returned to Banda in or before the beginning of June of that year.

The honour of that first authenticated discovery, as hitherto accepted in history, I am now prepared to dispute. Within the last few days I have discovered a MS. Mappemonde in the British Museum, in which on the north-west corner of a country, which I shall presently show beyond all question to be Australia, occurs the following legend: "Nuca antara foi descuberta o anno 1601 por mano (*sic*) el godinho de Evedia (*sic*) por mandado de (*sic*) Vico Rey Aives (*sic*) de Saldaha," (*sic*) which I scarcely need translate, "Nuca Antara was discovered in the year 1601, by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by command of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha."

The misfortune is that this map is only a copy, but I think I shall be able to answer from internal evidence any doubt that might be thrown upon the authenticity of the information which it contains. The original was made about 1620, after the discovery of Eendraght's Land, on the west coast of Australia, by the Dutch in 1616, but before the discovery of the south coast by Pieter Nuyts in 1627. So far from its author suspecting the existence of a south coast, he continues the old error which had obtained throughout the sixteenth century, of representing the Terra Australis as one vast continent, of which the parts that had been really discovered were made to protrude to the north as far as the parallel in which these discoveries respectively lay. Thus in this map we have Australia, as already described, on the right side of the map; and the *Island of Santa Cruz* in the New Hebrides, there called Nova Jerusalem, discovered by Quiros, on the left side; but both connected and forming part of the one great Southern Continent.



Facsimile of a portion of a MS. Map in the British Museum.

Now, it may be objected that this map, being only a copy made at the beginning of the present or close of the last century, the statement which forms the subject of the present paper may have been fraudulently inserted. But to give such a suggestion weight, a motive must be shown, the most reasonable one being that of assigning the honour of the first authenticated discovery to Portugal instead of to Holland. For this purpose we must suppose the falsifier to have been a Portuguese. To this I reply, that while all the writing of the map is in Portuguese, the copy was made by a person who was not only not a Portuguese himself, but who was ignorant of the Portuguese language. For example, the very legend in question, short as it is, contains no less than five blunders all showing ignorance

of the language: thus, the words "por Manoel" are written "por mano el," "Eredia" is written "Evedia," "do" is written "de," "Ayres" is written "Aives," "Saldanha" is written "Saldaha" without the circumflex to imply an abbreviation.

But further, if we attribute to such supposed falsification the ulterior object of claiming for the Portuguese the honour of a prior discovery, whence comes it that that object has never been carried out? It is not till now that the fact is made known, and those most interested in the ancient glory of the Portuguese nation are ignorant of the discovery which this map declares to have been made. That it never became matter of history, may be explained by the comparatively little importance which would at the time be attached to such a discovery, and also by the fact that the Portuguese, being then no longer in the fulness of their prosperity, were not keeping the subject before their attention by repeated expeditions to that country, as the Dutch shortly after really began to do.

Again, the speculation might be hazarded that, as this map is a copy, the date of the discovery may have been carelessly transcribed; as, for example, 1601 may easily have been written in the original 1610, and erroneously copied. Fortunately, the correctness of the date can be proved beyond dispute. It is distinctly stated that the voyage was made by order of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha, the period of whose viceroyalty extended only from 1600 to 1604, thus precluding the possibility of the error suggested, and terminating before the period of the earliest of the Dutch discoveries.

But yet, again, it may be objected that a country so vaguely and incorrectly laid down may not have been Australia. The answer is equally as indisputable as that which fixes the date. Immediately below the legend in question is another to the following effect: "Terra descuberta pelos Holandeses a que chamarão Enduacht (*sic*) au Cõcordia" (land discovered by the Dutch, which they called Endracht or Concord). Eendraghtsland, as we all know, was the name given to a large tract on the western coast of Australia, discovered by the Dutch ship the Eendraght, in 1616.

Moreover, if the legend in question were not a genuine copy from a genuine ancient map, how came the modern falsifier to be acquainted with the name of a real cosmographer who lived at Goa at a period which tallies with the state of geographical discovery represented on the map, but none of whose manuscript productions had been put into print at the time when the supposed fictitious map was made or the legend fictitiously inserted?

I think these arguments are conclusive in establishing the legitimacy of the

modern copy from the ancient map. As regards the discoverer, Manoel Godinho de Eredia (or rather Heredia, as written by Barbosa Machado and by Figaniere), I find the following work by him: "Historia do Martyrio de Luiz Monteiro Coutinho que padeceo por ordem do Rey Achem Raiamancor no anno de 1588, e dedicada ao illustrissimo D. Aleixo de Menezes, Arcebispo de Braga;" which dedication was dated Goa, 11th of November, 1615; fol. MS. with various illustrations.

Barbosa Machado calls him a distinguished mathematician; and Figaniere, a cosmographer resident at Goa. It follows as a most likely consequence that the original map was made by himself. The copy came from Madrid, and was purchased by the British Museum, in 1848, from the Señor de Michelena y Roxas. It will be matter of interest to discover at some future day the existence of the original map, but whether that be in the library at Madrid, or elsewhere, must be a subject for future inquiry.

In a scarce pamphlet entitled "Informacão da Aurea Chersoneso, ou Peninsula e das Ilhas Auriferas, Carbunculas e Aromaticas, ordenada por Manoel Godinho de Eredia, Cosmographo," translated from an ancient MS. and edited by Antonio Lourenço Caminha, in a reprint of the "Ordenacões da India, do Senhor Rei D. Manoel," Lisbon, Royal Press, 1807, 8vo., occurs a passage, which may be translated as follows:—

"*Island of Gold.* While the fishermen of Lamakera in the Island of Solor[a] were engaged in their fishing, there arose so great a tempest that they were utterly unable to return to the shore, and thus they yielded to the force of the storm which was such, that, in five days, it took them to the Island of Gold, which lies in the sea on the opposite coast, or coast outside of Timor, which properly is called the Southern Coast. When the fishermen reached the Land of Gold, not having eaten during those days of the tempest, they set about seeking for provisions. Such happy and successful good fortune had they, that, while they were searching the country for yams and batatas, they lighted on so much gold, that they loaded their boat so that they could carry no more. After taking in water and the necessary supplies for returning to their native country, they experienced another storm, which took them to the Island of Great Ende;[b] there they landed all their gold,

[a] The inhabitants of the coast of Solor are specially mentioned as fishermen by Crawfurd, in his "Dictionary of the Indian Islands."

[b] This is the Island of Flores. In a "List of the principal gold mines obtained by the explorations (curiosidade) of Manoel Godinho de Heredea, Indian cosmographer, resident in Malaca for twenty years and more," also published with the "Ordenações da India," Lisbon, 1807, the same story is told, but the Island Ende is there called Ilha do Conde.

which excited great jealousy amongst the Endes. These same Endes therefore proposed, like the Lamacheres fishermen, to repeat the voyage; and, when they were all ready to start, both the Endes and Lamacheres, there came upon them so great a trepidation that they did not dare, on account of their ignorance, to cross that Sea of Gold.

"Indeed it seems to be a providential act of Almighty God, that Manoel Godinho de Eredia, the cosmographer, has received commission from the Lord Count-Admiral, the Viceroy of India within and beyond the Ganges, that the said Eredia may be a means of adding new patrimonies to the Crown of Portugal, and of enriching the said Lord Count and the Portuguese nation. And therefore all, and especially the said Lord, ought to recognize with gratitude this signal service, which, if successful, will deserve to be regarded as one of the most happy and fortunate events in the world for the glory of Portugal. In any case, therefore, the discoverer ought for many reasons to be well provided for the gold enterprize. First, On account of the first possession of the gold by the crown of Portugal. Secondly, For the facility of discovering the gold. Thirdly, Because of the gold mines being the greatest in the world. Fourthly, Because the discoverer is a learned cosmographer. Fifthly, That he may at the same time verify the descriptions of the Southern Islands. Sixthly, On account of the new Christianity. Seventhly, Because the discoverer is a skilful captain who proposes to render very great services to the King of Portugal, and to the most happy Dom Francisco de Gama, Count of Vidigueira, Admiral and Viceroy of the Indies within and beyond the Ganges, and possessor of the gold, carbuncle, and spices of the Eastern Sea belonging to Portugal."

Short of an actual narrative of the voyage in which the discovery, which is the main subject of this paper, was made, we could scarcely ask for fuller confirmation of the truth of that discovery than that which is supplied by the above extract. Manoel Godinho de Eredia is there described as a learned cosmographer and skilful captain, who had received a special commission to make explorations for gold mines, and at the same time to verify the descriptions of the Southern Islands. The Island of Gold itself is described "as on the opposite coast, or coast outside of Timor, which properly is called the Southern Coast." It is highly probable from this description that it is the very Nuca Antara of our MS. map, which does lie on the southern coast opposite to Timor. It is still further most remarkable that, by the mere force of facts, the period of the commission here given to Eredia is brought into proximity with the date of his asserted discovery of Australia. The viceroy Francisco de Gama, who gave that commission,

was the immediate predecessor of Ayres de Saldanha. His viceroyalty extended only from 1597 to 1600, and the asserted discovery was made in 1601, though we know not in what month. A more happy confirmation of a discovery, unrecorded except in a probably unique map, could scarcely have been hoped for.

In laying this letter before a Society of Antiquaries, who venerate the past, I would not close without one word of reverent tribute to the ancient glories of a once mighty nation. The true heroes of the world are the initiators of great exploits, the pioneers of great discoveries. Such were the Portuguese in days when the world was as yet but a half known and puny thing. To Portugal, in truth, we owe not only a De Gama, but, by example, a Columbus, without whom the majestic empire of her on whose dominions the sun never sets might now have been a dream, instead of a reality. England, whose hardy mariners have made a thoroughfare of every sea, knows best how to do justice to the fearlessness of their noble predecessors, who, in frail caravels and through an unmeasured wilderness of ocean, could cleave a pathway, not only to the glory of their own nation, but to the civilization and the prosperity of the entire world.

I remain,

My dear Sir Henry,

Yours very truly,

R. H. MAJOR.

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S.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 311, line 24. The original Danish of this passage is as follows: "Anno 1578 den 14 Aprilis döde den Schottske Greffne paa Dragsholms, bleff och begraffuen i samme Kircke. Han heed James Hephune Greve af Bottwell."

Page 311, Note *a*. The original passage in Peder Hanson Resen's work is as follows: "Samme Tid döde ocsaa den Skotske Greffve Botuell udi sit langvarendis Foengsel paa Dragsholm, og bleff begrafven udi Faareveile. Anno 1578."

Page 311, Note *b*. *For* "Frohenkloster" *read* "Froken-kloster."

Page 312, line 8. Insert *after* "inmate," "Excepting that in his time an additional tower and turret or two, gave the building a more castellated and romantic appearance.

Page 314, Postscript, line 6. *For* "etroite" *read* "estroite."

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