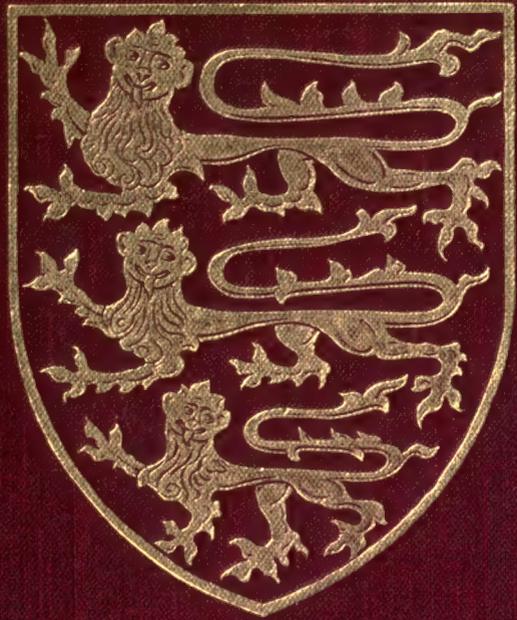


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The Victoria History of the
Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

VOLUME I

VICTORIA HISTORY

BY THE REV. J. H. COOPER

THE HISTORY OF
VICTORIA

LONDON

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE



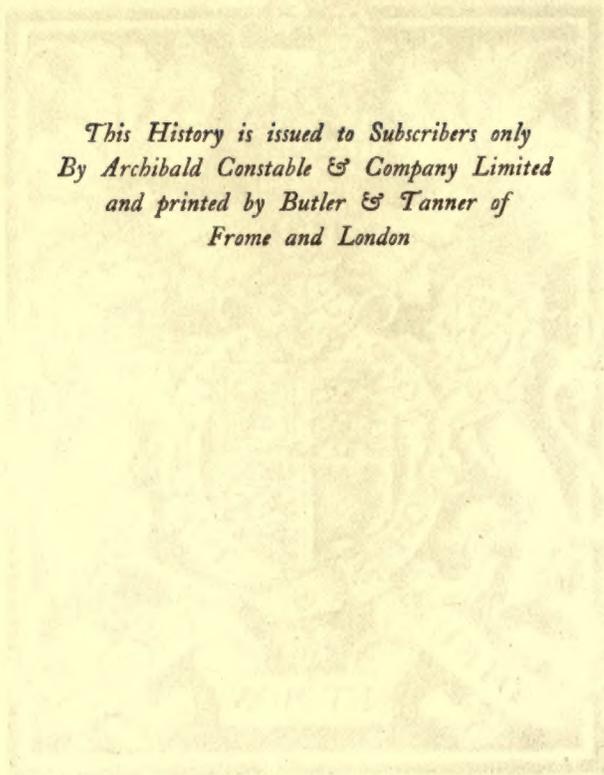
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY
OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

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LONDON

INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY

INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
BY HER LOYALTY AND
AFFECTION TO AND
AFFECTION TO THE
PROVISION OF
THE MEMORY

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General Editor: WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

GENERAL ADVERTISEMENT

The VICTORIA HISTORY of the Counties of England is a National Historic Survey which, under the direction of a large staff comprising the foremost students in science, history, and archæology, is designed to record the history of every county of England in detail. This work was, by gracious permission, dedicated to Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, who gave it her own name. It is the endeavour of all who are associated with the undertaking to make it a worthy and permanent monument to her memory.

Rich as every county of England is in materials for local history, there has hitherto been no attempt made to bring all these materials together into a coherent form.

Although from the seventeenth century down to quite recent times numerous county histories have been issued, they are very unequal in merit; the best of them are very rare and costly; most of them are imperfect, and many are now out of date. Moreover they were the work of one or two isolated scholars, who, however scholarly, could not possibly deal adequately with all the varied subjects which go to the making of a county history.

In the VICTORIA HISTORY each county is not the labour of one or two men, but of many, for the work is treated scientifically, and in order to embody in it all that modern scholarship can contribute, a system of co-operation between experts and local students is applied, whereby the history acquires a completeness and definite authority hitherto lacking in similar undertakings.

The names of the distinguished men who have joined the Advisory Council are a guarantee that the work represents the results of the latest discoveries in every department of research, for the trend of modern thought insists upon the intelligent study of the past and of the social, institutional and political developments of national life. As these histories are the first in which this object has been kept in view, and modern principles applied, it is hoped that they will form a work of reference no less indispensable to the student than welcome to the man of culture.

THE SCOPE OF THE WORK

The history of each county is complete in itself, and in each case its story is told from the earliest times, commencing with the natural features and the flora and fauna. Thereafter follow the antiquities, pre-Roman, Roman and post-Roman; ancient earthworks; a new translation and critical study of the Domesday Survey; articles on political, ecclesiastical, social and economic history; architecture, arts, industries, sport, etc.; and topography. The greater part of each history is devoted to a detailed description and history of each parish, containing an account of the land and its owners from the Conquest to the present day. These manorial histories are compiled from original documents in the national collections and from private papers. A special feature is the wealth of illustrations afforded, for not only are buildings of interest pictured, but the coats of arms of past and present landowners are given.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

It has always been, and still is, a reproach that England, with a collection of public records greatly exceeding in extent and interest those of any other country in Europe, is yet far behind her neighbours in the study of the genesis and growth of her national and local institutions. Few Englishmen are probably aware that the national and local archives contain for a period of 800 years in an almost unbroken chain of evidence, not only the political, ecclesiastical, and constitutional history of the kingdom, but every detail of its financial and social progress and the history of the land and its successive owners from generation to generation. The neglect of our public and local records is no doubt largely due to the fact that their interest and value is known to but a small number of people, and this again is directly attributable to the absence in this country of any endowment for historical research. The government of this country has too often left to private enterprise work which our continental neighbours entrust to a government department. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that although an immense amount of work has been done by individual effort, the entire absence of organization among the workers and the lack of intelligent direction has hitherto robbed the results of much of their value.

In the VICTORIA HISTORY, for the first time, a serious attempt is made to utilize our national and local muniments to the best advantage by carefully organizing and supervising the researches required. Under the direction of the Records Committee a large staff of experts has been engaged at the Public Record Office in calendaring those classes of records which are fruitful in material for local history, and by a system of interchange of communication among workers under the direct supervision of the general editor and sub-editors a mass of information is sorted and assigned to its correct place, which would otherwise be impossible.

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FAMILY HISTORY

Family History is, both in the Histories and in the supplementary genealogical volumes of chart Pedigrees, dealt with by genealogical experts and in the modern spirit. Every effort is made to secure accuracy of statement, and to avoid the insertion of those legendary pedigrees which have in the past brought discredit on the subject. It has been pointed out by the late Bishop of Oxford, a great master of historical research, that 'the expansion and extension of genealogical study is a very remarkable feature of our own times,' that 'it is an increasing pursuit both in America and in England,' and that it can render the historian most useful service.

CARTOGRAPHY

In addition to a general map in several sections, each History contains Geological, Orographical, Botanical, Archæological, and Domesday maps; also maps illustrating the articles on Ecclesiastical and Political Histories and the sections dealing with Topography. The Series contains many hundreds of maps in all.

ARCHITECTURE

A special feature in connexion with the Architecture is a series of ground plans, many of them coloured, showing the architectural history of castles, cathedrals, abbeys, and other monastic foundations.

In order to secure the greatest possible accuracy, the descriptions of the Architecture, ecclesiastical, military, and domestic are under the supervision of Mr. C. R. PEERS, M.A., F.S.A., and a committee has been formed of the following students of architectural history who are referred to as may be required concerning this department of the work:—

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The genealogical volumes contain the family history and detailed genealogies of such houses as had at the end of the nineteenth century seats and landed estates, having enjoyed the like in the male line since 1760, the first year of George III., together with an introductory section dealing with other principal families in each county.

The general plan of Contents and the names among others of those who are contributing articles and giving assistance are as follows :—

Natural History

Geology. CLEMENT REID, F.R.S., HORACE B. WOODWARD, F.R.S., and others

Palæontology. R. L. LYDEKKER, F.R.S., etc.

Flora	}	Contributions by G. A. BOULENGER, F.R.S., H. N. DIXON, F.L.S., G. C. DRUCE, M.A., F.L.S., WALTER GARSTANG, M.A., F.L.S., HERBERT GOSS, F.L.S., F.E.S., R. I. POCOCK, REV. T. R. R. STEBBING, M.A., F.R.S., etc., B. B. WOODWARD, F.G.S., F.R.M.S., etc., and other specialists
Fauna		

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Anglo-Saxon Remains. C. HERCULES READ, F.S.A., REGINALD A. SMITH, B.A., F.S.A., and others

Domesday Book and other kindred Records. J. HORACE ROUND, M.A., LL.D., and other specialists

Architecture. C. R. PEERS, M.A., F.S.A., W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., and HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A.,
A.R.I.B.A.

Ecclesiastical History. R. L. POOLE, M.A., and others

Political History. PROF. C. H. FIRTH, M.A., LL.D., W. H. STEVENSON, M.A., J. HORACE ROUND,
M.A., LL.D., PROF. T. F. TOUT, M.A., JAMES TAIT, M.A., and A. F. POLLARD

History of Schools. A. F. LEACH, M.A., F.S.A.

Maritime History of Coast Counties. J. K. LAUGHTON, M.A., M. OPPENHEIM, and others

Topographical Accounts of Parishes and Manors. By Various Authorities

History of the Feudal Baronage. J. HORACE ROUND, M.A., LL.D., and OSWALD BARRON, F.S.A.

Agriculture. SIR ERNEST CLARKE, M.A., Sec. to the Royal Agricultural Society, and others

Forestry. JOHN NISBET, D.Orc., and others

Industries, Arts, and Manufactures	}	By Various Authorities
Social and Economic History		

Ancient and Modern Sport. E. D. CUMING and others

Hunting	}	By Various Authorities
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Cricket. HOME GORDON

Football. C. W. ALCOCK





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View of the City from the Terrace.

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
BUCKINGHAM

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

VOLUME ONE



JAMES STREET
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1905

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.)	Abbreviatio Placitorum (Record Commission)	Chas.	Charles
Acts of P.C. . . .	Acts of Privy Council	Ches.	Cheshire
Add.	Additional	Chest.	Chester
Add. Chart. . . .	Additional Charters	Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.)	Church Goods (Exchequer King's Remembrancer)
Admir.	Admiralty	Chich.	Chichester
Agarde	Agarde's Indices	Chron.	Chronicle, Chronica, etc.
Anct. Corresp. . . .	Ancient Correspondence	Close.	Close Roll
Anct. D. (P.R.O.) A 2420	Ancient Deeds (Public Record Office) A 2420	Co.	County
Antiq.	Antiquarian or Antiquaries	Colch.	Colchester
App.	Appendix	Coll.	Collections
Arch.	Archæologia or Archæological	Com.	Commission
Arch. Cant.	Archæologia Cantiana	Com. Pleas	Common Pleas
Archd. Rec.	Archdeacon's Records	Conf. R.	Confirmation Rolls
Archit.	Architectural	Co. Plac.	County Placita
Assize R.	Assize Rolls	Cornw.	Cornwall
Aud. Off.	Audit Office	Corp.	Corporation
Aug. Off.	Augmentation Office	Cott.	Cotton or Cottonian
Ayloffé	Ayloffé's Calendars	Ct. R.	Court Rolls
		Ct. of Wards	Court of Wards
		Cumb.	Cumberland
		Cur. Reg.	Curia Regis
Bed.	Bedford	D. and C.	Dean and Chapter
Beds.	Bedfordshire	De Banc. R.	De Banco Rolls
Berks	Berkshire	Dec. and Ord. . . .	Decrees and Orders
Bdle.	Bundle	Dep. Keeper's Rep.	Deputy Keeper's Reports
B.M.	British Museum	Derb.	Derbyshire or Derby
Bodl. Lib.	Bodley's Library	Devon	Devonshire
Boro.	Borough	Doc.	Documents
Brev. Reg.	Brevia Regia	Dods. MSS.	Dodsworth MSS.
Brit.	Britain, British, Britannia, etc.	Dom. Bk.	Domesday Book
Buck.	Buckingham	Dors.	Dorsetshire
Bucks	Buckinghamshire	Duchy of Lanc. . . .	Duchy of Lancaster
		Dur.	Durham
Cal.	Calendar	East.	Easter Term
Camb.	Cambridgeshire or Cambridge	Eccl.	Ecclesiastical
Cambr.	Cambria, Cambrian, Cambrensis, etc.	Eccl. Com.	Ecclesiastical Commission
Cant.	Canterbury	Edw.	Edward
Cap.	Chapter	Eliz.	Elizabeth
Carl.	Carlisle	Engl.	England or English
Cart. Antiq. R. . . .	Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls	Engl. Hist. Rev. . . .	English Historical Review
C.C.C. Camb.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Epis. Reg.	Episcopal Registers
Certiorari Bdles. (Rolls Chap.)	Certiorari Bundles (Rolls Chapel)	Esch. Enr. Accts. . . .	Escheators Enrolled Accounts
Chan. Enr. Decree R.	Chancery Enrolled Decree Rolls	Excerptæ Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.)	Excerpta e Rotulis Finium (Record Commission)
Chan. Proc.	Chancery Proceedings	Exch. Dep.	Exchequer Depositions
Chant. Cert.	Chantry Certificates (or Certificates of Colleges and Chantries)	Exch. K.B.	Exchequer King's Bench
Chap. Ho.	Chapter House	Exch. K.R.	Exchequer King's Remembrancer
Charity Inq.	Charity Inquisitions	Exch. L.T.R.	Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer
Chart. R. 20 Hen. III. pt. i. No. 10	Charter Roll, 20 Henry III. part i. Number 10	Exch. of Pleas, Plea R.	Exchequer of Pleas, Plea Roll
Chartul.	Chartulary	Exch. of Receipt . . .	Exchequer of Receipt

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Exch. Spec. Com.	Exchequer Special Commissions	Misc. Bks. (Exch. K.R., Exch. T.R. or Aug. Off.)	Miscellaneous Book (Exchequer King's Remembrancer, Exchequer Treasury of Receipt or Augmentation Office)
Feet of F. . . .	Feet of Fines	Mon.	Monastery, Monasticon
Feod. Accts. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Accounts (Court of Wards)	Monm.	Monmouth
Feod. Surv. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Surveys (Court of Wards)	Mun.	Muniments or Munimenta
Feud. Aids . . .	Feudal Aids	Mus.	Museum
fol.	Folio	N. and Q. . . .	Notes and Queries
Foreign R. . . .	Foreign Rolls	Norf.	Norfolk
Forest Proc. . .	Forest Proceedings	Northampt. . .	Northampton
Gen.	Genealogical, Genealogica, etc.	Northants . . .	Northamptonshire
Geo.	George	Northumb. . . .	Northumberland
Glouc.	Gloucestershire or Gloucester	Norw.	Norwich
Guild Certif. (Chan.) Ric. II.	Guild Certificates (Chancery) Richard II.	Nott.	Nottinghamshire or Nottingham
		N.S.	New Style
Hants	Hampshire	Off.	Office
Harl.	Harley or Harleian	Orig. R.	Originalia Rolls
Hen.	Henry	Oxf.	Oxfordshire or Oxford
Heref.	Herefordshire or Hereford	p.	Page
Hertf.	Hertford	Palmer's Ind. . .	Palmer's Indices
Herts	Hertfordshire	Pal. of Chest. . .	Palatinate of Chester
Hil.	Hilary Term	Pal. of Dur. . . .	Palatinate of Durham
Hist.	History, Historical, Historian, Historia, etc.	Pal. of Lanc. . . .	Palatinate of Lancaster
Hist. MSS. Com.	Historical MSS. Commission	Par.	Parish, Parochial, etc.
Hosp.	Hospital	Parl.	Parliament or Parliamentary
Hund. R.	Hundred Rolls	Parl. R.	Parliament Rolls
Hunt.	Huntingdon	Parl. Surv.	Parliamentary Surveys
Hunts	Huntingdonshire	Partic. for Gts. .	Particulars for Grants
		Pat.	Patent Roll or Letters Patent
Inq. a.q.d. . . .	Inquisitions ad quod damnum	P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Inq. p.m.	Inquisitions post mortem	Peterb.	Peterborough
Inst.	Institute or Institution	Phil.	Philip
Invent.	Inventory or Inventories	Pipe R.	Pipe Roll
Ips.	Ipswich	Plea R.	Plea Rolls
Itin.	Itinerary	Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.)	Pope Nicholas' Taxation (Record Commission)
Jas.	James	P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Journ.	Journal	Proc.	Proceedings
		Proc. Soc. Antiq. .	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries
Lamb. Lib. . . .	Lambeth Library	pt.	Part
Lanc.	Lancashire or Lancaster	Pub.	Publications
L. and P. Hen. VIII.	Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.	R.	Roll
Lansd.	Lansdowne	Rec.	Records
Ld. Rev. Rec. . .	Land Revenue Records	Recov. R.	Recovery Rolls
Leic.	Leicestershire or Leicester	Rentals and Surv. .	Rentals and Surveys
Le Neve's Ind. .	Le Neve's Indices	Rep.	Report
Lib.	Library	Rev.	Review
Lich.	Lichfield	Ric.	Richard
Linc.	Lincolnshire or Lincoln	Roﬀ.	Rochester diocese
Lond.	London	Rot. Cur. Reg. . .	Rotuli Curia Regis
m.	Membrane	Rut.	Rutland
Mem.	Memorials	Sarum	Salisbury diocese
Memo. R.	Memoranda Rolls	Ser.	Series
Mich.	Michaelmas Term	Sess. R.	Sessions Rolls
Midd.	Middlesex	Shrews.	Shrewsbury
Mins. Accts. . .	Ministers' Accounts		

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Shrops Shropshire	Transl. Translation
Soc. Society	Treas. Treasury or Treasurer
Soc. Antiq. Society of Antiquaries	Trin. Trinity Term
Somers. Somerset	
Somers. Ho. Somerset House	Univ. University
S.P. Dom. State Papers Domestic	
Staff. Staffordshire	Valor Eccl. (Rec. Valor Ecclesiasticus (Record
Star Chamb. Proc. Star Chamber Proceedings	Com.) Commission)
Stat. Statute	Vet. Mon. Vetusta Monumenta
Steph. Stephen	V.C.H. Victoria County History
Subs. R. Subsidy Rolls	Vic. Victoria
Suff. Suffolk	vol. Volume
Surr. Surrey	
Suss. Sussex	Warw. Warwickshire or Warwick
Surv. of Ch. Liv- Surveys of Church Livings	Westm. Westminster
ings (Lamb.) or (Lambeth) or (Chancery)	Will. William
(Chan.)	Wilts Wiltshire
	Winton. Winchester diocese
Topog. Topography or Topographi- cal	Worc. Worcestershire or Worcester
Trans. Transactions	Yorks Yorkshire

P R E F A C E

ALTHOUGH some considerable amount of labour has been expended in the past on the history and archæology of Buckinghamshire, the only serious attempt to compile a complete history of the county was made by George Lipscomb in *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, published in four volumes in 1847, some months after the death of its author. Perhaps not quite equal to our best county histories, it is yet a work of great value ; and taking into consideration the difficulties of access to records at the time it was compiled it shows a praiseworthy industry on the part of its compiler. In connection with the historians of the county mention cannot be omitted of Browne Willis, although his claim to be considered an historian is not confined to the county. As a Buckinghamshire man his chief interests nevertheless lay in the county, and in 1755 he published his *History and Antiquities of the Town, Hundred and Deanery of Buckingham*, where, as in his other works, may be discerned the use of original sources of information, the value of which, as the foundation of all history, he was one of the first local historians to recognize.

Owing to his intention of leaving the county, the Rev. F. W. Ragg, M.A., has been unable to undertake the editorship of the volumes of the VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY for Buckinghamshire, as had been arranged, although with his local knowledge he has given much valuable assistance. In like manner, by reason of his many engagements, Mr. A. Heneage Cocks, M.A., F.S.A., was prevented from fulfilling his promise of writing the article on Early Man.

To his late colleague, Mr. H. A. Doubleday, the general editor wishes to express his obligations for the revision of articles and work on the VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY done up to the time of Mr. Doubleday's retirement. For the use of blocks for illustrations in this volume the general editor has to thank Mr. A. Morley Davies, B.Sc., F.G.S., the proprietors of the *Home Counties Magazine*, and the Council of the Society of Antiquaries.

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BUCKINGHAMSHIRE



EXPLANATION OF COLOURING

- Alluvium, Valley Gravel and Glacial Drift (not shown)
- Eocene**
 - Bagshot Beds
 - London Clay
 - Reading Beds
- Cretaceous**
 - Chalk
 - Upper Greensand
 - Gault
 - Lower Greensand
- Jurassic**
 - Purbeck Beds
 - Portland Beds
 - Kimmeridge Clay
 - Corallian
 - Oxford Clay
 - Combrash
 - Great Oolite Series
 - Inferior Oolite Series
 - Upper Lias
 - Middle Lias

SCALE 4 MILES TO AN INCH

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute



GEOLOGY

IN Buckinghamshire from the valley of the Great Ouse on the north to that of the Thames on the south there are outcrops of a series of geological formations, which are tilted gently towards the south-south-east. Through the northern belt range portions of Jurassic strata which serve to connect the county with midland regions. There we find traces of the Lias, with uplands of Oolitic limestone or stone-brash, and a broad vale of Oxford and Kimeridge Clays, modified towards the south by outlying hills of limestone capped by Cretaceous sands and clays. Still further south we come to the vale of Aylesbury which is largely formed of Gault clay ; and this is succeeded in the central part of Buckinghamshire by the bold Chalk range of the Chiltern Hills, which, forming part of the London Basin, slope gently south-eastwards, and are eventually covered by Eocene deposits and by the gravels of the Thames valley.

Throughout the entire area there are various superficial deposits on hill and in vale, which help to diversify the soils of this essentially agricultural county.

Of the industries directly connected with the geology, those of lime-burning and brick-making are the principal ; but changes here, as elsewhere are in progress. The smaller brickyards cannot compete with the larger, while the local road-mending materials have given place to more durable stone obtained from a distance ; hence in remoter regions there are fewer pits or ' geological sections ' than was formerly the case, and except as lime-works many small quarries have been abandoned. A striking instance of the changes is noted by Mr. A. Morley Davies, who, in writing of the Thame valley in 1898, says : ' Now however the stone-pits seem all abandoned and mostly levelled over ; the only one I saw was being used to store Leicestershire road-metal.'¹

Phosphatic deposits were formerly worked, but owing to foreign competition the industry is being gradually extinguished in this country. Elsewhere the market and nursery gardens of the Thames valley, the dairy lands of Aylesbury, and the beech woods used for chair-making at High Wycombe, give rise to occupations due more or less directly to the nature of the soil.

The county is one which is by no means devoid of interest to geologists, and our knowledge is especially associated with the names of

¹ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xvi. 19.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Fitton, John Morris and A. H. Green in the northern part; and with those of Prestwich and William Whitaker in the southern part.¹

The following is a table of the formations met with in Buckinghamshire:—

Period	Formation	Character of the Strata	Approximate thickness in feet
Recent to Neolithic	Alluvium	Silt, peat, clay	up to 20
Pleistocene, Palæolithic and Glacial	Valley Brickearth	Loam	10
	Valley Gravel	Stones of flint, quartzite, etc.	30
	Boulder Clay	Chalky clay, with flints and erratics	up to 40
	Glacial Gravel and Sand	Gravel made up of flints, quartzite, etc.; and sand	25
	Clay-with-flints and Loam	Red clay and loam with unworn chalk-flints, and other material in 'pipes' of the Chalk	up to 50
Eocene	London Clay	Brown and blue clay with septaria	up to 200
	Reading Beds	Mottled clay, sand, and flint pebble beds	35 to 80
Cretaceous	Upper Chalk	Chalk with flints	400
	Middle Chalk	Chalk with few flints	175
	Lower Chalk	Grey chalk and chalk marl	150
	Upper Greensand	Green sand and calcareous sandy rock	20
	Gault	Pale marly clay	200 to 250
	Lower Greensand	White and coloured sands, sandstone, ironstone, and fuller's earth	up to 250
Jurassic	Purbeck Beds	Thin limestones and clays	20 to 30
	Portland Beds	Shelly limestone, sands and clay	60
	Kimeridge Clay	Dark clay and shale	100
	Corallian	Clay with selenite	40 or 50
	Oxford Clay	Clay with septaria; sandy beds at base	400
	Cornbrash	Rubby limestone	5
	Great Oolite Series	Oolitic and shelly limestones, marls and clays	50 to 60
	Inferior Oolite Series	Clays, sand and sandstone	5 to 10
	Upper Lias	Blue clay	55 to 120
	<i>Middle and Lower Lias</i> (not exposed)	Stone-beds, clays, etc.	not proved

Nowhere in Buckinghamshire have any very deep borings at present been made, consequently we have no information with regard to the character of the older (Palæozoic) strata, which probably occur in some parts of the county within a thousand feet of the surface.

¹ A list of works on the geology of Buckinghamshire, up to 1873, by W. Whitaker, was printed in the *Report Brit. Assoc.* for 1882, p. 344.

GEOLOGY

At Bletchley fragments of granitic rock were obtained in a boring from depths of 400 and 407 feet from the surface. The evidence as to their precise mode of occurrence was by no means clear, but probably the rock was present as boulders in the Kellaways Beds which form the basement portion of the Oxford Clay and consist of hard calcareous sandstones and clays.¹ Water which was obtained proved to be very saline.

A boring at Stone near Aylesbury was carried to a depth of 570 feet through Portland Beds, Kimeridge and Oxford Clays into the Great Oolite. It was made in search of water and was unsuccessful.²

LIAS

The oldest formation exposed in Buckinghamshire is the Upper Lias, which comes to the surface in the northern part of the county. There can be no doubt that both Middle and Lower Lias occur also in that region underground, but we have no definite particulars regarding them. It is probable that the Middle Lias (Marlstone) was reached at a depth of about 100 feet at Stony Stratford, and at a depth of about 200 feet beneath Drift and other deposits at Brickkiln farm to the south-east of that town, where a rock-bed yielded a scanty supply of brackish water.³

Even the Upper Lias is nowhere well exposed. It appears in the higher part of the Ouse valley south-west of Turweston, where it is faulted on the east against the Great Oolite Limestone. It occurs also in the Tove valley above Castlethorpe. Both these tracts are meadowland, and the sub-strata are in a measure concealed by alluvium. No sections of the strata have been recorded, but in adjoining parts of Northamptonshire we know that the Upper Lias consists mainly of a mass of bluish-grey clay, which is locally worked for brickmaking. It contains small nodules of limestone or cement-stone, selenite and pyrites, and it yields *Ammonites communis*, *A. fibulatus*, many Belemnites, *Leda ovum*, *Inoceramus dubius*, and other fossils. The lowermost portion comprises alternations of clay or shale with limestones, and these yield remains of fishes and insects, *Ammonites serpentinus*, etc. They indicate marine conditions and water shallower than that in which the thick series of overlying clays was deposited.

INFERIOR OOLITE SERIES

Again we find representatives of an important division which is but poorly exhibited in the county, and in this case poorly developed. The Inferior Oolite Series, so prominent in the Cotteswold Hills, undergoes such considerable changes as we pass into the midland counties that distinct stratigraphical divisions are needful. In place of a great series of marine sands, oolitic freestones and rag beds yielding numerous fossils,

¹ Jukes-Browne, *Geol. Mag.* (1889), p. 356.

² H. B. Woodward, 'Middle and Upper Oolitic Rocks of England,' *Geol. Survey*, p. 337.

³ *Ibid.*, 'Lower Oolitic Rocks of England,' *Geol. Survey*, p. 391.

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we find in Buckinghamshire a marine and estuarine group divided as follows :—

LOWER ESTUARINE SERIES NORTHAMPTON SANDS

In parts of Northamptonshire and in Lincolnshire this group is overlain by an important division known as the Lincolnshire Limestone, which furnishes many a valuable freestone. No portion of it is represented in Buckinghamshire, and consequently there is a considerable break between the representatives of the Inferior Oolite and Great Oolite Series in the county. Locally also there are evidences of erosion between the Upper Lias Clay and the succeeding Northampton Sands.

Just beyond the borders of the county, in a brickyard north-east of Brackley, resting on the blue pyritic clays of the Upper Lias, there were to be seen green and dark grey sands and hard ferruginous sandstone, together 3 feet 6 inches thick. The stone contained *Avicula braamburiensis* and some other fossils, and also pebbles of hardened Upper Lias shale. These sandy beds, representing the Northampton Sands, were overlaid by 8 feet of purplish loam, clay and white and brown sand, perhaps belonging to the Lower Estuarine Series.

In this neighbourhood however the lower beds of the Great Oolite comprise an Upper Estuarine Series, and where the two Estuarine series come together it is most difficult to distinguish between them, for in characters they are alike, and it is only where one group is seen to rest with marked unconformity on the other that any division can be made. Further north in Northamptonshire the two are separated by the Lincolnshire Limestone, but the Upper Estuarine Series may be regarded as the more persistent as it stretches unconformably across the eroded surfaces of the subdivisions in the Inferior Oolite Series.

The Northampton Sands are exposed in Buckinghamshire only along the Ouse valley at Whitfield Mill below Biddlesden. Hard bands such as occur near Brackley have been met with in borings on the north-east of Stowe Park near Akeley and along the borders of the Ouse valley near Stony Stratford ; but the evidence of their age is indecisive.

There is no doubt that both Northampton Sands and Lower Estuarine Series die out in a south-easterly direction from Northamptonshire towards Olney and Stony Stratford. Together they appear to represent in places the higher portion of the zone of *Ammonites jurensis*, but they consist mainly of the zones of *A. opalinus* and *A. murchisonæ* ; or in other words they are equivalent to the higher part of the Midford Sands and the lower part of the Inferior Oolite of the west and south-west of England.¹

GREAT OOLITE SERIES

This series, which occupies a considerable area in the northern part of the county, is locally divided as follows :—

¹ 'Lower Oolitic Rocks of England,' *Geol. Survey*, pp. 33, 38, etc.

GEOLOGY

	Approximate equivalents in the west of England
Great Oolite Clay.	Forest Marble
Great Oolite Limestone	Great Oolite
Upper Estuarine Series	Fullonian or Fuller's Earth

The UPPER ESTUARINE SERIES which enters but little into the surface geology, consists of black, grey, reddish, greenish and bluish clays, with white and brown sands, much like the Lower Estuarine Series. Nail-head spar, a form of calcite, is frequently present. These beds occur at Stoke Goldington and along the borders of the Ouse from Weston Underwood to near Olney, where they are from 15 to 20 feet in thickness. Formerly they were regarded as Upper Lias.

They have been proved in borings in Salcey Forest, and at Dean-shanger on the Northamptonshire borders, and also at Stony Stratford. To the south-west of that town the Upper Estuarine Series rests directly on the Upper Lias clays, and it may do so near Olney.

The GREAT OOLITE LIMESTONE consists of white limestones, marls and compact grey limestone. Some layers contain scattered grains of oolite, others are largely oolitic and false-bedded, while some are sandy and minutely current-bedded. The upper beds comprise compact shelly limestone with the gasteropod *Nerinea*, and with many lamellibranchs such as *Cyprina*, *Astarte*, *Gervillia*, etc. Other bands yield corals, *Lima cardiiformis*, *Terebratula maxillata*, and *Clypeus*.

The Great Oolite Limestone which extends over much of the northern part of the county forms an undulating well-wooded district. The higher tracts are however largely covered by Boulder Clay: hence there is a mixed soil of chalky clay on which beans and wheat are cultivated, amid other arable tracts of stonebrash and much dairy land.

Numerous quarries are to be met with from Turweston and Biddesden to Shalstone, in Stowe Park, along the Ouse valley at Water Stratford and Buckingham, at Leckhampstead and onwards by Calverton, Bradwell, Great Linford, Stony Stratford and Wolverton. Some of these quarries are but 10 or 15 feet in depth and many are now disused.

The stone has been employed for building purposes, but even when well-seasoned before use it is by no means durable, and it is not to be compared with the Great Oolite (Bath stone) of the west of England. The argillaceous nature of the limestone causes the lime to be strong and better adapted for mortar than for agricultural purposes.

In a pit at Bradwell near Newport Pagnell, beneath the Great Oolite Clay, about 16 feet of Great Oolite Limestone has been exposed, comprising pale earthy, shelly, and oolitic limestones, the lower layers false-bedded and containing veins of selenite. This mineral occurs also in thin seams an inch or two thick between the bands of stone. Most probably it is due to the decomposition of pyrites in the clay above, and

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the consequent formation of sulphate of lime, which was deposited along the open planes of bedding and in crevices of the fractured rock.¹

Beyond Wolverton the Great Oolite extends northwards from Castlethorpe to Hansthorpe and along the borders of Salcey Forest; it appears in the Ouse valley at Gayhurst, Ravenstone, Warrington, Laven- don and Olney, also at Clifton Reynes, Emberton and Sherington. At Gayhurst many fossils were formerly collected by J. H. Macalister.² In this region the stone layers are much jointed and fissured and the walls of the fissures are seen to be water-worn. Under favourable circum- stances the strata would hold a good deal of water, although free circula- tion is liable to be arrested by the partings of marl.

In the south-west of England and northwards as far as Bicester in Oxfordshire the Great Oolite is surmounted by beds of clay, sands and fissile oolitic and shelly limestone grouped as the Forest Marble, so named from the occurrence of the strata in the forest of Wychwood east of Burford in Oxfordshire, where in old times the stone was employed for chimney pieces.

On Blackthorn Hill south-east of Bicester we find the last definite representative of Forest Marble type, about 18 feet in thickness and comprising clays with a band of tough blue shelly oolite, with masses of lignite and greenish marly galls. Here one of the characteristic fossils *Waldheimia digona* is to be found, together with *Ostrea* and *Acrosalenia*. The upper beds comprise pale greenish grey clays which indicate the incoming of the estuarine conditions which prevailed in the area to the north-east where the term GREAT OOLITE CLAY is usually applied.

East of Tingewick and again at Thornton Prof. A. H. Green noted a hard limestone similar to that above mentioned. It is overlain by blue and white marly clays and these occasionally contain calcareous bands and concretions.³ It was mentioned by Buckland that shelly limestone obtained at Buckingham had been used for ornamental purposes under the name of Buckingham Marble⁴; but the stone may have been obtained from one of the shelly bands at top of the Great Oolite Limestone. At Buckingham the Great Oolite Clay is about 15 feet in thickness, but northwards at Akeley it is less developed. Here we find grey and black clay and marl, while in some localities there is greenish clay with *Ostrea sowerbyi* and *O. subrugulosa*. Thus at Bradwell beneath the Cornbrash and above the Great Oolite Limestone there is about 13 feet of marly clays, variegated in colour, with sand and marly limestone crowded with *Ostrea*, and at the base much ferruginous matter. Here we have the type of the Great Oolite Clay of the midland counties, a formation of uncertain thickness and varying character.

Where exposed this clayey series forms a wet tenacious soil, notice- able along the gentle scarp to the south of the Ouse valley between Buckingham and Newport Pagnell.

¹ 'Lower Oolitic Rocks of England,' *Geol. Survey*, p. 393.

² *Geologist*, iv. 215, 486.

³ *Geology of the country around Banbury, Woodstock, Bicester and Buckingham*, p. 28 (1864).

⁴ *Ann. Phil.* ser. 2, i. 464 (1821).

GEOLOGY

CORNBRASH

This formation consists of earthy and shelly limestone with marly or clayey bands, altogether from 5 to 8 feet in thickness. Among fossils *Terebratula intermedia*, *Waldbeimia obovata*, *Avicula echinata*, *Pholadomya* and *Ostrea flabelloides* may usually be found. Although insignificant in thickness and of no economic importance in Buckinghamshire, the formation is of interest as being one of the more persistent bands in the Jurassic system.

North of Buckingham a large outlying mass of Cornbrash almost concealed beneath Oxford Clay and Glacial Drift occurs between Akeley and Thornborough. On the south side of the Ouse the formation extends from Barton Hartshorn to Tingewick, and eastwards from Beachampton, Bradwell, Great Linford and Newport Pagnell to near Newton Blossomville. Over much of the area the Cornbrash is concealed by Drift, and the broad outcrop is indefinite; moreover it was extended more than it should have been on the geological survey maps by the inclusion of the Great Oolite Clays.¹

The formation is brought to the surface in inliers at Marsh Gibbon and West Stan Hill by an anticlinal structure which has disturbed and faulted the beds from Islip in Oxfordshire in a north-easterly direction. At Akeley north of Buckingham we again meet with an anticline with a northerly trend where the Cornbrash, Great Oolite Clay and Great Oolite Limestone have been bent into an arch, locally eroded, and exposed beneath the Kellaways Beds.²

OXFORD CLAY

As its name implies this is a great clay formation; it occupies a vale chiefly of grass land with many dairy farms, and it forms part of a famous hunting country. It extends from Gawcott, Steeple Claydon, Grendon Underwood and Ludgarshall to Winslow, Whaddon Chase, Bletchley and Fenny Stratford in the Ouzel valley, and thence to Chicheley and Astwood. The vale is an undulating one, rising at Knowl Hill between Edgcot and Middle Claydon into a conspicuous elevation, but the surface is modified by coverings of Boulder Clay and Drift Gravel, to the presence of which the scattered villages are to be attributed, as the gravels yield springs and furnish limited supplies of water to shallow wells. Many of these however have become polluted owing to defective sanitary arrangements, and deeper or distant supplies of water have to be looked for. The clay is locally dug for the manufacture of bricks, tiles and drain-pipes.

Resting on the Cornbrash there is usually about 10 feet of clay which is overlain by the yellow sands, sandstones and loams, all belonging to the Kellaways division, and about 20 or 30 feet in thickness. The lower beds are much better exhibited in the adjoining county of Bedford, but they have been exposed at Akeley, Padbury and Little

¹ Green, *Geology of Banbury*, etc. p. 30.

² 'Lower Oolitic Rocks of England,' *Geol. Survey*, p. 450.

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Woolston. Among the fossils which they yield are *Ammonites calloviensis*, *A. gowerianus*, *A. kœnigi* and *Gryphæa bilobata*. The middle division, which comprises shales and clays with much pyrites, is characterized by *Ammonites jason*, *A. lamberti*, *Belemnites oweni* and *Cerithium muricatum*; the strata have been opened up along the Great Central Railway near Charndon, also near Winslow and at Fenny Stratford. The highest division, consisting of clays, contains *Ammonites cordatus*, *Belemnites bastatus* and great numbers of *Gryphæa dilatata*; and it is well exposed in a brickyard by Quainton Road station.

CORALLIAN

Between the Oxford and Kimeridge Clays there is usually developed a series of sands and calcareous sandstones, oolitic limestones and coral beds, grouped as the Corallian formation. In Buckinghamshire these rock beds are not present in any conspicuous form; they terminate north-east of Wheatley in Oxfordshire, and thence until we reach Upware in Cambridgeshire the formation is represented almost wholly by clay to which the name Ampthill Clay was given by Professor H. G. Seeley.

In the absence of the Corallian stone beds the probable equivalents have been shown on the geological survey map as extending through Shabbington, Ickford, Worminghall, Oakley and Boarstall, and thence from Dorton by Wescot to Quainton. Further on the Ampthill Clay outcrops between North Marston and Granborough, at Stewkley and onwards to the south of Linslade church.

The beds comprise dark clay and shale with selenite, and they contain *Ammonites cordatus* and var. *excavatus*, *A. plicatilis*, *A. vertebralis*, *Belemnites abbreviatus*, *Gryphæa dilatata*, *Ostrea discoidea*, and also *Ostrea deltoidea*.

There is a mingling of forms elsewhere belonging to the Oxford and Kimeridge Clays, and this is natural, as the conditions of deposition, in the absence of the Corallian rock beds, were more uniform; but it is only by attention to the fossils that the division can be recognized. West of Boarstall a hard cherty band has been observed, which helps to form the gentle escarpment of Pans Hill. It has yielded *Ammonites cordatus* and *A. vertebralis*.¹

KIMERIDGE CLAY

This clay formation extends from the Thame valley near Thame to the neighbourhood of Brill, Nether Winchendon and Waddesdon, and eastwards to Aylesbury, Quarrington, Hardwick, North Marston, Dunton and Stewkley. It occupies the lower grounds in a part of the celebrated vale of Aylesbury, which is diversified by numerous outlying hills of Portland and Purbeck Beds, with here and there coverings of Lower Greensand and Gault. It consists mainly of dark shale with occasional bands of septaria. In the lower beds *Ostrea deltoidea* is to be found, higher up *Exogyra virgula* is characteristic, and the upper beds contain

¹ Green, *Geology of Banbury*, etc. p. 44.

GEOLOGY

Discina latissima. In Buckinghamshire the upper beds pass into somewhat sandy grey clay, well adapted for brickmaking, and dug for the purpose at Brill and Whitchurch. These beds indeed merge into Lower Portland strata, and they contain numerous iridescent fossils, including *Ammonites bplex* (see p. 10).

PORTLAND BEDS

Resting conformably upon the Kimeridge Clay are the Portland Beds, which appear from beneath the great covering of Cretaceous strata at Haddenham and Cuddington, Dinton and Hartwell. It may be that the portions here exposed are but parts of a large outlier, as we have no evidence of their occurrence underground far to the south. Northwards we find a group of outliers wholly or in part formed of Portland Beds as at Long Crendon, Brill and Muswell Hill, Ashendon, Nether and Over Winchendon, Quainton, Oving and Whitchurch, Weedon and Aylesbury; while an inlying mass appears beneath the Gault between Cublington and Wing.¹

The general characters of the strata may be best observed in the sections in the neighbourhood of Aylesbury, where the succession is as follows:²—

Upper Portland Beds	Earthy and shelly limestones Sands Rubbly limestones with many fossils Sands with conglomerate at base yielding many pebbles of lydite	about 10 feet „ 5 „ „ 8 „ „ 10 „
Lower Portland Beds	Hartwell Clay	upwards of 20 feet

The upper beds of limestone have been quarried for building stone and lime at the Bugle Pit, Hartwell. Large ammonites known as *Ammonites giganteus* and *A. boloniensis*, *Natica ceres*, *Cardium dissimile*, *Pecten lamellosus*, *Lucina portlandica*, *Ostrea expansa* and species of *Perna* and *Trigonia* occur. Examples of the large ammonites, which are sometimes 3 feet in diameter, were built in the walls bounding Hartwell Park by the former proprietor, Dr. John Lee.³

The lower rubbly limestones, known as Aylesbury stone, occur at Aylesbury and yield *Myoconcha portlandica*, *Unicardium*, and many fossils which occur in the higher beds. The pebbly layer has been exposed at Bierton and in a brickyard where the Hartwell Clay is worked between Aylesbury and Hartwell. It is in some places cemented into a hard rock.

¹ See Fitton, *Trans. Geol. Soc.* ser. 2, iv. 279-92; and J. F. Blake, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxxvi. 215.

² W. H. Hudleston, *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* x. 166; and H. B. Woodward, 'Middle and Upper Oolitic Rocks of Britain,' p. 225.

³ See Admiral W. H. Smyth, *Ædes Hartwelliana* (1851-64).

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At Brill there are chalky limestones and green glauconitic beds, below which the pebbly layer is well seen overlying a few feet of brown and greenish sand, which passes gradually down into the dark grey Hartwell Clay, which again merges downwards into the Kimeridge Clay. The clay is used for brickmaking, and in Roman times there was a pottery at this locality.

The Hartwell Clay which represents the Lower Portland Beds of other localities contains *Belemnites souicbi*, *Ammonites biplex*, *Arca longipunctata*, *Astarte hartwellensis*, *Thracia tenera*, *Perna mytiloides*, etc. It has been dug for brickmaking also at Whitchurch.

At Long Crendon there are several exposures of the Portland Beds, and in one pit near the southern windmill four formations were shown in succession :—

		ft.	in.
Gault	Clay	8	0
Lower Greensand .	Sand, clay and ironstone	3	6
Purbeck	Limestone and clay with <i>Cyprides</i> . .	6	0
Portland Beds . .	Limestone with <i>Trigonia gibbosa</i> , etc. .	—	—

Mr. A. Morley Davies estimates the thickness of the limestones of the Portland Beds hereabouts at 32 feet, beneath which is about 2 feet of sand and the pebble bed with lydites, as near Aylesbury. Still lower there is about 30 feet of light-coloured sandy beds with clayey sands, and with a bright green sand at the base. These are the Lower Portland Beds equivalent to the Hartwell Clay of Aylesbury and to the Portland Sands in the south-west of England.¹

The Upper Portland Beds of Buckinghamshire form dry brashy soil, which is largely under arable cultivation. Springs are thrown at the junction with the Hartwell Clay, and good supplies of water are locally met with. At Dorton below Brill there is a famous chalybeate spring.

PURBECK BEDS

Several of the more prominent of the outlying hills of Portland Beds in the Vale of Aylesbury are capped by Purbeck strata, as at Oving and Whitchurch, Quanton, Coney Hill, Brill and Long Crendon; other outlying patches occur at Haddenham and Cuddington, Stone and Hartwell, and at Bishopstone, while their presence has been noted by Mr. Morley Davies between Towersey and Kingsey, and by Fitton at the Warren south of Stewkley, as well as at other localities.

Of Purbeck as well as of Portland Beds we have but isolated remnants of formations which may formerly have extended a good deal further north; but while the record of the Portland Beds is complete, nowhere in this region have we the full thickness of Purbeck Beds. They comprise a variable series of marls, compact and fissile limestones known as 'Pendle,' and calcareous sands, with here and there a cherty layer. The organic remains betoken their freshwater and estuarine

¹ See J. F. Blake, *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xiii. 74; and A. M. Davies, *ibid.* xvi. 21, 22.

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origin; there are plant remains, abundant cyprides (ostracoda), insect remains, mollusca such as *Cyrena*, *Paludina* and *Mytilus*, also fish remains and bones of turtles. Evidence of the changing conditions which followed the deposition of the marine Portland Beds is shown by an admixture of marine and freshwater ostracods in the Lower Purbeck Beds, and likewise in the uppermost Portland Beds.¹ No doubt during the Purbeck period there were occasional irruptions of the sea over the area in which freshwater beds were for the most part accumulated.

In the building up of what is now Buckinghamshire the Jurassic strata form the immediate foundation, but the Lias and Inferior Oolite Series so far as we know occur only in the northern part of the county, while the Great Oolite Series probably extends from north to south of the county being connected underground with beds of this age proved in deep borings in Middlesex and Surrey.

The succeeding Jurassic strata occupy a lesser area in the central portion of the county, owing to disturbance and erosion. They were spread over the entire area; at any rate such was the case with Oxford Clay, Corallian and Kimeridge Clay, and possibly with the Portland Beds, which initiate changes that ultimately led to the estuarine and freshwater Purbeck Beds. The land must then have been to some extent upraised and the strata bent into broad folds, and during the closely connected Wealden epoch there may have been much erosion and possibly deposition of freshwater strata.

The exposed areas of Oxford Clay and newer Jurassic strata evidently form part of a broad synclinal structure, the anticlinal portions north and south having been worn away, and this erosion took place to some extent prior to, and to some extent during, the deposition of the Lower Greensand. Thus the Lower Greensand rests indifferently on any of the Jurassic formations from the Purbeck Beds at Stone to the Oxford Clay at Brickhill. During these periods of erosion the Portland and Purbeck Beds were to some extent separated into outlying masses, the shapes of which have been modified during later epochs.

LOWER GREENSAND

The Lower Greensand comprises a variable group of sands and sandstones, with ochre, clays and fuller's earth, and it forms the charming and salubrious region of Woburn, on the borders of which in Buckinghamshire are the heaths of Wavendon and Bow Brickhill, the pleasant uplands of Little and Great Brickhill, and the wooded valley at Linslade. The Lower Greensand appears again at Bishopstone, and near Towersey from beneath the main mass of Gault, and it occurs in outliers near Bierton, Hartwell and Stone, at Brill (603 feet) and Muswell Hill (649 feet), and in other eminences resting directly on Purbeck or Portland Beds, and overlapping their margins in places.

¹ T. R. Jones, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xli. 328; and H. B. Woodward, 'Middle and Upper Oolitic Rocks of England,' *Geol. Survey*, p. 280.

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Evidently it lies unconformably on the Purbeck and older strata, and yet curiously enough in some of the lower bands of ferruginous sandstone there have been found remains of freshwater shells, *Unio*, *Cyrena* and *Paludina*, which led Fitton, John Phillips and also Prestwich to regard these beds as of Wealden age.¹ Now elsewhere, where Wealden Beds occur, they are conformable with the Purbeck Beds, and the explanation given by other geologists, that these fossiliferous layers are freshwater beds of Lower Greensand age seems most reasonable.² It may be remarked that John Morris noted the occurrence of freshwater mollusca at Hartwell, and he mentioned the finding of the Wealden plant, *Endogenites erosa*, near Stone church, probably at the base of the sands.³ At Muswell Hill *Unio porrectus*, a Wealden species, has been found. We have however no grounds for concluding that Wealden species of freshwater mollusca died out at the close of the Wealden period, and the stratigraphical evidence is in favour of grouping with the Lower Greensand all the strata about to be described which occur between Shotover and Woburn. It may be useful to group, as Mr. A. M. Davies has done, the beds at Muswell Hill, Brill, Long Crendon, Oving and Quainton under the old name of Shotover Beds. These beds attain a thickness of about 50 feet.

Elsewhere near Aylesbury, at Bishopstone, Haddenham and Stone the sands and hard ferruginous layers have yielded impressions of marine Lower Greensand fossils, *Exogyra sinuata*, *Lima* and *Pecten*, and these beds, which may belong to a newer stage than the Shotover Beds, are grouped as Bishopstone Beds by Mr. Davies.⁴

The precise relation of these two divisions to the thick mass of Woburn Sands may well be left an open question—probably both are represented in that thick series.

Much of the Lower Greensand in the outlying hills consists of coarse and fine sands 20 feet or more thick with hard concretionary masses, the sand being in places clean and white, and adapted as near Stone for glass-making, for which purpose it was formerly sent to Birmingham. At Stone it is cemented in places into hard and irregular siliceous concretions of such grotesque forms that they are known as 'bowel stones.' Elsewhere the sands are of various tints, some red and orange-coloured, the coarser sands containing pebbles of quartz, quartzite and lydian stone. Thin seams of ironstone occur as well as beds of clay, while fuller's earth and ochre were formerly dug at Brill, and whitish pipeclay is met with at Oving.

The soil in general is a reddish brown sandy loam, and the strata are usually water-bearing, having at Stone furnished a good supply. Further on towards Woburn, where there is a greater thickness of the sands, larger permanent supplies of water may be expected, but that

¹ Phillips, *Geology of Oxford and the Valley of the Thames*, pp. 410, 412, 418 (1871); Prestwich, *Geology*, ii. 264.

² E. Hull and W. Whitaker, *Geology of parts of Oxfordshire and Berkshire*, p. 15; A. H. Green, *Geology of Banbury*, etc. p. 50 (1864).

³ *Geol. Mag.* pp. 458, 459 (1867).

⁴ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xvi. 45, 50.

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district is partially covered by Boulder Clay, which occupies hollows and thus modifies the extent and flow of the underground water.

Important beds of fuller's earth occur in the Lower Greensand at Brickhill and Wavendon. So long ago as 1723 the working of fuller's earth at Wavendon Heath was described by the Rev. B. Holloway, who noted the succession of strata as follows :¹—

	feet		feet
Reddish sands } . . . about	18	Fuller's Earth . . . about	8
Red Sandstone }		White rough stone	—
Sand	22	Sand	—

The section at Woburn, afterwards published by Fitton,² closely agrees with the above, except that the thickness of the sands overlying the fuller's earth is there estimated at 130 feet. He notes that the fuller's earth is of a very light olive green colour, in which particular it agrees with the fuller's earth in the Lower Greensand at Nutfield, and with that in the Oolitic series at Midford near Bath.

At Great Brickhill, to the north-east of Brickhill Manor, resting on the upper beds of the Oxford Clay there was discovered in 1873 by Mr. J. J. H. Teall a bed with phosphatic nodules of somewhat similar character to that which was formerly worked at Potton in Bedfordshire. The nodules or so-called 'coprolites' were scattered through about 30 feet of sands, but more abundantly in the lower part.

For some time the beds at Brickhill were worked, the coprolites being separated by sifting, and the quartz, chert, lydites and other stones being picked out. Among the coprolites were phosphatized remains of saurians and fishes, worn casts of ammonites and other mollusca, also brachiopoda and other fossils from the Portland Beds and Kimeridge Clay, together with a few that may have been derived from the Corallian. Some fossils from the Oxford Clay occurred, the ammonites in this case 'being preserved in oxide of iron (Limonite) and never phosphatized.'³ This is noteworthy, but many of the Oxford Clay fossils are preserved in pyrites, and on this account they may have been proof against phosphatization. Evidently during the overspread of the Lower Greensand fossils were derived from many of the underlying formations.

Such beds of phosphatic nodules usually indicate a pause in deposition, and may sometimes represent one or more zones. The mineralization of the fossils was due to decomposing animal matter, the carbonate of lime being replaced by phosphate of lime; and even wood was thus mineralized, as well as bones and nodules of limestone.⁴ The nodules, which are dark brown or yellow, yield from 30 to 50 per cent of phosphate of lime.

In the Gault other bands of phosphatic nodules occur, generally black in appearance but usually pale grey or buff in the interior.

¹ *Phil. Trans.* xxxii. 419; reprinted in Conybeare and Phillips' *Geol. England and Wales*, p. 138.

² *Trans. Geol. Soc.* ser. 2, iv. 294; see also A. C. G. Cameron, *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xii. 395.

³ W. Keeping, *Geol. Mag.* (1875), p. 372; and *The Fossils, etc., of the Neocomian Deposits of Upware and Brickhill*, pp. 44-6 (1883).

⁴ See Teall, 'The Natural History of Phosphatic Deposits,' *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xvi. 379.

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During the formation of the Gault the Lower Greensand was extensively eroded, as well as the various Jurassic rocks. The Gault was spread over their worn surfaces, resting in places in the Vale of Aylesbury on Lower Greensand, Purbeck and Portland Beds and Kimeridge Clay; and between Wing and Soulbury on Corallian and Oxford Clay.

GAULT

The Gault, a stiff dark blue and pale calcareous clay with concretions of carbonate of lime or 'race,' occupies a considerable tract, and is more calcareous in the northern part of the area. It occurs at Wing, Cublington, Mentmore, and thence from Cheddington it comes to the surface over the Vale of Aylesbury by Stoke Mandeville and Ilmer to Towersey.

The Lower Gault, which is characterized by *Ammonites interruptus* and *A. lautus*, together with *Belemnites minimus*, attains a thickness of from 140 to 150 feet. About 20 or 30 feet from the base there is a band of phosphatic nodules, and other nodules are found at the junction with the Upper Gault. The Upper Gault characterized by *Ammonites rostratus* is 70 or 80 feet thick.

The lower band of phosphatic nodules was formerly worked at Towersey, and between Ford and Moreton, south-east of Dinton, and near Bishopstone. The seam, which is but 3 or 4 inches thick, is made up of buff and black nodules, comprising coprolites and phosphatized shells of the Gault fossils *A. rostratus*, *A. varicosus*, *Inoceramus sulcatus*, etc. The upper band of nodules, about 18 inches thick, was at one time worked at Puttenham, Cheddington and Slapton.¹

The soil of the Gault is naturally thin, so that the land is often heavy, cold and tenacious, and best adapted for pasture. From information communicated by the Rev. F. W. Ragg, it appears that as late as the fifteenth century, before the district was drained, there were many swampy tracts and two or three lakelets in the vale north of Marsworth. The soil is however much modified in places by the scattered Drifts and by downwashes from the neighbouring hills of Upper Greensand, Lower Greensand and Portland Beds. Hence it is that the celebrated Vale of Aylesbury, 'the pastoral garden of the county,' which extends from Mentmore and Cheddington to Ilmer and Waddesdon, while mainly a clay country of Gault and Kimeridge Clay, has a soil improved by the waste of the bordering and outlying hills, as well as by the superficial drifts; and thus it ranks high as grazing and dairy land.² The Gault is utilized in many places for brickmaking.

UPPER GREENSAND

This formation, which enters largely into the scenery of many southern counties, is thin and impersistent in Buckinghamshire, being in fact largely replaced by the Gault clay. It comprises greenish (glauconitic) sands and marls, with layers of fine-grained clayey calcareous

¹ Jukes-Browne, *Cretaceous Rocks of Britain*, i. 275, 277, 280; and *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxxi. 264.

² See C. S. Read, *Journ. Roy. Agric. Soc.* xvi. 281.

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rock known as malmstone, and is nowhere more than 25 feet thick in the district. Among the few fossils recorded, *Avicula gryphaeoides* is noteworthy.¹

The Upper Greensand is exposed at Bledlow Cross, Horsendon, near the railway stations of Princes Risborough, Monks Risborough, and Kimble, near Aston Clinton and Buckland; and it has been proved in a boring near Marsworth. It has thinned out at Ivinghoe, but reappears at Eddlesborough.

Owing to its limited extent it is locally of no great importance, although the soil is fertile. A certain amount of water is held in the formation, and springs are thrown out where the Gault clay appears beneath the gentle scarp of Upper Greensand.

CHALK

The Chalk comes to the surface over a large area in Buckinghamshire and forms the main foundation of the southern part of the county.

There is a passage upwards from the glauconitic sands and marls of the Upper Greensand into the Chalk Marl which forms the lowest division of the Chalk. So gradual indeed is the passage that as Mr. Jukes-Browne remarks, 'one cannot say where the Greensand ends and the Chalk begins' at Bushey Leys near Eddlesborough and in Aston Clinton Park.¹

The Chalk Marl consists of clayey and slightly sandy chalk, which gives rise to a somewhat tenacious soil, suitable for the growth of wheat and beans.

At the top of this division there is a band or two of sandy limestone which has been extensively quarried at Totternhoe in Bedfordshire. It hardens on exposure and has been much used as a building stone, being well adapted for inside work. Hence it is known as the Totternhoe stone. It yields *Ammonites varians* and *Inoceramus*, and outcrops below the main scarp of the Chiltern Hills above Bledlow and Princes Risborough, below Wendover, and at Ivinghoe. Locally it is but 2 or 3 feet thick. A mass of hard grey and white chalk and a band of softer marly chalk occur above the Totternhoe Stone completing what is known as the Lower Chalk. The Middle Chalk commences with a band of hard yellowish nodular chalk, known as the Melbourn Rock from its occurrence at Melbourn in Cambridgeshire. It is from 8 to 10 feet thick, and has been observed at Chalkshire, two miles west of Wendover.² Above we find a mass of white chalk with few flints, which stands up boldly in the Chiltern range and may be seen at White Cliff Cross (813 feet), Combe Hill (852 feet) and Haddington Hill, and in the fine escarpment above Ivinghoe (811 feet) and Eddlesborough. It extends along the valleys to Great Missenden and West Wycombe.

Another rocky band occurs at the base of the Upper Chalk. This is a hard jointed chalk known as the Chalk Rock; it is from 1 to 8 feet

¹ See A. J. Jukes-Browne, *Cretaceous Rocks of Britain*, i. 283.

² W. Hill and A. J. Jukes-Browne, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xlii. 224.

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thick, and contains green-coated nodules of cream-coloured and slightly phosphatic limestone. It has been observed in the Loudwater valley at Wycombe Marsh above High Wycombe, in the Misbourn valley near Amersham, and in the Chess valley near Chesham.

The mass of the Upper Chalk with its many bands of flint nodules extends over the greater part of the Chalk area in Buckinghamshire, occupying the high grounds above Chesham, Amersham, High Wycombe and Great Marlow, where it is largely covered with gravel, brickearth and clay-with-flints. It is not far below the surface at Eton and Datchet, for it appears above ground at Windsor Castle owing to an anticlinal structure which has locally upraised the Chalk.

As a whole the Chalk is one of the most uniform of geological formations: its lower portion is argillaceous and an occasional compact and nodular band occurs, but it represents a great and continuous deposit of calcareous mud, slowly accumulated in the deep ocean and due mainly to the decay of calcareous organisms and partly (in its flint bands) to the siliceous matter derived from organisms with siliceous structures.

Remains of marine saurians and fishes occur, but the more abundant fossils are those of mollusca, brachiopoda, echinodermata, and sponges; and yet despite the absence of any great changes in sedimentary condition, such as would be likely to affect the forms of life, there is a gradual change in the assemblages of organic remains in the successive groups of strata. Owing to the slowness of deposition and uniformity over wide areas in Britain it is convenient to divide the life history into certain zones or assemblages of fossils, characterized by particular genera and species which had a wide distribution in space and a more restricted distribution in time. These zones, though purely zoological, afford useful indices of stratigraphical position, and conventional limits are assigned to them in different localities, the order of succession being maintained.

These zones in Buckinghamshire are as follows:¹—

Upper Chalk	Chalk with flints	<i>Actinocamax quadratus</i> }	feet
		<i>Marsupites</i> }	100
		<i>Micraster</i>	300
Middle Chalk	Chalk Rock, Chalk with few flints and Melbourn Rock	<i>Holaster planus</i>	50
		<i>Terebratulina</i>	50 to 100
		<i>Rhynchonella cuvieri</i>	50 to 60
Lower Chalk	Grey marly Chalk, Hard grey and white Chalk, Totternhoe Stone and Chalk Marl	<i>Actinocamax (Belemnitella) plenus</i> . . .	4 to 6
		<i>Holaster subglobosus</i>	60 to 80
		<i>Ammonites varians</i>	80

¹ W. Whitaker, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxi. 398, and *Geology of London*, i. 58; C. Barrois, *Recherches sur le Terrain Crétacé Supérieur de l'Angleterre et de l'Irlande* (1876), p. 150.

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In 1891 Mr. A. Strahan drew attention to the occurrence of two bands of phosphatic chalk in the neighbourhood of Taplow Court.¹

These bands consist of brown friable chalk, the colour being due to a multitude of brown grains in a white chalky paste. The grains are almost entirely of organic origin, foraminifera, fragments of *Inoceramus* and of teeth and bones of fishes, together with small oval pellets which are evidently coprolites of small fishes forming the bulk, all being more or less phosphatic. Two bands occur, the higher is from 8 to 11 feet thick, and occurs at about 20 feet from the base of the Eocene strata as proved in a shaft. The lower band is 4 feet thick and occurs from 12 to 19 feet lower, according to measurements made in the shaft section and in a pit near the lodge of Taplow Court. Mr. Strahan observes that there can be little doubt that this phosphatic chalk underlies a considerable part, if not the whole, of the outlier of Tertiary strata on which Taplow stands, but there are no other sections to prove its extension. Hence it appears to be strictly local. Analysis showed from 18 to 35 per cent of phosphate of lime.

The Taplow phosphatic chalk bears a strong resemblance to a bed, approximately on the same horizon, which has been worked in the north of France.

At Taplow the Chalk has yielded *Actinocamax* (*Belemnitella*) *quadratus*, *Ostrea acutirostris* and other fossils, rather above the zone of *Marsupites*.

The sloping chalk plateaus, formed mainly of Upper Chalk, are mostly under arable cultivation, but owing to their coverings of loam and gravel the soils are often deficient in lime. Hence it has been the custom to sink wells or pits in the fields to a depth of 15 or 20 feet to obtain chalk for the land. The steeper slopes of Upper and Middle Chalk form down land with a herbage adapted for sheep walks. Here the soil is thin, and although the ploughed fields may show a brown clayey or loamy soil, adjacent pits often exhibit but a trace of soil.

Plantations of beech trees occupy many tracts in this area on the borders of the plateaus and along the deep and ramifying valleys. These beech woods furnish material for the important chair manufactory at High Wycombe, and for sundry wooden articles made at Chesham and elsewhere. The celebrated Burnham Beeches are situated partly on gravel and partly on Reading Beds, but no doubt in places they are rooted into the underlying Chalk which appears at the surface to the north-west of Burnham Common.

Old terraces of cultivation or lynchets occur in places, as on the hillsides near Chesham, and notably on the Chalk outlier of Southend and of Westend Hill, near Cheddington, where, as I am informed by the Rev. F. W. Ragg, some of the best examples (locally called 'lynches') may be seen.

The Chalk is a famous water-bearing formation, and the upper

¹ *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xlvii. 356. For account of the Microzoa see F. Chapman, *ibid.* xlvi. 514.

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and middle divisions are practically undivided by any impervious layers. The marly chalk at the base of the Melbourn Rock sometimes throws out springs, but the more copious outflows of water are at the base of the Totternhoe Stone which rests on marl. Here strong springs are thrown out as at Wendover. As the strata dip towards the south-east the underground flow follows that course, and the streams which have cut down to the plane of saturation carry away the overflow in that direction, and they issue at higher places in the valleys when the plane of saturation rises after long continued rain. The Colne, which cuts into the saturated Chalk carries away much water and receives springs along its bed.

Water is naturally scarce on the higher Chalk uplands, and on some of the downs 'dew ponds' have been constructed. These are made from 30 to 40 feet in diameter and from 4 to 6 feet deep in the chalk, and they are clayed at the base. A high and exposed situation is selected, and in the first instance water or snow is introduced, and the supply is then maintained by the condensation of moisture from the atmosphere as well as by rain, the condensation exceeding the evaporation.¹

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There is evidence of a considerable change in conditions between the Chalk, a deep sea deposit, and the next succeeding deposits of Eocene age which exhibit shallow-water conditions, both estuarine and fresh-water. There are no traces of Thanet Sands which occur directly above the Chalk under parts of London and eastwards. During these early Eocene times the Chalk was upraised over large areas and much eroded. Evidence of this is furnished by the pebble beds made of rolled flints, which occur in the Reading Beds and other Eocene strata, also by the fact that higher stages of the Chalk characterized by *Belemnitella mucronata* occur elsewhere in England, and are not known in Buckinghamshire owing to the erosion to which the Chalk has been subjected.

The Reading Beds comprise dark grey and mottled clays with crimson, green and other tints and white and coloured sands, together with pebble beds made up of black flints. Occasional seams of ironstone occur, and there is often a layer containing unworn green-coated flints at the base. The strata rest on the Chalk and are overlain by the London Clay to the south-east, but their outcrop is largely concealed by gravel both in the Thames valley and on the uplands to the north of it.

Usually *Ostrea bellowacina* is found in the lower beds, and higher up remains of leaves of plants have been observed. The flora indicates conditions approaching to tropical in character.

Portions of the main outcrop of the Reading Beds may be seen here and there at East Burnham, Cliefden, Hedsor, Hedgerley and Fulmer, while outlying masses occur at Taplow, between Little Marlow and Loudwater, at Lane End and Cadmore End, Turville and Ibstone,

¹ Rev. J. C. Clutterbuck, *Journ. Roy. Agric. Soc.* ser. 2, i. 273.

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at Beaconsfield and Penn, between Chalfont St. Giles and Amersham, and to the east of Chesham.¹

Many of these outliers form picturesque wooded tracts, diversified with commons, as at Lane End and Cadmore End Commons, where the strata are evidently faulted. In some dark sands at this locality traces of nickel and cobalt have been detected.²

The most distant outlier is that noticed by Mr. Whitaker at Ringsall to the north of Ashridge Park and not far from the Ivinghoe hills, where a pit showed fine white sand. In such situations relics of Eocene strata are preserved in deep pipes in the Chalk, far away from the parent source, as the mass of the strata above had been removed by erosion.³

The mottled clays are dug in many places for brickmaking, the sands for mortar making, and the pebble beds for road mending. Both sands and pebble beds yield a fair amount of water under favourable circumstances.

LONDON CLAY

This great clay formation forms the substratum over much of south-eastern Buckinghamshire, but like the Reading Beds it is almost wholly concealed by gravels.

It has been observed at the surface at Upton and along the borders of Stoke and Fulmer Commons, at Iver, and to the east and north-east of Fulmer. Outliers appear at Lane End, Penn and Tyler's Hill east of Chesham. In many places the clay is dug for brickmaking.

Nowhere in the county have we the full thickness of the formation, but the greatest thickness is probably on the borders of the Colne, south-east of Wrybury. In mass it is a bluish-grey clay with septaria, brown at the surface. The basement bed, 6 or 8 feet thick, is a brown loam, which contains flint pebbles and green sand. The sand is sometimes cemented into tabular masses of rock, and these are in places crowded with fossils, such as *Cardium*, *Cytherea*, *Panopæa*, *Pectunculus*, *Nucula*, *Natica*, *Rostellaria* and *Ditrupe plana*. Many have been found at Hedgerley.

Fossils are by no means common in the mass of the London Clay. We may occasionally meet with a *Nautilus*, but near the surface the shells have been almost wholly destroyed. The fauna and flora are of tropical aspect.

There is a great gap between the London Clay and succeeding deposits in Buckinghamshire. Of the interval we have no actual records in the county. The Bagshot Beds were no doubt spread over large areas, for they occur in Middlesex and on the Berkshire and Surrey side of the Thames valley. During Oligocene, Miocene and Pliocene times the area must have undergone great waste by subaërial agents. The London Basin took form by the upraising of the bordering

¹ Prestwich, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* x. 90.

² *Summary of Progress of Geol. Survey* for 1900, p. 123.

³ *Mem. Geol. Survey*, iv. 234.

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Chalk tracts and the removal from the higher grounds of great masses of Eocene strata. The relics of this denudation have mostly been worked up into the Drifts which were deposited at various periods during Pleistocene and recent times, but it is possible that some of the irregular accumulations known as Clay-with-flints may date back to the Miocene and Pliocene periods.

CLAY-WITH-FLINTS AND LOAM

On the higher Chalk tracts, especially about Chesham, Little Missenden, Little Hampden and High Wycombe, there are thin but widespread accumulations of unworn, little worn and broken chalk flints and reddish-brown clay. On some ploughed fields there appears to be such a mass of these flints that it is difficult to believe that any crop could be grown, yet turnips and other roots flourish.

When we see a cutting through this accumulation of Clay-with-flints we find the Chalk to be irregularly eroded in great hollows or 'pipes,' some of which may be 50 feet deep and 20 feet or more across. These hollows are due to the dissolution of the Chalk, and the dark brown Clay-with-flints which lines these pipes and occurs as a thin covering on the irregular surface of the Chalk is the residue. Some, if not all, of these pipes may be regarded as swallet holes, formed on the margin of Eocene Clay areas, before the Eocene strata were wasted away.¹

In practice we have to include with the Clay-with-flints a very variable accumulation. Preserved in some of the pipes and sometimes intermixed with the Clay-with-flints are relics of Reading Beds, such as mottled clays and sands and pebble beds; and thus since some of the pipes were formed there is evidence to prove that the Tertiary strata have been so eroded that only small outliers, or the contents of pipes, remain here and there.

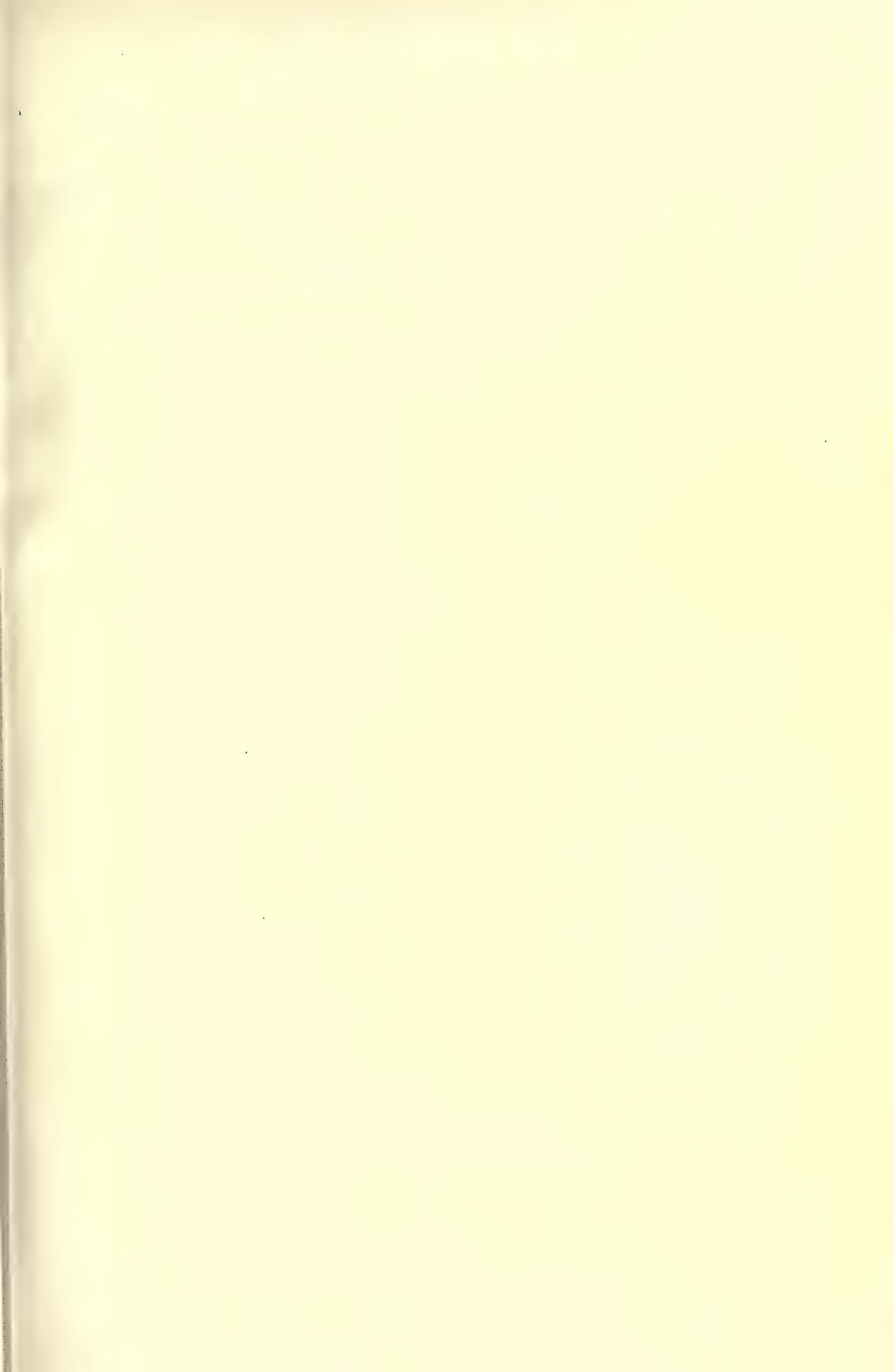
Large areas of loam or brickearth, much of it bright and mottled in colour owing to its derivation from the mottled clays of the Reading Beds, occur on the higher Chalk tracts at St. Leonards, Lee and Hyde Heath east of Great Missenden, again to the south of Hampden, on Priestwood Common and Wycombe Heath, on Bledlow Ridge, on the hills above Bradenham, on Radnage Common and near Lane End.

Numerous unworn flints occur in the loam, also irregular masses of greywether, a hard sandstone, almost a quartzite, of which materials have been extensively dug, broken up and squared for paving at Aylesbury and other places.

Professor Morris mentioned that blocks of the stone known as Hampden Stone have been extracted 5 or 6 feet in length, and used as ornamental stones or rude pillars as at Hartwell Park.² Masses of Hertfordshire puddingstone also occur. This is but a pebbly modification of the local greywethers, which are indurated masses of sands

¹ See Prestwich, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xi. 73, and pl. 6.

² *Geol. Mag.* p. 457 (1867); H. B. Woodward, *ibid.* p. 120 (1891).



The Edinburgh Geographical Institute



THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

County Boundary shown thus —

OROGRAPHICAL MAP.



50'

52'

10'

10'

1

50'

40'

30'

10'

52'



GEOLOGY

or pebble beds derived from the Reading Beds. Other greywethers have been derived from the Bagshot Sands, which are locally solidified.

In these accumulations we see the waste of an old land-surface in the true Clay-with-flints, but it is so intermingled with the extraneous loamy and gravelly deposits that we can only look upon these wide-spread Drifts as in the main a wreck of Eocene deposits.

GLACIAL DRIFT

Extensive sheets of gravel occur on the lower dip slopes of the Chalk tracts from Amersham and Cheneys, southwards over the uplands east of Chalfont St. Peter. They occur also at Chalfont St. Giles, south of Penn, at Flackwell Heath and west of Great Marlow, and they extend over the Eocene tracts from Beaconsfield to Gerrard's Cross, and over Burnham, Stoke and Fulmer Commons to near Iver.

To what extent these Drifts were connected with certain stages in the development of the Thames Basin is a question difficult to decide, but the subject has been ably discussed by Mr. H. J. O. White¹; and there is little doubt that the Thames belongs to a very early system of drainage, modified from time to time by various physical changes.

In the northern part of the county we find Drift gravels and sands and Chalky Boulder Clay, all distinctly connected with the Glacial period. The Boulder Clay contains many fragments of glaciated chalk, much flint, large boulders of Oolitic rocks and fossils derived mainly from the Oxford and Kimeridge Clays, such as *Ammonites*, *Belemnites* and *Gryphaea*. It is spread over the Great Oolite Series and over portions of the vale of Oxford and Kimeridge Clays—districts formerly more richly wooded than they now are, but of which traces remain in Whittlewood Forest, Stowe Park and Salcey Forest, on the borders of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, and in Whaddon Chase. Patches of Boulder Clay occur on the western end of the Woburn Hills, and thence southwards from near Leighton Buzzard across the Vale of Aylesbury to Long Crendon, and through the region of the Claydons to the north of Bicester.

Here and there beneath the main mass of Boulder Clay, as at Shalstone, we find beds of sand and gravel of irregular thickness and extent; and both Boulder Clay and gravel contain much chalk and fragments of limestone, which are dissolved away at the surface, giving rise to irregular furrows or pipes like the Chalk itself. Fine sections of Boulder Clay were exposed along the Great Central railway at Chetwode, and at Rosehill farm, where it rests on buff sands.²

The ice sheet to which this Boulder Clay owes its origin may have covered the northern portions of the county, but it did not overspread the main escarpment of the Chiltern Hills, although it extended eastwards into Hertfordshire and the northern parts of Middlesex.³

¹ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xv. 157.

² H. B. Woodward, *Geol. Mag.* p. 105 (1897).

³ See S. V. Wood, *jun. Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* vol. xxxviii. map 4, pl. 26.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Near Buckingham, at Tingewick, Radcliff and elsewhere coarse boulder gravel with large blocks of Oolitic rocks and finer gravel and sand occur with intercalations of Boulder Clay.

If we believe that the main mass of Boulder Clay was formed on the land, that much of it was overridden and pressed down into the tough material which it usually is, and that it was left on the melting back of the ice sheet, we might expect, along the borders of the glaciated area, to find alternations of gravel, sand and Boulder Clay. The ice during fluctuations in climatic conditions extended and receded for some distance more than once before it finally retreated, and the melting of the basal portions gave rise to such diverse sedimentary accumulations, largely torrential, as in fact we find near Buckingham.¹

It may be therefore that over the Chalk tracts which were not glaciated the brickearths and gravels of the plateaus belong to the marginal area of the ice sheet, whence more or less mixed deposits were spread out by the flood waters.

VALLEY GRAVEL AND BRICKEARTH

In the higher courses of the Chalk valleys, where no streams now flow at the surface, or only occasionally in times of excessive rain, we find accumulations which have been termed 'Dry Valley Gravel'—largely made up of loam with unworn and broken flints, a waste from the clay-with-flints and brickearth and occasional gravel beds of the bordering hills. These merge in the lower courses into the ordinary valley gravel, as between Wendover and Great Missenden.

The gravels of the Thames valley extend over broad tracts near Great Marlow, Burnham, Dorney, Eton, Wraysbury and Colnbrook, thence merging into the gravels of the Colne valley by Denham. They consist of angular, subangular and rounded flints, with pebbles of quartz and quartzite, and are exposed in pits to a depth of 12 or 15 feet or more. Over considerable areas there are sheets of brickearth which at Slough and Langley have been worked for brickmaking.

We have thus in these lower lands the same kinds of deposit as occur on the Chalk and Tertiary plateaus, but the valley deposits yield the mammalia characteristic of the Pleistocene deposits, and palæolithic implements. They are distinctly river deposits, although in composition the gravels naturally do not differ from the higher beds from which they were mainly derived; and near Great Marlow it is difficult in places to separate the higher terraces of river gravel from the plateau Drifts.²

In the Ouse valley we find gravels at Buckingham, Stony Stratford, Stanton, Lathbury, Tyrington and Filgrave, Emberton, Olney and Cold Brayfield; and in the Ouzel valley there is gravel at Linslade, Fenny Stratford, Woughton-on-the-Green and Newport Pagnell. Along the borders of this valley there are extensive tracts of grazing land.

Although the main features of the country appear to have been

¹ H. B. Woodward, *Geol. Mag.* pp. 485, 496 (1897).

² See also H. J. O. White, *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xv. 158.

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sculptured prior to the Glacial epoch, yet during that epoch and in subsequent times considerable modifications were brought about by the accumulation of material as well as by erosion.

The valley gravels which border the present rivers lie in hollows cut through the plateau Drifts. They are evidently newer, but whether they are wholly Post Glacial is difficult to decide, as in both North and South Wales there is evidence that Glacial action continued later than some of the deposits which contain mammalia, like those found in the older Thames valley deposits.

If following Ramsay¹ we believe that the Thames drainage commenced when the Chalk and Eocene strata extended much further to the west and north-west, and flowed across a gently inclined plane towards the south-east, its general course was marked out perhaps in Miocene times; but there are no deposits along its valley which date back beyond the Pleistocene period. Subsequent physical changes may have removed such deposits, while the wasting away of the Chalk escarpment must have modified the extent and direction of the drainage. The Bedfordshire Ouse, according to Professor W. M. Davis,² was a subsequent stream which beheaded certain northern streams originally connected with the Thames drainage. Among these is the Tove, which now joins the Ouse near Stony Stratford; while the Ouzel may have been formed later on as an obsequent stream, as it flows northwards into the Ouse at Newport Pagnell. The Thame is regarded as a subsequent stream, and likewise the Colne which cuts off the waters of the Misbourn and Chess.

If however we judge by the mammalian and other remains found in the gravels of these valleys, it is difficult to make any distinction in point of age. They all belong to the Pleistocene period. Thus in the Thame valley, not far from the borders of Buckinghamshire, between Shabbington and Rycote, remains of elephant have been found.³

At Taplow remains of the musk ox have been discovered,⁴ and in the lower parts of the Thames valley the gravels and brickearths have yielded many mammalian remains and palæolithic implements. Again in the Ouse valley of Bedfordshire there have been found numerous palæolithic implements; and in the Ouzel tributary remains of elephant (mammoth) have been recorded from Linslade.

The Alluvium, which is the tract of level ground bordering the streams and liable to be flooded when they overflow their banks, occupies but small areas in the county. Wider tracts are seen along the Colne valley than along the Thames or the Ouse. These are mostly meadow land, and should always be avoided as sites for human habitations. Even the low-lying valley gravels bordering the Thames are liable in places to be inundated, and elsewhere they may prove damp as sites for dwellings, hence all living rooms should be well

¹ *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxviii. 152; see also A. Strahan, *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xiv. 405.

² *Geograph. Journ.* v. 127 (1895). ³ T. Codrington, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xx. 374.

⁴ Owen and Prestwich, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xii. 124, 133.

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above the level of the highest flood waters in the river. The gravels hold a considerable amount of water, which rises according to the rainfall, or in other words, according to the amount of water in the river, and thus basements of houses may be rendered damp.

Looking generally to the relation between the geological structure and the early settlements, we find in Buckinghamshire as in other counties that the question of water supply from river, spring, or well was the natural guide in the fixing of sites. In the deeper Chalk valleys where springs break out and streams flow, along the base of the Chalk escarpment and of the Upper Greensand, on outliers of Lower Greensand and Portland Beds or along their margin, and on the Great Oolite Series, there we find the principal villages and towns. On the clay areas the settlements were fewer and less important, for only where patches of gravelly Drift occur could local supplies of water be readily obtained.

PALÆONTOLOGY

SO far at least as published records go, Buckinghamshire seems to be exceedingly poor in vertebrate fossils, the only specimens of any real interest being a few teeth of dinosaurian reptiles and certain remains of fishes from the Purbeck and Portland strata of Aylesbury and its neighbourhood.

From certain Pleistocene deposits at Fenny Stratford the British Museum possesses two imperfect molar teeth and a tusk of the mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*), which were presented by Sir Philip Duncombe in 1873.¹ And the occurrence of these specimens suggests that careful search would bring to light remains of other of the contemporary mammals in the neighbourhood. Teeth of the wild boar (*Sus scrofa ferus*) have indeed been dredged from the bed of the Ouse at Newport-Pagnell.

From coprolite-pits in the Cambridge Greensand near Puttenham remains of three species of vertebrates, commonly met with in that formation in Cambridgeshire, have been recorded by Mr. Jukes-Browne.² These, according to modern nomenclature, are *Ichthyosaurus campylodon*, one of the extinct 'fish-lizards'; *Protosphyræna ferox*, a large fish with spear-like teeth; and *Lamna appendiculata*, a widely-spread species of Cretaceous shark. *Ichthyosaurus campylodon* is likewise said to have been obtained from the Chalkmarl of Waddon.

The Lower Greensand coprolite-beds at Rushmoor yield vertebrate fossils, derived chiefly from the Kimeridge Clay, similar to those found at Potton in Bedfordshire, but no list of the species seems to have been published, and no great interest attaches to the occurrence of the remains in question. Lower down in the geological scale the Purbeck beds of Aylesbury have yielded part of the lower dentition of a fossil fish belonging to the group of pycnodont ganoids which Dr. Smith Woodward³ has made the type of a distinct species, under the name of *Athrodon intermedius*. This unique specimen is in the British Museum. Other remains in the same collection from the Purbeck of Hartwell and Bishopstone indicate a very different type of ganoid fish belonging to the widely-spread Jurassic genus *Pleuropholis*; the name *P. serrata*⁴ has been proposed for the Buckinghamshire species.

Of wider interest are the crowns of two teeth of a gigantic

¹ See *Cat. Foss. Mammalia, Brit. Mus.* iv. 188.

³ See *Cat. Foss. Fish. Brit. Mus.* iii. 216.

² *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxxi. 266.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 487.

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dinosaurian reptile from the Portland Limestone of Beagle Pit, Hartwell near Aylesbury, which have been described by the present writer¹ under the name of *Pelorosaurus humerocristatus*. The genus *Pelorosaurus*, it may be observed, was founded on the evidence of a huge bone (humerus) of the fore-limb from the Wealden of Sussex. And since American specimens have shown that reptiles allied to this genus possessed teeth of the type of those from Hartwell it is a fair inference that the latter belong to *Pelorosaurus*, although not to the same species as the one indicated by the Wealden humerus. Three other teeth from the same locality and formation belong to another and very different type of dinosaurian reptile, namely the carnivorous *Megalosaurus*, whose remains were first discovered in the middle Jurassic strata of Oxfordshire. These teeth have been described by Dr. Smith Woodward² without being specifically determined. A long-necked plesiosaurian reptile, *Cimoliosaurus portlandicus*, has left its remains in the Portland formation of Quainton; the Buckinghamshire specimens having been originally described under the name of *Plesiosaurus carinatus*. Ichthyosaurian remains are also reported, although not described, from Hartwell.

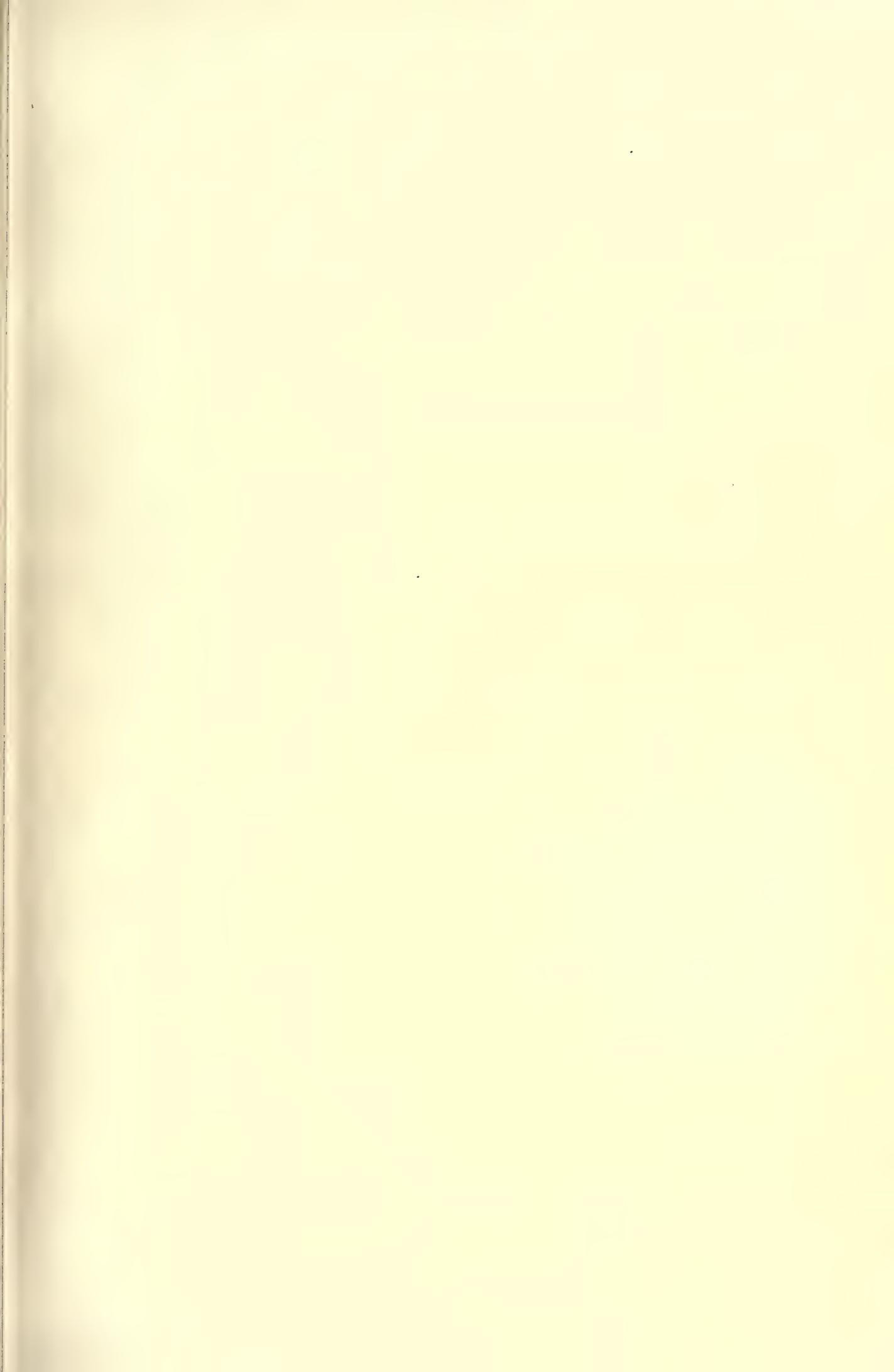
The Kimeridge Clay of the county has apparently hitherto yielded very few vertebrate remains. A fish-spine from this formation at Hartwell has however been assigned to the common Jurassic type known as *Asteracanthus ornatissimus*, which may belong either to a shark or to a chimæra-like fish. From the same locality have been obtained remains of the great short-necked and large-headed plesiosaurian known as *Pliosaurus macromerus*, the teeth of which are characterized by their triangular crowns.

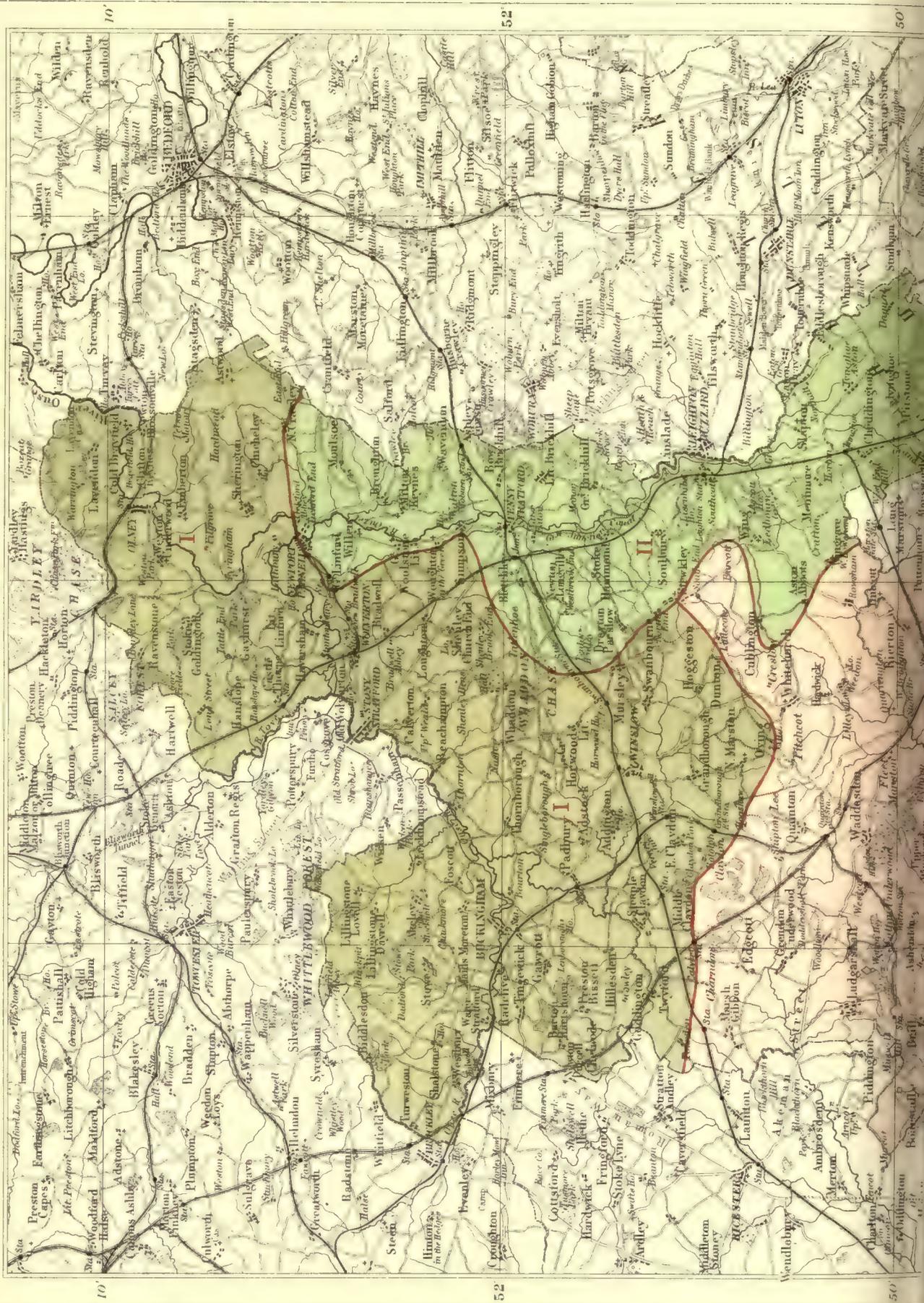
The British Museum possesses a limb bone of a plesiosaurian, or long-necked marine saurian, from the Kimeridge Clay of Newport Pagnell, which is assigned to *Colymbosaurus trochanterius*, a species widely distributed in the formation in question. Among the fish-lizards the species *Ichthyosaurus thyreospondylus* is represented in the county by a bone obtained from the Oxford or Kimeridge Clay near Buckingham.

From the Great Oolite of Buckingham and Stony Stratford Professor J. Phillips records (*Geology of Oxford*) remains assigned to the great dinosaurian reptile commonly known as *Cetiosaurus oxoniensis*, but of which the proper title is probably *Cardiodon rugulosus*.

¹ *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xlix. 566.

² *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xiv. 31.





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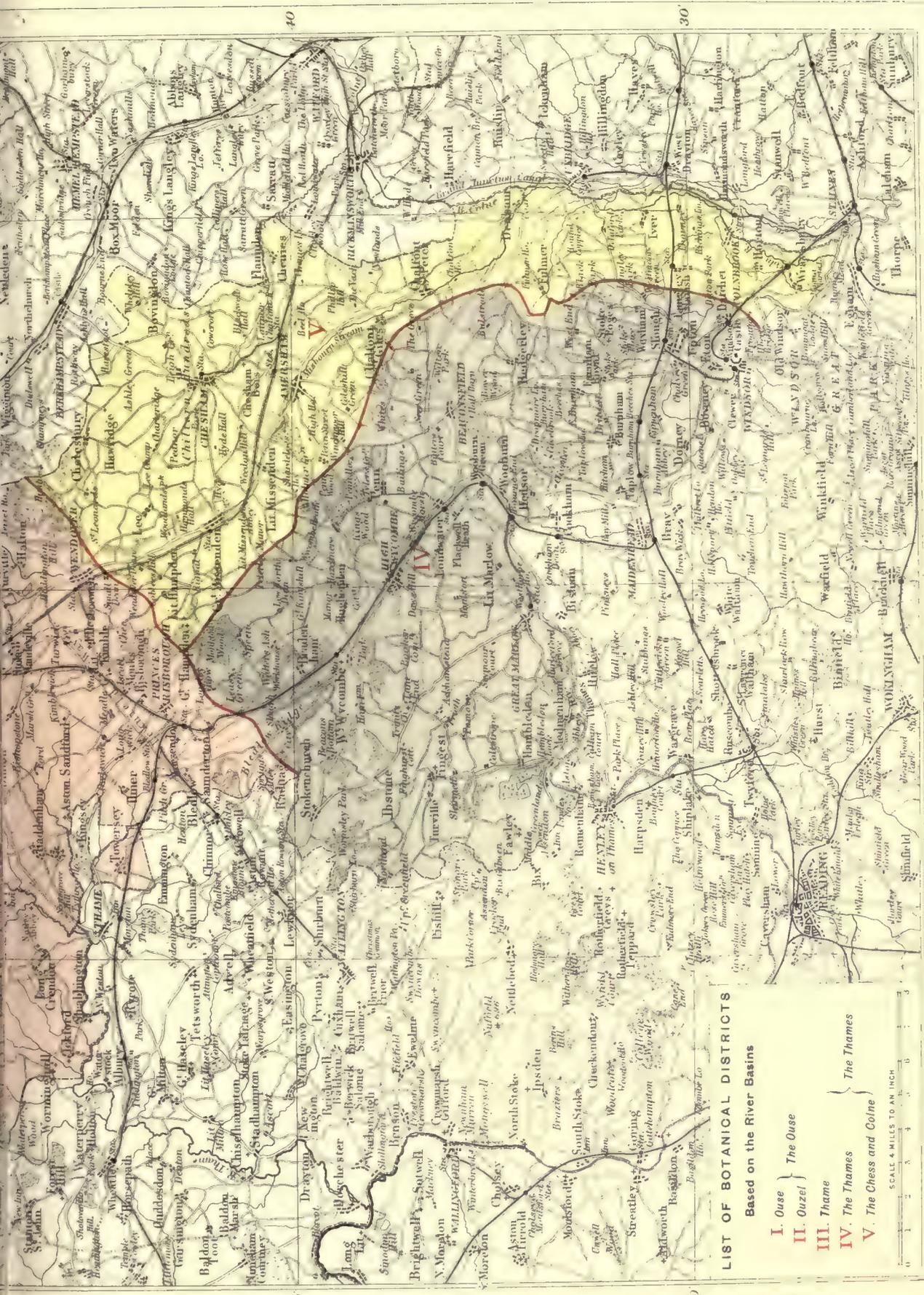
52

50

10

52

50



LIST OF BOTANICAL DISTRICTS

Based on the River Basins

- I. Ouse } The Ouse
- II. Ouzel } The Ouse
- III. Thame } The Thames
- IV. The Thames } The Thames
- V. The Chess and Colne } The Thames and Colne

SCALE 5 MILES TO AN INCH



BOTANY

IN preparing a short account of the botany of the county I may say that my acquaintance with it is of long standing, for I was born on its borders, and my early years were spent near Stoney Stratford, while in my holidays I yearly visited the beautiful district of Brickhill, which was especially attractive to me then, as I was a keen lepidopterist and that heathy country afforded a widely different series of insects and their plant food from that which our more prosaic country afforded. The flora of this county came also under my observation during the time I was preparing the *Flora of Northamptonshire*¹ from 1874, the *Flora of Oxfordshire*² from 1879 to 1885, and from then to 1897 when I was working at the *Flora of Berkshire*.³ Since that time I have been systematically exploring the county with the view of publishing a complete Flora, which with the two last mentioned works will form a Flora of the Upper Thames.

In the few pages at my disposal it is my wish to give a sketch of the salient features of the botany of the county, and to compare it with those of some of the bordering counties.

The acreage of the county, about 467,000, is rather smaller than Oxfordshire (470,000) and larger than Berkshire, which has only about 462,000 acres. Like those counties Buckinghamshire has in the long range of the Chilterns an interesting feature which not only is the dominating one from a scenic point of view, but one which materially affects plant distribution. The heathy portion about the Brickhills and the extensive commons of the uplands, as well as those on the lower country in the neighbourhood of Farnham and Burnham, are also most interesting from a botanical point of view.

The following tables corrected to the present date, show the number of species which have been reported on good authority to have been seen growing in a wild state in the bordering counties, as well as those which I have compiled for Buckinghamshire.

¹ 'The Flora of Northamptonshire,' by G. Claridge Druce, *Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society*, 1880, et seq.

² *The Flora of Oxfordshire*, by the same author (James Parker, Oxford, 1886), pp. 446.

³ *The Flora of Berkshire*, by the same author (the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1897), pp. 846; *The Flora of Hertfordshire*, by R. A. Pryor, edited by B. D. Jackson (Gurney & Jackson, London, 1887); *The Flora of Middlesex*, Trimen and Dyer (R. Hardwicke, London, 1869); *The Student's Flora*, by Sir J. D. Hooker, ed. 3 (Macmillan & Co., London, 1884).

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	Bucks	Oxfordshire	Berkshire	Middlesex	Herts	Beds	Northants
Native plants .	845	844	903	770	795	762	765
Denizens and Colonists .	97	96	107	97	95	85	85
Total .	942	940	1,010	867	890	847	850

Besides these above named varieties, many hybrids and over 120 species not natives or of casual occurrence, or planted in the county, have been observed.

If the *London Catalogue* of British plants be adopted as the standard of specific limitations we may say that the total number of British species is now about 2,000, but of these nearly 250 are not native species, 144 are confined to the neighbourhood of the sea, while at least 200 are a species either of northern latitudes, or are not found so far south as Buckinghamshire, except in mountainous situations; 17 are confined to Ireland, about 20 to the Channel Isles, and a few are extinct.

After making these deductions about 1,350 species remain which might occur in the county, but such is not found to be the case; for although our knowledge of the county flora is incomplete, yet it is not to be expected that more than 50 species will be added to the list here given, however painstaking may be the work. As compared with the bordering counties, however, Buckinghamshire is richer in species than almost any except Berkshire.

The paucity of lacustrine species is one of the features which characterize the botany of the county, and this is accounted for by the large extent of country occupied by the Cretaceous beds and the absence of large sheets of water such as the Norfolk broads or Salopian meres and the marshy vegetation which surrounds them, but the chalk, limestone, and heath plants are fairly well represented. The three most interesting species are probably the pig-nut (*Carum Bulbocastanum*), which is limited to Bucks, Herts, Beds and Cambridgeshire; the military orchis (*Orchis militaris*), limited to Berks, Oxford, Herts and Middlesex, and the box (*Buxus sempervirens*), which is so well established in two places on the Chilterns, and by some authors is even considered to be native. The other characteristic species are the coral-root (*Cardamine bulbifera*), so common in several woods on the chalk; and the beech (*Fagus sylvatica*), which is the principal tree over a large area of the Cretaceous measures and is of considerable economic value.

A few other species are rather common in Buckinghamshire but are local or rare in many British counties. Amongst these are the calamint (*Calamintha Nepeta* or *parviflora*), the large burnet-saxifrage (*Pimpinella major*), and the candytuft (*Iberis amara*). The woods of the north have the grass *Calamagrostis epigeios*, the commons have the dwarf gorse (*Ulex minor*), and in the south the silver cinquefoil (*Potentilla argentea*) is not uncommon.

A short sketch of the geology is first given with especial reference to the influence the various strata have upon the botanical features of the

BOTANY

county, and although this necessitates some repetition of plant names, yet the plan has the compensating advantage of showing how certain groups of plants are to be found on the same soils.

The geology of Buckinghamshire resembles very closely that of Oxfordshire, except that the Liassic formations are exposed to a much smaller extent in the former county, whereas the Reading beds and the London Clay are but sparingly represented in Oxfordshire, but cover considerable tracts of southern Buckinghamshire. The Lias Clay is shown in the north of the county between Grafton Regis and Castlethorpe, owing to the Tove cutting its way down to it, but no very special vegetation marks the occurrence, beyond the growth of the ordinary pelophilous or clay-loving species. The Ouse, near Weston Underwood and Stoke Goldington, has also cut down to the Lias in two or three places, but again without exhibiting any plant of special interest. The Northampton Sands, which cap so many of the eminences of north Oxfordshire and west Northamptonshire, where from their porous nature they give a warm soil and afford a home for many heath-loving species, are practically unrepresented in our area, but the Great Oolite comes to the surface in many places, and in fact extends in a more or less broken band from Brackley and Buckingham in the west, by Potterspury to Newport Pagnell and Cold Brayfield in the east, and then passes into Bedfordshire. The contrast of the vegetation of that portion of country where the Great Oolite comes to the surface with that district where an impervious material, such as the Oxford Clay, forms the subsoil, is most marked. Nor is it the vegetation alone which marks the difference. In one case we find that the oolite has been quarried for building stone, so that we see good stone houses and cottages, often with thatched roofs since straw is more plentiful, which give a solid yet more picturesque character to the scene than the brick and slated houses of the clay district, while the stone walls of the villages, often mud-capped, afford a home for mosses and other plants to a much greater extent than the better pointed brickwork. The land too will be occupied more frequently by corn on the limestone and by pasture on the clays, and thus the latter is usually a thinly populated area, and such villages as do occur are often built upon some spot where a drift deposit gives some amount of porosity to the soil. If we pass through the county in the summer evenings, we may observe the white mist clinging to the clay surfaces, while the pastures on the limestones will be free. In comparing the more common plants we shall see on the Limestone that the hedgerows often contain the buckthorn (*Rhamnus catharticus*), the spindle tree (*Euonymus europæus*), the wayfaring tree (*Viburnum Lantana*), and are often adorned with the traveller's joy (*Clematis Vitalba*), the maple (*Acer campestre*), and occasionally the glabrous fruited form, the cornel (*Cornus europæus*), and here and there the bramble *Rubus Radula*, but the ubiquitous species is *R. ulmifolius*. Where clay is present the spindle tree and cornel will be rare and the traveller's joy absent, and the common brambles will be *R. corylifolius* and *R. cæsius*, and there will be the bittersweet (*Solanum Dulcamara*) and the blackthorn

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

(*Prunus spinosa*) in the hedgerows. The flora of the road borders on the clay will be found to consist principally of the grasses *Dactylis glomerata*, *Poa trivialis*, *P. pratensis*, *Lolium perenne* and *Festuca pratensis*, and occasionally *F. arundinacea*, and the great plantain (*Plantago major*) and the strawberry-headed clover (*Trifolium fragiferum*) are common. In the ditches there will be the teasel (*Dipsacus sylvestris*), the ragwort (*Senecio erucifolius*), the fleabane (*Pulicaria dysenterica*) and the mint (*Mentha aquatica*), and the thistles will be usually *Cnicus lanceolatus* and *C. palustris*, whereas on the oolite the grasses more commonly found will be *Poa pratensis*, often as the var. *subcærulea*, *Bromus erectus*, *Avena pubescens*, *Cynosurus cristatus*, *Festuca ovina* and *F. rubra*, and the plantain will be more frequently *Plantago media*. The pastures will offer abundance of cowslips (*Primula veris*), and when there is a rich subsoil there will often be immense quantities of the green-veined orchid (*Orchis morio*). If there be little subsoil we shall see abundance of the thyme (*Thymus Chamædryis*), or the rock-rose (*Helianthemum Chamæcistus*). The thistles will be *Carduus nutans* or even possibly *Cnicus eriophorus* and frequently *C. acaulis*. Even the cornfield weeds are different, for on the calcareous soil we shall find the shepherd's weather-glass (*Specularia hybrida*), *Linaria Elatina* and *L. spuria*, the corn gromwell (*Lithospermum arvense*) and occasionally the rarer form of the pale poppy (*Papaver Lecoqii*).

But as I have said, this band of oolite stretching across the northern part of the county is not a continuous zone. For considerable distances it is covered with drift deposits, and when these consist of gravels we shall have plants fond of warm and porous soils, while if the surface deposit consist of Boulder Clay we shall have the same pelophilous species which abound on the Oxford or Kimeridge Clays. An example may be worth quoting: When I began systematically to work the county about six years ago I found there was no certain record of the woolly-headed thistle (*Cnicus eriophorus*) for the county. Now I well remembered as a boy seeing it in a portion of Whittlebury Forest, the haunt of the chequered skipper, in Northamptonshire, and just at its south-western extremity, where there is a turnpike road leading from Whittlebury to Wicken. This road is within a few yards of the county border, so that one might almost have been justified in assuming that in this place the thistle would spread into Bucks. But in order to see if this were the case I went over and found this handsome thistle growing with the rock rose in the spot I remembered, and also extending along the eastern side of the road, but I also saw what the map did not tell me, that there was a sudden change in the soil on the south-western side of the road, for while on the Northamptonshire side the oolite was at the surface, on the Buckinghamshire side a drift deposit obscured the limestone, and not a single specimen of the thistle or rock rose could I see within the Buckinghamshire boundary, although I made a close search, nor did I see it in my walk of seven or eight miles towards Buckingham, but shortly before reaching Westbury I had the pleasure of gathering it in a spot where the oolite once again appeared. I have since found it in great

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quantity on Westbury Wild, where the soil is a stiff clay, but I suspect a strong Calcareous element is present. The scenery of the Great Oolite district is much more diversified than that of the clay ; it is often well wooded, and the ash is a conspicuous tree. One of the members of the oolitic rocks, the Forest Marble, gives in Oxfordshire a home for some of the chief rarities of the county, but this formation is only scantily represented in Buckinghamshire and chiefly near Thornton, Lillingstone Lovell and Tingewick, and so far as I am aware without influencing the vegetation.

The Cornbrash is found in a more or less continuous band from Fringford near the Oxfordshire border across the county to Newton Blossomville on the eastern side ; it is nearly obscured by the Ouse gravels east of Newport Pagnell, but near Beachampton it is two miles across. This formation, which is well represented in Oxfordshire, consists of various rubbly limestones sometimes, as near Buckingham, of a hard blue character and associated with beds of blue and black clay, but the limestone weathers rather rapidly, and in some of the quarries, as at Thornborough, one can notice that the base consists of blue limestone alone, but as the surface is reached the top beds are yellow and rubbly, and this colour change is owing to the oxidation of the iron carbonate which is present in the older and lower rock, it being gradually altered by air and moisture into oxides of iron near the surface. There is a curious inlier of Cornbrash at Marsh Gibbon in which we have a blue limestone at the base, then a marly clay capped with loose rubbly stone. This slight eminence is one of a series of similar ones which cross a part of north Oxfordshire as an anticlinal line stretching from west to east, and although not much raised above the plain of Oxford Clay in which they occur, yet these dome shaped masses have been occupied by villages in each case. As a rule the arable land on the Cornbrash is of a deep reddish-brown colour and is well adapted for the growth of wheat, but it produces few characteristic plants and the outline of the surface is also somewhat featureless. On the village walls made of the local stone at Marsh Gibbon, the stone crop (*Sedum dasyphyllum*) grows in one of its very few homes in the county.

The Oxford Clay so frequently referred to is a light-blue clay weathering to yellow on the surface and of a great thickness, in many places being over 500 feet. It occupies a considerable area of the north of the county, forming a more or less undulating surface, uninteresting from a scenic point of view, and without an attractive flora. From the absence of springs, and from its impervious soil, there are fewer villages on it, and it therefore is a sparsely populated area, so that the plants which follow man and his operations are necessarily fewer ; but the new industry of brick-making will probably introduce some species. The contrast between its common constituents and those of the oolitic rocks has been already alluded to, but as the Ouse has excavated into it for a considerable portion of its course, the aquatic vegetation is the most marked in character. Near Stoney Stratford the sweet flag (*Acorus*

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Calamus) is probably native, and the narrow-leaved reed-mace (*Typha angustifolia*) occurs. The sedges include *Carex acuta* and *C. paniculata*, and *Sparganium neglectum* as well as *S. erectum* occurs; and the beautiful meadow crane's-bill (*Geranium pratense*) is not uncommon, while the willows include *Salix caprea*, *cinerea*, *triandra*, *alba*, *viridis*, *fragilis*, *aurita*, *Smitbiana* and *purpurea*. Near Moulsoe the graceful *Carex Pseudocyperus* grows, and the water-stitchwort (*Stellaria aquatica*) is rather common. The horned pondweed (*Zannichellia palustris*) is not unfrequent and the wet pastures are often full of *Juncus glaucus*. Characteristic plants in addition to those alluded to which grow upon this formation are the ox-tongue (*Picris echioides*), the marsh stitchwort (*Stellaria palustris*), the honewort (*Sison Amomum*), especially where a little gravel is also present, the yellow cress (*Roripa palustris*), the hemlock (*Conium maculatum*), and the black poplar (*Populus nigra*), which is extensively planted, probably in some cases from the fact that in the early days of our railway system buffers for goods-wagons made of this wood were found to bear the concussion better than almost any other timber.

THE CORALLINE OOLITE forms in Oxfordshire and Berkshire a conspicuous ridge stretching from west to east, on which many rare and interesting species grow, but when it reaches Buckinghamshire it thins out and changes its character so greatly as to be scarcely recognizable, and is chiefly represented by a clayey band which may be followed by Worminghall, Oakley, round Muswell Hill, and through Dorton to the base of Quanton Hill, and it may exist in a transitional state at Studley. Instead of the sandy or calcareous soil of a very changeable nature which characterizes the surface soil on the formation in Oxfordshire, there is a more uniform and a much poorer soil on the fragmentary beds of the Coralline Oolite in Buckinghamshire, so that we miss such species as the round-leaved crane's-bill (*Geranium rotundifolium*), the hybrid poppy (*Papaver hybridum*), the climbing bindweed (*Polygonum dumetorum*) and many other species which are found in Berkshire or Oxfordshire.

THE KIMERIDGE CLAY.—In Oxfordshire and Berkshire this formation is quite distinct from the Oxford Clay, since the Coralline Oolite just alluded to keeps them apart, so that we have in those counties plants which are fond of warmer and a more pervious soil abundantly growing on the old coral-reef which rises above the two clay deposits; but as we have seen in Buckinghamshire, the Coralline Oolite has either entirely thinned out or has been so modified in character as itself to form a clay band. There is nothing over the greater part of north Bucks to divide the great extensive clay deposits from each other, and in some parts, as near Stewkley, the separation of one from the other is described on the Geological Survey as wholly conjectural.

So far as the formation influences plant distribution we may say that what is true of the Oxford is also true of the Kimeridge Clay. The surface is likewise uninteresting and undiversified; few rare plants occur; the absence of springs means that there are no bogs, and such marshes as occur are too sour or rather have the waters too charged with

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sulphate and carbonate of lime to allow plants such as the sundew or the Lancashire asphodel to grow. There are interminable series of pastures wearisome in their monotony, but in some of the meadows near Aylesbury the snake's-head (*Fritillaria meleagris*) is as common as it is in the better-known locality of Oxford, and here from its being in such a sequestered and unpopulated region, the indiginity of this interesting species in the Upper Thames province is further strengthened. The clay, which is often bituminous, with irregular bands of limestone nodules, is sometimes of a dull leaden colour, as near Hartwell and Aylesbury, where it is extensively worked for brick-making. Here and there are tracts of woodland in which the oak is the prevailing tree, although both species of elms attain large dimensions; and the black poplar, always slightly leaning to one side, and not I think always against the wind, is a conspicuous feature in the low fields of the Vale, while the course of the small, sluggish and turbid streams is marked by the line of pollard willows, while the hop (*Humulus Lupulus*) and the large bindweed (*Calystegia sepium*) and the water stitchwort (*Stellaria aquatica*), the willow herbs *Epilobium hirsutum* and *E. parviflorum*, and the loosestrife (*Lytbrum Salicaria*) break by their display of colour the somewhat dead monotony of the scene.

THE PORTLAND BEDS are more largely represented in Buckinghamshire than in Oxfordshire; the main outcrop passes north-east from Thame, forming a tract of drier soil, by Cuddington and Dinton to Bierton and Aylesbury, where the rock is soft and sandy; and there are outlying masses at Brill, Muswell Hill, Ashendon, Whitchurch, etc. Capping the Portland Beds are the PURBECK BEDS at Brill, which exist as thin beds of drab-coloured close-grained limestones of freshwater origin, but they have not the characteristic calcareous flora to the same degree as the Great Oolite or the Chalk.

THE LOWER GREENSAND, which is formed of the lowest beds of the Cretaceous formation, are of very irregular occurrence, but they may be traced at intervals across the counties of Berks, Oxford and Bucks, rising above the flatter and less elevated clay tracts by which they are surrounded. We find that in the two first-named counties the well-known hills of Faringdon, Boar's Hill and Shotover, consisting essentially of the Greensand, are not only very striking and pleasing factors in the effect they produce upon the outline of the country, but from their being of a warm porous rock, overlying an impervious stratum, the juncture of which is marked by a line of springs which offer a congenial home for many interesting marsh plants, and from the water often containing ferruginous matter in solution, a true bog is formed; so that on this formation we obtain a more diversified flora than on any of the previous formations yet considered. Nor does the character deteriorate in Buckinghamshire; indeed the tract of country on which the Brickhills are situated, and whose rather striking escarpment faces nearly north, clothed as it is with planted pine and larch, offers a veritable oasis to the botanist, who may have been disheartened by

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the mediocre nature of the vegetation of so large an expanse of northern Bucks. At Brickhill and Woburn the Greensand forms a dry hilly ground, attaining an altitude of 520 feet, where the surface is a light sandy material, strongly impregnated with iron, on which the pines and larch appear quite at home. The heath or ericetal vegetation is very varied, and several species are limited to this particular area in the county. Space will not allow the whole of the species to be enumerated, but among the most characteristic the following may be mentioned: the climbing fumitory (*Capnoides claviculata*), the swine's succory (*Arnoseris pusilla*), the small mouse-ear chickweed (*Cerastium semidecandrum*), the cudweeds *Filago apiculata* and *F. minima*, the golden-rod (*Solidago Virgaurea*), the sheep's scabious (*Fasione montana*), the sandwort (*Buda rubra*), the hawkweeds *Hieracium umbellatum* and *H. boreale*, the cress (*Teesdalia nudicaulis*), locally abundant, the vetch (*Vicia lathyroides*), the bird's-foot (*Ornithopus perpusillus*), the clovers *Trifolium arvense* and *T. striatum*, the sedges *Carex pilulifera* and *C. leporina*, the ling (*Calluna Erica*), the buck's-horn plantain (*Plantago Coronopus*), the grasses *Deschampsia flexuosa*, *Festuca sciuroides*, *Aira præcox*, *A. caryophyllea*, *Poa subcærulea*, and *Festuca ovina* var. *paludosa* and *vulgaris*, and a rich bramble flora, which will be alluded to hereafter.

Where shelter is given by the pines or where a somewhat richer soil is found, then we see great tracts covered by the huckleberry (*Vaccinium Myrtillus*), which used to fruit so freely that the 'berries' were gathered in great quantities by the poor and hawked over considerable parts of the surrounding country; and I look back with pleasant recollection to the toothsome delicacy of huckleberry and apple tart. Where there is even a greater deposit of leaf-mould we may see tracts of that most charming flower the lily of the valley (*Convallaria majalis*) flowering freely. On the hill slopes, where some spring has been thrown out by the clay beneath, we shall notice the hard fern (*Lomaria Spicant*) growing by the trench sides, in which there will be a plentiful growth of *Juncus bulbosus* (*supinus*). *J. squarrosus* also occurs, and in the marshy spots the sedge *Carex echinata* is abundant. In one or two such places, but very sparingly, I have seen the Lancashire asphodel (*Narthecium ossifragum*) in its only locality in north Bucks, and there are *sphagnum* beds of such a size as leads one to hope that the fen orchid (*Malaxis paludosa*) may yet be found in them. In one if not more of the valleys the royal fern formerly grew, but it has, I am afraid, fallen a victim to the rapacity of unscrupulous horticulturists, but the marsh fern (*Lastrea* or *Dryopteris Thelypteris*) is still uneradicated, and there are fine examples of its congeners *L. dilatata*, *L. spinulosa* and probably *L. uliginosa*.

In one place may be gathered the graceful *Scirpis sylvaticus*; in others the great horsetail (*Equisetum maximum*) grows. Where the stiffer clay soil occurs at the base of the hills oak plantations take the place of the pine, and there we see a fresh series of plants such as the butterfly orchid (*Habenaria chloroleuca*), the pale sedge (*Carex pallescens*); in one place the throat-wort (*Campanula latifolia*), the lady's mantle (*Alchemilla vul-*

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garis as the variety *filicaulis*) ; in another, kept permanently wet by the copious springs, we have the golden saxifrage (*Chryso-splenium oppositifolium*), and even this list does not exhaust the number.

The Greensand stretches out by Heath and Reach to Leighton Buzzard, and is overlapped by the Gault near Fenny Stratford. There are small outlying patches on Muswell Hill and at Brill, and it also caps Quainton Hill. Beds of rich phosphatic coprolites are also found in it occasionally.

THE GAULT, unlike the Lower Greensand, is a continuous formation which stretches from the Oxfordshire border across Buckinghamshire to the Bedfordshire border near Eaton Bray, and in its progress widens from three miles near Towersey to seven miles on the eastern side. Near the Dunstable downs at Edlesborough a bed of black coprolites is found about fifty feet below the surface of the Gault, which exists usually as a thick mass of pale blue clay, often with greyish-brown phosphatic nodules. The stiff, heavy soil formed by it is usually flat and featureless, resembling the two previous impervious formations in being deficient in interesting species. Those characteristic of the Oxford and Kimeridge Clays are also common to this.

THE UPPER GREENSAND overlies the Gault and stretches from Princes Risborough and Henton to about a mile north-east of Buckland, from which place it thins out so as to be not easily traced, but it is to be seen in a brickyard at Eaton Bray. Its junction with the Gault is marked by a series of springs which are thrown out by the impervious nature of the Gault, and near them are situated at short intervals numerous villages, while the copious streams of clear pure water are largely used for the cultivation of water cress, which is sent in great quantity to London and other large towns. One of these springs issues out of the romantic Bledlow Gorge, which furnishes a scene quite unique in the county. The golden saxifrage (*Chryso-splenium oppositifolium*) grows there, and is a very rare plant in the county.

THE CHALK formation is one of the principal strata which come to the surface in the county, not only from the extent of surface which it occupies, but from the conspicuous feature caused by the rather bold northern escarpment of the Lower Chalk with its indented bays, which from a distance give it the appearance of an old coast-line, but closer examination reveals the fact that its configuration is not the result of marine but of subaerial denudation, and that in every age it has only been the waves of wind, rain and mist which have surged against it, and carved out indentations which mark its contour in its course from Bledlow to the downs near Eaton Bray. The upper part is formed of a thin but very hard and pinkish bed of Chalk rock resting on other beds of chalk of different degrees of porosity and density, but entirely free from flints. Near the base is a very hard deposit called Totternhoe Stone, and beneath this is a softish white chalk marl, which forms the rising ground between Bledlow, Princes Risborough, etc., and is often under agrarian culture. The abrupt

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slope of the escarpment is to a great extent covered with aboriginal turf, and it is in this portion that the rich growth of xerophilous calcareous plants is to be found. The comparatively short grass does not overshadow the flowering plants, so that in the early summer we have a very brilliant display of blossom, five distinct shades of yellow being the groundwork in the colour scheme, the deepest being struck by the dark orange-flowered horse-shoe vetch (*Hippocrepis comosa*); the next, but slightly more golden in tint, is caused by the lotus (*L. corniculatus*); then comes a somewhat greenish-yellow sheen where great patches of the golden stoncrop (*Sedum acre*) occur, and a very pale yellow is created where the lady's-fingers (*Antbyllis Vulneraria*) displays itself, but the paler tint is not altogether derived from the petals, but in part is caused by the conspicuous calyces, while the fifth species growing in countless thousands of pale-gold blossoms is the rock-rose (*Helianthemum Chamæcistus*) with its very fugacious petals; and as if to vie with them the key-note is repeated in the cornfields, where closely contiguous masses of the white mustard (*Brassica alba*) glow with a vividness that is almost painful under the bright noonday sun. But there are other plants in the turf besides this chord of yellow-blossomed species; there are the pinkish-white flowers of the squinancy-wort (*Asperula cynanchica*), the rosy-pink pyramidal spikes of the orchid (*Orchis pyramidalis*), or where a rather more impervious bed of chalk occurs we have the duller purple spikes of the fragrant orchid (*Habenaria conopsea*), and more sparingly the bee orchid (*Ophrys apifera*). Here and there the milkwort (*Polygala vulgaris*), with the flowers varying through different shades of blue to pink or white, may be seen, and it is a little curious and inexplicable why on the Berkshire downs the ubiquitous milkwort is *P. calcarea*, which here is extremely local and so much less frequent than the common one. Occasionally, especially on the downs above Ivinghoe, may be seen the yellow blossoms of the field ragwort (*Senecio campestris*), and not uncommonly the purple blue-flowered Canterbury bell (*Campanula glomerata*). In very many places bushes of the juniper (*Juniperus communis*) give a dark green colouring, and this too is exceedingly scarce on the Berkshire downs, although here so plentiful, and not restricting itself to the downs, but stretching inland to such commons as Naphill or Burnham Beeches, or the slopes near Medmenham. Bushes of the sweet brier (*Rosa Eglanteria*) and *R. micrantha* are plentiful near Princes Risborough and Wendover. Where the turf has been removed the porcelain-white blossoms of the candytuft (*Iberis amara*) will probably be seen, and few of the arable fields on the bare chalk are without it. Bordering the beech woods may be seen the white blossoms of the helleborine (*Cephalanthera pallens*), and in the woodland shade the bird's-nest orchid (*Neottia Nidus-avis*), and the wall lettuce (*Lactuca muralis*). But we have not even yet exhausted the constituents of the turf, for the rather pretty grass *Kæleria cristata* is plentiful, as well as the more striking oat-grasses (*Avena pubescens* and *A. pratensis*), while the brome (*Bromus erectus*) is abundant. Later in the season the turf is studded

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with the crimson blossoms of the hard-head (*Centaurea nigra*) as the variety *decipiens*, and there is abundance of the purple flowered autumnal felwort (*Gentiana Amarella*), and in a few places the much larger blossomed *Gentiana germanica*. Three or four species of the eye-bright *Euphrasia* occur, including *nemorosa*, *curta*, *Kernerii* and *gracilis*, but some of these grow where there is a thin coating of loamy soil or possibly brick-earth.

In the deep combe above the Kembles and Ellesborough there are great bushes of the box (*Buxus sempervirens*), and it may be native in the county here and on the downs above Edlesborough. At Ellesborough it affords shelter for a great number of rabbits, and about their warrens the henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*) is abundant, and growing upon the earth thrown out by them one of the earliest plants to appear is the sandwort (*Arenaria leptoclados*). The tower cress (*Arabis hirsuta*) is found plentifully in a few situations, but is most abundant in shade, which is rather unusual for this species. Nor do the arable fields lack their complement of interesting plants, and the white mustard and candy-tuft have been already mentioned, but there are also the fumitories *Fumaria densiflora*, *F. Vaillantii* and *F. parviflora*, the toadflax (*Linaria viscida*), the sainfoin (*Onobrychis viciæformis*), but the special treasure is a very local species which has its extreme western range in the county, namely the great pig-nut (*Carum Bulbocastanum*), which also occurs in Cambridgeshire and Herts, but does not appear to extend west of Ivinghoe. The large tuberous root is greedily eaten by pigs. About Halton and Tring there is the poisonous deadly nightshade (*Atropa Belladonna*), the spurge laurel (*Daphne Laureola*), the very local bedstraws *Galium sylvestre* and *G. erectum*, the meadow clary (*Salvia pratensis*), and the field mouse-ear (*Cerastium arvense*); *Vicia sylvatica*, *Polygonatum multiflorum* and *Pyrola minor*.

The Chalk is occasionally covered with leaf-mould and with loam, or brick-earth, and when the calcareous character of the soil is more or less masked a corresponding change in the flora takes place; patches of the ling (*Calluna Erica*), of the louse-wort (*Pedicularis sylvatica*) and other ericetal plants occur, but as these are not normal constituents of a cretaceous flora they will be referred to subsequently. There are three large dips in the Chiltern escarpment: one near Princes Risborough, another near Wendover, and a third which lies between Tring and Aldbury. The neighbouring hills such as Beacon Hill near Wendover and those above Ivinghoe and Halton give very beautiful and extensive views over the vale to the distant hills of Northants and Wilts. The chalk rock of the Lower Chalk is also to be seen inland at Chesham, High Wycombe, as well as in several places overlooking the Thames between Henley and Marlow.

THE UPPER CHALK WITH FLINTS is about 300 feet thick, and forms the eastern slope of the Chiltern Hills. This chalk is largely burned for lime. Although there is a considerable portion of the chalk area where the Upper Chalk forms the subsoil and gives a home for calcareous loving

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species, yet there is an even larger portion coloured as chalk on the geological map, which is really covered with a reddish earth to which the name of 'brick-earth' is given, and when this is present it so modifies the vegetation that a very dissimilar flora will be found from that where the chalk itself forms the surface soil. The chief tree in the woods is of course the beech, with hornbeam; and occasionally the cherry; and the ash is not unfrequent in open situations, while in some of the more clayey and sheltered places the oak is found. The plant of special interest is the local coral-root (*Cardamine bulbifera*), the *Dentaria bulbifera* of Linnæus, so named from the curious bulbils present in the axils of the leaves. These bulbils drop off and form another plant, thus enabling it to perpetuate itself without seeding, which as it grows in rather dense shade is not of frequent occurrence. The plant prefers to grow where there are plenty of loose flints and leaf-mould in hilly woods, and although extending into Herts and Berks has not yet been found in the woods of the Oxfordshire Chilterns. The helleborines *Epipactis latifolia* and *E. violacea* are found as well as occasionally the herb Paris (*Paris quadrifolia*), the gromwell (*Lithospermum officinale*), the large woodrush (*Luzula* or *Juncoides sylvatica*), the lady's mantle (*Alchemilla vulgaris*), the beautiful wood vetch (*Vicia sylvatica*), the very rare and interesting shrub *Daphne Mezereum*, as well as the spurge laurel (*D. Laureola*), the mountain speedwell (*Veronica montana*), the sedges *Carex pallescens* and *C. strigosa*, the grasses *Milium effusum* and *Melica uniflora*, the toothwort (*Lathraea Squamaria*), the willow herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), besides *Pimpinella major*.

The Chalk in this southern area, although so frequently obscured by the deposits alluded to, is at intervals the surface rock, especially on the sides of the dry valleys or deep road-cutting. When this is the case the vegetation at once changes in character, and in the calcareous woods we have the yew (*Taxus baccata*), the juniper (*Juniperus communis*), the hornbeam (*Carpinus Betulus*), all certainly native; the wood barley (*Elymus europæus*), which can also grow where there is some covering to the chalk; the wood rush (*Juncoides* [*Luzula*] *Forsteri*), and much more locally the Solomon's seal (*Polygonatum multiflorum*), so much rarer here than in the woods on the Berkshire chalk hills, and this again prefers some coating either of leaf-mould or even brick-earth; the rare military orchid (*Orchis militaris*), one of the chief botanical treasures of the county, but now much less frequently occurring than was formerly the case, and chiefly on the borders of woods; the mountain St. John's wort (*Hypericum montanum*), the tutsan (*H. Androsæmum*), the two hellebores *Helleborus viridis* and *H. fætidus*, but both locally; and with a still more restricted distribution the oak fern (*Phegopteris Dryopteris*) and the limestone polypody (*P. calcarea*); a hawkweed (*Hieracium murorum* var. *pellucidum*), and more commonly the ploughman's spikenard (*Inula Conyza*). The stinking gladdon (*Iris fæti dissima*), the butcher's broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*), the wild licorice vetch (*Astragalus glycyphyllos*), the blue toadflax (*Linaria repens*) are chiefly found on the chalk hills overlooking the river. On the grass-covered downs the musk orchid (*Herminium Monorchis*) and the large

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flowered *Gentiana germanica* occur, and an especially characteristic plant having its headquarters in the county is the calamint (*Calamintha parvifolia* or *Nepeta*), which is locally very abundant on the dry banks in the neighbourhood of West Wycombe, Chalfont St. Peter's, Seer Green, etc. The maple and holly are plentiful in the hedgerows, and the buckthorn (*Rhamnus catharticus*), the wayfaring tree (*Viburnum Lantana*), the true cherry (*Prunus Cerasus*), as well as *P. avium*, occur.

THE READING BEDS are the lowest members of the Tertiary strata found in Buckinghamshire : they consist very largely of stiff clay mottled with a great variety of colours, but they also include beds of sharp sand, also variously coloured, and loams. They rest unconformably on the Chalk, and once formed an unbroken sheet over its whole area, but they have been largely removed by denudation ; the various outliers such as those at Penn however testify to the much wider range they formerly had. The Reading Beds now occupy a considerable surface of southern Bucks about Wooburn, Burnham, Beaconsfield, Hedgerley, Chalfont St. Peter's and Denham.

The varied soils formed by these beds necessarily give rise to a diversified flora, and it is rendered even more interesting from the extensive deposits of drift gravels by which in many places they are covered. Therefore in quick succession we find purely ericetal species such as the trailing St. John's wort (*Hypericum humifusum*) and bird's-foot (*Ornithopus perpusillus*), and clay-loving species such as *Mentha rubra* and *M. piperita*.

Where the drift gravels are common we then find a most interesting series, such as the silvery cinquefoil (*Potentilla argentea*), the subterranean clover (*Trifolium subterraneum*), the soft clover (*T. striatum*) and the hare's-foot (*T. arvense*), the buck's-horn plantain (*Plantago Coronopus*), the tower-cress (*Arabis perfoliata*), the climbing bindweed (*Polygonum dumetorum*), the cress (*Lepidium heterophyllum* var. *canescens*), the hawkweeds *H. boreale*, *H. sciaphilum* and *H. umbellatum*, the saw-wort (*Serratula tinctoria*), the Deptford pink (*Dianthus Armeria*), the broom-rape (*Orobanche Rapum-genistæ*), the pearl-wort (*Sagina ciliata*) and very locally *S. subulata*. The less pervious clays have afforded the sedges *Carex strigosa*, *C. elata*, and chamomile (*Anthemismobilis*).

THE LONDON CLAY is another Eocene formation, and it is found resting on the Reading Beds as a stiff brownish clay, often containing large nodules of calcareous matter called septaria, but is usually very uniform in its character throughout its whole thickness, which is not less than 300 feet in some places. It occupies a large tract of country between Slough, Langley and Drayton, where it is extensively excavated for brickmaking, and Stoke Common, Fulmer, Red Hill are also situated on it, while there are extensive outliers capping the Chalk, as at Lane End, which is 593 feet in altitude, and the neighbouring eminence of Priests is 606 feet above sea level.

Like the Reading Beds, this formation is often covered with drift gravels, and then we see in close proximity the ericetal and glareal

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vegetation belonging to the latter deposit and the pelophilous or clay-loving species characteristic of the former.

On Stoke Common we therefore find such plants as the all-seed (*Millegrana Radiola*), the dwarf willow (*Salix repens*), the alder buckthorn (*Rhamnus Frangula*), the meadow thistle (*Cnicus pratensis*), the heaths *Erica Tetralix* and *E. cinerea*, the ling (*Calluna Erica*), the petty whin (*Genista anglica*), the dwarf gorse (*Ulex minor*), the upright pearlwort (*Cerastium quaternellum-Mænchia*), the sedges *Carex binervis*, *C. echinata*, the grasses *Nardus stricta*, *Aira præcox*, *A. caryophyllea*, *Deschampsia flexuosa*, and *Festuca ovina* var. *paludosa*.

On the elevated outlier at Lane End there is some marshy ground where the marsh helleborine (*Epipactis palustris*), the bog pimpernel (*Anagallis tenella*), the marsh lousewort (*Pedicularis palustris*), the sedges *Carex pulicaris*, *C. flava*, *C. echinata*, *C. Goodenowii*, and *C. panicea*, grow in very near neighbourhood to the petty whin, the dwarf gorse, the ling and the heath form of *Orchis maculata*, i.e. var. *ericetorum*, and where the small winter-green (*Pyrola minor*) grows in short turf bordering a wood in which the golden saxifrage (*Chrysosplenium oppositifolium*) occurs.

THE DRIFT.—A casual glance at the geologic map, as coloured to show the limitations of the various strata which come to the surface in the county, does not reveal, as has already been stated, the true surface soil over a great part of the area. In the north we find that both the Oolite and the Oxford and other clays are sometimes covered with or obscured by masses of clay full of pebbles, or by more or less extensive patches of sands or gravels, and this is specially the case in the portion drained by the Ouse; indeed that river gives the name of the 'Ouse gravels' to them. The influence of this covering upon the vegetation has already been referred to. The brick-earth and clay with flints, differing as it does materially from the bed rock in chemical composition as well as in physical characteristics, also has great influence in changing the character of the flora as we have previously seen.

HIGH-LEVEL AND LOW-LEVEL ALLUVIUM.—When rivers flow with a gentle fall across flat country they are usually margined by tracts of flat meadow-land, which are composed of materials carried down by the stream and dropped whenever a slackening of the current prevents the matter being carried further. Such deposits are known as Alluvium. They may be gravelly, loamy or clayey. Their component parts are purely local, being derived from the immediate neighbourhood of the stream, so that in the meadows of Marlow or Windsor the alluvial gravels contain a large percentage of the cretaceous rocks through which the river has cut its way, and the only foreign elements are such as are derived from the Drift or High Level Gravels which may have been cut through and reassorted and mixed with those of purely local origin. Hence we notice a remarkable difference between the vegetation of the alluvial meadows of the Thames and of the Ouse; the latter being chiefly occupied by mesophytic plants, that is, such as are almost ubiquitous or common to various situations, or by

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pelophilous or clay-loving species; whereas in the meadows of the Lower Thames, where chalk fragments are such common constituents, the ordinary vegetation of the low-lying and rich grass pastures will also contain such plants as the lady's-fingers (*Anthyllis Vulneraria*), the purple blue Canterbury bell (*Campanula glomerata*), the scabious (*Scabiosa Columbaria*), the hawk's-beard (*Pieris hieracioides*), and the grasses *Bromus erectus*, *Avena pubescens* and *Kæleria cristata*, which are distinctly gypsophiles or calcareous species.

The flora of the gravels has been already sufficiently touched upon, but we may add that the lettuce (*Lactuca virosa*), the small buttercup (*Ranunculus parvislorus*), the vetch *Vicia Lathyroides*, the shepherd's scabious (*Fasione montana*), the cinquefoil (*Potentilla argentea*), the calaminth (*Calamintha officinalis*), the rose (*Rosa systyla*), the clovers *Trifolium arvense*, *T. striatum* and *T. subterraneum*, the clary (*Salvia Verbenaca*), the hound's-tongue (*Cynoglossum officinale*), the vervain (*Verbena officinalis*), the mullein (*Verbascum nigrum*), the garlic (*Allium vineale*), the meadow saxifrage (*Saxifraga granulata*), the bur parsley (*Caucalis nodosa*), and the hedge honewort (*Carum segetum*) have been found on them.

The meadow flora consists of many species, varying to some extent with the rocks of which the alluvium is composed, but there are many plants which flourish well either on clay, gravel on loam, and these we need not attempt to particularize here. We must, however, enumerate among the more local species, the small *Polygonum* (*P. minus*), which occurs with the knotted spurrey (*Sagina nodosa*) by the stream near Chesham, and the American balsam (*Impatiens biflora* or *fulva*), now completely and abundantly naturalized for many miles along the course of the Colne, especially about Wraysbury; another American species, the monkey flower (*Mimulus Langsdorffii*), is so plentiful as to form a belt of colour for some distance between Latimers and Chenies; and the grass of Parnassus (*Parnassia palustris*) finds a home in the meadows near. Near Hambledon the spurge (*Euphorbia Esula*) has been known to grow for many years, and it is possibly native, while in the Eton meadows the star of Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum umbellatum*) and the medick (*Medicago arabica*) are locally common, and the snowflake (*Leucjum æstivum*) still occurs in a few parts of the Thames between Henley and Windsor.

In the Bray meadow the bedstraw *Galium erectum* grows freely, and the great dodder (*Cuscuta europæa*) occurs near Windsor; the ditches also afford the sedges *Carex Pseudo-cyperus*, *C. acuta*, *C. vesicaria*, *C. disticha*; the water starwort (*Callitriche obtusangula*), the bladderwort (*Utricularia vulgaris*), the water violet (*Hottonia palustris*), the frog-bit (*Hydrocharis Morsus-ranæ*), the water buttercup (*Ranunculus trichophyllus*), the bur marigold (*Bidens cernua*) and the water dropwort (*Ænanthe Pbellandrium*).

THE RIVER DRAINAGE OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

For many years past it has been the practice in the best and most complete county floras to subdivide the county they describe into

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districts, and in almost every case the delimitation of the districts is made by adopting the different drainage areas of the smaller streams, or by dividing the larger into two or more parts. By this means, it is contended, more valuable scientific results are obtained than if an artificial system were chosen, or one based upon the geological divisions, or even one in which the divisions were made to represent the various soils. The objection to the plan based upon the geological strata is that so much of the area is obscured by surface deposits, which, as we have seen, mask the character of the strata underneath; and although in my opinion a plan in which the surface soil itself were used to determine the standard would be more valuable, it is quite true that our knowledge of the subject is not yet sufficiently perfected to make it available. The plan adopted here is therefore one based upon the river drainage, notwithstanding the difficulty that sometimes is felt in the separation of portions of the country where the water-parting is obscure, and the more serious objection which is experienced when, as in the case of the Ouzel or Thame, which run transversely to the geological strata, each subdivision will contain several different strata. Moreover, instead of a more or less uniform scenic effect and a fairly uniform vegetation, which would be the case were a stratum such as the Oxford Clay selected, it is obvious we shall in such an instance as that of the Thame have all the varying effects, which different altitudes and soils give to the districts traversed by that stream in its course from its origin in the Chalk hills of Wendover or the Greensand of Brill through the clays to the river Thames. On the contrary in choosing this plan we keep in harmony with the arrangement adopted in works on the botany of the bordering counties, and the student of plant distribution will be enabled to investigate more easily the flora of the smaller river basins of the midlands.

Unlike Berkshire, which is wholly contained in the Thames basin, Buckinghamshire has two important river systems, those of the Ouse and the Thames. These therefore form our two great divisions, but the area drained by the Ouse is capable of being further sub-divided into two portions, namely that drained by the Ouse itself and that drained by its tributary the Ouzel. In eliminating the country drained by the latter stream we shall include in the Ouse district proper the country on the Liassic and Oolitic strata. These strata are found also in those portions of the bordering counties which are also in the Ouse drainage. The country drained by the Ouzel is much more varied in its geological character.

I. THE OUSE DISTRICT

The district No. 1 drained by the Ouse has its counterpart in district No. 3 of my Northamptonshire Flora and in district No. 2 of my Oxfordshire Flora. Roughly speaking its configuration is as follows: The Ouse rises at Ousewell near Brackley, and leaves our county near Olney. About a mile from the pleasant town of Brackley the Ouse forms the county boundary of Oxfordshire as far as to Water Stratford, where the line of delimitation from the Cherwell or rather the Ray drainage of Oxfordshire is a line drawn along the Roman road to Newton Purcell, then across country to Goddington, crossing the London and North-Western Railway near Marsh Gibbon station, passing by Calvert station on the Great Central Railway

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to Botolph Claydon, then by Hogshaw and the eastern side of Quainton Hill by Oving and Whitchurch. Here it turns in a north-easterly direction to Dunton, Stewkley Dean and Mursley. Then it again crosses the London and North-Western line about a mile east of Swanbourn station and passes between Whaddon and Bletchley to Denbigh Hall and Simpson, where the Grand Junction Canal forms the line of demarcation, thence to Great Linford station, where it reaches the main stream of the Ouse, which is the limit of the district, to Newport Pagnell, where it receives the Ouzel stream. From Newport Pagnell the road from that place to the county boundary of Bedfordshire near Broad Green is followed; and the eastern limit of the district is the county of Bedford, the county boundary of which passes by Astwood and Olney, and then the county boundary of Northamptonshire replaces it by Salcey Forest and Hartwell. Near the latter place the river Tove, which rises from the high ground near Preston Capes, in Northamptonshire, is itself a tributary of the Ouse. From Hartwell the Tove itself becomes the county boundary and flows past Grafton Regis, Castlethorpe and Cosgrove, in its course having cut its way down to the Upper Lias Clay, and enters the Ouse which then in turn separates the two counties westwards to Thornton. Here the county boundary, which is the border of the Ouse district, is an arbitrary line which passes to the east of Leckhampstead and Lillingstone, and includes a small portion of the once extensive forest of Whittlewood or Whittlebury, where there are extensive deposits of Blue Clay drift, and traverses a secluded and well wooded part of the county by Chapel Green and Biddlesden; a small stream here forms the county boundary to a spot adjacent to Brackley, where our boundary line rejoins the starting point opposite to Evenley.

The Ouse district as comprised within the bounds just described consists of a flat or a gently undulating country, the highest point near Oving above sea level attaining only to 520 feet in altitude; the highest part of the Whittlebury neighbourhood is about 510 feet, while Whaddon Chase is about 450 feet. But by far the larger part of the district is between 200 and 300 feet, and some portion bordering the Ouse near Olney is not more than 170 feet above sea level. The area is almost entirely under cultivation and there are extensive tracts of pasture land, and still more monotonous agrarian fields, but there are vestiges of woodland in the north-west, although the greater part of the sylvan portions have long ago been disafforested, but we are able to read its former history by the occurrence of wood anemones and bluebells in the hedgerows. Near Westbury there is a wild bushy common where a very rare and local species of bramble (*Rubus pubescens*) grows, and it is especially interesting as it more closely approaches the original German type of *R. pubescens* than any other plant hitherto observed in Britain. Although clayey there is a plentiful growth of the woolly-headed thistle (*Cnicus eriophorus*). The marsh scorpion-grass (*Myosotis cespitosa*) and the bur-reed (*Sparganium neglectum*) grow in a pond in the vicinity. The umbelliferous plant *Pimpinella major* is plentiful in the woods and bushy hedgerows hereabouts, and in damp roadsides the grass *Festuca arundinacea* occurs. The hedges occasionally, as at Westbury and Lillingstone, have the barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*) as well as the spindle-tree (*Euonymus europæus*); in a wet ditch at Westbury and also near Adstock the peppermint (*Mentha piperita*) occurs; the coppices often abound with the grass *Calamagrostis epigeios*, and sometimes, especially on stiff clay soils, have the beautiful sedge (*Carex pendula*) and the great horsetail (*Equisetum maximum*), while very locally near Lillingstone the great throat-wort (*Campanula latifolia*) is found. By the Black Pit Pond in Stowe Park, where the moon-wort (*Botrychium Lunaria*) was once found, there is a plentiful growth of the bur marigold (*Bidens cernua*), a very rare plant in the district in which *B. tripartita* is the prevailing form. At Westbury the spleenworts *Asplenium Trichomanes* and *A. Ruta-muraria* are found, but ferns are very scarce in the district; even the bracken (*Pteris aquilina*), is almost absent from the area. Nearer the Ouse, as at Buffler's Holt where the oolite was formerly quarried, there are some more interesting species, and the local *Gentiana germanica* and the thorow-wax (*Bupleurum rotundifolium*) have been reported. The relics of Whittlebury Forest contain the mint (*Mentha longifolia*) in an assuredly native situation.

At Westbury Common when the gravel drift is sufficiently porous to allow of the occurrence, the ling (*Calluna Erica*), a very rare plant of the district, and also the hawkweed (*Hieracium umbellatum*), the St. John's wort (*Hypericum pulchrum*), the heath stitchwort (*Stellaria graminea*), the heath bedstraw (*Galium hercynicum*) and the grasses *Aira præcox*, *Deschampsia flexuosa* and *Agrostis canina* are found. At Old Stratford the riverside affords the sweet flag (*Acorus Calamus*), the reed-mace (*Typha angustifolia*), the flowering rush (*Butomus umbellatus*), and nearer Castlethorpe the bittercress (*Cardamine amara*), the grass *Catabrosa aquatica*, the meadow rue (*Thalictrum flavum*), and abundance of the water dropworts *Œnanthe fistulosa* and *Œ. fluviatilis*, the latter of

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which entirely replaces *Æ. Phellandrium* in the district. The water buttercups include *Ranunculus heterophyllus*, *R. divaricatus*, *R. peltatus*, *R. fluitans*, and the pondweeds are *Potamogeton natans*, *P. Friesii*, *P. interruptus*, *P. pectinatus*, *P. zosteræfolius*, *P. pusillus*, *P. crispus* and *P. densus*, but *P. polygonifolius* and *P. alpinus* appear to be absent. The canal gives the sedges *Carex paniculata*, *C. acuta*, *Eleocharis acicularis*; and the meadow crane's-bill (*Geranium pratense*) is a not uncommon plant near the Ouse. There are few marshes or bogs from a botanical point of view, since the undrained portion although wet is singularly poor in uliginous vegetation, and is represented by such mesophytes as *Carex vulpina* and *C. flacca*, *Galium palustre*, *Glyceria plicata* and *G. fluitans*, *Apium nodiflorum*, *Juncus lampocarpus* and *J. glaucus*.

There is a very small marsh near Winslow of a very different character, since it resembles the rich marshes which occur at Headington in Oxfordshire and at Cothill and Hinksey in Berkshire. As drainage has been already begun, it is probably doomed to disappear in the not distant future. In it I was enabled to notice for the first time as plants of Buckinghamshire the black bog-rush (*Schæenus nigricans*) and the rush (*Juncus obtusiflorus*), and also the following interesting species, the butterwort (*Pinguicula vulgaris*), the marsh helleborine (*Epipactis palustris*), the marsh thistle (*Cnicus pratensis*), the sedges *Carex pulicaris*, *C. flava*, *C. Goodenowii*, *C. panicea*, *C. Hornschubiana*, the bog pimpernel (*Anagallis tenella*), the fragrant orchid (*Habenaria conopsea*), and the bee orchid (*Ophrys apifera*), the latter in an unusual station; the milk-wort (*Polygala vulgaris*), the bedstraw *Galium uliginosum*, while in close contiguity in a gravelly field grew the upright form of the soft clover (*Trifolium striatum* var. *erectum*) and the chickweed (*Cerastium arvense*). The railway banks near Swanbourn have the zig-zag clover (*Trifolium medium*), and in the brickyard near there are some very fine examples of *Lotus tenuis*.

On the railway banks near Hanslope there is a very abundant growth of a hawkweed, a native of eastern and central Europe, namely *Hieracium præaltum*, and near it is another plant which is either a hybrid of that species with *H. Pilosella*, or possibly *H. pratense*. Some short distance away the yellow chamomile (*Anthemis tinctoria*) is also abundantly naturalized for a considerable distance, and nearer the border of Northamptonshire the gold of pleasure (*Camelina sativa*) is plentiful, and other aliens such as *Caucalis latifolia*, *Salvia verticillata*, *Bromus arvensis* and *B. squarrosus*, *Chenopodium ficifolium* and others have been found.

At Castlethorpe the calamint (*C. parvifolia*) occurs, but it may be possibly a relic of cultivation as it grows near Castle Close. Here too the fiddle dock (*Rumex pulcher*) and the grass *Poa compressa* occur, and near Hanslope I added *Carex pendula* to the county many years ago. Near Olney, where the limestone comes to the surface, the gypsophilous grass *Brachypodium pinnatum* so abundant on the oolite in Oxfordshire, but so rare in this county, is found. From Lavendon the wild everlasting pea (*Lathyrus sylvestris*) has been recorded, and the grass-leaved pea (*L. Nissolia*) is found near Wavendon.

2. THE OUZEL DISTRICT

which is also in the main drainage of the Ouse, is so named from a small stream whose sources are chiefly in the Dunstable Downs, one issuing from the chalk near the Beacon Hill between Ivinghoe and Edlesborough, another near Pitstone Green, and there are several other feeders from the Cretaceous rocks. Another tributary comes from the high ground of Cublington and Stewkley (496 feet) and joins the chalk streams to the south of Leighton Buzzard, between which place and Fenny Stratford it is reinforced by several streams coming from the western side of the hills of Stewkley North End, Drayton Parslow and Mursley, while on the east side the rich district of Brickhill and Woburn Sands also drain into it. A small brook which rises in Bedfordshire near Ridgmount, and passes through Salford, Milton Keynes and Broughton, joins the Ouzel near Willen, and the Ouzel itself shortly after enters the Ouse near Newport Pagnell.

The district is contained within the following limits: Starting from the place near Great Linford station, where the Grand Junction Canal is near the Ouse, the separating line from the Ouse district, which has been already described, passes from Newport Pagnell to the Bedford county boundary at Broad Green, which is near North Crawley, following the county boundary in a southerly direction to Wavendon, Linslade, and then by Edlesborough to Little Gaddesden, where Hertfordshire takes the place of Beds, and the limit is the boundary of that shire in its eccentric and arbitrary separating line, as it is traced across the Chilterns. The boundary of the Ouzel district passes by Aldbury to the main line of the London and North-

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Western railway, and although not scientifically correct we adopt the railway as the separating line from the Thame district hereafter to be described as far as to Cheddington station; thence our dividing line is traced by Wingrave, Aston Abbots, and passing to the east of the Cottesloes to Stewkley and Mursley, where the Ouse district limits it on the western side till it touches the starting-point near Great Linford; for the last few miles, that is from Simpson to Linford, the Grand Junction Canal is adopted as the dividing line, but strictly speaking it is not quite accurate, as a small portion to the west of the canal near Willen actually drains into the Ouzel, but it is thought better to choose a definite rather than an obscure line in this instance.

The country comprised within these limits is remarkable from the fact that the streams cut through or across the lines of strata, so that in it are represented the Lower Chalk, the Upper Greensand, the Gault, the Lower Greensand, the Kimeridge and Oxford Clays, as well as the Ouse Drift Gravels. Not only are the geologic strata thus richly represented, but the scenic character offers a very pleasing contrast to the dull monotony of so much of the Ouse district, and the vegetation is also of a most interesting nature. Some parts of the Dunstable Downs are among the highest points of the county, being over 800 feet, while at the juncture of the Ouse and Ouzel the surface of the water is only about 180 feet above sea level. The Chalk downs are in places covered with aboriginal turf, in which grow such plants as the ragwort (*Senecio campestris*), the orchids *Orchis pyramidalis* and *Ophrys apifera*, the squinancy-wort (*Asperula cynanchica*), the horse-shoe vetch (*Hippocrepis comosa*), the lady's-fingers (*Anthyllis Vulneraria*), the grasses *Bromus erectus*, *Avena pubescens* and *A. pratensis*, and in one place above 700 feet in altitude the adder's tongue (*Ophioglossum vulgatum*), and the box (*Buxus sempervirens*) has been claimed to be a native plant. In some places the downs have been brought into some kind of agrarian cultivation, and in these arable fields we have glaring masses of colouring produced by the white mustard (*Brassica alba*) and the sainfoin (*Onobrychis viciæfolius*), and as more interesting constituents to the botanist, *Fumaria densiflora*, *F. Vaillantii* and *F. parviflora*, the pignut (*Carum Bulbocastanum*), which is found in no other district of the county, the candytuft (*Iberis amara*); while the grasses *Festuca rigida* and *Phleum nodosum* are frequent plants.

On the Upper Greensand two umbelliferous plants, *Carum segetum* and *Caucalis nodosa*, are found, especially on dry sunny banks near villages. When we come to the Lower Greensand, which is so well represented between Leighton Buzzard, Heath and Great Brickhill, and still more interestingly between Great Brickhill, Little Brickhill and Bow Brickhill and Woburn Sands, we see the richest botanizing ground in north Bucks. This portion of the county is very picturesque, and in places clothed with pine woods, which reach an elevation of about 520 feet. The flora of the Brickhill woods on the Greensand has already been rather fully described, but we may refer to the flora of some other parts which has not already been mentioned. Between Great Brickhill and Heath there are some very interesting corn-fields and heathy ground. In the former the rather rare cudweed (*Filago apiculata*) is plentiful, and the cress *Teesdalia nudicaulis* also occurs in abundance; the tower cress (*Arabis perfoliata*) is very local, as is its wont, and the swine's succory (*Arnoseris pusilla*) is limited to a very small area; one or two forms of the wild pansy were found here for the first time in Britain, and the chickweed (*Cerastium semidecandrum*) occurs as the variety *viscosum*, and also in another variety which is apparently undescribed. In the heathy ground the buck's-horn plantain (*Plantago Coronopus*), the sheep's scabious (*Fasione montana*), the golden rod (*Solidago Virgaurea*), and the pearlwort (*Sagina ciliata*) are found.

In a marshy wood and in moist, open ground in this neighbourhood, the marsh fern (*Lastrea Thelypteris*), the golden saxifrage (*Chrysosplenium oppositifolium*), the sedges *Carex paniculata*, *C. disticha* and *C. rostrata* grow. A pond near Little Brickhill, and almost at the highest level (namely 513 feet), is remarkable for its containing the pondweed (*Potamogeton alpinus*), the sedge *Carex Pseudo-cyperus*, the water buttercup (*Ranunculus heterophyllus*), and the charads *Chara hispida* and *Tolypella glomerata*.

The adjoining pasture fields have the lady's mantle (*Alchemilla vulgaris*) and quantities of the orchid *Orchis morio*, which is locally abundant in the district. Duncombe Wood affords the herb Paris (*Paris quadrifolia*), the gromwell (*Lithospermum officinale*), the butterfly orchid (*Habenaria chloroleuca*). The hedgerows and waysides in the district of the Brickhills have several interesting species including the mint (*Mentha longifolia*), the calamint (*Calamintha officinalis* or *montana*), the hound's-tongue (*Cynoglossum officinale*), the bur parsley (*Anthriscus vulgaris* or *Cerfolium Anthriscus*), and the downy rose (*Rosa tomentosa* or *mollissima*, not *R. mollis*).

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Near Water Stratford the pondweed *Potamogeton alpinus* grows in the river, and the marshy ground near yields *Polygonum mite*. In the low fenny ground near Simpson the celery (*Apium graveolens*) is probably native. The reed-mace (*Typha angustifolia*) and a somewhat intermediate form grows near Bletchley, and in arable fields a form of the bur parsley (*Caucalis nodosa* var. *pedunculata*) grows with the umbels distinctly stalked. By a brook near Salford the willow herb (*Epilobium roseum*) grows with some hybrids with *E. parviflorum* and *E. obscurum*, and a willow which is a *triandra* hybrid. In the Moulsoe woods the violet (*Viola sylvestris*) is frequent.

The sawwort (*Serratula tinctoria*) grows in some wet meadows near Brickhill, and the local *Scirpus sylvaticus* is also found.

Near Soulbury in some marshy ground, partly woodland, there is a luxuriant growth of the great horsetail (*Equisetum maximum*) the marsh lousewort (*Pedicularis palustris*), the sedges *Carex distans*, *C. flava*, *C. echinata*, the cotton grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*), and the small club rush (*Scirpus setaceus*).

Near Linslade there is an abundant growth of a rush which by many botanists is considered to be a hybrid of *Juncus glaucus* with *J. effusus*, i.e. the *J. diffusus*, and with it grows in an unusual station the heath stitchwort (*Stellaria graminea*) as a very broad-leaved form.

There are not many introduced species in this district; such as occur are chiefly near flour mills, where the siftings of foreign wheat containing seeds of such plants as *Brassica elongata*, *Setaria viridis*, *Sisymbrium altissimum* occasionally germinate in the vicinity.

The railway lines have been the means of bringing in the rocket (*Diplotaxis muralis*) and the eastern vetch (*Vicia villosa*), which grows near Leighton Buzzard.

The winter heliotrope (*Nardosmia* or *Petasites fragrans*) is naturalized near Wavendon, and in waste places about Woburn Sands *Atriplex hortensis* var. *rubra*, *Oxalis corniculata*, *Hesperis matronalis*, grow.

3. THE THAME DISTRICT

This district takes its name from a stream whose waters in part rise from the Oolitic rocks of Quainton, partly from Stewkley Hill and in part from the Cretaceous hills near Tring, and in its feeders in their early course cut across several different strata, uniting near Aylesbury. The main stream passes through Lower Winchenden to Notley Abbey, where a small brook which has come from Brill and Waddesdon joins it, and just before reaching Thame it is reinforced by the Ford brook which has drained the Gault meadows from Bishopstone to Tythrop. There are also several brooks which issue from the base of the Portland stone on the western side of Brill and Chilton and flow into Oxfordshire, joining the Thame in the neighbourhood of Shabbington and Worminghall.

The Thame district of Buckinghamshire has its counterpart in my *Flora of Oxfordshire*, but in the plan adopted here for Bucks there is included a small piece of country which, belonging as it does to the Ray drainage, had a separate district No. 4 in my *Flora of Oxfordshire*, and belongs to the Cherwell basin. It would have been more accurate to make the portion of Bucks drained by the Ray a district or a sub-district, but the limitations of it shall be described, and as it is of small extent and since it closely resembles in soil the adjacent country drained by the tributaries of the Thame, and because the Cherwell itself belongs to the main drainage of the Thames, there appear no sufficiently cogent reasons for keeping it distinct.

The Thame district is thus defined: On the north it is bounded by the Ouse district already described, that is from Poundon to Stewkley. On the west it is limited by the county of Oxford, from near Poundon to Piddington and Brill; then the boundary passes to the west of Boarstall, so that the interesting decoy and the remains of the fortified house are included in Bucks; it then traverses a very secluded sylvan district by Studley and Shabbington Wood to Worminghall and Thame, the stream itself for the last four miles having been the boundary. From Tythrop the boundary is an artificial one. The separating line from Oxfordshire is traced to the Common Leys near Towersey, and then by Shittle Green to Bledlow Cross, where its western boundary to Radnage is my division No. 7, the Lower Thames of my Oxfordshire Flora. It then takes the summit-level of the Chilterns in an easterly direction towards Lacey Green, the southern boundary being now the water parting of the Thame on the one side, and the tributaries of the Wycomb stream on the other as far as Hampden, when the water parting of the tributaries of the Amersham water and the Chess replace that of the Wycomb stream as far as the border of Hertfordshire near Tring

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Park. In its way it crosses Combe Hill at 840 feet elevation, the highest point in the county.

From Combe Hill it goes toward the North East past Miswell to Tring; thence in a northerly direction to near Bulborne on Upper Icknield Way; thence nearly along the London and North-Western Railway to Seabrook, with the Ouzel district on the east; thence by Cheddington across the hill at Mentmore to Aston Abbots, and thence northwards to Stewkley North End; it then touches the Ouse district, and forms its northern boundary by Whitchurch, Oving, Quainton, Botolph Claydon, to Poundon.

The portion drained by the Ray is included in a line drawn from Poundon to Botolph Claydon, Quainton, Waddesdon station, and along the Wootton tramway to Muswell Hill, and thence by the Oxfordshire county boundary to Poundon.

The country contained within the Thame drainage is well diversified, the highest point in the county being within its area, while the Thame near Tythrop is only 230 feet above the sea. The prospect from Beacon Hill near Tring, and from Combe Hill near Wendover is of a very noble and beautiful kind, the reservoirs of Wilstone and Tring giving additional beauty, as water is usually lacking in midland scenery, while the views obtained from the top of Brill or Muswell Hills have a pleasing feature in allowing the observer to see all parts of a distant horizon and not merely a segment of a circle. The vegetation of the area is also a varied and interesting one. In addition to the plants mentioned as growing on the Chilterns in the Ouzel district—and the chief absentee is *Carum Bulbocastanum*—we have recorded for the beautiful slopes of the chalk escarpment the musk orchis (*Herminium Monorchis*), the military orchid (*Orchis militaris*), a great rarity now limited to three or four of the chalk counties of the Upper Thames, the fly orchis (*Ophrys muscifera*), the winter green (*Pyrola minor*), the henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*), the frog orchis (*Habenaria viridis*), the tower cress (*Arabis hirsuta*), the grass *Bromus interruptus*, the vetch *Vicia sylvatica*, with its elegantly pencilled petals, the meadow sage (*Salvia pratensis*), the bedstraws *Galium sylvestre* (limited to this district) and *G. erectum*, the gentian (*G. germanica*), the chalk milkwort (*Polygala calcarea*), the eyebright (*Euphrasia curta*), the umbellifer *Pimpinella major*. The small flowered buttercup (*Ranunculus parviflorus*), occurs on gravelly ground near Bledlow, and in clayey soil the local sedge *Carex axillaris* occurs in one locality, the mint *Mentha longifolia* grows near Ellesborough and near Kimble the alkanet (*Anchusa sempervirens*) is naturalized. In the Dinton meadows the snake's-head (*Fritillaria meleagris*) is plentiful, and white-flowered forms are not unfrequent. On the churchyard wall of Dinton *Erinus alpinus* is naturalized. At Stewkley South End there is a small marsh near a stream in which the bedstraw *Galium uliginosum*, and the dwarf valerian (*Valeriana dioica*) grow, and a field not far distant is the only known locality for the water avens (*Geum rivale*) in the north of the county, and only one is known for the south, namely that of the Chalvey meadows near Eton, and it is unknown for Northamptonshire although so frequent in many parts of Britain. In the Thame meadows near the town of that name the rush *Juncus compressus* grows sparingly. At Brill, 566 feet in altitude, the henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*) is rather common, and the water buttercup (*Ranunculus Drouetii*) grows.

On the walls at Marsh Gibbon the stonecrop (*Sedum dasyphyllum*) is found; it is very frequent on the Coralline Oolite in Berkshire, where it may be native, but it is one of the rarest of the plants of Bucks. *Sison segetum* and *Caucalis nodosa* are found by the roadside near Ludgershall. At Boarstall, by the old moat, there is a considerable growth of the dock (*Rumex maritimus*), while near the decoy the cut-leaved form of the elder (*Sambucus nigra* var. *laciniata*), the jonquil (*Narcissus biflorus*) and the large daffodil (*Narcissus major*) are doubtless relics of cultivation.

The cultivated fields in the vicinity have the hawksbeard (*Crepis biennis*), as well as *C. taraxacifolia*, and the bushy hedgerows of the district contain fine examples of the roses *Rosa glauca* and *R. systyla*, as well as the hawthorn (*Crataegus oxyacanthoides*) and a probable hybrid of it with *C. Oxyacantha*.

There are not many introduced species in this district, but one of the 'duck farms' near Brill has a plentiful growth of the cress *Lepidium Draba*, which when once introduced is difficult to eradicate, and on the London and North-Western Railway the white mignonette (*Reseda alba*) grew near Marsh Gibbon station.

4. THE THAMES DISTRICT

This has its counterpart to some extent in the district 'No. 7. The Thames or Lower Thames' of my *Flora of Oxfordshire*, but it more closely resembles district 'No. 5. The

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Loddon or Lower Thames' of my *Flora of Berkshire*, except that as the Bagshot Sands are not represented in our county the botany is of a much less interesting character.

The 'Thames' district is circumscribed by the following boundaries: On the north-west the boundary line is the water-parting of the Wycombe streams from those which drain into the Thame, but as this is a chalk area with the drainage chiefly underground it is difficult to make a definite line of demarcation. We trace it as best we may from Hampden by Loosely Row to the Oxfordshire county boundary near Radnage, and then that arbitrary division is followed in its eccentric course to the south of Stokenchurch by Cadmore End, Ibstone, Hollandridge, Stonor Park, to Middle Assendon and Henley Park, where it touches the river Thames. From this place to Old Windsor the river divides the district from Berkshire, and all that portion of Berkshire on the opposite side is included in the district No. 5 of my *Flora* of that county. Opposite Runnymede, from the point where Surrey replaces Berkshire, the boundary of our district is again rather artificially drawn along the Wyrardisbury, or to use the modern spelling, Wraysbury road, to Langley station on the Great Western Railway, and thence by the side of Langley Park to the north-west of Alderbourne Bottom and passing to the north of Fulmer, but again turning in a south-eastern direction it skirts Gerrard's Cross Common (which is included in this district), and then passes along the high ground above Chalfont St. Peter's; taking in Later's Green Common and Seer Green, it proceeds by Ongar Hill and Penn House through Penn Woods to Great Kingshill, then to Prestwood, and eventually joins the Thame district at Hampden.

The name is given to the district because the river Thames flows for so long a distance along the western and south-western side, and hence necessarily drains a considerable portion of its area, but there is also a subsidiary stream, which might be utilized to form another district were it considered advisable, but as both streams drain very similar country and the geological strata in both are similar, and as the area is not unwieldy, the portion drained by the Wye or Wycombe Brook is incorporated with the Thames. The Wye issues from the southern slopes of the chalk, and the valley it occupies from West Wycombe to Bourne End where it flows into the Thames is utilized for the Wycombe branch of the Great Western Railway. The Wye is a pretty chalk stream with, where unpolluted by man, clear sparkling water, and in its course flows so swiftly that in more places than one it is markedly different from our normally sluggish streams, for it can murmur as it flows by Loudwater, a significant name. Watercresses are extensively grown in the stream, and several large manufactories of paper have been established on its banks on account of the clearness of its waters.

The country comprised in this district is very pleasant and fairly diversified, but the strata represented in it are wholly Cretaceous or belong to the Eocene formations of the Reading Beds and the London Clay, with extensive beds of High and Low Level Alluvium.

There are great tracts of woodlands on the Chalk, the chief constituents of which have been enumerated under that heading, and there are also extensive, and we are glad to say at present unenclosed, commons with an attractive flora, as well as the dry fields, and occasional grassy banks of the Upper and Lower Chalk areas. The London Clay is sufficiently impervious to make marshy ground even at considerable elevations, as at the top of Lane End Common, nearly 600 feet in altitude. In that place and on Moor Common we have many interesting species, several of which have not been found in the county north of the Chilterns; they include the petty whin (*Genista anglica*), which is very abundant, the dwarf willow (*Salix repens*), the upright pearlwort (*Cerastium quaternellum*, better known under its old name of *Mænchia*), the pearlwort *Sagina ciliata*, the water milfoil (*Myriophyllum alternifolium*), the water purslane (*Peplis Portula*), the water honewort (*Apium inundatum*), the lousewort (*Pedicularis sylvatica*), the clovers *Trifolium filiforme* and *T. striatum*, the lady's traces (*Spiranthes autumnalis* or *Gyrostachis*), the spotted orchid (*Orchis ericetorum*), the small crowfoot (*Ranunculus parviflorus*); and Burnham Beeches is one of the few localities for the deer's grass (*Scirpus cæspitosus*), the club rush (*Eleocharis multicaulis*), the white beak rush (*Rynchospora alba*), for the cross-leaved heath (*Erica Tetralix*), the Lancashire asphodel (*Narthecium ossifragum*), the marsh St. John's wort (*Hypericum elodes*), for the charad (*Nitella translucens*), the bladder wort (*Utricularia major* or *neglecta*). It is also the home of the sedges *Carex pulicaris*, *C. echinata*, *C. flava*, *C. panicea*, *C. paniculata*, *C. rostrata*, *C. binervis*, *C. pilulifera*, *C. leporina*; the pondweeds *Potamogeton polygonifolius* and *P. pusillus*, the bog-bean (*Menyanthes trifoliata*), the cotton grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*), the grasses *Molinia varia*, *Festuca ovina* var. *paludosa*, the hawkweeds *Hieracium boreale*, *H. sciaphilum* and *H. umbellatum*, the marsh violet (*Viola palustris*), the butterwort (*Pinguicula vulgaris*), the sundews *Drosera rotundifolia* and *D. intermedia* or *longifolia* but not *D. anglica*, the

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marsh thistle (*Cnicus pratensis*), the sawwort (*Serratula tinctoria*), the dwarf willow (*Salix repens*), the orchids *Orchis ericetorum* and *Habenaria bifolia*, the ferns *Lomaria Spicant*, *Lastrea* or *Dryopteris spinulosa*, *dilatata*, and at one time the royal fern (*Osmunda regalis*), the club moss (*Lycopodium inundatum*) and *L. Selago*, and the horsetail *Equisetum sylvaticum*. The bramble flora is also rich, and other glareal and ericetal plants, such as the cudweeds *Gnaphalium sylvaticum* and *Filago minima*, the red sandwort (*Buda rubra*), the cinquefoil (*Potentilla argentea*), the clovers *Trifolium striatum* and *T. filiforme*, the dog violet (*Viola canina*), the St. John's worts *Hypericum humifusum* and *H. pulchrum*, and the heath rush (*Juncus squarrosus*), occur.

Gerrard's Cross Common has besides many of the heath plants already alluded to the camomile (*Anthemis nobilis*), the pennyroyal (*Mentha Pulegium*), and the chaffweed (*Centunculus minimus*).

The extensive common of Stoke Poges has a considerable number of very interesting species, among which may be mentioned the alder buckthorn (*Rhamnus Frangula*), the club moss (*Lycopodium inundatum*), the small scull-cap (*Scutellaria minor*), the all-seed (*Millegrana Radiola*), the pearlwort (*Cerastium quaternellum*), masses of the dwarf furze (*Ulex minor* or *nanus*), the dwarf willow (*Salix repens* and its hybrid *S. ambigua*), the cudweed (*Gnaphalium sylvaticum*), etc.

The neighbourhood of Wycombe offers a very rich series of chalk plants which have already been referred to in the remarks on p. 38, but there are in addition plants such as the toothwort (*Lathraea Squamaria*), which grows at Hughenden, the vetch (*Vicia gracilis*), which formerly grew near Winter Hill, the white mullein (*Verbascum Lychnitis*) and the bloody crane's-bill (*Geranium sanguineum*), which grew on the banks of the railway with the woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) and are probably not native to Buckinghamshire. There also occur the periwinkle (*Vinca minor*), the rose *Rosa systyla*, the mint *Mentha cardiaca*, the sedge *Carex paniculata*, which is abundant in the marsh, the grass *Bromus secalinus*, extremely abundant in cornfields, the pretty *Stachys annua* of very local occurrence in arable soil, while the eyebright (*Euphrasia Kernerii*), the crane's-bill (*Geranium rotundifolium*) near West Wycombe, and the black mullein (*Verbascum nigrum*), are of local distribution.

Naphill Common has a special feature of interest in its being the home of the thrumwort (*Damasonium Alisma*), which is a diminishing species in Britain, and it also has some very fine juniper bushes (*Juniperus communis*); and a most luxuriant growth of the orpine (*Sedum roseum*) is in the neighbourhood.

I have already mentioned the characteristic species of the main valley of the Thames, but we may allude to some of the aquatics which it yields. They are not so numerous as formerly, as the more frequent traffic of steam launches of course exerts an inimical influence. There are however still recesses of the river where the fringed water-lily (*Limnanthemum peltatum*) abounds; the pondweeds *Potamogeton prælongus*, *P. zosteræfolius* and *P. interruptus*, the water buttercup (*Ranunculus fluitans*), the water honewort (*Ceratophyllum*), the charad (*Chara fragilis* var. *Hedwigii*), the snowflake (*Leucojum æstivum*), the reed mace (*Typha angustifolia*), the American balsam (*Impatiens fulva*) now naturalized near Henley and bound to extend its area, the willows *Salix purpurea*, *S. rubra* and others, the water dropwort (*Ænanthe fluviatilis*) and in a backwater *Æ. Phellandrium*, and the poisonous dropwort (*Æ. crocata*), the sweet flag (*Acorus Calamus*) are among the more interesting species. Near Henley there are the clary (*Salvia Verbenaca*) and the hound's-tongue (*Cynoglossum officinale*), the mistletoe (*Viscum album*) on limes, black poplar and even on thorns, the rampions (*Campanula Rapunculus*), growing in a very wild situation near Hambleton, the meadow sage (*Sabia pratensis*), the spurge (*Euphorbia Esula*) on the river bank in a wild condition, the rose *Rosa systyla*, the wild licorice (*Astragalus glycyphyllus*), the garlic (*Allium vineale*), and the bedstraw (*Galium erectum*).

On a common near Marlow occur the clovers *Trifolium subterraneum*, *T. striatum*, and the vetch *Vicia lathyroides*; and in fields the grass *Poa pratensis* var. *angustifolia*, the honewort (*Carum segetum*), and the tansy (*Tanacetum vulgare*).

The wooded slopes of Clivedon are said to have yielded the golden saxifrage (*Chrysoplenium alternifolium*), but its occurrence has not been verified; the small teasel (*Dipsacus pilosus*) grows there, and the gravelly soil about Taplow has plenty of the lettuce *Lactuca virosa*, while the pretty grass *Apera Spica-venti* is common in the fields.

The meadows between Bray and Windsor have many interesting plants, but the special rarity has disappeared, namely *Tordylium maximum*, which at one time grew near Eton Wick. The water avens grows near Chalvey in the second locality known for it in Bucks, and also the rush *Juncus obtusiflorus*, the sedges *Carex vesicaria*, *C. rostrata*, *C. Pseudo-cyperus*, *C. disticha* and *C. paniculata* still grow there. The marsh stitchwort (*Stellaria palustris*), the water violet

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(*Hottonia palustris*), the water starworts (*Callitriche obtusangula* and *hamulata*), the frog-bit (*Hydrocharis Morsus-ranæ*), the bladderwort (*Utricularia vulgaris*), the medic (*Medicago arabica*), the star of Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum umbellatum*), the dodder (*Cuscuta europæa*), and the barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*).

Dropmore Park has enclosed within its domain some very interesting botanizing ground, where the marsh St. John's wort (*Hypericum elodes*), the violet *Viola lactea*, the shoreweed (*Littorella juncea*), the marsh honewort (*Apium inundatum*), the sundews *Drosera rotundifolia* and *D. longifolia*, the horse-tail *Equisetum sylvaticum*, and other local species flourish.

Bulstrode Park, once the home of the botanist and patron of botanists, the Dowager Duchess of Portland, and where Doctor Lightfoot, the author of the *Flora Scotica*, was her librarian, has altered very much since that time. The old mansion, in the courtyard of which John Hill, the author of *Flora Britannica*, about 1760 noticed the small dodder (*Cuscuta Epithymum*) growing upon 'mother of thyme,' was burned down many years ago, but the ornamental waters have growing by them the yellow loosestrife (*Lysimachia thyrsoiflora*), the water soldier (*Stratiotes Aloides*), and the milk parsley (*Peucedanum palustre*), which are doubtless relics of the botanical collection made by her Grace. The old chalk pit near Gerrard's Cross, so well known to the seventeenth and eighteenth century botanists, is probably now enclosed in the park, but is very much altered for the worse, as a growth of grass has apparently destroyed the orchid *Herminium Monorchis*, which has disappeared, but the park still affords the hawkweed (*Hieracium murorum*), the bramble *Rubus rudis*, the calamint (*Calamintha Nepeta*), and the neighbourhood affords the broom-rape (*Oronanche Rapum-genistæ*), the climbing bindweed (*Polygonum dumetorum*), the pink (*Dianthus Armeria*), the catchfly (*Silene anglica*), and the crane's-bill (*Geranium pyrenaicum*).

About Beaconsfield, Wilton Park and Seer Green occur the Solomon's seal (*Polygonatum multiflorum*), the wood-rush (*Juncoides* or *Luzula Forsteri*), the sandwort (*Arenaria tenuifolia*), the rose *Rosa systyla*, the eyebright (*Euphrasia stricta*), the hawkweed (*Hieracium sciaphilum*), the black spleenwort (*Asplenium Trichomanes*), and the charad (*Nitella flexilis*). *Lepidium ruderales* occurs by the roadsides, *Chenopodium hybridum* in garden ground, and *Barbarea intermedia* in arable ground.

At the historic Salt Hill where Sir Joseph Banks used to botanize and where he gathered specimens of the clover *Trifolium subterraneum*, which still grows there, with *T. striatum* and *T. arvense*, the buck's-horn plantain (*Plantago Coronopus*), the bird's-foot (*Ornithopus perpusillus*), the bur parsley (*Anthriscus vulgaris*), and till lately the brown-rape *Orobanchæ Rapum-genistæ*.

The arable fields here are noticeable from the abundance they contain of the nettle *Lamium hybridum*, which is so rare in the greater part of the county. They also contain the parsley (*Carum Petroselinum*), the larkspur (*Delphinium Ajacis*), the goosefoot (*Chenopodium polyspermum* and *C. murale*), the grasses *Panicum Crusgalli* and *Setaria viridis*, the caraway (*Carum Carvi*), and the calf's-snout (*Antirrhinum Orontium*).

The meadows between Eton and Wyrardisbury have a considerable growth of the bell-flower (*Campanula glomerata*), the great burnet (*Poterium officinale*), the dropwort (*Spiræa Filipendula*), and the grass *Kæleria cristata*.

The extensive brickyards at Slough have much changed the surface of the soil, and large quantities of street sweepings and rubbish are brought from London and deposited here, with the result that a large number of adventitious species appear from time to time, and a few species become permanently established. The foremost of these is the cress *Lepidium ruderales*, which has spread for considerable distance, and less frequently the flix-weed (*Sisymbrium Sophia*), and the goose-foots *Chenopodium opulifolium*, *C. ficifolium*, *C. Vulvaria* and *C. murale*. Among the casuals noticed have been *Coronilla varia*, *Setaria viridis*, *S. glauca*, *Sisymbrium altissimum*, *S. orientale*, *Camelina sativa*, *Medicago Falcata*, *Melilotus arvensis* and *M. alba*, *Salvia verticillata*, *Euphorbia Esula* var., *Bunias orientalis*, *Lepidium Draba*, *Phalaris canariense*, *Linum usitatissimum*, *Cannabis sativa*, *Amsinckia lycopsioides*, *Oenothera odorata*, *Datura Stramonium* and *D. Tatula*, *Panicum Crus-galli*, and *P. miliaceum*.

The rank luxuriance of *Chenopodium rubrum*, *Polygonum maculatum* and the *Atriplices* is a striking feature of these malodorous heaps of rubbish. The railway has been the means of conveying the Oxford ragwort (*Senecio squalidus*) into our area, and in fact it has now spread to Southall in Middlesex. A sedum (*S. Cepæa*) is said to grow near Bulstrode Park, where it is doubtless an escape from cultivation, and an Indian spiræa has naturalized itself near Stoke Common. By the railway near Messrs. Veitch's nursery the Californian *Eschscholtzia* has also established itself.

On rubbish heaps near Eton Mr. Everitt has found *Plantago arenaria*, *Asperula arvensis*,

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etc., and I have seen there also *Anthriscus Cerefolium* (= *Cerefolium sativum*), the henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*) and *Bunias*.

5. THE COLNE AND CHESS DISTRICT

This is the counterpart to a great extent of the Colne district, 'No. 4. The Colne,' of Pryor's *Flora of Hertfordshire* and of the districts 'No. 1. The Upper Colne' and 'No. 2. The Lower Colne' of Trimen and Dyer's *Flora of Middlesex*. The Buckinghamshire district of the Colne admits of being further subdivided into the portion drained by the Chess, and then of separating more or less artificially the Upper Colne, as is done in the *Flora of Middlesex*, from the Lower Colne by a line drawn across it from Uxbridge to Langley, but as the Chess and Colne are combined in the Hertfordshire Flora, and as the portion corresponding to the Lower Colne of the Middlesex Flora is only of very small extent, it has not been adopted here, although there is a marked difference in the physical features of the country below and above Denham.

The boundary of the district is as follows: Starting from Hampden in the middle of the county it is limited by the southern border of the Thame district, already described, by the water parting of that stream and those of the feeders of the Misbourne and Chess as far as the Hertfordshire border near Tring Park. From that place the county boundary is followed in its artificial and sinuous course by Cholebury, Kingshill, and leaving Bovington to the north-west, it proceeds to the picturesquely situated Latimers, and follows the charming Chess stream to Chenies and Sarrat Bottom, when it turns to Chorley Wood station, and in its southern course touches Newlands and Horn Hill, and reaches the Colne opposite to Harefield, where the Middlesex county boundary replaces that of Hertfordshire. From this place one of the anastomosing streams of the Colne is followed to Denham, Uxbridge, Cowley and Colnbrook, so named after the stream; then leaving Horton with its Miltonian memories to the right, it joins the Thames near Staines. For about three miles the opposite side of the Thames is the border of the county of Surrey; but at Runnymede, Berkshire replaces Surrey, and the boundary of the Colne district is circumscribed by the district of the Thames, the border line which is traced by Langley Park to the west of Fulmer, and in its northward course passes above the Chalfonts to Penn Wood, Prestwood and Hampden.

As we have seen, this district has three main drainage areas, that of the Misbourne, which flows through the Missenden valley, forming the ornamental waters of Great Missenden Park and Shardeloes, and passing Amersham and the Chalfonts joins the Colne at Denham. The second is the portion drained by the Chess, which originates in the Cretaceous rocks of Tring, passes through the busy little town of Chesham, and adorns the beautiful valley between Latimers and Chenies with its clear sparkling water, and leaves our county near Sarrat Bottom. At Rickmansworth in Herts the Chess enters the Colne, a stream which forms the third main drainage area of the district. This is a Hertfordshire stream rising near North Mimms, but is a navigable river when it reaches our county near Tilehouse, opposite Harefield. From this place it runs through several channels to the Thames, but despite the rather squalid and dirty country which it at times passes through in its lower reaches it retains something of its pristine clearness nearly to the last, and in places affords good trout fishing. The country comprised in the boundary line described is a varied one. In the north there are the well wooded chalk hills, where the beech woods supply one of the local industries, and where bare fields of chalk with their scanty corn crops or large turnip-fields make one regret the aboriginal turf which would to the botanist be a more agreeable and natural covering. Then there is the sudden descent to the pleasant sheltered valleys of Missenden and Chenies bordered with pleasant meadows, and on the sides ornamented with hanging woods. Where brick-earth deposits mask the chalk, the woods are not wholly of beech, but the oak can also be found; and when, as also happens, there are outliers of the Eocene measures there are extensive gorse commons, such as those of Amersham. Further to the south there are gravelly and sandy heaths and country where the holly is a frequent tree, such as is seen at Gold Hill or Iver. Then there is that flat tract of low lying land on the London Clay through which the streams slowly wind, where great extents of brickfields mar the scene and pollute the air, and as at Drayton, vast deposits of malodorous refuse from the London dustbins give a squalid and unpleasant appearance to the scene. There are also tracts of ground given over to the market gardener, and the whole scene contrasts very strongly and unpleasantly with that of the northern part.

There are however a large number of species found in the district, and it is the only one for which the following species have been recorded. One of these is an extremely local sedge,

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Carex paradoxa, whose headquarters are near Harefield, occurring in some quantity in both Herts and Middlesex, but it is rather as a straggler from the head centre that it extends into our area. Another local and much misunderstood species, *Carex elata*, or *stricta* as it is more frequently called, grows near Rusholt and will probably be found near Burnham. *Carex montana* has been reported from Chalfont, but I have not seen it there, and another plant of the sedge tribe grows near Chalfont Park and is *Scirpus caricis* (the *Blysmus compressus* of many authors). The small polygonum (*P. minus*) is common by the Chess, growing with *Sagina nodosa* in the peaty borders of the stream, and these chalk streams with their nearly equal temperature throughout the year seem especially to favour the growth of peat. Near Iver Heath, Smith's cress (*Lepidium heterophyllum* var. *canescens*) grows, and a fumitory, *F. Boraei*, grows near Uxbridge. Other local plants of the district are the red mint (*Mentha rubra*) growing at Iver Heath, the climbing bindweed (*Polygonum dumetorum*), the mild persicaria (*Polygonum mite*), plentiful at Iver, the tower cress (*Arabis perfoliata*) near Denham, and the shining crane's-bill (*Geranium lucidum*), which is especially frequent about Denham; the black alder (*Rhamnus Frangula*) near Tilehouse, the spearwort (*Ranunculus Lingua*) near Chalfont, the bear's-foot (*Helleborus viridis*), near Chalfont etc.; the columbine (*Aquilegia vulgaris*) near Fulmer, the mousetail (*Myosurus*) near Denham, the pansies *Viola saxatilis* and *V. Paillouxi* near Three Households, and the dog violet (*Viola canina*) and hybrids of that species with *V. Riviniana* grow on the heaths in the north. The barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*) near Colnbrook, as pointed out by Gerarde in 1597; the hybrid poppy (*Papaver hybridum*) near Chalfont, the cress *Barbarea intermedia* near Three Households, the coral-root (*Cardamine bulbifera*) near Amersham, etc.; the pinks *Dianthus Armeria* and *D. prolifer*, both reported from near Chalfont, but as yet I have not been able to verify them; the sandwort (*Arenaria tenuifolia*), Chalfont; the pearlwort *Sagina ciliata* and *S. subulata*, Iver Heath; the tutsan (*Hypericum Androsæmum*), Chalfont, etc.; the marsh St. John's wort (*H. elodes*), Iver Heath, perhaps now eradicated; the all-seed (*Millegrana Radiola*), Iver; the petty whin (*Genista anglica*), common on the heaths about Amersham and Penn; the dyer's weed (*G. tinctoria*), Fulmer; the dwarf gorse (*Ulex minor*), abundant on the Tertiary commons; the zig-zag clover (*Trifolium medium*) at the Chalfont kilns; *T. striatum*, Iver; the yellow vetchling (*Lathyrus Aphaca*) near Denham; the crimson vetchling (*L. Nissolia*), Denham, first reported by John Hill in 1746; the cinquefoil (*Potentilla argentea*), Fulmer, etc.; the sweet agrimony (*Agrimonia odorata*) near Homer End; the rose *Rosa systyla*, very frequent in the Misbourne valley; the service tree (*Pyrus Torminalis*), at Fulmer and Wraysbury; the grass of Parnassus (*Parnassia palustris*) near Chenies; the orpine (*Sedum Telephium*), Chenies, etc.; the stonecrop (*S. dasyphyllum*), Amersham, etc. Both sundews, *Drosera rotundifolia* and *D. intermedia* or *longifolia*, have been recorded for Iver Heath; the milfoil (*Myriophyllum alterniflorum*) is common in the Colne; the willow herb (*Epilobium roseum*), at Chalfont, etc.; *E. tetragonum* near Wraysbury; the Alexanders (*Smyrniium Olusatrum*) formerly grew about Uxbridge and Denham, the great burnet saxifrage (*Pimpinella major*) near Chesham, the lambs' lettuce (*Valerianella rimosa*) near Iver and Denham; the cudweed (*Filago gallica*) was seen by Dr. Lightfoot at Iver but has not been recently found, the camomile (*Anthemis nobilis*) near Iver Heath, the feverfew (*Chrysanthemum Parthenium*) near Langley, and I think native; the swine's succory (*Arnoseris pusilla*), recorded on old authority from Langley; the hawkweed (*Hieracium murorum* var. *pellucidum*), Amersham; *H. rigidum* near Iver; the smooth cat's-ear (*Hypochoeris glabra*), Denham; the sheep's scabious (*Fasione montana*), Iver; the huckleberry (*Vaccinium Myrtillus*), Iver Heath, perhaps now confined to the Black Park; the heaths *Erica Tetralix*, *E. cinerea* and *Calluna Erica*; the winter green (*Pyrola minor*), Great Missenden; the yellow bird's-nest (*Monotropa*); the scorpion grass (*Myosotis repens*), Chalfont; the dodder (*Cuscuta Epithimum*), Iver, etc.; the deadly nightshade (*Atropa Belladonna*), Chalfont, etc.; the calf's snout (*Antirrhinum Orontium*), Thorney, etc.; the broom-rape (*Orobanche Rapum-genistæ*), Fulmer; the toothwort (*Lathrea Squamaria*), Chalfont, etc.; the peppermint (*Mentha piperita*), Iver Heath; the calamint (*Calamintha parviflora* or *Nepeta*), abundant on the chalk above the Chalfonts; the small skullcap (*Scutellaria minor*) near Denham; the upright ground ivy (*Stachys arvensis*), Thorney, etc.; the dead-nettle (*Lamium hybridum*), Thorney, etc.; the buck's-horn plantain (*Plantago Coronopus*); the goosefoots *Chenopodium polyspermum*, Chalfont, etc.; *C. ficifolium*, common in the lower part of the district; *C. opulifolium*, common about Drayton; *C. murale*, Iver, etc.; the persicaria (*Polygonum maculatum*), common in the lower part near Staines; the great bistort (*Polygonum Bistorta*), near Uxbridge; the golden dock (*Rumex maritimus*), Chalfont; the birthwort (*Aristolochia Clematidis*), recorded from Denham by John Hill; the spurge laurel (*Daphne Laureola*), Chalfont, etc.; the mistletoe (*Viscum album*), Denham, Wraysbury, etc.; the hornbeam (*Carpinus Betulus*), abundant about Chesham and Amersham,

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etc. ; the lady's traces (*Spiranthes autumnalis*), Denham, etc. ; *Epipactis violacea*, Amersham, etc. ; *Orchis militaris* in chalk woods ; *O. incarnata*, Chalfont ; *O. latifolia*, Uxbridge, etc. ; the daffodil (*Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus*), Chesham, etc. ; the snowflake (*Leucojum aestivum*), by the Colne ; the Solomon's seal (*Polygonatum multiflorum*), Chalfont, etc. ; lily of the valley (*Convallaria majalis*), Alderbourne ; the garlic (*Allium ursinum*) ; the snake's head (*Fritillaria meleagris*), near Iver ; the herb Paris (*Paris quadrifolia*), Chesham, Denham, etc. ; the rushes *Juncus squarrosus*, Fulmer ; *Juncoides Forsteri*, Chesham ; the reed mace (*Typha angustifolia*), Fulmer ; the sweet flag (*Acorus*), Langley, Wraysbury, etc. ; the lesser water plantain (*Echinodorus ranunculoides*), Iver Heath, Hyde Heath ; the wood club rush (*Scirpus sylvaticus*), Alderbourne ; the white beak-rush (*Rynchospora alba*) ; the sedges *Carex axillaris*, *C. pallescens*, *C. pendula*, *C. binervis*, *C. Pseudo-cyperus*, *C. vesicaria* ; the grass *Apera Spica-venti*, plentiful about Colnbrook and Drayton ; the foxtail (*Alopecurus fulvus*), Chalfont ; the purple melic (*Molinia varia*), Iver Heath ; the grasses *Catabrosa aquatica*, Denham, etc. ; *Bromus interruptus*, Denham ; *Nardus stricta*, Fulmer ; *Elymus europæus*, Chenies, etc. ; the black spleenwort (*Asplenium Adiantum-nigrum*), Chalfont ; *A. Trichomanes*, Denham ; the sweet mountain fern (*Dryopteris montana* = *Lastrea Oreopteris*), near Chalfont ; the adder's tongue (*Ophioglossum vulgatum*), Colnbrook, etc. ; and the club-moss (*Lycopodium inundatum*), formerly on Iver Heath, but now probably extinct.

The district of the Colne includes a larger number of introduced species than any other of the districts, as its contiguity to the metropolis would lead us to expect. Among the plants which although not strictly native are now well established are *Bromus arvensis* near Amersham ; *B. secalinus*, common in corn crops ; *Erysimum cheiranthoides*, plentiful in arable fields in the lower parts.

But the most prominent alien is the North American balsam (*Impatiens biflora* or *fulva*), which now borders the Colne and its ramifying branches from Denham downwards, and not content with the main streams has followed the watery ditches and even occupied the damp ground near, but giving withal a touch even if of bizarre beauty in the rich colour of its blossoms. Another North American species is the monkey-flower (*Mimulus Langsdorffii*), which is most abundant by the Chess between Latimers and Chenies, and also by the Misbourne from Great Missenden downwards. The cress *Lepidium ruderales* is also established about Iver, where the rubbish heaps are covered with a rank growth of the chenopodiums already mentioned, as well as with *Datura Tatula* and *D. Stramonium*, *Melilotus arvensis* and *M. alba* ; and the two latter also occur near Amersham. The tomato (*Lycopersicon esculentum*) is a common plant, as the seeds can germinate after passing through the alimentary canal, but the plants do not survive the late autumn frosts. The sweepings of seed shops are responsible for the canary grass (*Phalaris canariense*), the millet (*Panicum miliaceum*), and *P. Crus-galli* (with and without awns), *Setaria viridis* and *S. glauca*, the flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), the hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), and the buckwheat (*Fagopyron esculentum*), but there are others the origin of which it is more difficult to account for ; one especially interesting is *Atriplex littoralis*, a marine plant which is very abundant. There also have been found *Lepidium Draba*, *Lactuca Scariola*, *Sisymbrium Sophia*, *Solanum nigrum* in varying forms, as well as *Lepturus incurvatus*, *Medicago denticulata*, *Briza maxima*, *Vicia lutea*, *V. Villosa*, *Melilotus indica*, *Phalaris aquatica*, and *Setaria italica*. From other parts of the district *Verbascum Blattaria*, *Sedum Cepæa*, *S. reflexum*, *S. album*, *Delphinium Ajacis* have been recorded. The spleenwort (*Asplenium fontanum*), which Hudson recorded from Amersham church, is no longer found, and of course it was never native there.

The very picturesque pine woods and heathy ground of Black Park contain boggy ground as well as heathy soil, and it is the only home of one or two species such as *Carex lævigata*, *C. canescens*, but the latter is very rare, if not extinct. Here too occur the small skull-cap (*Scutellaria minor*), the creeping scorpion-grass (*Myosotis repens*), the shore-weed (*Littorella*), the sweet chestnut (*Castanea sativa*), seeding freely, the hawkweeds, *Hieracium boreale*, *H. sciaphilum* and *H. umbellatum*, the marsh violet (*Viola palustris*), and the bog-bean (*Menyanthes*).

Part of this estate was probably included in the Iver Heath as mentioned by the eighteenth century botanists.

A COMPARISON OF THE BOTANY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE WITH THAT OF THE BORDERING COUNTIES

For Buckinghamshire and the six bordering counties of Berks, Oxon, Middlesex, Herts, Beds and Northants about 1,100 well established species have been recorded ; of these there have been recorded for Buckinghamshire 934 species. Space will not allow of giving each of the 167 missing species in detail, but the more important absentees may be noticed. These are

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Thalictrum collinum, a very local species reported from Herts and Beds. The pasque-flower (*Anemone Pulsatilla*), found in all the bordering counties except Middlesex, may yet be found on the Chilterns, since it occurs on them close to the Herts border. *Ranunculus Lenormandi*, found only in Berks; *R. hirsutus* or *sardous*, found in Middlesex, Herts, Beds and Berks, is not unlikely to be found in wet places in the Colne district. *Cardamine impatiens*, which occurs near Harrow, may also be found by some of the small ditches in the Colne drainage. The wall rocket (*Diplotaxis tenuifolia*), which grows on old walls, such as Windsor Castle, Reading Abbey, St. Alban's Abbey, formerly on Northampton Castle and about London, is not very likely to be found; *Thlaspi perfoliatum*, a native in Oxfordshire, only occurs as a casual by the railway in Bucks, Berks, and Middlesex. *Viola stagnina* formerly grew in the marshy district of Otmoor in Oxford, and *Elatine Hydropiper* and *hexandra* are limited to Berkshire, where they grow on the sandy margins of pools, but very rarely. The small-leaved lime (*Tilia parvifolia*) is native in Bedford Purlieus, Northants, but only occurs as a planted tree in Bucks; and the same is true of the large-leaved species *T. platyphylla*, which is recorded close to the Bucks border from Stokenchurch woods in Oxfordshire. The perennial flax (*Linum perenne*) is an eastern species found on limestone soils in Northants, if indeed it be not extinct. The furze (*Ulex Gallii*), which is found on one or two commons in Oxford and Berks, may be found, but it is essentially a western form. The bird's-foot trefoil (*Trigonella purpurascens*), which grows in Berks, Herts and Middlesex, may yet reward the searcher on some of the gravelly commons which are suitable places for it; and the same may be said of the clovers *T. scabrum*, known for all the border counties except Herts, and *T. glomeratum*, which grows in Middlesex and Herts. Another clover, *T. ochroleucon*, which occurs in Beds and Northants, is less likely to be found as it is an eastern species; the most likely place for it would be near Olney. The blue milk vetch (*Astragalus danicus*), found in all the border counties except Middlesex, is very likely to be found on the Chalk escarpment, as it is common on the downs near Barton-in-the-Clay in Beds, and is locally plentiful in the limestone of east Northants.

Twenty-four brambles are found in one or other of the bordering counties which at present are unrecorded for Bucks, but several of these will certainly be found. The marsh cinquefoil (*Comarum palustre* or *Potentilla palustris*) is recorded for all the bordering counties except Middlesex; it is a marshy species which drainage is eradicating from the midlands, but it may possibly linger in the districts of Burnham or Langley, although hitherto unfound. The burnet rose (*Rosa spinosissima*) and its hybrid *R. involuta*, which occur in Middlesex, Beds and Northants, may possibly be found on some of the heathy commons, but Brickhill, which is such a suitable place, does not appear to yield it. *R. sepium* or *agrestis*, which is found in Oxon, Berks and Middlesex, is almost certain to occur, as it grows at Watlington near Prince's Risborough as well as at Beckley in Oxfordshire, in both places not far from the county border. The navelwort (*Cotyledon Umbilicus*), found in Berks, Oxon and Northants, may possibly be found on some stone walls in or about villages. The large sundew (*Drosera anglica*) formerly, it is said, grew in Beds, but is now extinct. The starwort (*Callitriche vernalis*, Kuetz, *C. palustris*, L.) occurs in the fen ditches of Northants, and probably may be found in our area, as it is easily overlooked for the commoner forms. The willow herb (*Epilobium Lamyi*), which has been found in Middlesex, is almost certain to be found; *E. lanceolatum*, which is found in Berks, is less likely to be a Bucks plant. *Eryngium campestre* formerly grew by the Watling Street in Northants, but is not likely to be found; but another umbellifer, *Seseli Libanotis*, may possibly be found on the Chilterns, since it occurs in Herts. Another plant of that county, *Cicuta virosa*, which was formerly reported to grow in Beds and Middlesex, is scarcely likely to be found, and I think the older botanists mistook some other species for it. The two water hemlocks *Œnanthe Lachenalii* and *Œ. silaifolia*, which occur in several of the border counties, should be found, the former in calcareous bogs, the latter in marshy meadows; indeed, the latter grows in the Thames meadows at Runnymede in Surrey, although I have as yet failed to find it on the Bucks side of the stream. A bedstraw, *Galium anglicum*, found in Herts, is unlikely to be found in our county; but the cat's-foot (*Antennaria dioica*), which occurs on the chalk hills of Beds and Oxon and on the limestone quarries of Barnack in Northants, will possibly be found; another composite, *Inula vulgaris*, a decreasing species in the midlands, reported for many of the surrounding counties, may be detected in the lower parts of the Colne district, since it occurs in Middlesex and Berks. The thistle *Carduus tenuiflorus*, recorded for all the border counties, is more likely to be found near the Middlesex border. The spotted cat's-ear (*Hypochaeris maculata*), which grows on the limestone quarries of Barnack in Northants, is absent from our area, but the marsh sowthistle (*Sonchus palustris*), one of the

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rarest of British plants, grows very close to our boundary in Oxfordshire, and may perchance there spread into Bucks. The ivy-leaved bell-flower (*Cervicinahederacea*) is found in Bagley Wood, Berks, and is an unlikely plant to occur in Bucks. *Samolus Valerandi* is almost certain to be found, as it grows in all the bordering counties, and in Beds not far from our boundary; eminently suitable places for it are at the base of Brill Hill and by the Ouse near Olney. *Erythræa pulchella* will probably be found, as it is reported for all the bordering counties. *Gentiana Pneumonanthe*, found in Berkshire, is not a plant that will be found in Bucks; but *G. campestris*, which is recorded for all the bordering counties except Middlesex, may be found, but some of the old records were perhaps incorrect, as forms of *G. Amarella* were sometimes mistaken for it. The hound's-tongue (*Cynoglossum montanum*) may be expected; it is found in Oxfordshire near to the border, and is also found in Herts and Northants. The comfrey (*Symphytum tuberosum*), recorded for Herts, Beds and Northants, is probably introduced in all these cases. The wood scorpion-grass (*Myosotis sylvatica*), which is found in the woods of Berks and Herts, although very locally, may probably be found in some of the woods on the Bucks border. The figwort, *Scrophularia umbrosa* or *Ehrharti*, was once found in Middlesex; and the cow-wheat (*Melampyrum cristatum*), which is abundant in some of the woods on the eastern side of Beds, and is recorded for Northants and Herts, has indeed been reported to grow at Wendover, but so far it has not been refound; and another species, *M. arvense*, has been once found as a casual in Herts. The broom rape (*Orobanche elatior*) is likely to be added to our list, as it grows in Oxon, Berks, Herts and Northants; while *O. purpurea*, a very local species, is recorded for Herts only.

The small bladder-wort (*Utricularia minor*) has been recorded for several bordering counties, but unless the plant is found in the flowering state *U. major* or *U. vulgaris* in a young condition may be mistaken for it. The wound-wort (*Stachys germanica*), a very local species, which grows in the limestone district of Oxfordshire and is reported from Beds and Northants, is probably absent from our area; nor is the water germander (*Teucrium Scordium*) very likely to be found, although it still exists in Berks, but is extinct in Oxford and Northants. The ground pine (*Ajuga Chamæpitys*) may occur, as it grows in Herts and Beds and is reported from Northants. The goosefoot (*Chenopodium glaucum*), which grows near Staines in Middlesex, is very likely to be found about the brickyards of Slough or Langley. The caper spurge (*Euphorbia lathyris*) is a native of the woods of Northants and possibly Berks, but is apparently only an alien in Bucks. The sweet gale (*Myrica Gale*) occurs on the Bagshot Sands in Berks, as does another very local species, *Illecebrum verticillatum*; but the latter is not likely to extend into Bucks. *Salix pentandra*, a northern species, is apparently native in Northants, but is only planted in the other bordering counties; and *S. acuminata*, supposed to be a hybrid, is also only recorded from the fens of Northants. A form of the water hone-wort, *Ceratophyllum submersum*, should occur, but it is easily passed over for the more widely distributed species; it occurs in Berks and Middlesex. The water soldier (*Stratiotes Aloides*) occurs only as a planted species in the county, but has more claims to be considered indigenous in Berks, and it was formerly certainly native in Northants. The small fen orchid (*Malaxis paludosa*) is now extinct in Beds and Herts, but the sword-leaved helleborine (*Cephalanthera ensifolia*), which grows in Oxon near to our boundary and in Herts, may possibly be found. The monkey orchid (*Orchis Simia*) is now limited to a few square yards in Oxfordshire, where its days are, it is to be feared, numbered. The spider orchid (*Ophrys aranifera*), reported for Oxford, Beds and Northants, is almost or quite extinct in each county, and is not very likely to be found with us. The garlic (*Allium oleraceum*) may however be found, as it is recorded for Berks, Middlesex, Herts, Beds and Northants. The starch hyacinth (*Muscari*) is reported for Berks and Middlesex, and the squill (*Scilla autumnalis*) from the latter county, where it is nearly if not quite extinct. The spiked star of Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum pyrenaicum*), plentiful in some woods in Berkshire and which is reported very locally from Beds, is unlikely to occur. The martagon lily (*Lilium Martagon*), thoroughly naturalized in Berks, is too conspicuous to be overlooked. The yellow star of Bethlehem (*Gagea fascicularis*) may be found in some of the woods in the north of the county.

The maritime plants *Buda media*, *Juncus Gerardi*, *Eleocharis uniglumis*, *Scirpus maritimus*, *Zanichellia pedunculata*, found in Berks, and *Scirpus maritimus*, *S. glaucus*, *S. triqueter* and *S. carinatus* are not probable constituents of our flora. The small bur reed (*Sparganium minimum*) found in Herts is also absent, but the smallest flowering plant, *Wolffia Michellii* or *Horke-lia arrhiza* will very likely be found, as it grows at Staines not far from our boundary. The Loddon pondweed (*Potamogeton Drucei*) is, so far as we know, limited to a portion of that charming stream in Berkshire; but *P. decipiens*, once found in Oxon, *P. coloratus*, which

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grows at Cothill in Berks, and *P. acutifolius*, found in Middlesex and Herts, may yet be found. The broad-leaved cotton grass (*Eriophorum latifolium*), which grows in Berks, Oxon, Herts and Northants, should be looked for in calcareous bogs; but these are very sparsely represented in the county. Of the sedges we lack *Carex dioica*, which is found in all the bordering counties except Middlesex; *C. Bœninghausiana*, found in Berks and Herts, and as it is supposed to be a hybrid of *paniculata* with *remota* it may be found; *C. diandra*, which grows in Herts, is not likely to be found, nor is *C. elongata*, which grows in Berks and Beds. The grass *Phleum phalaroides* grows in Beds and Herts, and should be well searched for on the Dunstable downs. *Agrostis setacea*, which grows on the Bagshot Sands in Berks, reaches its eastern limit in that county; but *Calamagrostis lanceolata*, which occurs in Northants and Beds, may be found possibly in damp woods. *Gastridium*, which has been found in Herts, may also be discovered, as it is of rather sporadic growth. *Melica nutans*, which I discovered in Bedford Purlieu, Northants, reaches its southern limit in that county. *Poa Chaixi* occurs in Berks, and is naturalized in Oxfordshire. *Glyceria distans* is rather of casual occurrence in three or four of the bordering counties. *Festuca ambigua* has only been reported for Beds. The fern *Cystopteris fragilis* is reported for Oxon, Herts, Middlesex and Northants, but is probably introduced to each county. The beech fern, limited so far as we know to Berks, where it is very rare. The charad (*Tolypella prolifera*), found in Northants, Berks and Oxon, may very probably be found, as may *T. intricata*, which has been found in Oxon, Beds and Northants, and *Nitella mucronata*, which has occurred in Berks, Oxon, Middlesex and Beds.

THE FERNS (*Filices*)

The county is not rich in the number of species, but a mere list of them would be very deceptive to the stranger, since so many of them are very rare, so that over a large extent of its area it is practically fernless. Even of the list of recorded species two or three are nearly extinct, and others are practically doomed to disappear before long. Its proximity to the metropolis has denuded the best known districts of all but the common forms. The Ouse district is perhaps naturally the poorest, as its stiff, heavy soil, either under pasture or arable, is unfitted for fern growth, yet the moonwort (*Botrychium*), the adder's tongue (*Ophioglossum*), the black spleenwort (*Asplenium Trichomanes*) and the hart's-tongue (*Phyllitis* or *Scolopendrium*) have been found in it; the Ouzel district has the honour of being the only one where *Dryopteris* or *Lastrea Thelypteris* grows, and the very local *D. uliginosa*, if the latter indeed be correctly identified, and it has also the royal fern (*Osmunda regalis*), the hard fern (*Lomaria Spicant*) and others. The Thame district has the oak fern (*Phegopteris Dryopteris*) in one locality close to the Oxfordshire boundary, and *Aspidium aculeatum* also occurs. The Thames district has the limestone polypody (*Phegopteris calcarea*) in one place. The rusty-back (*Ceterach officinarum*) is rather plentiful in one locality, although it has disappeared from Beaconsfield church, a locality given by Parkinson in 1640 and the black spleenwort (*Asplenium Adiantum-nigrum*), *A. Trichomanes*, *Osmunda regalis*, *Dryopteris montana* (*Lastrea Oreopteris*), unless it has been extirpated, *Aspidium angulare*, *A. aculeatum* and *Lomaria Spicant* also occur.

The Colne district is the one that has suffered most from the ravages of the fern marauder. We have seen that the *Asplenium fontanum* has disappeared from Amersham church, but the same tale may be told of *Lastrea Oreopteris*, *Aspidium aculeatum*, *A. angulare* and many others. The spleenwort (*Asplenium Trichomanes*), *Lomaria*, *Lastrea* or *Dryopteris dilatata* and *spinulosa* still remain, but the hedges and woods

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which once yielded ferns in plenty are now despoiled, and the primroses are becoming in turn the sufferers.

CLUB MOSSES (*Lycopodium*)

These species are well nigh extinct, but drainage and cultivation rather than the wilful marauder are the agents which have exerted malevolent influence on this genus. *L. inundatum* still lingers in one or two heaths in the Thames district, and *L. Selago* formerly grew and may still occur there, and *L. clavatum* may probably be found in some of the bracken-covered areas of the Chilterns or Brickhill.

PILLWORT (*Marsiliaceæ*)

Pilularia, the only member of this order, has been found in the heathy bogs of the Thames or Colne district, but it is very easily overlooked from its minute size and grass-like appearance, and it often grows submerged, or partially submerged, on the margins of peaty ponds.

THE HORSETAILS (*Equisetum*)

The wood horsetail (*E. sylvaticum*) is our rarest species, and it appears to be absent from the Brickhill woods, which look so suitable a home for it; but it is to be found in the Burnham country, although very locally.

E. maximum is locally abundant, especially in the Ouzel and Ouse districts, choosing a place where a pervious stratum rests upon a bed of clay, so that permanent moisture can be enjoyed, and then if it is shaded by trees the plant grows in great luxuriance and is of real beauty. *E. limosum*, and as the variety *fluviatile*, *E. palustre* and *E. arvense* are all common except in the chalk uplands.

THE CHARADS (*Characeæ*)

These water plants having been mentioned under the various districts, a mere allusion to them will suffice. They are often of very uncertain appearance, being most abundant for a season and then disappearing for many years. The largest and most beautiful of the order, *Nitella translucens*, is however almost always to be seen in the ponds at Burnham Beeches; *N. flexilis* has been found at Brickhill and in Wilton Park, *N. opaca* at Eton, etc. *Tolypella glomerata* occurred near Castlethorpe in the Ouse, and at Brickhill in the Ouzel district. *Chara bispida* occurs at Brickhill, and *C. fragilis* var. *Hedwigii* in the Thames.

Further search will be certainly rewarded by the discovery of three or four more species.

THE BRAMBLES (*Rubi*)

Among the British counties Buckinghamshire ranks above the average in the number of its bramble forms, as in the sandy heaths and gravelly commons and woods they meet with a soil and conditions which are suitable for this very variable genus. The Greensand at Brickhill is especially rich in forms, and it is the only British home for *Rubus hirtus*

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var. *flaccidifolius*, and it there extends into Bedfordshire. Of the sub-erect forms, which are more frequent in the north of Britain or in peaty places, the same district gives *R. fissus* in considerable quantity, and Mr. Benbow has found *R. Rogersii* near Alderbourne. *R. plicatus* is not uncommon about Brickhill, while *R. nitidus* is so far restricted to Shalbourn Wood in the Ouse district, and there not quite typical. A very local species, *R. latifolius*, also grows near Brickhill, and with the last named belongs to the *Sub-Rhamnifolian* group. Of the *Rhamnifolian* brambles *R. incurvatus* grows near Fulmer, and *R. rhamnifolius* is widely distributed. *R. Lindleianus* is also common at Brickhill, and is frequent on the dry, heathy commons in the Thames and Colne districts. *R. dumno-niensis* is so far only known from north Bucks in the Ouzel district, as at Ivinghoe and Brickhill; *R. pulcherrimus* is found at Brickhill, and is common in many parts of the heaths and woods of the Thames and Colne districts. The group *Villicaulis* is represented by *R. Selmeri*, which occurs at Brickhill, and is a striking feature of Stoke and Fulmer Commons, and it just comes in the Thame district at Chequers. *R. calvatus* I have only obtained from Naphill Common in the Thames district. *R. gratus*, a local and handsome species, occurs at Heath in the Ouzel and Alderbourne in the Colne district. *R. rhombifolius* is very local, and is found at Wing in the Ouzel and Stoke in the Thames districts. The group *Discolores*, to which our commonest species *R. ulmifolius* or *rusticanus* belongs, has *R. thyrsoideus* in the Ouzel and Thames, and *R. argentatus* from Medmenham in the Thames district, and *R. pubescens* as the typical plant from Westbury Wild in the Ouse district, where brambles are very poorly represented. The *Silvatici* are represented by *R. silvaticus* from near Wycombe, *R. macrophyllus* which is widely distributed and rather common about Iver, *R. Schlechtendalii* from near Amersham, *R. Salteri* from Heath in the Ouzel district. Of the *Vestiti* group we have *R. Sprengelii* at Burnham in the Thames district, *R. pyramidalis* from Brickhill and from the Thames and Colne districts. *R. leucostachys* is one of the species which is generally distributed, even in the woods and hedges of the Ouse district. *R. gymnostachys* grows at Brickhill. Of the *Egregii* we possess *R. cinerosus* from the Wycombe neighbourhood, *R. mucronatus* from Iver Heath, *R. infestus* from Brickhill, *R. uncinatus* as a form collected by Mr. Britton at Mop End near Amersham, elsewhere only known from Gloucester and Monmouth, and *R. Leyanus* found by the Rev. E. F. Linton at Brickhill. Of the group *Radulæ*, *R. radula* is a rather common and widely distributed plant, occurring in all the districts, but chiefly as the var. *echinatoides*. The var. *anglicanus* occurs at Westbury in the Ouse and in several places in the Thames and Colne districts. *R. echinatus* is also rather common, and is one of the few species not uncommon in the woodland portions of the Ouse district. *R. rudis* is much more local, but I have found it at Moulsoe in the Ouse, Brickhill in the Ouzel, and Bulstrode in the Thames districts. *R. oigocladus* var. *Newbouldii*, an endemic form, is apparently limited to Halton in the Thame district. Of the *Sub-Kæbleria* group

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R. Babingtonii occurs in the Thames district near Seer Green, and the var. *phyllothyrsus* has been found by Mr. Britton near Beamond End. *R. Lejeunei* var. *ericetorum* occurs at Naphill and a closely allied form at Heath in the Ouzel district. The *Sub-Bellardiani* are represented by *R. fuscus* var. *nutans*, which Mr. Benbow records from near Farnham Common. *R. scaber* is found at Alderbourne, etc. *R. foliosus* occurs at Dropmore and Brickhill. The *Kæbleriani* include *R. rosaceus*, which as an aggregate species is widely distributed; var. *Hystrix* occurs at Brickhill, the sub-species *infecundus* at Shalbourn in the Ouse district, and is not uncommon in the heathy parts of the Thames and Colne districts.

Sub-sp. *Purchasianus* is the name suggested for a bramble I gathered at the Chequers in the Thame district, but in England it is a very local form. Sub-sp. *R. adornatus* was found by the Rev. E. F. Linton at Great Horwood in the Ouse district. *R. fuscoater* is very local at Ellesborough in the Thame and at Naphill in the Thames districts. *R. Kæbleri* as the var. *cognatus* occurs at Dropmore. *R. dasyphyllus* is the commonest woodland bramble on dry soils, occurring in all the districts; it is the *R. pallidus* of Babington and many English writers, but not of Weihe and Nees. *R. Marshalli* grows about Black Park in both the Thames and Colne districts. Of the *Bellardiani* Mr. Benbow records *R. viridis* from Black Park. *R. Bellardi* occurs at Burnham. *R. serpens* has been found by Mr. Britton at Penn Street, and at Black Park by Mr. Benbow. *R. hirtus* as the var. *flaccidifolius* has been already mentioned. Of the *Cæsi* we have *R. diversifolius* rather frequently, especially in clayey soils, with a thin stratum of gravel, and it is found in all the districts. The Rev. W. Moyle Rogers finds the var. *ferox* near Brickhill. *R. corylifolius* is the commonest bramble on clay soils, and both the var. *sublustris* and *cyclophyllus* are found. *R. Balfourianus* is recorded for Brickhill and Alderbourne. *R. cæsius*, the dewberry, is very common in clay soils and in ditches and wet woods, and occurs in all the districts. *Rubus carpinifolius* and *R. Salteri* have also been found near Brickhill, and *R. infestus* near Chesham. Many hybrids of the various species occur. Large as is the number of species in the foregoing list it is by no means exhaustive; a considerable amount of work still remains to be done, and several additional species will certainly be discovered.

THE ROSES (*Rosæ*)

This group is not nearly so well represented as the brambles. The burnet rose (*Rosa spinosissima*) is not recorded, and therefore the *involuta* group, which consists chiefly of hybrids of *spinosissima* with *R. villosa* and *R. mollissima*, Willd. (*R. tomentosa*, Sm.), are also unrepresented, and *R. hibernica*, a hybrid of the burnet with the dog rose, for the same reason is absent. The sweetbriar *R. rubiginosa* is sparingly distributed over the county, but is more frequent on the chalk where, too, *R. micrantha* is also more common. *R. sepium* will almost certainly be found on the chalk escarpment, and I have apparently a form of it from near Marsh

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Gibbon in the Thame district. *R. obtusifolia* occurs in the Thames and Colne districts, and on the chalk escarpment both in the Ouzel and Thame drainage, and it grows at Lillingstone in the Ouse district, and the var. *tomentella* is also found.

R. canina as *lutetiana* is the commonest and most generally distributed form, and the var. *Andegavensis* occurs at Chalfont, etc. Another widely distributed and common rose is *R. dumalis*, the *R. sarmentacea* of Forster. *R. dumetorum* and the var. *urbica* is also widely spread. *R. verticillacantha* is local, but it occurs at Marsh Gibbon and Chalfont. *R. Déséglisei* is found at Beaconsfield, *R. glauca* grows near Brill, and the var. *subcristata* at Swanbourne, but these sub-erect plants are very rare in the south of England. *R. stylosa* is very local in the north of the county, but there are some fine bushes about Brill; but near Beaconsfield and in the country towards Penn and Chalfont it is very common, and some large plants are also to be seen between Lane End and Medmenham. *R. arvensis* is a very common rose on clay, and is especially frequent in woods on stiff soils. The downy-leaved rose (*R. mollissima*, Willd., the *R. tomentosa*, Sm.) is not unfrequent in dry soils in hilly districts, as at Brickhill, and more frequently on the southern slopes of the chalk where the var. *subglobosa*, Sm., var. *scabriuscula* (Sm.) and var. *sylvestris* (Lindl.) have been noticed. At present I have no authentic record of *R. villosa*, L., the *R. mollis*, Sm., in the county.

THE MOSSES (*Musci*)

The moss flora of Buckinghamshire is but very imperfectly known, but it is probably much richer than Oxfordshire, since the Brickhill district certainly yields a large number of species. The woods of Penn, and the neighbourhood of Dropmore, Burnham Beeches, Stoke Common, Fulmer, Black Park, Gerrard's Cross, the wet woods near Tilehouse Denham, are all places which would well repay the bryologist for exploring.

For the following notes I am especially indebted to Mr. E. M. Holmes, F.L.S., who is a native of the county, being born at Wendover, and Mr. John Benbow of Uxbridge, who has done so much in exploring the botany of the county of Middlesex.

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| <p><i>Sphagnum rubellum</i>, Wils. <i>Burnham Common</i>
 — <i>acutifolium</i>, Russ. & Warnst., var. <i>pallenscens</i>. <i>Burnham</i>
 — <i>recurvum</i>, Russ. & Warnst., var. <i>amblyphyllum</i>. <i>Burnham Common</i>
 — <i>rufescens</i>, Warnst. <i>Little Brickhill</i>
 — <i>cymbifolium</i>, Warnst., var. <i>glaucescens</i>. <i>Little Brickhill</i>
 var. <i>pallenscens</i>, Warnst. <i>Burnham Common</i>
 — <i>papillosum</i> Lindb., var., <i>normale</i>, Warnst. and var. <i>sublæve</i>, Limpr. <i>Burnham</i>
 <i>Catharinaea undulata</i>, Web. & Mohr. <i>Buck-</i></p> | <p><i>ingham</i> (E.M.H.); <i>Shalbourn</i>, <i>Great Brickhill</i>, <i>Brill</i>, etc.
 <i>Polytrichum nanum</i>, Neck. <i>Buckingham</i> (E.M.H.); <i>Naphill</i>
 — <i>aloides</i>, Hedw. <i>Buckingham</i> (E.M.H.); <i>Brickhill</i>, <i>Stoke Poges</i>
 — <i>formosum</i>, Hedw. <i>Buckingham</i> (E.M.H.); <i>Brickhill</i>, <i>Beaconsfield</i>
 — <i>commune</i>, L. <i>Buckingham</i> (E.M.H.); <i>Brickhill</i>
 <i>Archidium alternifolium</i>, Schimp. <i>Tring</i>
 <i>Ditrichum flexicaule</i>, Hampe. <i>Buckingham</i> (E.M.H.)</p> |
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BOTANY

- Ceratodon purpureus*, Brid. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Wing, Heath, Naphill*, etc.
- Dicranella heteromalla*, Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Winslow, Brill*
- *varia*, Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- Dicranoweissia cirrhata*, Lindb. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- Dicranum Bonjeani*, De Not. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *majus*, Turn. *Wycombe, Henley*, etc., (*Fl. Oxf.*)
- *scoparium*, Hedw. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Brickbill, Lane End*
- *montanum*, Hedw. *Tilehouse Woods, Alderbourne*, and all woods in the *Burnham Beeches* district (J. Benbow)
- Leucobryum glaucum*, Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); very common about *Burnham, Dropmore*, near *Lane End, Brickbill*, and fruiting near *Burnham Beeches*
- Campylopus brevipilus*, Bruch. & Schimp. *Fulmer and Stoke Common* (J. Benbow)
- Fissidens bryoides*, Hedw. *Tingewick* (E.M.H.)
- *taxifolius*, Hedw. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Lane End*
- *collinus*, Mitt. *Tring*
- Grimmia apocarpa*, Hedw. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *pulvinata*, Sm. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Castlethorpe, Brickbill, Moulsoe*
- *orbicularis*, Bruch. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- Phascum cuspidatum*, Schreb. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Thame* (Dr. Ayres)
- Pottia recta*, Mitt. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *truncatula*, Lindb. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Thame*
- *intermedia*, Turn. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *minutula*, Turn. " "
- *lanceolata*, C. M. *Tingewick* (E.M.H.); near *Stokenchurch*
- Tortula pusilla*, Mitt. *Buckingham*
- *lamellata*, Lindb. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *rigida*, Schrad. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Boarstall*
- *ambigua*, Angstr. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *aloides*, De Not. " "
- *marginata*, Spruce. " "
- *muralis*, Hedw. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Wavendon*, etc. Common
- *angustata*, Wils. Margin of *Tilehouse Wood* (J. Benbow)
- *mutica*, Lindb. Fruiting on willows at *Thornborough* (E.M.H.); *Frogs Meadows, Uxbridge* (J.B.)
- *lævipila*, Schwgr. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *intermedia*, Berk. " "
- *ruralis*, Ehrh. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Linslade*
- Tortula papillosa*, Wils. Abundant by the *Ouse* near *Buckingham* (H. Boswell); *Frogs Meadows, Uxbridge* (J.B.)
- Barbula lurida*, Lindb. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *rubella*, Mitt. " "
- *tophacea*, Mitt. " "
- *fallax*, Hedw. " "
- *rigidula*, Mitt. " "
- *vinealis*, Brid. " "
- *sinuosa*, Braith. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Wycombe, Henley* (*Fl. Oxf.*)
- *revoluta*, Brid. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Castlethorpe*
- *convoluta*, Hedw. " "
- *unguiculata*, Hedw. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Brickbill*, etc. Common
- Weisia crispa*, Mitt. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *squarrosa*, C. Müll. " "
- *viridula*, Hedw. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Bledlow*
- Trichostomum mutabile*, Bruch. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- Pleurochæte squarrosa*, Lindb. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- Encalypta vulgaris*, Hedw. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Wicken*
- *streptocarpa*, Hedw. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- Zygodon viridissimus*, Braun. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- Orthotrichum anomalum*, Hrd. var. *saxatile*, Milde. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Thame* (Dr. Ayres)
- *leiocarpum*, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *Lyellii*, Hook. & Tayl. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Stokenchurch* (Dr. Ayres)
- *affine*, Schrad. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Thame* (Dr. Ayres); *Henley, Lane End*
- *stramineum*, Hornsch. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- *tenellum*, Bruch. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- Ephemerum recurvifolium*, Lindb. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
- Physcomitrella patens*, Bruch. & Schimp. Near *Verney* (E.M.H.)
- Physcomitrium pyriforme*, Brid. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Thame* (Dr. Ayres), *Brickbill*
- Funaria ericetorum*, Dixon. *College and Brockhurst Woods* (J. Benbow)
- *hygrometrica*, Hedw. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); Common and generally distributed
- Aulacomnium palustre*, Schwgr. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Brickbill, Burnham, Lane End, Fulmer*
- Bartramia pomiformis*, Hedw. *Iver Heath, Alderbourne, Bottom Heath, Tilehouse*, etc. (J. Benbow)
- Philonotis fontana*, Brid. *Bog Farnham Common* (J. Benbow)

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- Fontinalis antipyretica, Dill. *Thames*, etc.
 Webera carnea, Schimp. } *Buckingham*
 Bryum inclinatum, Bland. } (E.M.H.)
 — nutans, Schreb. *Thame*, abundant (Dr. Ayres)
 — cæspiticium, L. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — murale, Wild. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Castlethorpe* (H. N. Dixon)
 — argenteum, L. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Brickbill*, *Denham Common*
 — roseum, Schreb. *Iver Heath*, *Dromina* (J. Benbow)
 Mnium rostratum, Schrad. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Soulsbury*, *Lane End*
 — undulatum, L. *Buckingham*, *Brickbill*, *Lane End*
 — hornum, L. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Lane End*, etc.
 — punctatum, L. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 Neckera complanata, Huebn. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Moulsoe*
 — crispa, L. *Kimble*, *Bledlow*, *Medmenham*
 Homalia trichomanoides, Brid. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Bledlow*
 Leucodon sciuroides, Schwgr. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Wavendon*, etc.
 Leskea polycarpa, Ehrh. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Halton*, etc.
 Anomodon viticulosus, Hook. & Tayl. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Castlethorpe*, *Bledlow*, etc.
 Thuidium tamariscinum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Castlethorpe*, *Great Brickbill*, etc.
 — recognitum, Lindb. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 Cylinthothecium concinnum, Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 Porotrichum alopecurum, Mitt. Near *Thame*
 Isothecium myurum, Brid. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Wavendon*, *Lane End*, etc.
 Pleuropus sericeus, Dixon. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Princes Risborough*, etc.
 Campthothecium lutescens, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Halton*, *Princes Risborough*, etc.
 Brachythecium albicans, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *The Warren* (Wm. Milne)
 — rutabulum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — velutinum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — purum, Dixon. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.) *Common*
 Eurhynchium piliferum, Bruch. and Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Brickbill*, *Princes Risborough*
 Eurhynchium crassinervium, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — prælongum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Salcey*, *Moulsoe*
 — Swartzii, Hobkirk. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — pumilum, Schimp. " "
 — tenellum, Milde. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); near *Princes Risborough*
 — myosuroides, Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Wavendon*, *Halton*, etc.
 — striatum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Hambledon*, etc.
 — rusciforme, Milde. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Thame* (Dr. Ayres)
 — murale, Milde. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — confertum, Milde. " "
 — megapolitanum, Milde. " "
 Plagiothecium denticulatum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Winslow*
 — sylvaticum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — undulatum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Black Park* (J. Benbow)
 — latebricola, Bruch. & Schimp. *College and Brockhurst Woods* in fruit (J. Benbow)
 Amblystegium serpens, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Brickbill*, etc. *Common*
 — filicinum, De Not. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Winslow*
 Hypnum riparium, L. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — falcatum, Brid. *Winslow*, very rare
 — chrysophyllum, Brid. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Princes Risborough*
 — stellatum, Schreb. *Winslow*
 — Sommerfeltii, Myr. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); woods between *Stoke* and *Burnham Beeches* (J. Benbow)
 — cupressiforme, L. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Wavendon*, etc.
 — Patientiæ, Lindb. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — molluscum, Hedw. " "
 — brevirostre, Ehrh. *Wycombe*, *Henley* and *Marlow Woods* (H. Boswell)
 — cuspidatum, L. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.)
 — Schreberi, Willd. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Brickbill*, *Princes Risborough*, etc.
 Hylocomium splendens, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Princes Risborough*
 — squarrosum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.), *Brickbill*, *Halton*, etc.
 — triquetrum, Bruch. & Schimp. *Buckingham* (E.M.H.); *Halton*, *Princes Risborough*, *Medmenham*, etc.

BOTANY

THE LIVERWORTS (*Hepaticæ*)

The knowledge possessed at the present time of the liverworts or scale mosses of Buckinghamshire is even more fragmentary than that of the mosses; like them, but to even a greater extent, they show a preference for moist situations and a humid atmosphere. The damp woods of the Colne and such places as the boggy parts of Brickhill, Black Park, Alderbourne Bottom and Dropmore are places where several species are found, but a systematic search in other parts of the county would certainly result in adding fresh species to the county. Among the more interesting species which have been found are *Riccia glauca*, *Madotheca platyphylla* and *Radula complanata* gathered by Mr. Holmes near Buckingham; and Mr. Benbow records *Lejeunea minutissima* from Tilehouse and Stoke Wood, *L. serpyllifolia* from Brockhurst Wood, *Lepidozia reptans* from the Denham and Chalfont Woods and at Burnham Beeches, *Blepharostoma trichophylla*, *Cephalozia multiflora* and *C. sphagnei*, *C. divaricata*, *Jungermannia ventricosa*, *Mylia Taylori*, *M. anomala* and *Gynocolea inflata* from Stoke Common, *C. sphagnei*, *M. Taylori* and *M. anomala* also occurring on Farnham Common. *Plagiocbila asplenioides* occurs near Lane End, *Jungermannia ventricosa* above Princes Risborough, *Cephalozia divaricata*, Brickhill, *C. bicuspidata*, at Lane End, and *Madotheca platyphylla* at Brickhill.

THE LICHENS (*Lichenes*)

The lichen flora of Buckinghamshire is practically an unworked field, and although the county is not likely to be so rich as some of those in the west of England, yet a large number of species are certainly found in it. But the absence of the primitive rocks and the scarcity of rock surfaces, and the fact that so much of the woodlands consist of beech whose smooth trunks and almost complete shade which they cast are inimical to the growth of these organisms, necessarily tend to limit the total number of the species, but some of the low-lying woods in the Colne and Chess drainage as well as the older woods in the Ouse district are happy hunting grounds. Nor must we omit to mention what a charm is given so frequently to rural scenes by the abundance of the golden lichen (*Physcia parietina*) on the brick-tiled roofs of many a farm homestead or village barn.

The following list has been given by Mr. E. M. Holmes all from Buckingham except when otherwise stated.

<i>Collema pulposum</i> , Ach. <i>Tingewick</i>	<i>Ramalina fastigiata</i> , Ach.
— <i>glaucescens</i> , Hoffm. <i>Bulstrode</i>	— <i>pollinaria</i> , Ach.
<i>Leptogium minutissimum</i> , Kœrb. <i>Butlers</i>	— <i>evernioides</i> , Nyl.
<i>Holt, Buckingham</i>	<i>f. monophylla</i> , Cromb.
<i>Cladonia sylvatica</i> , Nyl. <i>Farnham Royal</i>	<i>Evernia prunastri</i> , Ach.
<i>Ramalina calicaris</i> , Nyl.	<i>Platysma diffusum</i> , Nyl. <i>Maidenhead, Stoke</i>
— <i>farinacea</i> , Ach.	<i>Park</i>
<i>f. phalerata</i> , Ach. <i>Stowe Park</i>	<i>Parmelia perlata</i> , Ach.
— <i>fraxinea</i> , Ach.	— <i>exasperata</i> , Ach.

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| <p><i>Parmelia saxatilis</i>, Ach.
 — <i>Borreri</i>, Turn.
 — <i>caperata</i>, Ach.
 — <i>physodes</i>, Ach.
 <i>Lobaria pulmonaria</i>, Hoffm.
 <i>Peltigera canina</i>, Hoffm.
 — <i>spuria</i>, Leight.
 <i>Physcia parietina</i>, De Not.
 — <i>lychnea</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>ciliaris</i>, DC.
 — <i>pulverulenta</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>pityrea</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>stellaris</i>, Nyl., sub-sp. <i>tenella</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>obscura</i>, Leight.
 var. <i>virella</i>, Leight.
 <i>Lecanora murorum</i>, Ach.
 — <i>callopisma</i>, Ach.
 — <i>laciniosa</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>vitellina</i>, Ach.
 — <i>citrina</i>, Ach.
 — <i>aurantiaca</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>ferruginea</i>, Ach.
 — <i>cerina</i>, Ach.
 — <i>pygmæa</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>luteoalba</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>calva</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>variabilis</i>, Ach.
 — <i>exigua</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>galactina</i>, Ach.
 — <i>subfusca</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>Parisiensis</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>chlorina</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>sulphurea</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>varia</i>, Ach.
 — <i>expallens</i>, Ach.
 var. <i>smaragdocarpa</i>, Nyl. Summit of
 <i>Chiltern Hills</i></p> | <p><i>Lecanora atra</i>, Ach.
 — <i>parella</i>, Ach., f. <i>Turneri</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>calcareo</i>, L.
 — <i>pruinosa</i>, Nyl.
 <i>Pertusaria globulifera</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>amara</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>communis</i>, DC.
 — <i>Wulfenii</i>, DC.
 — <i>coccodes</i>, Nyl. <i>Burnham Beeches</i>
 <i>Phlyctis agelæa</i>, Kœrb.
 — <i>argena</i>, Kœrb.
 <i>Urceolaria scruposa</i>, Ach.
 <i>Lecidea ostreata</i>, Hoffm.
 — <i>vernalis</i>, Ach.
 — <i>quernea</i>, Dicks.
 — <i>parasema</i>, Ach.
 — <i>canescens</i>, Dicks.
 — <i>stellulata</i>, Tayl.
 — <i>myriocarpa</i>, DC.
 — <i>cærulea-nigricans</i>, Hoffm.
 — <i>tricolor</i>, Leight.
 — <i>albo-atra</i>, Hoffm.
 — <i>aromatica</i>, Ach.
 — <i>sphæroides</i>, Nyl.
 — <i>sabuletorum</i>, Leight.
 — <i>effusa</i>, Leight., var. <i>cæsiopruinosa</i>, Mudd.
 — <i>concentrica</i>, Leight.
 — <i>truncigena</i>, Ach.
 <i>Opegrapha herpetica</i>, Ach.
 <i>Verrucaria nigrescens</i>, Leight.
 — <i>glaucina</i>, Mudd.
 — <i>fuscella</i>, Turn.
 — <i>viridula</i>, Ach.
 — <i>chlorococca</i>, Leight. <i>Stokenchurch</i> (Lar-
 balestier)</p> |
|--|---|

Two of the foregoing, *Verrucaria chlorococca*, Leight., found by Mr. Larbalestier in Stokenchurch Woods, and *Ramalina farinacea*, Ach. f. *phalerata* found at Stowe Park by Mr. Holmes, are only known in Britain for these localities. The curious variety of *Lecanora expallens*, characterized by the bright emerald green apothecia, is found nowhere else in Great Britain (*Grevillea*, xviii. 69).

THE FRESHWATER ALGÆ

The knowledge of these organisms, so far as the county is concerned, is almost a blank; the boggy portions of Burnham Beeches, the ponds on the Chiltern Commons, the anastomosing ditches by the Thames, and the sphagnum bogs of the Brickhill district are places which will well reward the searcher.

FUNGI

The county has very favourable localities for fungi, and in some of the woods on the Chilterns, as well as those at Black Park and the

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neighbourhood of Brickhill and Burnham, an extremely large number of species are to be found. They are necessarily very uncertain in appearance, depending as they do so much upon climatal influences, so that a long period is required before a district, even of limited dimensions, can be said to be exhaustively explored. Their occurrence depends to so great an extent upon the higher forms of life, for instance upon the proper quantity of dead wood, decaying vegetable matter or the like, and in few, if any, instances is food obtained directly from the soil.

Space will not allow of anything like a complete list, even of the species known to grow in the county, being given here, but in passing we may mention that the genera *Amanita*, *Russula*, *Agaricus* and *Boletus* are well represented. The poisonous *A. muscarius* is often very common in Black Park, at Wilton Park and Dropmore, and the even more poisonous *A. phalloides* occurs near Princes Risborough, where *Tricholoma spermatica* is also found; *Lepiota vittadini* has been found near Bledlow; *Clitocybe dealbatus* and *C. laccatus* at Burnham; *Collybia esculenta* at Lane End; *Clitopilus prunulus* near Halton; *Hebeloma crystallina*, *H. geophila* and *H. concentrica* at Brickhill; *Coprinus micaceus* and *C. atramentarius* on the rubbish heaps near Iver; *Lactarius piperatus*, *L. deliciosus*, *L. fuliginosus* near Halton; *Russula nigricans*, Brickhill; *R. emetica*, *R. ochroleuca*, *R. alutacea*, and *R. rubra* about Black Park; *Cantharellus cibarius* near Farnham; *Boletus luteus*, *B. luridus*, *B. edulis*, *B. flavus*, at Brickhill, etc.; *Fistulina hepatica*, Wilton Park; *Hydnum auriscalpium*, Marlow woods; *Hirneola Auricula-Judæ*, near Wycombe; *Phallus impudicus*, very common in the Chiltern woods, and in 1902 especially frequent in a wood near Amersham, also in the Brickhill pine woods; the puff ball *Lycoperdon giganteum*, and the smaller members of the genus, as *L. gemmatum*, *saccatum* and *pyriforme*, have been noticed about Brickhill. The pretty *Cyathus vernicosus* was found near Buckingham. The 'rusts, smuts, mildews and moulds,' which in some instances are such deadly foes to the agriculturists, market gardeners, or horticulturists, are too well represented. As an instance of leaf-fungi one may draw attention to a common example in the sycamore, where the unsightly black patches on the leaves in the autumn are caused by the fungus *Rhytisma acerinum*; another is the well known wheat rust (*Puccinia graminis*), one of the pests which it is said is referred to in the Old Testament. For many ages it was supposed to be connected with the occurrence of the barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*), and edicts were promulgated to destroy the plant in certain countries, but the botanists of the early part of the nineteenth century proved to their own satisfaction that the barberry could not have this malevolent influence, since the fungus which grew upon it was a different species from that which was found upon the wheat, the former being *Æcidium Berberidis*, the latter *Puccinia graminis*, in fact belonging to two different genera. It was however reserved for De Bary to prove that these two widely differing fungi were really only two different stages in the life history of a single individual species, and demonstrated it by sowing the æcidiospores of the barberry upon the

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leaf of the wheat and thus infecting it with the fungus which eventually produced the well known wheat rust (*Puccinia graminis*), a startling discovery, with far-reaching results, but which has its prototype in the larval and imago stages of the insect world.

In compiling the foregoing notes I have to acknowledge assistance of many friends who have sent me notes on the county plants, among whom I may mention the Rev. F. H. Woods, Rev. W. H. Summers, Rev. E. F. Linton, Rev. W. Moyle Rogers, Rev. H. J. Riddelsdell, Miss Johnson, Messrs. J. G. Everett, Garry, C. E. Britton, J. Britten, E. M. Holmes, Bolton King and J. Saunders.

BOTANOLOGIA

Although not far removed from the great botanical centres of London and Oxford, there are comparatively few references to Buckinghamshire localities in the works of the botanists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is true a few may be found in the pages of Gerard's *Herbal* of 1597, four or five in Parkinson's *Herbal* of 1640; others are to be picked out of the *Phytologia* of William How published in 1650, from Culpeper's *Physician Enlarged* of 1653, from the *Botanologia* of Robert Turner of 1664, and the *Pinax* of Christopher Merrett, which was issued in the year of the great fire of London, namely 1666.

The great Cambridge botanist, John Ray, was indebted to Leonard Plukenet for one or two records which he inserted in the *Catalogus* of 1670, but the county received little or no attention from Ray himself, and even in the enlarged third edition of the *Synopsis* which was published by Dillenius, afterwards professor of botany at Oxford, only a solitary addition to the county flora is made.

John Blackstone, who lived just outside the county boundary near Chalfont, published in 1737 a *Fasciculus Plantarum circa Harefield sponte nascentium*, which contains several Buckinghamshire localities, and there are still more in his *Specimen Botanicum* of 1746. In the voluminous works of the prolific writer John Hill, who lived at Denham, there are but few notices of his county plants, but about a score may be found either scattered through pages of his *Flora Britannica* of 1760, or the *Herbarium Britannicum* of 1769-70, or in his enormous *Vegetable System* and a few specimens collected by him from the county are contained in the herbarium of the British Museum, which also contains others gathered by the great scientist Sir Joseph Banks, probably while he was at Eton College, for they are chiefly from that classic neighbourhood. We have only a small number from Dr. Lightfoot, who was librarian and chaplain to that well known botanist and patroness of natural science, the Dowager Duchess of Portland, then living at Bulstrode. In the pages of English botany we learn that he introduced the small winter green (*Pyrola minor*) to the woods of Bulstrode, and three plants, the milk parsley (*Peucedanum palustre*), the water soldier (*Stratiotes Aloides*), and the yellow loosestrife (*Lysimachia thyrsiflora*), which still grow by or in the ornamental water there, were also probably planted either by Dr. Lightfoot or the Duchess of Portland. He was for a long time resident at Uxbridge, and was the author of the important *Flora Scotica* issued in 1777. I have also a few MS. notes by Lady Mary Markham, a sister of the well known botanist, the Countess of Aylesford, made while visiting the Duchess of Portland at Bulstrode, and a few others by Professor Sibthorpe of Oxford, a friend and correspondent of Dr. Lightfoot. There are a few isolated references to Buckinghamshire plants in the pages of the first edition of *English Botany*, others in the first edition of the *Botanist's Guide* of 1805. Joseph Woods, the author of the *Tourist's Flora* has left records of a small number of plants from the south of the county, where a nephew of his is rector of Chalfont St. Peter's and inherits the love of the science from his uncle. There are also a few local notes in the *New Botanist's Guide* edited by Mr. H. C. Watson in 1835, and a few additions are to be found in the *London Flora* by Alexander Irvine in 1838. The latter botanist was the editor of the *Phytologist* a botanical magazine in which first appeared anything like a comprehensive list of Buckinghamshire plants. The list, which was published in 1843, was by Mr. G. G. Mill, son of James Mill, the author of *The History of British India* and the brother of John Stuart Mill. It

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enumerates about 380 plants seen growing in the neighbourhood of Great Marlow. This indeed forms the basis of the county flora, but it must be borne in mind that a considerable number are from Berkshire localities. Shortly afterwards Dr. Ayres of Thame issued *Exsiccata* of plants found growing in the neighbourhood of Thame in north Buckinghamshire, and in these Oxfordshire localities are also represented. Notes on the flora of the neighbourhood of Stoke Poges were contributed to the *Phytologist* by Mr. (now Sir) W. Thiselton Dyer; Messrs. W. Pamplin, C. J. Ashfield and S. Beisley also added some county references in the same journal. Buckinghamshire specimens collected by Edward Forster, jun., Mrs. Robinson, Mr. T. Cox, J. Forbes Young and Samuel Rudge are in the British Museum herbarium, and others obtained by Mr. W. Wilson Saunders and by Mrs. Lightfoot of Wootton in Northamptonshire are in the Fielding herbarium at Oxford. Elizabeth Chandler of High Wycombe prepared a herbarium about 1864-5 of plants from that vicinity, which is now in the British Museum, and it filled up many gaps in the records of common species; and she also published notes in the *Botanical Chronicle* for 1864. In the pages of *The Quarterly Magazine of the High Wycombe Natural History Society* Mr. James Britten contributed the result of such records as had been already made by other writers, as well as his own discoveries.

MYCETOZOA¹

Of the numerous organisms that form connecting links between the animal and the vegetable kingdoms, those that are known as Mycetozoa² are remarkable alike for their variety and beauty, and also for the strange metamorphoses through which they pass, in completing their life cycle. It has been customary in scientific classification to place the Mycetozoa with the Fungi, but as the former differ from the latter in several essential features, particularly in the power of locomotion which they exhibit in certain stages of their existence, it has been proposed by a German systematist to rank them as a separate kingdom.

The investigations that have been carried on in Buckinghamshire, although over a somewhat limited area, are sufficient to show that the county is rich in these organisms. In this respect it agrees with the adjoining counties of Herts and Beds, the district under consideration containing either an unusual abundance of Mycetozoa, or else that the neighbourhood has been carefully searched for them. Taking the three counties just mentioned, there have been recorded ninety-nine species out of the one hundred and forty catalogued for Great Britain, the number of species for the whole world being two hundred and two.

Nearly all the Bucks records are founded on gatherings made in the eastern portion of the county, chiefly in the parishes of Dagnall, Ivinghoe and Little Brickhill. The most prolific locality is Ward's Coombe Wood, where the conditions are particularly favourable to the growth of these organisms. The wood has a northerly aspect, is cool and moist, and the trees are allowed to grow naturally. Those that fall, through age or by storms, are left to gradual decay, and these, especially the beeches, when in an advanced stage of disintegration, sustain great numbers of the Mycetozoa, often several genera being present on one

¹ By James Saunders, A.L.S., Luton.

² Myxomycetes or Myxogastres of some authors.

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trunk. Amongst the county records the finding of *Cribraria violacea* deserves special mention. It was first noticed in Ward's Coombe Wood near Ivinghoe, on the inside of the bark of a decayed beech log. Specimens were submitted to Mr. A. Lister for determination, who notified that it was the first record of this species for Europe, the previous locality being Philadelphia. The evidence of its existence in this county does not rest upon a solitary instance, as on several subsequent visits it was found in various parts of the same wood. The only other records known for Europe are those of a few sporangia which developed at the British Museum on a stick sent from Lyme Regis, found in Devon, which had been forwarded, because it bore on its surface another species, and a single gathering from Aberdeenshire, by Mr. Cran in 1898.

Fuligo ellipsospora, first found in Beds, is now recorded also for Bucks and Herts, and *Badhamia ovispora*, also first observed in Beds by Mr. E. Saunders, is now known as well for Bucks and Herts, the counties being mentioned according to the priority of the records. The latter species is not at present known in Great Britain outside the area included in the South Midlands.

The arrangement and nomenclature of the following list are those of the *Monograph of the Mycetozoa* by Mr. A. Lister. To that gentleman as well as to Miss G. Lister the writer is indebted for the critical examination of every specimen upon which a record is based.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Ceratiomyxa mucida, Schroet. | Stemonitis flavogenita, Jahn. |
| Badhamia hyalina, Berk. | Comatricha obtusata, Preuss. |
| — utricularis, Berk. | — typhoides, Rost. |
| — panicea, Rost. | — Persoonii, Rost. |
| — ovispora, Racib. | Enerthenema elegans, Bowen. |
| Physarum leucopus, Link. | Lamproderma irideum, Masee. |
| — psittacinum, Ditm. Rare. | Linbladia Tubulina, Fries. |
| — viride, Pers. | Cribraria argillacea, Pers. |
| — nutans, Pers. | — violacea, Rex. E. Saunders. First Euro- |
| and var. leucophæum. | pean record. |
| — calidris, Lister. | Dictydium umbilicatum, Schrad. |
| — compressum, Alb. and Schw. | Tubulina fragiformis, Pers. |
| — didermoides, Rost. | Dictydæthaliu plumbeum, Rost. |
| and var. lividum. | Reticularia Lycoperdon, Bull. |
| — bivalve, Pers. | Trichia affinis, de Bary. |
| Fuligo septica, Gmel. | — persimilis, Karst. |
| — ellipsospora, Lister. | — scabra, Rost. |
| Craterium pedunculatum, Trentep. | — varia, Pers. |
| — leucocephalum, Ditm. | — contorta, Rost. |
| Leocarpus vernicosus, Link. | and var. inconspicua. |
| Chondrioderma radiatum, Rost. | — fallax, Pers. |
| Didymium difforme, Duby. | — Botrytis, Pers. |
| — nigripes, Fries. | Hemitrichia rubiformis, Lister. |
| — effusum, Link. | — clavata, Rost. |
| — Trochus, Lister. | Arcyria albida Pers. |
| — Serpula, Fries. | — punicea, Pers. |
| — Clavus, Rost. | — incarnata, Pers. |
| Spumaria alba, DC. | — flava, Pers. |
| Stemonitis fusca, Roth. | Perichæna populina, Fries. |
| — ferruginea, Ehrenb. | Lycogala miniatum, Pers. |

ZOOLOGY

MOLLUSCS

Less appears known concerning the molluscan fauna of Buckinghamshire than of almost any other southern county.

Only one list seems ever to have been published (W. D. Roebuck : *Science Gossip*, 1883, p. 173), and through this and information supplied by Mr. A. Leicester we are made acquainted with the occurrence of 65 species out of the 139 known to inhabit the British Islands. The soil and physical features of the county however are such that many more forms of mollusca must abound there, and need only to be sought for. Under these circumstances the names of 30 other species, marked with an *, have been added, since they are common and widely distributed forms, and are present in adjacent counties.

Of those that have been met with the most interesting are the Roman snail (*Helix pomatia*) and the pretty little *Acanthinula lamellata*. The former is a very local species in England, having its headquarters on the chalk downs of Surrey, where it existed before the Romans came over. The other, which is an essentially northern form, had not until quite lately been found living further south than mid-Staffordshire, though in pleistocene times its range extended to the shores of the North Sea and the Channel.

In the exploration of a pile-dwelling of Romano-British date at Hedow, in 1895, the following species were found : *Helix aspersa*, *H. nemoralis*, *Succinea putris*, *Limnæa palustris* (?), *Planorbis corneus*, *P. marginatus* and *Cyclas* sp. ? (*Records of Bucks*, vii. 547).

A. GASTROPODA

I. PULMONATA

a. STYLOMMATOPHORA

Limax maximus, Linn.

— *flavus*, Linn.

— *arborum*, Bouch.-Chant.*

Agriolimax agrestis (Linn.)

— *lævis* (Müll.)*

Amalia sowerbii (Fér.)*

— *gagates* (Drap.)*

Vitrina pellucida (Müll.)

Vitrea crystallina (Müll.)*

— *alliararia* (Miller)*

— *glabra* (Brit. Auct.)*

— *cellaria* (Müll.) Two shells were found within a stone coffin under the floor of Turville Church (*Records of Bucks*, viii. 288)

Vitrea nitidula (Drap.)

— *pura* (Ald.)*

— *radiatula* (Ald.)*

— *nitida* (Müll.)*

— *fulva* (Müll.)

Arion ater (Linn.)

— *bortensis*, Fér.

— *circumscriptus*, John.

— *subfuscus* (Drap.)*

Punctum pymæum (Drap.)

Pyramidula rotundata (Müll.)

Helicella virgata (Da C.)*

— *itala* (Linn.)*

— *caperata* (Mont.)

— *cantiana* (Mont.)*

Hygromia fusca (Mont.) Fawley Woods

— *granulata* (Ald.)*

— *hispida* (Linn.)

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Hygromia rufescens (Penn.)
Acanthinula aculeata (Müll.)
 — *lamellata* (Jeff.) Ashton Clinton
Vallonia pulchella (Müll.)
Helicigona lapicida (Linn.)
 — *arbustorum* (Linn.)
Helix aspersa, Müll.
 — *pomatia*, Linn. Great Marlow; Hamble-
 don
 — *memoralis*, Linn.
 — *hortensis*, Müll.*
Buliminus obscurus (Müll.)
Cochlicopa lubrica (Müll.)
Azeca tridens (Pult.) Amersham; Fawley
 Woods
Cæcilianella acicula (Müll.)*
Pupa secale, Drap.
 — *cylindracea* (Da C.)*
 — *muscorum* (Linn.)
Sphyradium edentulum (Drap.)*
Vertigo pygmæa (Drap.)
Balea perversa (Linn.)*
Clausilia laminata (Mont.)*
 — *bidentata* (Ström.)
Succinea putris (Linn.)
 — *elegans*, Risso.*

b. BASOMMATOPHORA

Carychium minimum, Müll.
Ancylus fluviatilis, Müll.

Velletia lacustris (Linn.)*
Limnæa auricularia (Linn.)
 — *pereger* (Müll.)
 — *palustris* (Müll.)*
 — *truncatula* (Müll.)
 — *stagnalis* (Linn.)
Amphipeplea glutinosa (Müll.) Buckingham;
 Taplow
Planorbis corneus (Linn.)
 — *albus*, Müll.
 — *nautileus* (Linn.)
 — *carinatus*, Müll.
 — *marginatus*, Drap.
 — *vortex* (Linn.)
 — *spirorbis*, Müll.*
 — *contortus* (Linn.)
 — *fontanus* (Lightf.)
 — *lineatus* (Walker)
Physa fontinalis (Linn.)
 — *hypnorum* (Linn.)*

II. PROSOBRANCHIATA

Bithynia tentaculata (Linn.)
 — *leachii* (Shepp.)*
Vivipara contecta (Millett)
Valvata piscinalis (Müll.)
 — *cristata*, Müll.
Pomatias elegans (Müll.) Halton
Acicula lineata (Drap.) Fawley Woods
Neritina fluviatilis (Linn.)

B. PELECYPODA

Dreissensia polymorpha (Pall.)*
Unio pictorum (Linn.)
 — *tumidus*, Retz.
Anodonta cygnæa (Linn.)
Sphærium rivicola (Leach)
 — *corneum* (Linn.)

Sphærium lacustre (Müll.)
Pisidium amnicum (Müll.)
 — *pusillum* (Gmel.)
 — *nitidum*, Jenyns*
 — *fontinale* (Drap.) The variety *P. bens-*
 lowianum occurs in the Thames

INSECTS

The county of Bucks does not present any features, such as an extensive coast line, any especially fenny district, or very large old woods, which might be expected to render it a favoured region for the collecting of insects ; yet very large and interesting catalogues have been formed for those orders to which attention has been given. The Coleoptera, for instance, are well represented, as will be seen by the extensive list furnished by the Rev. Canon Fowler—well known as the author of the greatest recent work upon the subject in these islands. He has also supplied a list of Hemiptera, representing the work which has been done in this order.

For the catalogue of Lepidoptera I am under obligation to many indefatigable workers, to whom I have referred in due course, and whose records seem to be thoroughly trustworthy.

COLEOPTERA

Very little has been known until comparatively recently with regard to the Coleoptera of Buckinghamshire : at first sight it would hardly be regarded as a county productive of beetle life. There is of course no coast line, nor is there any forest land as in Nottinghamshire, and the Chiltern Hills which run across the county do not appear to be very productive. The stretch of the Thames, which bounds the county on the south for some 20 or 25 miles, has not yet been properly worked and may produce more species. It must however be allowed that the list which we give below is a very satisfactory one, and it proves that all counties are productive of good Coleoptera if only they are diligently worked. The chief share in the list belongs to Mr. E. G. Elliman of Chesham, and I am also much indebted to Mr. Philip Harwood and Mr. W. E. Sharp. It will be noticed that many of the rarer species in certain groups and genera are wanting, but the list will in time be largely added to. Among the Carabidæ *Badister peltatus*, *Lebia cyanocephala* and *Dromius nigriventris* are perhaps worthy of notice, while *Hydroporus marginatus* and *Helophorus dorsalis* deserve mention among the Dytiscidæ and Hydrophilidæ, but it is among the Staphylinidæ that we find the best work has been done. The long list of Aleocharinæ, including nearly 100 species of Homalota, is due to the indefatigable work of Mr. Elliman, who has added two new species, *Homalota pruinoso* and *H. clavigera* to the British list, and has discovered several of our scarcest species in numbers. The following are among the chief rarities in the family :

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Ilyobates propinquus and *I. glabriventris*, *Euryporus picipes*, *Staphylinus fulvipes* and *S. latebricola*, *Medon obsoletus*, *Oxytelus fairmairei*, *Compsophilus palpalis*, *Homalium salicis* and *Pseudopsis sulcata*. Among the *Clavicornia* again Mr. Elliman has done good work, having taken such species as *Anisotoma oblonga*, *Agaricophagus cephalotes*, *Euthia schaumii*, *Trichonyx märkeli* and *T. sulcicollis*, etc.; 21 species of *Meligethes* have been recorded from the county, 26 species of *Longitarsus*, and no less than 54 species of *Apion*. In the days of the early collectors, Black Park was a well known locality; in 1857 *Megapenthes tibialis* was captured here, and other good species were, I believe, also found. Little Brickhill near Stony Stratford used to be the chief locality for the very rare weevil, *Acalyptus carpini*, which does not appear to have been taken for many years; it was taken in some numbers in this place on willows in April 1852 by Mr. S. Stevens. Several good Heteromera have occurred, among them *Tetratoma desmaresti* and *T. ancora*, *Hallomenus humeralis* and *Conopalpus testaceus*, while among the Rhynchophora may further be noticed *Choragus sheppardi*, *Apion annulipes*, *Brachysomus hirtus*, *Gymnetron melanarius* and *G. rostellum*, *Poophagus nasturtii*, *Ceuthorrhynchus euphorbiæ*, *Rhinoncus denticollis*, *Cissophagus bederæ* and *Cryphalus fagi*. Considering the small number of workers who have paid attention to the Coleoptera of the county, the list given below is an eminently satisfactory one.

CICINDELIDÆ

Cicindela campestris, L.

CARABIDÆ

Cychrus rostratus, L.

Carabus granulatus, L.

— *monilis*, F.

— *catenulatus*, Scop.

— *nemoralis*, Müll.

— *violaceus*, L.

Leistus spinibarbis, F.

— *fulvibarbis*, Dej.

— *ferrugineus*, L.

Nebria brevicollis, F.

Elaphrus riparius, L.

Loricera pilicornis, F.

Clivina fossor, L.

— *collaris*, Herbst

Dyschirius æneus, Dej.

Badister bipustulatus, F.

— *sodalis*, Duft. *Chesham*

— *peltatus*, Panz. Near *Drayton Beauchamp*

Licinus depressus, Payk. *Drayton Beauchamp*

Chlænius vestitus, Payk.

Acupalpus dorsalis, F. *Halton* near *Tring*

— *exiguus*, Dej. *Burnham*

— " var. *luridus*, Dej. *Burnham*

— *meridianus*, L.

— *consputus*, Duft. *Halton*

Bradycellus placidus, Gyll. *Halton*

CARABIDÆ (continued)

Bradycellus distinctus, Dej.

— *verbasci*, Duft.

— *harpalinus*, Dej.

— *similis*, Dej.

Harpalus rotundicollis, Fairm.

— *punctatulus*, Duft.

— *azureus*, F.

— " var. *similis*, Dej.

— *rupicola*, Sturm. *Drayton Beauchamp*

— *puncticollis*, Payk.

— *ruficornis*, F.

— *æneus*, F.

— *rubripes*, Duft.

— *latus*, L.

— *ignavus*, Duft.

Stomis pumicatus, Panz.

Pterostichus cupreus, L.

— *versicolor*, Sturm

— *madidus*, F.

— *niger*, Schall.

— *vulgaris*, L.

— *anthracinus*, Ill. *Halton*

— *nigrita*, F.

— *gracilis*, Dej. *Halton*

— *minor*, Gyll.

— *strenuus*, Panz.

— *diligens*, Sturm

— *striola*, F.

Amara apricaria, Sturm

— *aulica*, Panz.

— *livida*, F. (*bifrons*, Gyll.)

INSECTS

CARABIDÆ (continued)

- Amara ovata*, F.
 — *similata*, Gyll.
 — *acuminata*, Payk.
 — *lunicollis*, Schiödte. *Tring*
 — *familiaris*, Duft.
 — *lucida*, Duft.
 — *communis*, Panz.
 — *plebeia*, Gyll.
Calathus cisteloides, Panz.
 — *flavipes*, Fourc.
 — *melanocephalus*, L.
Pristonychus terricola, Herbst
Anchomenus angusticollis, F.
 — *dorsalis*, Müll.
 — *albipes*, F.
 — *oblongus*, Sturm
 — *marginatus*, L.
 — *parumpunctatus*, F.
 — *viduus*, Panz.
 — *micans*, Nic.
 — *fuliginosus*, Panz.
 — *piceus*, L.
Olisthopus rotundatus, Payk.
Tachys bistriatus, Duft. *Chesham*
Bembidium obtusum, Sturm
 — *guttula*, F.
 — *mannerheimi*, Sahl.
 — *fumigatum*, Duft. *Halton*
 — *assimile*, Gyll.
 — *clarki*, Daws. *Chesham*
 — *articulatum*, Panz.
 — *doris*, Panz.
 — *gilvipes*, Sturm
 — *lampros*, Herbst
 — *decorum*, Panz.
 — *nitidulum*, Marsh. (*brunnipes*, Sturm.)
 — *quadriguttatum*, F.
 — *quadrinotatum*, Gyll.
 — *femoratum*, Sturm
 — *littorale*, Ol.
 — *flammulatum*, Ol.
Tachypus flavipes, L.
Trechus discus, F. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *minutus*, F.
Patrobus excavatus, Payk.
Lebia cyanocephala, L. *Burnham* (Harwood)
 — *chlorocephala*, Hoff. *Chesham* (Elliman)
Demetrius atricapillus, L.
Dromius linearis, Ol.
 — *meridionalis*, Dej.
 — *quadrinotatus*, Panz.
 — *melanocephalus*, Dej.
 — *nigriventris*, Thoms. (*oblitus*, Boield.)
Drayton Beauchamp
Blechnus maurus, Sturm
Metabletus foveola, Gyll.
Brachinus crepitans, L.

HALIPLIDÆ

- Haliplus obliquus*, F.
 — *flavicollis*, Sturm
 — *fulvus*, F.
 — *variegatus*, Sturm. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *cinereus*, Aubé. " "
 — *ruficollis*, DeG.
 — *fluviatilis*, Aubé
 — *lineatocollis*, Marsh.

DYTISCIDÆ

- Noterus clavicornis*, DeG.
Laccophilus interruptus, Panz.
 — *obscurus*, Panz.
Hyphydrus ovatus, L.
Cœlambus inæqualis, F.
 — *parallelogrammus*, Ahr.
Deronectes depressus, F.
 — *duodecimpustulatus*, F.
Hydroporus lepidus, Ol.
 — *dorsalis*, F.
 — *lineatus*, F.
 — *neglectus*, Schaum. Swept from reeds
 near *Burnham Beeches* (W. E. Sharp)
 — *angustatus*, Sturm
 — *gyllenhali*, Schiödte
 — *palustris*, L.
 — *erythrocephalus*, L.
 — *memnonius*, Nic.
 — *nigrita*, F.
 — *discretus*, Fairm. *Chesham*
 — *pubescens*, Gyll.
 — *lituratus*, F. *Chesham*
 — *marginatus*, Duft. *Drayton Beauchamp*
Agabus guttatus, Payk.
 — *didymus*, Ol.
 — *nebulosus*, Forst
 — *sturmii*, Gyll.
 — *chalconotus*, Panz.
 — *bipustulatus*, L.
Platambus maculatus, L.
Ilybius fuliginosus, F.
 — *ater*, DeG.
 — *obscurus*, Marsh.
Rhantus bistriatus, Berg.
Colymbetes fuscus, L.
Dytiscus marginalis, L.
Acilius sulcatus, L.

GYRINIDÆ

- Gyrinus natator*, Scop.

HYDROPHILIDÆ

- Hydrobius fuscipes*, L.
Philhydrus testaceus, F.
 — *suturalis*, Sharp
Anacæna globulus, Payk.
 — *limbata*, F.
Helochares lividus, Forst
Laccobius sinuatus, Mots.
 — *bipunctatus*, F. (?)
Limnebius truncatellus, Thoms.
 — *papposus*, Muls.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

HYDROPHILIDÆ (continued)

- Limnebius nitidus*, Marsh.
Helophorus rugosus, Ol.
 — *nubilus*, F.
 — *aquaticus*, L.
 — *dorsalis*, Muls. *Chesham*
 — *æneipennis*, Thoms.
Hydrochus angustatus, Germ.
Octhebius pygmæus, F.
 — *rufimarginatus*, Steph.
Hydræna testacea, Curt.
 — *riparia*, Kug.
 — *nigrita*, Germ.
Cyclonotum orbiculare, F.
Sphæridium scarabæoides, F.
 — *bipustulatum*, F.
Cercyon hæmorrhous, Gyll.
 — *hæmorrhoidalis*, Herbst
 — *obsoletus*, Gyll.
 — *aquaticus*, Muls.
 — *flavipes*, F.
 — *lateralis*, Marsh.
 — *melanocephalus*, L.
 — *unipunctatus*, L.
 — *quisquilius*, L.
 — *pygmæus*, Ill.
 — *analıs*, Payk.
 — *lugubris*, Payk.
 — *granarius*, Thoms.
 — *minutus*, Muls.
Megasternum boletophagum, Marsh.
Cryptopleurum atomarium, Muls.

STAPHYLINIDÆ

- Homœusa acuminata*, Kr. *Chesham*
Aleochara fuscipes, Grav.
 — *tristis*, Grav. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *bipunctata*, Ol.
 — *cuniculorum*, Kr. *Chesham*
 — *lanuginosa*, Grav.
 — *lygæa*, Kr. *Chesham*
 — *succicola*, Thoms. „
 — *nitida*, Grav.
 — *morion*, Grav.
Microglossa suturalis, Mann.
 — *nidicola*, Fairm.
Oxypoda spectabilis, Märk. *Chesham*
 — *lividipennis*, Mann.
 — *opaca*, Grav.
 — *alternans*, Grav.
 — *lentula*, Er.
 — *umbrata*, Gyll.
 — *nigrina*, Lat.
 — *longiuscula*, Grav.
 — *hæmorrhœa*, Sahlb.
 — *amœna*, Fairm. *Chesham*
 — *annularis*, Sahlb., v. *pallidula*, Sahlb.
Chesham
 — *brachyptera*, Steph. *Chesham*
Thiasophila inquilina, Märk. *Burnham*
Beeches

STAPHYLINIDÆ (continued)

- Ischnoglossa prolixa*, Grav.
 — *corticina*, Er.
Ocyusa incrassata, Kr. *Chesham*
 — *maura*, Er.
 — *picina*, Aubé
Phlœopora reptans, Grav.
 — *corticalis*, Grav. *Burnham (Harwood)*
Ocalea castanea, Er.
 — *badia*, Er.
Ilyobates nigricollis, Payk. *Drayton Beau-*
champ
 — *propinquus*, Aubé. Very rare. *Ches-*
ham
 — *glabriventris*, Rye. Very rare. *Drayton*
Beauchamp. By sweeping in a moist
 wood near the *Chiltern Hills (Ellim-*
an)
Calodera riparia, Er. *Halton*
 — *æthiops*, Grav. „
 — *umbrosa*, Er. *Chesham, Tring*
Atemeles emarginatus, Payk.
Myrmedonia limbata, Payk. *Burnham*
Beeches
Astilbus canaliculatus, F.
Callicerus obscurus, Grav.
 — *rigidicornis*, Er. *Chesham*
Alianta incana, Er.
Homalota languida, Er. *Chesham, Drayton*
Beauchamp
 var. *longicollis*, Sharp. *Chesham*
 — *pavens*, Er. *Chalfont St. Giles*
 — *planifrons*, Wat. *Chesham*
 — *gregaria*, Er.
 — *fallax*, Kr. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *pruinosa*, Kr. Added to the British
 list by Mr. Champion on specimens
 taken by Mr. Elliman running upon
 the chalk in bright sunshine near
Chesham; Mr. Champion has since
 taken the species under the same
 conditions on the downs near *Guil-*
ford
 — *luridipennis*, Mann.
 — *gyllenhali*, Thoms.
 — *hygrotopora*, Kr.
 — *elongatula*, Grav.
 — *volans*, Scriba.
 — *nitidula*, Kr. *Chesham*
 — *oblongiuscula*, Sharp. „
 — *vicina*, Steph.
 — *pagana*, Er. *Chesham*
 — *graminicola*, Gyll.
 — *occulta*, Er. *Langley, etc.*
 — *monticola*, Thoms. *Chesham*
 — *nigella*, Er.
 — *angustula*, Gyll.
 — *linearis*, Grav.
 — *debilis*, Er.
 — *fallaciosa*, Sharp. *Burnham Beeches*

INSECTS

STAPHYLINIDÆ (continued)

- Homalota deformis, Kr. *Chesham*
 — circellaris, Grav.
 — splendens, Kr. *Chesham*
 — ægra, Heer. *Chesham, Drayton Beau-*
champ
 — immersa, Er. *Chesham*
 — cuspidata, Er. *Burnbam, etc.*
 — gemina, Er. *Halton*
 — vilis, Er. *Chesham*
 — analis, Grav.
 — decipiens, Sharp. *Halton*
 — soror, Kr. *Halton*
 — exilis, Er. *Chesham, Halton*
 — validiuscula, Kr. *Chesham, Drayton*
Beauchamp
 — depressa, Gyll.
 — hepatica, Er. *Chesham*
 — exarata, Sharp. ”
 — aquatica, Thoms.
 — xanthoptera, Steph.
 — euryptera, Steph.
 — trinotata, Kr.
 — xanthopus, Thoms.
 — triangulum, Kr.
 — fungicola, Thoms.
 — ignobilis, Sharp. *Chesham*
 — boletobia, Thoms.
 — nigrifula, Gyll. *Chesham*
 — coriaria, Kr. ”
 — sodalis, Er.
 — humeralis, Kr. *Chesham*
 — clancula, Er. (atrata, Kr.). Near *Chesham*
in rotting leaves
 — gagatina, Baudi
 — divisa, Märk.
 — nigricornis, Thoms.
 — ravilla, Er.
 — palustris, Kies.
 — corvina, Thoms. *Chesham*
 — puberula, Sharp. *Chesham, Drayton*
Beauchamp
 — atomaria, Kr. *Chesham*
 — perexigua, Sharp. ”
 — scapularis, Sahlb. *Chesham, Drayton*
Beauchamp
 — testaceipes, Heer. *Chesham, Drayton*
Beauchamp
 — clavigera, Scriba. *Drayton Beauchamp.*
 Added to the British list by Mr.
 Elliman
 — oblita, Er.
 — autumnalis, Er. *Chesham*
 — sericea, Muls.
 — atricolor, Sharp
 — inquinula, Grav.
 — nigra, Kr.
 — hodierna, Sharp. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — celata, Er. *Chesham*
 — sordidula, Er.

STAPHYLINIDÆ (continued)

- Homalota canescens, Sharp. *Chesham*
 — cauta, Er. (parva, Brit. Coll.)
 — villosula. *Chesham*
 — setigera, Sharp
 — cinnamoptera, Thoms. *Chesham*
 — atramentaria, Gyll.
 — marcida, Er.
 — intermedia, Thoms. *Drayton Beau-*
champ
 — longicornis, Grav.
 — sordida, Marsh.
 — testudinea, Er.
 — aterrima, Grav.
 — muscorum, Bris.
 — pilosiventris, Thoms. *Chesham*
 — laticollis, Steph.
 — montivagans, Woll.
 — fungi, Grav.
 — clientula, Er.
 — orphana, Er. *Chesham*
 Gnypeta labilis, Er.
 Tachyusa atra, Grav.
 — concolor, Er. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Falagria sulcata, Payk.
 — sulcatula, Grav.
 — thoracica, Curt.
 — obscura, Grav.
 Autalia impressa, Ol.
 — rivularis, Grav.
 Encephalus complicans, Westw. *Chesham*
 Gyrophæna affinis, Mann.
 — poweri, Crotch (puncticollis, Thoms.)
Chesham
 — gentilis, Er.
 — nana, Payk.
 — fasciata, Marsh.
 — minima, Er.
 — lævipennis, Kr.
 — lucidula, Er. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — manca, Er. ” ”
 — strictula, Er. *Latimer*
 Agaricochara lævicollis. *Burnbam Beeches,*
etc.
 Placusa infima, Er.
 Epipeda plana, Gyll.
 Leptusa analis, Gyll.
 Sipalia ruficollis, Er.
 Bolitochara lucida, Grav.
 — bella, Märk.
 Hygronoma dimidiata, Grav. *Bourne End,*
etc.
 Oligota inflata, Mann.
 — pusillima, Grav.
 — atomaria, Er.
 — punctulata, Heer
 — flavicornis, Lac. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — apicata, Er. *Chesham*
 Myllæna dubia, Grav.
 — intermedia, Er.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

STAPHYLINIDÆ (continued)

- Myllæna kratzii, Sharp
 — gracilis, Matth.
 — infuscata, Matth.
 — brevicornis, Matth.
 Deinopsis erosa, Steph.
 Hypocypus longicornis, Payk.
 — seminulum, Er. *Chesham*
 — discoideus, Er. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Conosoma littoreum, L.
 — pubescens, Grav.
 — lividum, Er.
 Tachyporus obtusus, L.
 — formosus, Matth. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — solutus, Er. " "
 — chrysomelinus, L.
 — pallidus, Sharp. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — humerosus, Er.
 — hypnorum, F.
 — transversalis, Grav. *Burnham*
 — pusillus, Grav.
 — brunneus, F.
 Cilea silphoides, L.
 Tachinus flavipes, F. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — humeralis, Grav.
 — rufipes, L.
 — subterraneus, L.
 — marginellus, F.
 Megacronus cingulatus, Mann. *Chesham*
 — analis, F.
 — inclinans, Grav. *Chesham*
 Bolitobius lunulatus, L.
 — trinitatus, Er.
 — exoletus, Er.
 — pygmæus, F.
 Mycetoporus lucidus, Er.
 — splendens, Marsh.
 — punctus, Gyll. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — lepidus, Grav.
 — longulus, Mann.
 — clavicornis, Steph.
 — splendidus, Grav.
 Habrocerus capillaricornis, Grav.
 Trichophya pilicornis, Gyll. *Chesham*
 Euryporus picipes, Payk. "
 Heterothops prævia, Er. "
 — dissimilis, Grav.
 — quadripunctula, Grav. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Quedius lateralis, Grav.
 — mesomelinus, Marsh.
 — cinctus, Payk. (*impressus*, Panz.)
 — brevis, Er. *Burnham Beeches*, under bark of tree near nest of *Formica rufa* (W. E. Sharp)
 — fuliginosus, Grav.
 — tristis, Grav.
 — molochinus, Grav.
 — picipes, Mann.
 — nigriceps, Kr.

STAPHYLINIDÆ (continued)

- Quedius fumatus, Steph. (*peltatus*, Er.)
 — maurorufus, Grav.
 — umbrinus, Er.
 — suturalis, Kies.
 — rufipes, Grav.
 — attenuatus, Gyll.
 — semiæneus, Steph.
 — boops, Grav.
 Creophilus maxillosus, L.
 Leistotrophus nebulosus, F.
 — murinus, L.
 Staphylinus pubescens, DeG.
 — fulvipes, Scop. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — stercorarius, Ol.
 — latebricola, Grav. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — cæsareus, Ceder.
 Ocypus olens, Müll.
 — similis, F. *Chesham*
 — brunnipes, F.
 — cupreus, Rossi
 — morio, Grav.
 — compressus, Marsh.
 Philonthus splendens, F.
 — intermedius, Boisd.
 — laminatus, Creutz.
 — æneus, Rossi
 — proximus, Kr.
 — carbonarius, Gyll.
 — decorus, Grav.
 — politus, F.
 — varius, Gyll.
 — marginatus, F.
 — albipes, Grav.
 — cephalotes, Grav.
 — fimetarius, Grav.
 — sordidus, Grav.
 — ebeninus, Grav.
 — fumigatus, Er. *Chesham*
 — sanguinolentus, Grav.
 — cruentatus, Gmel. (*bipustulatus*, Panz.)
 — longicornis, Steph. (*scybalarius*, Nord.)
 — varians, Payk.
 — agilis, Grav.
 — ventralis, Grav.
 — discoideus, Grav.
 — quisquiliarius, Gyll.
 — fumarius, Grav. *Halton*
 — trossulus, Nord.
 Xantholinus glabratus, Grav.
 — punctulatus, Payk.
 — ochraceus, Gyll.
 — tricolor, F.
 — linearis, Ol.
 — longiventris, Heer
 Leptacinus parumpunctatus, Gyll.
 — batychrus, Gyll.
 — linearis, Grav.
 Baptoleus alternans, Grav. *Stoke Poges, Burnham*, etc.

INSECTS

STAPHYLINIDÆ (continued)

- Othius fulvipennis*, F.
 — *læviusculus*, Steph.
 — *melanocephalus*, Grav.
 — *myrmecophilus*, Kies.
Lathrobium elongatum, L.
 — *boreale*, Hoch.
 — *fulvipenne*, Grav.
 — *brunnipes*, F.
 — *longulum*, Grav.
 — *punctatum*, Zett. *Chesham*
 — *filiforme*, Grav. *Halton*
 — *quadratum*, Payk.
 — *terminatum*, Grav.
 — *multipunctum*, Grav.
Achenium depressum, Grav.
Cryptobium glaberrimum, Herbst
Stilicus rufipes, Germ.
 — *orbiculatus*, Payk.
 — *subtilis*, Er. *Chesham*
 — *affinis*, Er.
Scopæus sulcicollis, Steph. *Chesham*
Medon fuscus, Mann.
 — *brunneus*, Er.
 — *propinquus*, Bris.
 — *melanocephalus*, F.
 — *obsoletus*, Nord. *Chesham*
Lithocharis ochracea, Grav.
Sunius angustatus Payk.
Pæderus littoralis, Grav.
 — *riparius*, L.
Evæsthetus scaber, Thoms.
 — *ruficapillus*, Lac.
 — *læviusculus*, Mann.
Dianous coerulescens, Gyll. *Latimer*
Stenus biguttatus, L.
 — *guttula*, Müll.
 — *bimaculatus*, Gyll.
 — *asphaltinus*, F. *Chesham*
 — *juno*, F.
 — *ater*, Mann.
 — *speculator*, Er.
 — *providus* var. *rogeri*, Kr.
 — *buphthalmus*, Grav.
 — *canaliculatus*, Gyll.
 — *pusillus*, Steph.
 — *fuscipes*, Grav. *Chesham*
 — *circularis*, Grav. *Halton*
 — *declaratus*, Er.
 — *carbonarius*, Gyll. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *nigritulus*, Gyll.
 — *brunnipes*, Steph.
 — *subæneus*, Er. (*gonymelas*, Steph.)
 — *ossium*, Steph. (*impressipennis*, Duv.)
 — *fuscicornis*, Er. *Chesham*
 — *impressus*, Germ.
 — *ærosus*, Er. (*annulatus*, Crotch)
 — *erichsoni*, Rye
 — *pallipes*, Grav. *Chesham*
 — *flavipes*, Steph.

STAPHYLINIDÆ (continued)

- Stenus pubescens*, Steph.
 — *binotatus*, Ljungh.
 — *pallitarsis*, Steph.
 — *bifoveolatus*, Gyll. (*nitidus*, Steph.)
 — *nitidiusculus*, Steph. (*tempestivus*, Er.)
 — *picipes*, Steph. (*rusticus*, Er.)
 — *cicindeloides*, Grav.
 — *similis*, Herbst
 — *solutus*, Er. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *tarsalis*, Ljungh.
 — *paganus*, Er.
 — *latifrons*, Er.
Oxyporus rufus, F. *Burnham*, etc.
Platystethus arenarius, Fourc.
 — *cornutus*, Gyll.
 — *capito*, Heer. *Chesham*
 — *nitens*, Sahlb. *Drayton Beauchamp*
Oxytelus rugosus, Grav.
 — *insecatus*, Grav. *Chesham*
 — *sculptus*, Grav.
 — *laqueatus*, Marsh.
 — *inustus*, Grav.
 — *sculpturatus*, Grav.
 — *nitidulus*, Grav.
 — *complanatus*, Er.
 — *tetracarinus*, Block
 — *fairmairei*, Pand. *Chesham*
Haploderus cœlatus, Grav.
Trogophlæus arcuatus, Steph. *Halton*
 — *bilineatus*, Steph.
 — *elongatulus*, Er.
 — *fuliginosus*, Grav.
 — *corticinus*, Grav.
 — *pusillus*, Grav.
 — *tenellus*, Er.
Syntomium æneum, Müll.
Coprophilus striatulus, F.
Compsochilus palpalis, Er. *Chesham*
Deleaster dichrous, Grav. *Halton*
Lesteva longelytrata, Goeze
 — *sicula*, Er.
Olophrum piceum, Gyll.
Lathrimæum atrocephalum, Gyll.
 — *unicolor*, Steph.
Philorhinum sordidum, Steph.
Coryphium angusticolle, Steph. *Chesham*
Homalium rivulare, Payk.
 — *allardi*, Fairm.
 — *exiguum*, Gyll. *Chesham*
 — *oxyacanthæ*, Grav.
 — *excavatum*, Steph. (*fossulatum*, Er.)
 — *cæsum*, Grav.
 — *nigriceps*, Kies.
 — *pusillum*, Grav.
 — *punctipenne*, Thoms.
 — *rufipes*, Fourc. (*florale*, Payk.)
 — *salicis*, Gyll. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *vile*, Er.
 — *iopterum*, Steph.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

STAPHYLINIDÆ (continued)

- Homalium planum, Payk. *Chesham*
 — concinnum, Marsh.
 — striatum, Grav.
 Hapalaræa pygmæa, Gyll. *Chesham*
 Eusphalerum primulæ, Steph.
 Anthobium ophthalmicum, Payk.
 — torquatum, Marsh.
 — sorbi, Gyll.
 Proteinus ovalis, Steph. (brevicollis, Er.)
 — brachypterus, F.
 — macropterus, Gyll.
 — atomarius, Er. *Chesham*
 Megarthrus denticollis, Beck
 — affinis, Mill.
 — depressus, Lac.
 — sinuatocollis, Lac.
 — hemipterus, Ill. *Chesham*
 Phlœobium clypeatum, Müll. *Burnham,*
 etc.
 Pseudopsis sulcata, Newm. *Chesham*
 Prognatha quadricornis, Kirby

LEPTINIDÆ

- Leptinus testaceus, Müll. *Chesham, Burnham Beeches*; near *Tring*, found in mouse-traps set in hedges (*Jordan*)

SILPHIDÆ

- Calyptomerus dubius, Marsh.
 Clambus pubescens, Redt.
 — armadillo, DeG.
 — minutus, Sturm
 Agathidium nigripenne, Kug. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — atrum, Payk.
 — seminulum, L.
 — lævigatum, Er.
 — marginatum, Sturm
 — varians, Beck
 — convexum, Sharp. *Chesham, Drayton Beauchamp*
 — nigrinum, Sturm
 Liodes humeralis, Kug.
 — orbicularis, Herbst. *Chesham*
 Cyrtusa pauxilla, Schmidt
 Anisotoma cinnamomea, Panz. Near *Tring*
 — oblonga, Er. (grandis, Fairm.) *Chesham*
 — dubia, Kug.
 — badia, Sturm
 — ovalis, Schmidt
 — punctulata, Gyll. (litura, Steph.)
 — calcarata, Er.
 — parvula, Sahlb.
 Colenis dentipes, Gyll.
 Agaricophagus cephalotes, Schmidt. *Chesham*
 Hydnobius strigosus, Schmidt
 Necrophorus humator, Goeze
 — mortuorum, F.
 — ruspator, Er.
 — interruptus, Steph. *Chesham*

SILPHIDÆ (continued)

- Necrophorus vespillo, L.
 Necrodes littoralis, L.
 Silpha thoracica, L.
 — rugosa, L.
 — sinuata, F.
 — lævigata, F.
 — atrata, L.
 Choleva angustata, F.
 — cisteloides, Fröl.
 — spadicea, Sturm. *Chesham*
 — agilis, Ill.
 — velox, Spence
 — wilkini, Spence
 — anisotomoides, Spence. *Chesham, Taplow*
 — fusca, Panz.
 — morio, F. *Drayton Beauchamp, Burnham Beeches*
 — grandicollis, Er. *Burnham Beeches*
 — nigrita, Er.
 — tristis, Panz.
 — kirbyi, Spence
 — chrysomeloides, Panz.
 — fumata, Spence
 — watsoni, Spence
 Colon serripes, Sahlb. *Chesham*
 — dentipes, Sahlb. "
 — brunneum, Latr.
 — latum, Kr. *Chesham*
 Bathyscia wollastoni, Jans. *Chesham*

SCYDMÆNIDÆ

- Neuraphes elongatulus, Müll.
 — angulatus, Müll.
 — sparshalli, Denny. *Chesham*
 — longicollis, Mots. (præteritus, Rye) *Chesham*
 Scydmaenus scutellaris, Müll.
 — collaris, Müll.
 — pusillus, Müll.
 — exilis, Er. *Chesham*
 Euconnus hirticollis, Ill. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — fimetarius, Chaud.
 Eumicrus tarsatus, Müll.
 Euthia scydmaenoides, Steph. *Chesham*
 — schaumii, Kies. "
 Cephennium thoracicum, Müll.

CLAVIGERIDÆ

- Claviger foveolatus, Müll.

PSELAPHIDÆ

- Pselaphus heisei, Herbst
 Tychus niger, Payk.
 Bythinus puncticollis, Denny
 — validus, Aubé. *Chesham*
 — bulbifer, Reich
 — curtisii, Denny. *Chesham*
 — securiger, Reich. "
 — burrellii, Denny. "
 Rybaxis sanguinea, L.

INSECTS

PSELAPHIDÆ (continued)

- Bryaxis fossulata, Reich
 — juncorum, Leach
 Trichonyx märkeli, Reich. *Chesham*, in the vicinity of nests of *Lasius flavus* and *Formica fusca*
 — sulcicollis, Reich. *Chesham*. Three specimens in the wet rotting wood of an old elm stump
 Euplectus punctatus, Muls.
 — sanguineus, Denny
 — piceus, Mots. (*nigricans*, Chaud.)
 — ambiguus, Reich. *Chesham*

TRICHOPTERYGIDÆ

- Pteryx suturalis, Heer
 Ptinella testacea, Heer. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Trichopteryx atomaria, DeG.
 — grandicollis, Mann.
 — lata, Mots.
 — cantiana, Matth. (?) *Chesham*
 — fascicularis, Herbst
 — seminitens, Matth. *Chesham*
 — sericans, Heer (?) "
 — bovina, Mots.
 — brevipennis, Er. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — picicornis, Mann. (?) *Chesham*
 — fuscula, Matth. (?) "
 — chevrolatii, All.
 Nephanes titan, Newm.
 Ptilium kunzei, Heer
 — spencei, All.
 — exaratum, All.
 — foveolatum, All.
 Millidium trisulcatum, Aubé
 Ptenidium fuscicorne, Er. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — nitidum, Heer
 — evanescens, Marsh.
 — kraatzii, Matth. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — formicetorum, Kr. " "

CORYLOPHIDÆ

- Corylophus cassidioides, Marsh.
 — sublævipennis, Duv. *Chesham*
 Sericoderus lateralis, Gyll.

PHALACRIDÆ

- Phalacrus coruscus, Payk.
 — caricis, Sturm
 Olibrus corticalis, Panz.
 — æneus, F.
 — liquidus, Er.
 — flavicornis, Sturm. (*helveticus*, Brit. Cat.). *Chesham*. In flowers, moss, and once in an old bone
 Stilbus testaceus, Panz. (*consimilis*, Marsh.)

COCCINELLIDÆ

- Subcoccinella 24-punctata, L.
 Hippodamia variegata, Goeze (*mutabilis*, Scriba)

COCCINELLIDÆ (continued)

- Anisosticta 19-punctata. *Burnham Beeches*
 Adalia oblitterata, L.
 — bipunctata, L.
 Mysia oblongoguttata, L.
 Coccinella 10-punctata, L. (*variabilis*, Ill.)
 — hieroglyphica, L.
 — 11-punctata, L.
 — 7-punctata, L.
 Halyzia 16-guttata, L.
 — 14-guttata, L.
 — conglobata, L. (14-punctata, L.)
 — 22-punctata, L.
 Micraspis 16-punctata, L.
 Scymnus pygmæus, Fourc.
 — frontalis, F.
 — suturalis, Thunb. (*discoideus*, Ill.)
 — testaceus, Mots. (*mulsanti*, Wat.)
 — hæmorrhoidalis, Herbst
 — capitatus, F.
 — minimus, Rossi
 Platynaspis luteorubra, Goeze. *Burnham Beeches*
 Chilocorus similis, Rossi
 — bipustulatus, L.
 Exochomus 4-pustulatus, L.
 Rhizobius litura, F.
 Coccidula rufa, Herbst

ENDOMYCHIDÆ

- Mycetæa hirta, Marsh.
 Alexia pilifera, Müll.
 Lycoperdina bovistæ, *Chesham*
 Endomychus coccineus, L. *Drayton Beauchamp*

EROTYLIDÆ

- Dacne humeralis, F. *Marlow, Farnham Royal*
 — rufifrons, F. *Langley*

COLYDIIDÆ

- Ditoma crenata, Herbst. *Burnham Beeches*
 Cicones variegatus, Hellw. " "
 Cerylon histeroides, F.
 — fagi, Bris. *Drayton Beauchamp*

HISTERIDÆ

- Hister unicolor, L.
 — cadaverinus, Hoff.
 — purpurascens, Herbst
 — carbonarius, Ill.
 — 12-striatus, Sch.
 — bimaculatus, L.
 Gnathoncus nannetensis, Mars. *Burnham Beeches*
 Saprinus nitidulus, Payk.
 — æneus, F.
 Abræus globosus, Hoff.
 Acritus minutus, Herbst
 Onthophilus striatus, F. *Burnham*

MICROPEPLIDÆ

- Micropeplus porcatus, Payk.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

MICROPEPLIDÆ (continued)

- Micropeplus staphylinoides, Marsh.
 — margaritæ, Duv.
- NITIDULIDÆ
- Brachypterus gravidus, Ill. *Burnham*
Beeches, etc.
 — pubescens, Er.
 — urticæ, F.
- Cercus pedicularius, L.
 — bipustulatus, Payk.
 — rufilabris, Latr.
- Epuræa æstiva, L.
 — melina, Er.
 — florea, Er.
 — deleta, Er. *Burnham Beeches*
 — obsoleta, F.
 — pusilla, Er.
 — angustula, Er. *Drayton Beauchamp*
- Omosiphora limbata, F.
- Micrurula melanocephala, Marsh.
- Nitidula bipustulata, L.
 — rufipes, L. *Chesham*
- Soronia grisea, L.
- Omosita colon, L.
 — discoidea, F.
- Thalycra sericea, Sturm. *Chesham*
- Pocadius ferrugineus, F.
- Pria dulcamaræ, Scop. *Burnham Beeches,*
etc.
- Meligethes rufipes, Gyll.
 — lumbaris, Sturm
 — coracinus, Sturm. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — æneus, F.
 — viridescens, F.
 — difficilis, Heer
 — memnonius, Er.
 — ochropus, Sturm. *Chesham*
 — brunnicornis, Sturm
 — viduatus, Sturm
 — pedicularius, Gyll.
 — bidens, Bris. On *Scabiosa arvensis,*
Chesham
 — umbrosus, Sturm. *Chesham*
 — ovatus, Sturm
 — flavipes, Sturm
 — picipes, Sturm
 — symphyti, Heer. *Chesham.* On flowers
 of *Lamium album, Taraxacum,* and
Stellaria holostea
 — serripes, Gyll. *Chesham*
 — lugubris, Sturm. *Chesham, Halton*
 — erythropus, Gyll.
 — solidus, Sturm. *Burnham Beeches, etc.*
- Cychramus fungicola, Heer
- Ips quadriguttata, F. *Burnham Beeches*
- Rhizophagus depressus, F.
 — perforatus, Er.
 — parallellocollis, Gyll.
 — ferrugineus, Payk.
 — bipustulatus, F.

TROGOSITIDÆ

Tenebrioides mauritanica, L.

MONOTOMIDÆ

- Monotoma spinicollis, Aubé
 — brevicollis, Aubé. *Burnham Beeches*
 — picipes, Herbst
 — quadricollis, Aubé
 — rufa, Redt.
 — longicollis, Gyll.

LATHRIDIIDÆ

- Anommatus 12-striatus, Wesm. *Chesham,*
in rotten sacking
- Lathridius lardarius, DeG.
 — angulatus, Humm.
 Coninomus nodifer, Westw.
 — constrictus, Humm. *Chesham*
 — carinatus, Gyll. "
 Enicmus minutus, L.
 — transversus, Ol.
 Cartodere ruficollis, Marsh.
 Corticaria pubescens, Gyll.
 — crenulata, Gyll.
 — denticulata, Gyll. *Burnham Beeches,*
etc.
 — elongata, Humm.
 — fenestralis, L.
 Melanophthalma gibbosa, Herbst
 — fuscata, Humm.

CUCUJIDÆ

- Læmophilæus ferrugineus, Steph.
 Psammæchus bipunctatus, F. *Bourne End,*
etc.
 Silvanus surinamensis, L.

BYTURIDÆ

- Byturus sambuci, Scop.
 — tomentosus, F.

CRYPTOPHAGIDÆ

- Diphyllus lunatus, F. *Latimer*
 Telmatophilus caricis, Ol.
 — schönherri, Gyll. *Halton*
 Antherophagus nigricornis, F. *Burnham,*
etc.
 — pallens, Ol. *Burnham Beeches*
- Cryptophagus lycoperdi, Herbst
 — setulosus, Sturm
 — pilosus, Gyll.
 — saginatus, Sturm
 — scanicus, L.
 — badius, Sturm
 — dentatus, Herbst
 — distinguendus, Sturm
 — acutangulus, Gyll.
 — cellaris, Scop.
 — affinis, Sturm
 — pubescens, Sturm
 — bicolor, Sturm. *Chesham*
- Micrambe vini, Panz.
- Cænoscelsis pallida, Woll.
- Atomaria fumata, Er. *Chesham*
 — barani, Bris. "

INSECTS

CRYPTOPHAGIDÆ (*continued*)

- Atomaria nigriventris, Steph. (*nana*, Er.)
- umbrina, Er.
- linearis, Steph.
- fuscipes, Gyll.
- fuscata, Steph.
- pusilla, Payk.
- atricapilla, Steph.
- berolinensis, Kr.
- mesomelas, Herbst
- gutta, Steph.
- apicalis, Er.
- analis, Er.
- ruficornis, Marsh.
- Ephistemus globosus, Waltl

SCAPHIDIIDÆ

- Scaphisoma agaricinum, L.
- boleti, Panz.

MYCETOPHAGIDÆ

- Typhæa fumata, L.
- Triphyllus suturalis, F.
- punctatus, F.
- Litargus bifasciatus, F. *Drayton Beauchamp,*
Halton, Burnham Beeches
- Mycetophagus quadripustulatus, L.
- piceus, F. *Chesham*
- atomarius, F. *Burnham Beeches*
- multipunctatus, Hellw. *Halton*

DERMESTIDÆ

- Dermestes vulpinus, F.
- lardarius, L.
- Megatoma undata. Near *Tring*, under bark
of trees (Jordan)
- Attagenus pellio, L.
- Tiresias serra, F. *Chesham*
- Anthrenus claviger, Er.

BYRRHIDÆ

- Syncalypta spinosa, Rossi
- Byrrhus pilula, L.
- fasciatus, F.
- Cytilus varius, F.
- Simplocaria semistriata, F.
- Aspidiphorus orbiculatus, Gyll. *Chesham*

PARNIDÆ

- Elmis æneus, Müll.
- volkmari, Panz.
- subviolaceus, Müll.
- Limnius tuberculatus, Müll.
- Parnus prolifericornis, F.
- auriculatus, Panz.

HETERO CERIDÆ

- Heterocerus lævigatus, Panz.

LUCANIDÆ

- Lucanus cervus, L.
- Dorcus parallelipedus, L. *Burnham*
Beeches
- Sinodendron cylindricum, L. *Burnham*
Beeches

SCARABÆIDÆ

- Onthophagus ovatus, L.

SCARABÆIDÆ (*continued*)

- Aphodius erraticus, L.
 - subterraneus, L.
 - fossor, L.
 - hæmorrhoidalis, L.
 - fœtens, F.
 - fimetarius, L.
 - scybalarius, F.
 - ater, DeG.
 - granarius, L.
 - sordidus, F.
 - rufescens, F.
 - lividus, Ol.
 - pusillus, Herbst
 - merdarius, F.
 - inquinatus, F.
 - sticticus, Panz.
 - punctato-sulcatus, Sturm
 - prodromus, Brahm.
 - contaminatus, Herbst
 - obliteratus, Panz.
 - luridus, F.
 - rufipes, L.
 - Plagiogonus arenarius, Ol. Near *Drayton*
Beauchamp
 - Odontæus mobilicornis, F. *Chesham*
 - Geotrupes spiniger, Marsh.
 - sylvaticus, Panz.
 - vernalis, L.
 - Trox scaber, L.
 - Hoplia philanthus, Füss.
 - Homalophia ruricola, F. *Drayton Beau-*
champ
 - Serica brunnea, L.
 - Rhizotrogus solstitialis, L.
 - Melolontha vulgaris, F.
 - Phyllopertha horticola, L.
 - Cetonia aurata, L.
- ## BUPRESTIDÆ
- Agrilus laticornis, Ill.
 - angustulus, Ill.
- ## ELATERIDÆ
- Throscus dermestoides, L. *Burnham*
Beeches (Sharp)
 - carinifrons, Bonv. *Burnham Beeches*
(Harwood)
 - Melasis buprestoides, L. *Burnham Beeches*
(Sharp)
 - Lacon murinus, L.
 - Cryptohypnus riparius, F.
 - Megapenthes tibialis, Lac. *Black Park,*
24 May, 1887 (Wallace)
 - Melanotus rufipes, Herbst
 - Athous niger, L.
 - longicollis, Ol.
 - hæmorrhoidalis, F.
 - Limonius minutus, L.
 - Adrastus limbatus, F.
 - Agriotes sputator, L.
 - obscurus, L.

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ELATERIDÆ (*continued*)

- Agriotes lineatus, L.
 — sobrinus, Kies.
 — pallidulus, Ill.
 Dolopius marginatus, Ill.
 Corymbites tessellatus, F. *Burnham*
 Beeches
 — quercus, Gyll.
 — holosericeus, F.
 — bipustulatus, L. *Chesham*
 Campylus linearis, L.

DASCILLIDÆ

- Dascillus cervinus, L.
 Helodes minuta, L.
 Microcara livida, F.
 Cyphon coarctatus, Payk.
 — nitidulus, Thoms.
 — padi, L. *Stoke Common*
 — variabilis, Thun.
 Scirtes hemisphæricus, Ill.

LAMPYRIDÆ

- Platycis minutus, F. *Chesham and Burnham*
 Lampyris noctiluca, L.

TELEPHORIDÆ

- Telephorus rusticus, Fall.
 — lividus, L.
 — pellucidus, F.
 — nigricans, Müll.
 — lituratus, Fall.
 — bicolor, F.
 — hæmorrhoidalis, F.
 — flavilabris, Fall.
 — thoracicus, Ol.
 Rhagonycha fuscicornis, Ol.
 — fulva, Scop.
 — testacea, L.
 — pallida, F.
 Malthinus punctatus, Fourc.
 — fasciatus, Ol.
 — balteatus, Suffr.
 Malthodes marginatus, Latr.
 — fibulatus, Kies.
 — atomus, Thoms.

MELYRIDÆ

- Malachius bipustulatus, L.
 — viridis, F. *Taplow, Stoke Poges, etc.*
 Anthocomus fasciatus, L.
 Dasytes ærosus, Kies. *Burnham Beeches*
 Phlæophilus Edwardsi, Steph. *Drayton*
 Beauchamp

CLERIDÆ

- Corynetes cœruleus, DeG.
 Necrobia ruficollis, F.
 — violacea, L.

PTINIDÆ

- Ptinus lichenum, Marsh. *Chesham*
 — fur, L.
 Niptus hololeucus, Fald.
 Hedobia imperialis, L.

ANOBIIDÆ

- Dryophilus pusillus, Gyll.
 Priobium castaneum, F.
 Anobium domesticum, Fourc.
 — fulvicorne, Sturm
 — paniceum, L.
 Xestobium tessellatum, F.
 Ernobius mollis, L.
 Ptilinus pectinicornis, L.
 Ochina hederæ, Müll.

LYCTIDÆ

- Lyctus canaliculatus, F.

SPHINDIDÆ

- Sphindus dubius, Gyll. *Burnham Beeches*,
 in black powdery fungus on beech
 stump (W. E. Sharp)

CISSIDÆ

- Cis boleti, Scop.
 — villosulus, Marsh. *Burnham*
 — micans, F.
 — hispidus, Payk.
 — bidentatus, Ol.
 — alni, Gyll.
 — nitidus, Herbst
 — festivus, Panz.
 Ennearthron affine, Gyll.
 — cornutum, Gyll.
 Octotemnus glabriculus, Gyll.

CERAMBYCIDÆ

- Aromia moschata, L.
 Callidium violaceum, L.
 — variabile, L. *Chesham*
 Clytus arietis, L.
 — mysticus, L. *Burnham Beeches*
 Gracilia pygmæa, F.
 Rhagium inquisitor, L.
 — bifasciatum, F.
 Toxotus meridianus, L. *Near Tring*
 (Jordan), etc.
 Leptura livida, F.
 Strangalia armata, Herbst
 — melanura, L.
 Grammoptera tabacicolor, DeG.
 — ruficornis, F.

LAMIIDÆ

- Leiopus nebulosus, L.
 Pogonochærus bidentatus, Thoms. (hispidus, Laich.)
 — dentatus, Fourc. (pilosus, F.)
 Tetrops præusta, L.

BRUCHIDÆ

- Bruchus cisti, F. *Stoke Poges*
 — canus, Germ. *Drayton Beauchamp*,
 Chesham on Onobrychis sativa
 — pisi, L.
 — rufimanus, Boh.
 — loti, Payk.
 — villosus, F. (ater, Marsh.)

EUPODA

- Donacia versicoloreæ, Brahm. (bidens, Ol.)

INSECTS

EUFODA (*continued*)

- Donacia sparganii*, Ahr. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *bicolora*, Zsch. (*sagittariæ*, F.)
 — *simplex*, F. (*linearis*, Hoppe)
 — *vulgaris*, Zsch. (*typhæ*, Ahr.) *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *semicuprea*, Panz.
 — *sericea*, L.
 — *affinis*, Kunze. *Drayton Beauchamp*
Lema cyanella, L. (*puncticollis*, Curt.)
 — *lichenis*, Voet. (*cyanella*, Suffr. nec L.)
 — *melanopa*, L.
Crioceris asparagi, L.

CAMPTOSOMATA

- Cryptocephalus aureolus*, Suffr.
 — *hypochæridis*, L. *Burnham*
 — *moræi*, L. *Burnham, Marlow*, etc.
 — *fulvus*, Goeze (*minutus*, F.)
 — *pusillus*, F.
 — *labiatus*, L.

CYCLICA

- Timarcha tenebricosa*, F. (*lævigata*, Duft.)
 — *violaceonigra*, DeG. (*coriaria*, Laich.)
Chrysomela staphylæa, L.
 — *polita*, L.
 — *varians*, Schall.
 — *goettingensis*, L. *Chesham*
 — *didymata*, Scriba. *Burnham*, etc.
 — *hyperici*, Forst. " "
Phytodecta rufipes, DeG. " "
 — *litura*, F.
Gastroidea viridula, DeG. (*raphani*, Herbst)
 — *polygoni*, L.
Plagiodera versicolora, Laich.
Phædon tumidulus, Germ.
 — *armoraciæ*, L. (*betulæ*, Kùst.)
 — *cochleariæ*, F.
Phyllodecta vulgatissima, L.
 — *cavifrons*, Thoms.
 — *vitellinæ*, L.
Hydrothassa aucta, F.
 — *marginella*, L.
Prasocuris junci, Brahm.
 — *phellandrii*, L.
Luperus nigrofasciatus, Goeze
 — *rufipes*, Scop.
 — *flavipes*, L.
Lochmæa capreæ, L.
 — *suturalis*, Thoms.
 — *cratægi*, Forst (*sanguinea*, F.)
Galerucella viburni, Payk.
 — *nymphææ*, L.
 — *sagittariæ*, Gyll.
 — *tenella*, L.
Adimonia tanacetii, L.
Sermyla halensis, L.
Longitarsus pulex, Schrank. (*obliteratus*, Rosh.) *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *anchusæ*, Payk. *Chesham*

CYCLICA (*continued*)

- Longitarsus holsaticus*, L.
 — *luridus*, Scop.
 — *brunneus*, Duft.
 — *suturrellus*, Duft. (*thoracicus*, Steph.)
 — *atricillus*, L.
 — *melanocephalus*, Gyll.
 — *atriceps*, Kuts. *Chesham*
 — *distinguendus*, Rye. Near *Pitstone* and *Burnham Beeches*
 — *suturalis*, Marsh. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *nasturtii*, F. *Chesham* and *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *piciceps*, Steph. (*foudrasi*, Crotch)
 — *lycopi*, Foudr. *Chesham*
 — *membranaceus*, Foudr. (*teucrii*, All.)
 In profusion on *Teucrium*. *Burnham Beeches*, 1901
 — *waterhousei*, Kuts. *Chesham*
 — *flavicornis*, Steph. *Marsworth*
 — *exoletus*, L. (*femoralis*, Marsh.). *Burnham*
 — *pusillus*, Gyll.
 — *tabidus*, F. (*verbasci*, Panz.). *Burnham*
 — *jacobææ*, Wat.
 — *ochroleucus*, Marsh. *Burnham Beeches*
 — *gracilis*, Kuts.
 " var. *poweri*, All.
 — *lævis*, Duft.
 — *pellucidus*, Foudr.
Haltica lythri, Aubé
 — *ericeti*, All.
 — *oleracea*, L.
 — *pusilla*, Duft.
Hermæophaga mercurialis, F.
Phyllotreta nodicornis, Marsh.
 — *nigripes*, F. (*lepidii*, Koch)
 — *consobrina*, Curt. (*melæna*, Ill.)
 — *punctulata*, Marsh.
 — *atra*, Payk.
 — *cruciferæ*, Goeze (*obscorella*, Ill.)
 — *vittula*, Redt.
 — *undulata*, Kuts.
 — *nemorum*, L.
 — *ochripes*, Curt. *Burnham Beeches*, etc.
 — *exclamationis*, Thunb. (*brassicæ*, F.)
Aphthona lutescens, Gyll. *Halton*
 — *nonstriata*, Goeze (*cœrulea*, Payk.)
Taplow, Stoke Poges
 — *venustula*, Kuts.
 — *atrocœrulea*, Steph.
 — *atratala*, All. *Drayton Beauchamp, Chesham*
 — *herbigrada*, Curt. *Drayton Beauchamp*
Batophila rubi, Payk.
 — *ærata*, Marsh.
Sphæroderma testaceum, F.
 — *cardui*, Gyll.
Apteropeda orbiculata, Marsh.
 — *globosa*, Ill. *Chesham*

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CYCLICA (*continued*)

- Mniophila muscorum, *Chesham*
 Mantura rustica, L.
 — matthewsi, Curt. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Crepidodera transversa, Marsh.
 — ferruginea, Scop.
 — rufipes, L.
 — helxines, L.
 — chloris, Foudr.
 Hippuriphila modeeri, L.
 Epitrix atropæ, Foudr. *Bulstrode, Drayton
 Beauchamp*
 Chætocnema hortensis, Fourc. (*aridella*
Payk.)
 Plectroscelis concinna, Marsh.
 Psylliodes chrysocephala, L.
 — napi, Koch.
 — cuprea, Koch.
 — affinis, Payk. *Burnham Beeches, etc.*
 — chalcomera, Ill.
 — picina, Marsh. *Halton*

CRYPTOSTOMATA

- Cassida vibex, F.
 — nobilis, L. *Burnham Beeches, etc.*
 — flaveola, Thunb. (*obsoleta, Ill.*)
 — equestris, F. *Bulstrode, etc.*
 — viridis, F.
 — hemisphærica, Herbst. *Drayton Beau-
 champ*

TENEBRIONIDÆ

- Blaps mucronata, Latr.
 Scaphidema metallicum, F.
 Tenebrio molitor, L.
 — obscurus, F.
 Tribolium ferrugineum, F.
 Helops striatus, Fourc.

LAGRIIDÆ

- Lagria hirta, L.

CISTELIDÆ

- Cistela luperus, Herbst. *Chesham, Drayton
 Beauchamp*
 — murina, L.

MELANDRYIDÆ

- Tetratoma desmaresti, Latr. *Asbridge*
 — ancora, F. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Orchesia micans, Panz. *Burnham, etc.*
 Clinocara tetratoma, Thoms. (*minor, Walk.*)
Drayton Beauchamp
 Hallomenus humeralis, Panz. *Chesham*
 Conopalpus testaceus, Ol. „

PYTHIDÆ

- Lissodema quadripustulata, Marsh.
 Rhinosimus ruficollis, L.
 — viridipennis, Steph.
 — planirostris, F.

CEDEMERIDÆ

- Cedemera lurida, Marsh.

PYROCHROIDÆ

- Pyrochroa serraticornis, Scop. (*rubens,*
F.)

MORDELLIDÆ

- Mordellistena abdominalis, F. *Chesham,
 Burnham*
 — humeralis, L. *Burnham Beeches, Dray-
 ton Beauchamp*
 — brunnea, F. *Chesham*
 — pumila, Gyll. *Burnham*
 — brevicauda, Boh. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Anaspis frontalis, L.
 — garneysi, Fowler (?) *Chesham*
 — pulicaria, Costa (*forcipata, Muls.*)
 — rufilabris, Gyll.
 — geoffroyi, Müll. (*fasciata, Forst*)
 — ruficollis, F.
 — subtetacea, Steph.
 — maculata, Fourc.

ANTHICIDÆ

- Anthicus floralis, L.
 — antherinus, L.

XYLOPHILIDÆ

- Xylophilus populneus, F. *Burnham Beeches*

MELOIDÆ

- Meloë proscarabæus, L.
 — violaceus, Marsh.

RHIPIDOPHORIDÆ

- Metoecus paradoxus. Near *Tring (W.*
Rothschild)

PLATYRRHINIDÆ

- Choragus sheppardi, Kirby. *Drayton Beau-
 champ*

CURCULIONIDÆ

- Apoderus coryli, L.
 Attelabus curculionoides, L.
 Rhynchites æquatus, L.
 — æneovirens, Marsh.
 — pauxillus, Germ.
 — nanus, Payk. *Burnham Beeches*
 — uncinatus, Thoms.
 — sericeus, Herbst (*ophthalmicus, Steph.*)
Burnham Beeches
 Deporaus betulæ, L.
 Apion pomonæ, F.
 — ulicis, Forst
 — genistæ, Kirby. *Burnham Beeches*
 — fuscirostre, F. *Chesham*
 — miniatum, Germ.
 — cruentatum, Walton
 — hæmatodes, Kirby (*frumentarium, Payk.*)
 — pallipes, Kirby. *Chesham, Drayton
 Beauchamp*
 — rufirostre, F. *Burnham Beeches*
 — difforme, Ahr.
 — dissimile, Germ. *Chesham*
 varipes, Germ. „
 — apricans, Herbst (*fagi, Kirby ; assimile,*
Kirby)
 — bohemani, Thoms. (*ononidis, Germ.*)
Bourne End
 — trifolii, L.
 — dichroum, Bedel (*flavipes, Brit. Cat.*)

INSECTS

CURCULIONIDÆ (continued)

- Apion nigritarse*, Kirby
 — *confluens*, Kirby
 — *stolidum*, Germ. *Chesham*
 — *hookeri*, Kirby. *Burnham Beeches*, etc.
 — *æneum*, F.
 — *radiolus*, Kirby
 — *onopordi*, Kirby
 — *carduorum*, Kirby
 — *flavimanum*, Gyll. *Chesham*. On
 Origanum vulgare
 — *annulipes*, Wenck. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *vicinum*, Kirby. *Halton near Tring*
 — *atomarium*, Kirby. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *virens*, Herbst
 — *punctigerum*, Payk.
 — *pisi*, F.
 — *æthiops*, Herbst
 — *ebeninum*, Kirby
 — *filirostre*, Kirby. *Chesham*
 — *striatum*, Kirby
 — *immune*, Kirby. *Burnham Beeches*
 — *ononis*, Kirby
 — *spencei*, Kirby
 — *ervi*, Kirby
 — *vorax*, Herbst
 — *unicolor*, Kirby (*platalea*, Germ.) *Chesham*
 — *meliloti*, Kirby. *Halton*
 — *scutellare*, Kirby. *Burnham Beeches*
 — *livescerum*, Gyll. *Chesham, Halton*
 — *waltoni*, Steph. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — *loti*, Kirby
 — *seniculum*, Kirby
 — *tenuë*, Kirby
 — *pubescens*, Kirby. *Chesham*
 — *marchicum*, Herbst. "
 — *affine*, Kirby. "
 — *violaceum*, Kirby
 — *hydrolapathi*, Kirby
 — *humile*, Germ.
Otiorrhynchus tenebricosus, Herbst
 — *fuscipes*, Walton
 — *atroapterus*, DeG.
 — *scabrosus*, Marsh.
 — *ligneus*, Ol.
 — *picipes*, F.
 — *sulcatus*, F.
 — *ovatus*, L.
Trachyphlœus squamulatus, Ol.
 — *scaber*, L.
 — *alternans*, Gyll.
Strophosomus coryli, F.
 — *retusus*, Marsh.
 — *faber*, Herbst
 — *lateralis*, Payk.
Exomias araneiformis, Schrank
Brachysomus echinatus, Bousd.
 — *hirtus*, Boh. *Chesham*. Among re-
 cently fallen dead leaves

CURCULIONIDÆ (continued)

- Sciaphilus muricatus*, F.
Tropiphorus carinatus, Müll.
 — *tomentosus*, Marsh. (*mercurialis*, *Brit. Cat.*)
Liophlœus nubilus, F.
Metallites marginatus, Steph. *Burnham Beeches, Black Park*, etc., abundant
Polydrusus micans, F. *Burnham Beeches*
 — *tereticollis*, DeG. (*undatus*, F.)
 — *pterygomalis*, Boh.
 — *cervinus*, L.
Phyllobius oblongus, L.
 — *calcaratus*, F.
 — *urticæ*, DeG.
 — *pyri*, L.
 — *argentatus*, L.
 — *maculicornis*, Germ.
 — *pomonæ*, Ol.
 — *viridiæris*, Laich (*uniformis*, Marsh.)
 — *viridicollis*, F. Near *Pitstone*
Barynotus obscurus, F.
 — *elevatus*, Marsh.
Sitones regensteinensis, Herbst
 — *crinitus*, Herbst
 — *tibialis*, Herbst
 — *hispidulus*, F.
 — *humeralis*, Steph.
 — *meliloti*, Walt. *Halton near Tring*
 — *flavescens*, Marsh.
 — *puncticollis*, Steph.
 — *suturalis*, Steph.
 — *lineatus*, L.
 — *sulcifrons*, Thunb.
Hypera punctata, F.
 — *rumicis*, L.
 — *polygoni*, L.
 — *variabilis*, Herbst
 — *plantaginis*, DeG.
 — *trilineata*, Marsh.
 — *nigrirostris*, F.
 " var. *ononidis*, Stev. *Chesham*
Liosoma ovatum, Clairv.
Liparus coronatus, Goeze. *Drayton Beauchamp*
Curculio abietis, L.
Orchestes quercus, L.
 — *alni*, L.
 " var. *ferrugineus*, Marsh.
 — *ilicis*, F.
 — *avellanæ*, Don. *Burnham Beeches*
 — *fagi*, L.
 — *pratensis*, Germ. *Whittlebury Forest*
 (*Tomlin*)
 — *rusci*, Herbst. *Burnham Beeches*
 — *stigma*, Germ. " "
 — *salicis*, L.
Rhamphus flavicornis, Clairv.
Orthocætes setiger, Germ.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

CURCULIONIDÆ (continued)

- Pseudostyphlus pilumnus, Gyll. *Burnham Beeches*
 Erirrhinus bimaculatus, F.
 — acridulus, L.
 Thyrogenes festucae, Herbst
 — nereis, Payk.
 Dorytomus tortrix, L. *Chesham, Drayton Beauchamp*
 — tremulæ, F. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — maculatus, Marsh.
 " var. costirostris, Gyll. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Tanysphyrus lemnae, F. *Burnham Beeches, etc.*
 Bagous limosus, Gyll. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — frit, Herbst. *Halton*
 Anoplus plantaris, Næz.
 Acalyptus carpini, F. On species of Salix; very local. *Little Brickhill near Stony Stratford*; on sallows, April, 1852 (S. Stevens). This is the chief locality for this scarce insect, which has also been taken by Dr. Power at *Burwell Fen*, and by Mr. Gorham near *Haileybury*
 Elleschus bipunctatus, L.
 Tychius meliloti, Steph. *Halton, Hitcham*
 — lineatulus, Germ. Near *Pitstone*
 — junceus, Reich (curtus, Bris.)
 Miccotrogus picirostris, F.
 Sibinia potentillæ, Germ. *Burnham Beeches*
 — primitus, Herbst. " "
 Miarus campanulæ, L. *Hitcham*
 — graminis, Gyll. *Cbeddington*
 — plantarum, Dej. Near *Pitstone*
 Gymnetron beccabungæ, L.
 — melanarius, Germ. *Chesham*. On *Veronica chamædrys*
 — rostellum, Herbst. *Chesham*
 — antirrhini, Payk. (noctis, *Brit. Cat.*)
 Burnham Beeches
 Mecinus pyraeter, Herbst
 Anthonomus ulmi, DeG.
 — pedicularius, L.
 — rubi, Herbst
 Nanophyes lythri, F. *Bourne End*
 Cionus scrophulariæ, L.
 — thapsus, F.
 — hortulanus, Marsh.
 — blattariæ, F.
 — pulchellus, Herbst
 Orobitis cyaneus, L.
 Acalles ptinoides, Marsh. *Burnham Beeches, etc.*
 — turbatus, Boh.
 Cœliodes rubicundus, Herbst
 — quercus, F.
 — erythroleucus, Gmel. (subrufus, Herbst)
 Burnham Beeches

CURCULIONIDÆ (continued)

- Cœliodes cardui, Herbst
 — quadrimaculatus, L.
 Poophagus sisymbrii, F.
 — nasturtii, Germ. *Chesham*
 Ceuthorrhynchus assimilis, Payk.
 — constrictus, Marsh.
 — cochleariæ, Gyll.
 — ericæ, Gyll.
 — erysimi, F.
 — contractus, Marsh.
 — chalybæus, Germ.
 — quadridens, Panz.
 — pollinarius, Forst
 — pleurostigma, Marsh. (sulcicollis, Gyll.)
 — alliariæ, Bris. *Burnham Beeches*
 — marginatus, Payk. " "
 — urticæ, Boh. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 — rugulosus, Herbst
 — melanostictus, Marsh. *Halton*
 — asperifoliarum, Gyll.
 — euphorbiæ, Bris. *Chesham, Drayton Beauchamp*. On *Veronica chamædrys*
 — chrysanthemi, Germ. *Chesham*
 — litura, F.
 — trimaculatus, F.
 Ceuthorrhynchidius floralis, Payk.
 — pyrrorrhynchus, Marsh.
 — nigrinus, Marsh.
 — melanarius, Steph.
 — horridus, F. *Halton*
 — quercicola, Payk. (versicolor, Bris.)
 Chesham
 — troglodytes, F.
 Amalus hæmorrhous, Herbst (scortillum, Herbst). *Burnham Beeches*
 Rhinoncus pericarpus, F.
 — gramineus, F. (inconspetus, *Brit. Cat.*)
 — castor, F.
 — denticollis, Gyll. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Eubrychius velatus, Beck. *Halton*
 Litodactylus leucogaster, Marsh. "
 Phytobius quadrituberculatus, F.
 — canaliculatus, Fähr.
 — quadrinodosus, Gyll. *Chesham*
 Limnobaris T-album, L.
 Balaninus venosus, Grav. *Stoke Pages*
 — nucum, L.
 — turbatus, Gyll.
 — villosus, Herbst
 — brassicæ, Payk.
 — pyrrhoceras, Marsh.
 Calandra granaria, L.
 — oryzæ, L.
 Cossonus linearis, F. *Drayton Beauchamp*
 Rhyncolus lignarius, Marsh. (cylindrirostris, Ol.)
 Magdalis armigera, Fourc. (atramentaria, Marsh.)
 — pruni, L.

INSECTS

SCOLYTIIDÆ

- Scolytus destructor, Ol.
- pruni, Ratz
- rugulosus, Ratz
- multistriatus, Marsh.
- Hylastes ater, Payk.
- opacus, Er.
- palliatus, Gyll.
- Hylesinus crenatus, F.
- oleiperda, F.
- fraxini, Panz.

SCOLYTIIDÆ (continued)

- Hylesinus vittatus, F. *Chesham*
- Myelophilus piniperda, L.
- Cissophagus hederæ, Schmidt. *Chesham*
- Phlæophthorus rhododactylus, Marsh.
- Cryphalus fagi, F. *Chesham*
- Xylocleptes bispinus, Duft.
- Dryocætes villosus, F.
- Trypodendron domesticum, L. *Drayton*
Beauchamp
- Xyleborus saxeseni, Ratz. *Chesham*

LEPIDOPTERA

From the large proportion of chalk and other calcareous admixtures in its soil this county appears to be somewhat rich in species of Lepidoptera; indeed it is, so far as the British Isles are concerned, the especial home of some most delicate and interesting species—such as *Lophopteryx cucullina* and *Ptilophora plumigera*—and is one of the only two known localities for *Gluphisia crenata*.

There are records of captures, in this order, in the county, for more than half a century past; indeed at that date Black Park bore an enviable notoriety for the rare and interesting species there captured by the late Mr. Samuel Stevens and his friends. A little more recently the Rev. Joseph Greene, well known by his work upon 'Pupa digging,' spent some time at Halton, and the late Rev. Henry Harpur Crewe at Drayton Beauchamp and at Claydon; and both thoroughly investigated and recorded the Macro-Lepidoptera of those districts. The Rev. Bernard Smith has spent the later half of a long life at Great Marlow, and has published the results of his many years of collecting and rearing larvæ; and Mr. W. Slade supplied the results of his collecting at and around Buckingham while resident there—about 1869–72. More recently excellent work has been done at Chesham by Dr. Churchill, and at Chalfont St. Peter by the Rev. J. Seymour St. John, while the results of a visit to Leckhampstead and the borders of Whittlebury Forest by the Rev. C. F. Thornewill, and of one to Amersham and Wendover by Mr. H. J. Turner, and some notes from other parts of the county by Mr. A. J. Spiller and others in the Entomological magazines have been found very useful. Mr. Turner's records have the advantage of including Micro-Lepidoptera; and in this respect a series of notices, more especially of Tortrices, by Mr. Richard South, the editor of the *Entomologist*, have been of especial value.

It is a source of considerable regret to me that the records of Micro-Lepidoptera are so few, and I cannot but think that when these are fully worked up the county list will be very largely extended.

RHOPALOCERA

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| <p><i>Pieris brassicæ</i>, Linn., and <i>P. rapæ</i>, Linn. (Cabbage butterflies). Everywhere, but most plentiful in gardens and the outskirts of towns; destructive to vegetables</p> | <p><i>Pieris napi</i>, Linn. (Green-veined White butterfly). Common in country districts among watercress and other cresses</p> <p><i>Anthocharis cardamines</i>, Linn. (Orange Tip butterfly). Generally common</p> |
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A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

- Leucophasia sinapis*, Linn. (Wood White butterfly). Scarce near *Buckingham*; also found by the Rev. C. F. Thorne-will near *Whittlebury Forest*; formerly at *Black Park* and *Claydon*; very local
- Colias hyale*, Linn. (Pale-Clouded Yellow butterfly). A very uncertain species, and formerly never taken in the county, but found near *Chorley* in the year 1900 and near *Chesham* and *Chalfont Road* in 1901
- *edusa*, Linn. (Clouded Yellow butterfly). Very uncertain; found at *Buckingham*, *Chesham*, *High Wycombe*, *Black Park* and many other places in certain years. In 1877 it was abundant at *Marlow*, accompanied by its beautiful pale variety, *helice*
- Gonepteryx rhamni*, Linn. (Brimstone butterfly). Usually common, but seen principally in the spring after hibernation
- Thecla betulæ*, Linn. (Brown Hairstreak butterfly). Two specimens were taken many years ago by the Rev. H. H. Crewe near *Claydon*. Most probably it may still be found on the borders of woods in the northern half of the county
- *pruni*, Haw. (Dark Hairstreak). Several specimens were taken about the blossoms of privet (*Ligustrum vulgare*) at *Linford Wood* on 4 July, 1874, by Mr. W. Thompson of Stantonbury near Stoney Stratford. This also is a species likely to be found in woods in the northern portion of the county, since its principal haunts are in adjoining counties
- *w-album*, Knoch (White-letter Hairstreak). *Buckingham*, *Chesham*, *Chalfont Road*. About wych-elms. A very uncertain species, abounding in one season, scarce for many successive years
- *quercus*, Linn. (Purple Hairstreak). *Black Park*, *Claydon*, *Wendover*; apparently in all oak woods
- *rubi*, Linn. (Green Hairstreak). *Halton*; also common towards the *Chiltern Hills*; among broom and genista
- Chrysophanus phlæas*, Linn. (Small Copper butterfly). Generally distributed and common
- Polyommatus agestis*, Hüb., *astrarche*, St.C. (Brown Argus). Abundant at *High Wycombe*; also at *Long Down* and towards the slopes of the *Chilterns*; usually upon chalk hills and downs
- *alexis*, Hb., *icarus*, St.C. (Common Blue butterfly). Abundant everywhere in fields and on hillsides
- Polyommatus adonis*, Hb., *bellargus*, St.C. (Clifden Blue). A very local chalk hill species; recorded on the slopes of hills on the chalk by the Rev. Joseph Greene; and the Hon. Charles Rothschild has taken it on the borders of the county toward *Tring*
- *corydon*, Scop. (Chalk-hill Blue). Abundant at *High Wycombe*, *Long Down* and elsewhere on chalk slopes, feeding upon *Hippocrepis*
- *argiolus*, Linn. (Holly Blue). *Buckingham*, *Aylesbury*, *Taplow*, *Halton*, *Black Park*, also towards the *Chiltern Hills*, its larva feeding on the flowers and berries of holly, ivy, *Rhamnus* and other shrubs
- *alsus*, Sch., *minima*, St.C. (Bedford Blue). In sheltered hollows of chalk hills about *Wendover*, *Long Down*, the *Chilterns* and elsewhere; in some seasons very plentiful
- *arion*, Linn. Recorded at *Clifden* by Lewin in 1795
- Nemeobius lucina*, Linn. (Duke of Burgundy Fritillary). *Halton*; plentiful near *High Wycombe*; found in open woods, its larva feeding on the leaves of primrose
- Apatura iris*, Linn. (Emperor butterfly). Several specimens were met with at *Claydon* by the Rev. H. H. Crewe many years ago. It doubtless still exists in the woods in the north of the county, flying round the oak trees in July, its larva feeding on broad-leaved willows
- Limnitis sibylla*, Linn. (White Admiral). Common at *Black Park* in the middle of the last century, and it was here that its beautiful larva was found in 1851 feeding on the honeysuckle. This rich locality has long been closed to entomologists, and it is quite uncertain whether this most interesting butterfly—justly celebrated for the grace of its motions—still exists there
- Vanessa c-album*, Linn. (Comma butterfly). Formerly found in that portion of the county which borders *Whittlebury Forest*—and probably then in other districts; but this is a species which for many years has retreated westward and abandoned many of its former localities
- *polychloros*, Linn. (Large Tortoiseshell). *Buckingham*, *High Wycombe*, *Chesham*; about elm; local and rather irregular in its appearances
- *urticæ*, Linn. (Common Tortoiseshell). Abundant everywhere in gardens, fields and waysides, its larva feeding gregariously on nettles

INSECTS

- Vanessa io*, Linn. (Peacock butterfly). Generally distributed, its larva also feeding in large colonies on nettles
- *antiopa*, Linn. (Camberwell Beauty). Very rare; one was taken at *Newport Pagnell* in 1872, another near *Uxbridge* in 1901 but in this county, and two more at *Gerrard's Cross* in the same year
- *atalanta*, Linn. Generally distributed, its larva feeding solitarily upon nettle, bending a leaf so as to form a habitation
- *cardui*, Linn. (Painted Lady). This beautiful insect is most irregular and uncertain, sometimes appearing suddenly in plenty, at other times scarcely seen for years. Most frequently found in the sunny corners of clover fields; but its larva feeds on thistle, and forms a curious silken tent among its prickly leaves. Recorded here from *High Wycombe*, *Chesham*, *Halton* and *Taplow*, but certainly in its favoured seasons occurring more generally
- Argynnis paphia*, Linn. (Silver-washed Fritillary). Found apparently in all large woods; formerly abundant at *Black Park*; also recorded at *Buckingham*, *Chesham*, and the *Chilterns*; and found abundantly on the borders of *Whittlebury Forest*
- *adippe*, Linn. (High Brown Fritillary). Also an inhabitant of large woods, but sometimes found in open wooded districts; recorded here from *Buckingham*, *Chesham*, *Claydon*, *Chalfont St. Peter* and the woods lying among the *Chiltern Hills*
- [— *dia*, Linn. Nearly half a century ago entomologists generally were startled by the news of the capture of a specimen of this well known continental species. The Rev. Bernard Smith, then resident at *Marlow*, reported that a specimen had been captured—by knocking down with his cap—by a village lad, and brought to him for examination. This specimen was sent on to Mr. H. Doubleday at *Epping*, and was certainly the species stated, but some confusion arose as to the details of its capture, and a rather hot controversy arose, with the result that this species was not included in the British fauna]
- *euphrosyne*, Linn. (Pearl-bordered Fritillary). *Marlow*, *Claydon Woods*, *Leckhampstead*, *Chesham*, *Chalfont St. Peter* and many other woods
- *selene*, Schiff. (Small Pearl-bordered Fritillary). *Black Park*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chesham*, *Claydon Woods*, *Leckhampstead* and elsewhere, in the damper portions of the woodlands and commons
- Melitæa artemis*, Hb., *aurinia*, St.C. (Greasy Fritillary). Found in some of the marshy hollows among the *Chiltern Hills*, and in some seasons even on the tops of the hills, where the scabious is growing; very local
- *athalia*, Esp. (Heath Fritillary). This species seems to have formerly inhabited this county, but to have died out—as has been the case in various other counties. The Rev. J. Greene records it as rare; but no certain locality seems to have been preserved
- Melanargia galathea*, Linn. (Marbled White). *Wendover*, *High Wycombe*, *Halton*, *Black Park*, *Claydon*. Usually a chalk-frequenting species; very local, but occurring in plenty in very restricted localities
- Satyrus semele*, Linn. (Grayling butterfly). *High Wycombe* and elsewhere; on rough chalky hillsides and open commons
- Pararge ægeria*, Linn. (Speckled Wood butterfly). Abundant at *Black Park*; also found generally in shady lanes and the edges of woods, flitting about the trees and highest bushes
- *megæra*, Linn. (Wall Brown butterfly). Generally distributed in lanes and roads
- Epinephile janira*, Linn. (Meadow Brown). Abundant everywhere in meadows and other grass land
- *tithonus*, Linn. (the Gatekeeper). Plentiful in lanes and about hedges, especially around brambles when in blossom
- *hyperanthus*, Linn. (Ringlet). In the damper portions of most woods, abundant in some of these; especially so on the borders of *Whittlebury Forest*
- Cœnonympha pamphilus*, Linn. (Small Heath butterfly). Everywhere abundant in grass fields and on hillsides
- Syrichthus alveolus*, Hb., *malvæ*, St.C. (Grizzled Skipper). *Buckingham*, *Marlow*, *Halton*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Leckhampstead*; more especially attached to railway banks
- Hesperia linea*, Fab., *thaumas*, St.C. (Small Skipper). *Chesham*, *Halton* and elsewhere, in damp places near the edges of woods
- *sylvanus*, Esp. (Common Skipper). Generally common in lanes, marshy meadows and the borders of woods; most alert and swift in its motions

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Hesperia comma, Linn. (Silver-spotted Skipper). *Chesham, High Wycombe, Wendover* and on the *Chilterns*; always on chalk slopes, but widely distributed and sometimes plentiful

Cyclopides paniscus, Fab., *palæmon*, St.C. The Rev. C. F. Thorne will reports it as to be found on the north border of

the county near *Whittlebury Forest*; its principal haunts with us are in the adjoining counties

Nisoniades tages, Linn. (Dingy Skipper). Generally distributed, but more especially attached to railway banks and the stony portions of chalk hills

HETEROCERA

- Smerinthus ocellata*, Linn. (Eyed Hawk Moth). Generally distributed in the county, but not often captured. The larva is frequent on sallows and willows, but the Rev. Joseph Greene reports that it was usually obtained by him in the pupa state by digging at the roots of willow trees. Messrs. Peachell have taken it at *High Wycombe* at electric light
- *populi*, Linn. (Poplar Hawk Moth). Generally common, but most frequently obtained as a pupa by digging at the roots of poplars
- *tiliæ*, Linn. (Lime Hawk Moth). *Buckingham, Halton, Chesham*; tolerably common; usually obtained, as stated by the Rev. J. Greene, by digging at the roots of elms—not limes—for the pupa
- Acherontia atropos*, Linn. (Death's-head Moth). *Buckingham, Chesham, Halton, Black Park, Wolverton*; usually found in the larva state feeding on potato leaves, or in the pupa state by digging among potatoes; but in 1867 Mr. Barlow of Stantonbury recorded the finding of from fifteen to eighteen larvæ all feeding upon the tea-tree (*Lycium barbarum*)
- Sphinx convolvuli*, Linn. (*Convolvulus Hawk Moth*). A specimen was taken in July, 1854, hovering over honeysuckle blossom, by the Rev. Joseph Greene; another in August, 1887, at rest in a cleft of a tree in *Chalfont Park*, by the Rev. J. Seymour St. John; two more by Dr. Churchill at *Chesham* some years ago, and the pupa has recently been found near *Haddenham*
- *ligustri*, Linn. (*Privet Hawk Moth*). *Halton, Buckingham, Chesham, Claydon, High Wycombe*; probably widely distributed. Its larva, which usually feeds upon privet or ash, has been taken in this county feeding freely upon the common dogwood (*Cornus sanguinea*) and the mealy guelder rose (*Viburnum lantana*).
- Deilephila galii*, Schiff. (*Galium Hawk Moth*). The capture of a single specimen of this rarity in his garden was recorded in July, 1888, by Mr. W. Thompson of *Stantonbury, Stoney Stratford*; and one was seen in the rectory garden at *Leckhampstead* by the Rev. C. F. Thorne will
- *livornica*, Esp. (*Striped Hawk Moth*). A specimen of this equally rare species was secured in April, 1867, near *Wolverton* by Mr. Fisher, and recorded by Mr. J. Barlow of Stantonbury
- Chærocampa porcellus*, Linn. (*Small Elephant Hawk*). *Halton, Chesham, Long Down, Claydon*; not scarce on chalk hills among yellow bedstraw (*Galium verum*)
- *elpenor*, Linn. (*Large Elephant Hawk Moth*). *Halton, Claydon, Chesham, Buckingham*. Larvæ are found here abundantly in some seasons feeding upon willow-herb (*Epilobium hirsutum*) on the banks of the river Ouse. Mr. Crewe found others feeding freely upon *Galium uliginosum*
- Macroglossa stellatarum*, Linn. (*Hummingbird Hawk Moth*). *Buckingham, High Wycombe, Chesham, Claydon, Halton, Leckhampstead*; probably generally distributed, and in some widely separated years, common
- *fuciformis*, Linn. (*Broad-bordered Bee Hawk*). Very uncommon, but found at *Halton* by the Rev. Joseph Greene and on the borders of *Whittlebury Forest* near *Leckhampstead* by the Rev. C. F. Thorne will; taken by A. T. Goodson and W. H. Smith in 1901, 1902 near *Aston Hills* (Tring side)
- *bombylifomis*, Esp. (*Narrow-bordered Bee Hawk*). Also uncommon, but it has been taken at *Halton*, and the Rev. H. H. Crewe secured two specimens in the year 1851 at *Claydon*, hovering over the flowers of ragged-robin (*Lychnis flos-cuculi*); two specimens taken by A. T. Goodson in 1901, not found in 1902

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- Sesia* tipuliformis, Linn. (Currant Clearwing). *Buckingham*; probably widely distributed in gardens, on the currant bushes
- *ichneumoniformis*, Schiff. (Six-belted Clearwing). The only record here is of a pair swept off the blossoms of rushes at *Wolverton* in 1870. It might probably be found on the blossoms of bird's-foot trefoil on the chalk hills
- Sphæcia* bembeciformis, Hb.; crabroniforme, Haw. *Buckingham, Halton*; probably overlooked elsewhere
- *apiformis*, Linn. (Hornet Clearwing). *Halton*, and apparently in other places about poplars
- Procris* statices, Linn. Recorded by the Rev. J. Greene as common at *Halton* and elsewhere. Usually found in plenty in some very restricted area, such as the corner of a meadow
- *geryon*, Hb. Mr. A. J. Spiller states that he has seen this species in this county, in thousands, during May, on the slopes of the Chilterns, including *Long Down* and other hills
- Anthrocera* trifolii, Esp. (5-spot Burnet Moth). Found plentifully thirty years ago in an old stone-pit near *Buckingham*, also at *Halton*. Always very local, and usually found in marshy meadows
- *filipendulæ*, Linn. (6-spot Burnet Moth). Generally common on chalk hills and railway banks
- Zeuzera* æsculi, Linn. (Wood Leopard). *Halton, Buckingham, Black Park*; always about trees
- Cossus* ligniperda, Fab. (Goat Moth). *Buckingham, Chesham, Black Park*. Very destructive to willow, poplar and other trees, its larva tunnelling in all directions under the bark and through the solid wood, sometimes to such an extent as to cause the fall of the tree
- Hepialus* hectus, Ochs. (Golden Swift). *Chalfont St. Peter, Black Park, Chesham*, wooded slopes of the Chilterns and *Leckhampstead*. Probably in all woods. The male diffuses a curiously rich scent, like that of pineapple, when flying
- *lupulinus*, Linn. (Common Swift). Generally distributed, flying about sunset in multitudes in June, with great swiftness, close to the grass in every meadow
- *sylvinus*, Linn. (Orange Swift). *Halton, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, the Chilterns*; usually about bracken fern
- *velleda*, Esp. Mr. Elliman of *Westcroft, Tring*, captured two specimens within the boundary of this county in 1891; Mr. South has found it at *Chalfont Road*, Dr. Churchill at *Chesham*, and Mr. H. J. Turner at *Amersham*
- Hepialus* humuli, Linn. (Ghost Moth). Common everywhere
- Sarothripa* revayana, Schiff. Formerly taken at *Black Park*
- Heterogenea* asella, Schiff. *Marlow*. First obtained by the Rev. Bernard Smith in 1856, and in following years reared by him in considerable numbers from larvæ found upon beech. A very local species, otherwise principally confined to the *New Forest, Hants*
- Halias* prasinana, Linn. (Silver Lines). *Black Park, Chalfont St. Peter*; probably in all oak woods
- *quercana*, Schiff.; *bicolorana*, St.C. (Green Silver Lines). *Black Park*; not common
- Nola* cucullatella, Linn. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Leckhampstead*
- *strigula*, Schiff. *Black Park*, scarce
- *confusalis*, Hb.; *cristulalis*, Stainton. *Black Park*, borders of *Whittlebury Forest*
- Nudaria* senex, Hb. Found at *Halton* by the Rev. J. Greene, but very local
- *mundana*, Linn. (Muslin Moth). Generally distributed about old lichen-covered walls and buildings
- Calligenia* miniata, Forst. *Halton, Black Park*
- Setina* irrorella, Linn. *Halton* and elsewhere on chalk hills
- *mesomella*, Linn. *Halton, Black Park*
- Lithosia* aureola, Hb.; *sororcula*, St.C. *Marlow, Halton, Chesham, Black Park*, among oak and beech
- *helveola*, Ochs.; *deplana*, St.C. *Black Park*, taken by the late Mr. Samuel Stevens. This seems to have been one of the earliest known localities for this local species here, and that in which its rather different female was first recognized. It is always a restricted insect and loves to hide in yew trees in chalk districts
- *complanata*, Linn. Also taken at *Black Park*. Not common
- *complanula*, Bdv.; *lurideola*, St.C. (Common Footman). *Buckingham, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, High Wycombe, Halton, Whittlebury Forest*; probably in all woods
- *griseola*, Hb. This is rather common at *Chesham*, and with its pretty yellow variety *stramineola* has been found near *Halton*
- *rubricollis*, Linn. (Red-necked Footman). The Rev. Joseph Greene found this species exceedingly commonly in *Beech*

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- Wood near Aylesbury.* He also found the pupæ thereof abundantly under moss, on decayed trees, yet these were to a great extent destroyed by parasitic ichneumons
- Ænistis quadra*, Linn. Has been taken near *Aylesbury*, but very rarely
- Euchelia jacobææ*, Linn. (Cinnabar Moth). *Buckingham, Marlow, Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, High Wycombe*; not very common
- Callimorpha dominula*, Linn. (Scarlet Tiger Moth). Taken rarely at *Halton*
- Euthemonia russula*, Linn. (Clouded Buff). *Black Park, Halton*
- Nemeophila plantaginis*, Linn. (Wood Tiger). *Halton, Black Park, Longdown*, slopes of the *Chiltern Hills*
- Arctia caja*, Linn. (Tiger Moth). Generally common
- Phragmatobia fuliginosa*, Linn. Once taken at *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill, also by Messrs. Peachell at electric light at *High Wycombe*
- Spilosoma mendica*, Linn. (Muslin Moth). *Halton, Buckingham, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter* and the *Chiltern* district
- *lubricipeda*, Linn. (Buff Ermine). Everywhere abundant
- *menthastri*, Schiff. (Ermine). Generally common in gardens
- *urticæ*, Esp. Dr. Churchill reports one specimen taken at *Chesham*
- Porthesia chrysoorrhœa*, Linn. (Brown-tail Moth). Found many years ago at *Black Park*, more recently at *Chesham*. This species has disappeared from many districts in which formerly it was common
- *auriflua*, Fab.; *similis*, St.C. Generally common on hedges
- Liparis salicis*, Linn. *Chesham, Buckingham, Halton*; not now common
- Psilura monacha*, Linn. Occasionally found at *Black Park, Chesham, Halton*
- Hypogymna dispar*, Linn. Recorded at *Halton* by Mr. H. T. Stainton. Formerly it was plentiful in the fens of the adjoining county of Huntingdon
- Dasychira pudibunda*, Linn. *Buckingham, Halton, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, High Wycombe, Black Park*
- Demas coryli*, Linn. The Rev. J. Greene used to find it in profusion in the *Beech Wood* near *Halton*, the larva feeding on beech, maple, hazel, oak and other trees, and the pupa under moss on the same tree trunks. Also found at *Chesham, Marlow, Black Park* and upon the *Chilterns*
- Orgyia gonostigma*, Fab. Formerly at *Black Park*; the larva once found and reared at *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
- *antiqua*, Linn. (the Vapourer). *Buckingham, Halton, Chesham*; probably generally distributed, but in uncertain and variable numbers
- Fumea nitidella*, Steph.; *roboricolella*, Bruand. *Halton, Black Park*; the case common on fences
- Pœcilocampa populi*, Linn. (December Moth). *Buckingham, High Wycombe, Chesham, Halton*; the pupa found by the Rev. J. Greene at the roots of poplar, ash and elm trees
- Trichiura cratægi*, Linn. Found rarely at *Halton* and at *High Wycombe* at the electric light
- Eriogaster lanestris*, Linn. (Small Eggar). *Halton, Chesham, Buckingham, Leckhampstead*. The larva lives in a populous community in a common silken nest, on bushes of hawthorn and blackthorn. If it is reared in confinement the moth may emerge in the following spring, but may lay over to emerge in any other spring for some years to come—sometimes even to seven years
- Clisiocampa neustria*, Linn. (Lackey Moth). *Halton, Buckingham, High Wycombe, Chesham*; probably everywhere. The larvæ of this species also live gregariously on trees, but the moths emerge in the year in which the larvæ have fed
- Lasiocampa quercûs*, Linn. (Great Eggar). Generally distributed; the larva to be found on every hawthorn hedge
- *rubi*, Linn. (Fox Moth). On *Long Down Hill*; seldom seen except in the larva state
- Odonestis potatoria*, Linn. (Drinker Moth). Pretty generally distributed—often common—the larva feeding upon grasses on hedge-banks
- Gastropacha quercifolia*, Linn. (the Lappet). *Buckingham*, scarce; and at *High Wycombe* at the electric light; probably elsewhere, the larva on hawthorn and blackthorn hedges
- Drepana falcatoria*, Linn.; *facula*, Schiff. (Hook-tip). *Chalfont St. Peter, High Wycombe, Halton, Marlow*
- *hamula*, Esp.; *binaria*, St.C. *Chesham* and *Marlow*, about oaks; and at *High Wycombe* at the electric light
- *unguicula*, Hb.; *cultraria*, St.C. *Buckingham, Chesham, Halton, Marlow, High Wycombe, Chiltern Woods*; abundant in the beech woods; the male flying

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- actively by day about the trees, but the females not till the evening. These are not easily obtained, except by rearing; but this is facilitated by the ease with which the pupa is found, in plenty, under moss on the trunks and roots of the beeches
- Platypteryx lacertinaria*, Linn.; *lacertula*, Schiff. (Scalloped Hook-tip). *Halton, Chalfont St. Peter, Chalfont Road*; not very common
- Cilix spinula*, Schiff.; *glauca*, St.C. *Buckingham, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Halton, High Wycombe*; probably generally distributed about hawthorn hedges
- Cerura furcula*, Linn. (Kitten). *Buckingham, Halton*; not common, the larva on willow
- *bifida*, Hb. (Poplar Kitten). *Halton, Chesham, Buckingham*
- *vinula*, Linn. (Puss Moth). Generally distributed about willows and poplars
- Stauropus fagi*, Linn. (Lobster Moth). *Halton, Aylesbury, Marlow, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, High Wycombe, Black Park*. This county is a portion of the central home or metropolis in Great Britain of this fine species, and here the rare black variety has occurred. The larva is most curious, having long legs, and a body so strangely humped that, from the time of its hatching from the egg, it bears the most singular resemblance to a lobster. It has been found here to feed, not only on oak and beech, but also on birch, hazel, hawthorn, apple and wild rose, and spins up between leaves or in moss before becoming a pupa. The moth sits on the trunks of trees—often small trees—in woods
- Notodonta dictæa*, Linn. (Swallow Prominent). *Halton, Marlow, Chesham, High Wycombe*; among poplars
- *dictæoides*, Esp. *Marlow and Halton*; among birch, on which the larva feeds. Difficult to rear except singly, since the larvæ are disposed to devour each other. They have a habit of clinging so closely to their food that it is difficult to shake or beat them off
- *ziczac*, Linn. *Chesham, Halton*; not rare, the larva feeding on willow and poplar
- *trepida*, Esp. *Marlow, Halton, Chesham, High Wycombe, Black Park*; not common
- *dromedarius*, Linn. *Black Park, Halton, Chesham*; not common
- Drymonia chaonia*, Hb. *Black Park, Stonor Park, Burnham Beeches, Chesham, Halton, Marlow*; rarely taken in the perfect state. The Rev. Bernard Smith wrote that at *Marlow* he found only larvæ, that they seemed to prefer isolated oak trees of moderate size, and were to be found, by the aid of a ladder, up to the very summit of the tree, usually lying along the midrib on the underside of the leaf, the best time for searching for it being from the middle to the end of June
- Drymonia dodonæa*, Schiff.; *trimacula*, St.C. *Marlow, Halton, Chesham*; also about oaks, but uncommon
- Lophopteryx carmelita*, Esp. Two specimens were taken in *Black Park* in the year 1857. This appears to be the only record in the county
- *camelina*, Linn. (Coxcomb Prominent). *Halton, Chesham, Black Park*, woods of the *Chiltern* district; larvæ found by the Rev. J. Greene in profusion in *Beech Wood* feeding upon beech, oak and hazel; also the pupæ commonly under moss on the tree trunks
- *cucullina*, Schiff.; *cuculla*, St.C. *Marlow, Halton, Aylesbury, Chesham*. The county of Bucks seems to be, so far as the United Kingdom is concerned, the metropolis of this beautiful species. The Rev. Joseph Greene says, 'At the time I was at *Halton*, *cucullina* was among the rarest British insects. Little or nothing was known about it in any stage. The first larva I found was while examining a maple shrub. I found these shrubs the most productive, especially such as were situated in the denser parts of the wood—a very unusual circumstance so far as my experience goes—I beat out about forty fine larvæ in the *Beech Wood*. When my notice of my captures at *Halton* appeared in the *Zoologist* (xii. 4184) a swarm of dealers hastened down to the place, and would speedily have exterminated the species, but were happily warned off the ground by Sir Anthony Rothschild's keepers for damaging and destroying the trees and shrubs.' It is satisfactory to be able to say that the species has not been exterminated, nor indeed seriously reduced in numbers; specimens in plenty have also been reared by the Rev. Bernard Smith of *Marlow* and others from eggs obtained by pairing reared specimens and thus continuing the breed in confinement. The moth is very rarely captured, but Dr. Churchill

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- has obtained it at *Chesham*, attracted by a strong light
- Pterostoma palpina*, Linn. *Chalfont St. Peter, Buckingham, Halton, Chesham*; about poplars
- Ptilophora plumigera*, Esp. *Halton, Great Marlow*. This is another most interesting species which has its chief home in this and the bordering counties. It is scarcely ever taken in the moth state. The Rev. B. Smith used to examine the twigs of maple bushes in the winter and so find the eggs, which were deposited singly on the buds. These hatched in April, and the larvæ fed on the young leaves of the maple. Considerable numbers were reared in this manner or from larvæ found on the under sides of the maple leaves. From the resulting moths eggs were obtained and sufficient specimens reared to supply most collections. A former resident at Marlow, Mr. C. T. G. Trotter, has furnished information as to the method of rearing. He says, 'A small maple planted in a pot and slightly forced about the 1st of April, may be brought indoors. The young larvæ, which appear about the 20th of April, are placed on the opening buds with a feather; these will not wander off their food, but go on feeding and changing their skins for about six weeks when they will be full grown and ready to bury. The plant will want watering occasionally, but no further trouble need be taken. They bury from one to two inches below the surface, and should be kept dry till November.' The Rev. B. Smith says that the larva will feed freely on sycamore and Norway maple as well as on *Acer campestre* (common maple). The moth has the strange habit of emerging in the middle of November; and has been taken at gas lamps occasionally
- Gluphisia crenata*, Esp. This is one of the most rare of British insects. Three specimens only are known with certainty to have been obtained in these islands, and of these one was reared from a larva obtained in Buckinghamshire. The history of this specimen by the Rev. Joseph Greene is as follows: 'In August, 1853, returning home from a collecting expedition, about midway between *Weston Turville* and *Halton* I came across a large black poplar. Striking a branch which was within reach of my beating stick, I saw something fall into the grass, and after a careful search discovered a small dull green caterpillar, tapering at each end, and having three or four brick-red dorsal patches, but quite unknown to me. This I placed in a breeding cage, and it went down that day. I left *Halton* for *Dublin* the same season, but before doing so I went to *London* to see whether I could obtain any information as to this larva at the Entomological Society. I found there, I think, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Janson; they showed me Hubner's great work, and when we came to the figure of *G. crenata* I at once recognized it. I left two sceptics behind me and returned home. I then went to *Dublin*, carrying with me, of course, my breeding cage containing such precious pupæ as *S. fagi*, *L. cucullina*, and the hoped-for *crenata*. The house in which I passed the winter had a greenhouse attached. All three species emerged at the end of the ensuing March, having been forced by the warmth; they are all still in my collection, and I know of no capture of *crenata* since.' Mr. Greene has furnished these details for the present work; he is now living—well stricken in years—at *Clifton, Bristol*, and still deeply interested in the entomology of this county. The specimen in question was exhibited at a meeting of the Entomological Society of *London* on 3 April, 1854
- Petasia cassinea*, Schiff.; sphinx, St.C. (the Sprawler). *Black Park, Halton, Chesham*
- Pygæra bucephala*, Linn. (the Buff-tip). Generally distributed and common
- Clostera curtula*, Linn. (Chocolate-tip). *Halton*, scarce
- *reclusa*, Fab.; *pigra*, St.C. (Small Chocolate-tip). *Halton, Black Park*; about willows
- Diloba cæruleocephala*, Linn. (Figure of 8). Generally distributed and common
- Gonophora derasa*, Linn. (Buff-arches). *Buckingham, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Black Park, Whittlebury Forest*; usually taken at 'sugar'
- Thyatira batis*, Linn. (Peach Blossom Moth). *Halton, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Black Park, Marlow*; also usually taken at 'sugar'
- Cymatophora duplaris*, Linn. *Halton, Chesham*; not common
- or, Schiff. *Halton*, larvæ on young shoots of poplar

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- Cymotophora ocularis*, Linn. *Halton*; also on poplar
- Asphalia diluta*, Schiff. *Black Park*
- *flavicornis*, Linn. *Black Park*; about birch
- *ridens*, Fab. *Black Park*; on oak
- Acronycta leporina*, Linn. Taken at *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
- *aceris*, Linn. *Chesham, Chalfont Road, Black Park*
- *megacephala*, Schiff. Generally common among poplars
- *alni*, Linn. *Marlow*; one larva found at *Halton*, but it unfortunately died
- *tridens*, Schiff. *Chesham, Buckingham, Halton*
- *psi*, Linn. (Common Dagger Moth). Common everywhere
- *rumicis*, Linn. *Black Park, Buckingham, Chesham, Halton*, where also its dark var. *salicis* has been found
- *ligustri*, Schiff. *Black Park, Claydon, Halton*. The Rev. J. Greene found pupæ in great profusion under moss on beech and ash trees in *Beech Wood*
- Agrotis suffusa*, Hb.; ypsilon, St.C. *Buckingham, Long Down Hill, Black Park*; sometimes common
- *segetum*, Schiff. (Turnip Moth). Everywhere too abundant, but especially so in cultivated fields
- *corticea*, Hb. *Halton, High Wycombe, Black Park*
- *cinerea*, Hb. The Rev. J. Greene says: 'Of this (then) rare species I obtained three at light, and beat out others from beech.' It is usually found on chalk hills and downs
- *puta*, Hb. Common at *Halton*; also at the electric light at *High Wycombe*
- *exclamationis*, Linn. Everywhere abundant; in woods, fields, meadows and gardens
- *nigricans*, Linn. *Black Park*; abundant at *Halton*
- *tritici*, Linn. One specimen only—found under a stone near *Chesham*
- *agathina*, Dup. *Black Park*; found at night at heather bloom
- *porphyrea*, Hb.; *strigula*, St.C. *Black Park*, among heath
- *saucia*, Hb. *Chalfont St. Peter*, taken by the Rev. J. Seymour St. John
- *pyrophila*, Fab. One specimen, taken by the Rev. J. Greene at flowers of *syringa*
- *ravida*, Hb. *Halton* and the *Chiltern* district; taken at the blossoms of the lime; abundant in 1893
- Axylia putris*, Linn. *Chesham, Halton, Buckingham, Black Park, High Wycombe*
- Triphæna fimbria*, Linn. (Broad-bordered Yellow Underwing). *Black Park, Halton, Buckingham, Chesham*; in woods
- *janthina*, Esp. *Chalfont St. Peter, Buckingham, Chesham, High Wycombe, Halton, Chalfont Road*; at flowers
- *interjecta*, Hb. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chalfont Road, Halton, Chesham*; flying along hedges in the afternoon sunshine
- *subsequa*, Hb. One taken by Messrs. Peachell at electric light at *High Wycombe*
- *orbona*, Fab.; comes, St.C. Generally common in woods. Mr. J. B. Williamson of Slough reports that he has reared specimens from larvæ taken at that place, of which the yellow of the hind wings was darkened as much as in those received from Scotland
- *pronuba*, Linn. (Common Yellow Underwing). Abundant everywhere, but most so in hay-fields
- Noctua glareosa*, Esp. Taken at *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
- *augur*, Fab. *Buckingham, common; Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Black Park*; probably generally distributed
- *plecta*, Linn. *Chesham, High Wycombe, Black Park*
- *triangulum*, Tr. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Buckingham, Black Park*; frequent in woods
- *c-nigrum*, Linn. *Buckingham, Black Park, Chalfont St. Peter, High Wycombe, Long Down Hills*
- *rhomboidea*, Tr.; *stigmatica*, St.C. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Black Park*, in beech woods
- *brunnea*, Fab. *Buckingham, Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Black Park*; probably in all woods
- *dahlia*, Hb. *Chalfont St. Peter, Black Park*
- *festiva*, Hb. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Buckingham, Black Park*; probably in all woods
- *baja*, Fab. Widely distributed in woods
- *rubi*, Viewig; *bella*, Bkh. *Chesham, Black Park*; common at *Halton*
- *umbrosa*, Hb. *Halton, Buckingham*, not scarce
- *xanthographa*, Fab. Generally abundant in woods and lanes
- *neglecta*, Hb.; *castanea*, St.C. *Chalfont St. Peter, Black Park*
- Eurois herbida*, Hb.; *prasina*, St.C. *Black Park, Halton*; in woods, uncertain
- *adusta*, Esp. *Chesham, Halton, Black Park*; in woods, not very common

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- Charæas graminis*, Linn. (Antler Moth). *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter*, the *Chiltern* district; larva sometimes mischievous in grass lands
- Heliophobus popularis*, Fab. *Chesham, Buckingham, Chalfont St. Peter, High Wycombe*; common at *Halton*. Larva also occasionally injurious to pasture lands
- Neuria saponariæ*, Bkh. *Chesham*, occasionally at 'light'; *Buckingham, Halton, Black Park, High Wycombe*
- Aplecta advena*, Fab. *Chesham, Chalfont Road, Halton, Black Park*; strongly attracted by the flowers of the turncap lily
- *nebulosa*, Hufn. *Chesham*; common at *Black Park*, and probably in other woods
- Hadena thalassina*, Rott. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Black Park*; common in woods
- *pisi*, Linn. Recorded at *Halton* by Mr. Stainton
- *oleracea*, Linn. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham*; common at *Halton*
- *genistæ*, Steph. *Chesham, High Wycombe, Black Park*, the *Chiltern* district; not very common
- *dentina*, Esp. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter*
- *chenopodii*, Fab. *High Wycombe* at the electric light
- Mamestra brassicæ*, Linn. (Cabbage Moth). Abundant everywhere, but especially in gardens
- *persicariæ*, Linn. (the Dot). *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Black Park*; widely distributed, but most frequent in gardens
- Hecatera serena*, Fab. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Chalfont Road, Halton, Buckingham, High Wycombe*; usually found sitting on a tree-trunk or paling
- Dianthecia carpophaga*, Bkh. *Halton, Taplow, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Chalfont Road*; among *Silene inflata*
- *capsincola*, Hb. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter*; among *Lychnis*
- *cucubali*, Fues. *Taplow, High Wycombe*; not common
- *conspersa*, Esp.; *nana*, St.C. Recorded at *Halton* by Mr. Stainton; taken by A. T. Goodson at *Dancers End, Tring*, over blossoms of campion
- Epunda nigra*, Haw. One specimen taken at electric light at *High Wycombe* by Messrs. Peachell
- Polia flavicincta*, Fab. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, High Wycombe*; rather common at *Buckingham*
- *chi*, Linn. Taken at *Chalfont St. Peter* by the Rev. J. S. St. John
- Dryobota protea*, Bkh. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Halton*; common among oaks, the pupæ to be found in plenty at their roots
- Cleoceris viminalis*, Fab. *Halton*; the larva common in shoots of willow and sallow
- Chariptera aprilina*, Linn. *Chesham, Halton*; pupa common at roots of oak
- Miselia oxyacanthæ*, Linn. *Buckingham, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter*; rather common at 'sugar' in the late autumn
- Luperina testacea*, Hb. Generally common about grass land, in which the larvæ is sometimes destructive
- Cerigo cytherea*, Fab. *Chesham, Buckingham, Chalfont St. Peter, Halton, Black Park, High Wycombe*
- Hama anceps*, Hb.; *sordida*, St.C. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Black Park*; common at *Halton*
- *furva*, Hb. The late Mr. Samuel Stevens recorded in the year 1844 the capture of this species at *Black Park*
- Xylophasia lithoxylea*, Fab. Generally distributed and often common
- *sublustris*, Esp. *Black Park, Marlow, Buckingham*; rather local and not very common
- *polyodon*, Linn.; *monoglypha*, St.C. Everywhere abundant; a variety nearly black was taken near *Buckingham* in 1870. This form is very rare in the south
- *rurea*, Fab. Generally common in woods and lanes
- *hepatica*, Hb. *Chesham, Buckingham, Chalfont St. Peter, Black Park, Halton*. The Rev. J. Greene says that the larva may be found full grown in April under moss on the trunks of trees
- *scolopacina*, Esp. Two specimens have been taken at *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
- Apamea basilinea*, Fab. Generally distributed and often common
- *gemina*, Hb. *Black Park*; abundant at *Halton*
- *unanimis*, Tr. *Chesham, Halton*. The Rev. J. Greene says that the larva hibernates when full grown under moss or loose bark on poplars in damp places
- *oculea*, Gn.; *didyma*, St.C. Abundant everywhere
- Miana literosa*, Haw. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham*
- *strigilis*, Cl. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Black Park*; usually common
- *fasciuncula*, Haw. *Chalfont St. Peter, Halton, Chesham*, in damp meadows

INSECTS

- Miana furuncula*, Tr. *Chalfont St. Peter*
- Eremobia ochroleuca*, Esp. In the *Chiltern* district, not common. Usually taken sitting on flowers in the daytime
- Dipterygia pinastri*, Linn. ; *scabriuscula*, St.C. *Black Park*
- Euplexia lucipara*, Linn. Generally distributed
- Phlogophora meticulosa*, Linn. Common everywhere
- Helotropha fibrosa*, Hb. ; *leucostigma*, St.C. Taken at 'sugar' near *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
- Hydræcia nictitans*, Bkh. *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Halton*, *Chesham*, *Black Park*
- *micacea*, Esp. *Halton*, *Chesham*
- Calamia lutosa*, Hb. *High Wycombe*, at the electric light
- Leucania impura*, Hb. *Chesham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, common at *Halton* ; probably everywhere
- *pallens*, Linn. Abundant in grass lands as well as in woods
- *comma*, Linn. *Buckingham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chesham*, *Black Park*, *High Wycombe* ; in woods
- *conigera*, Fab. Generally distributed ; usually taken at flowers
- *lithargyria*, Esp. Generally common in woods
- *turca*, Linn. At one time taken at *Black Park*, but apparently not seen there for fifty years, or even much longer
- Panolis piniperda*, Panz. *Black Park* ; larva taken on fir by the late Mr. Samuel Stevens
- Tæniocampa gothica*, Linn. Generally distributed in woods ; taken at willow bloom at dusk in early spring
- *miniosa*, Fab. Once taken at *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
- *cruda*, Tr. ; *pulverulenta*, St.C. Generally abundant at willow bloom in early spring
- *stabilis*, View. Generally abundant ; taken in the same manner
- *populeti*, Tr. *Chesham*, *Black Park*, *Halton*. The Rev. J. Greene says : 'I found a fair number of the pupæ of this, then, rare species ; on one occasion thirteen at the roots of one poplar. It goes much deeper into the earth than most species'
- *instabilis*, Esp. ; *incerta*, St.C. *Chesham*, *High Wycombe* ; common at *Buckingham* ; *Halton*, the pupa found in profusion by digging at the roots of many trees. This moth also comes freely to willow bloom, but often later in the spring, and is very variable
- *munda*, Esp. *Chesham*, *Halton*, *Great Marlow*, *Black Park* ; at willow bloom in early spring
- Tæniocampa gracilis*, Fab. *Buckingham*, *Chesham*, *Black Park* ; also at willow bloom, but later
- Pachnobia leucographa*, Hb. *Chesham*, *Rickmansworth* neighbourhood, *Great Marlow* ; at willow bloom ; scarce
- *rubricosa*, Fab. *Buckingham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chesham*, *High Wycombe* ; at the same attraction
- Rusina tenebrosa*, Hb. Generally distributed in woods ; coming freely to 'sugar' on trees
- Mania maura*, Linn. *Buckingham*, *Chesham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *High Wycombe*, *Black Park* ; often hiding in houses
- Nænia typica*, Linn. Generally common
- Amphipyra pyramidea*, Linn. (Copper Underwing). *Chesham*, *Buckingham*, *High Wycombe*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Black Park* ; in woods, in some years abundantly
- *tragopogonis*, Linn. (Mouse Moth). Generally distributed ; often found in houses behind curtains, running swiftly when disturbed ; but in no respect injurious, since its larva feeds on weeds, and their blossoms especially
- Hydrilla arcuosa*, Haw. *Halton*, *Black Park*, not common ; taken at 'light'
- Caradrina morpheus*, Tr. *Chesham*, *High Wycombe*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Black Park* ; common in gardens
- Caradrina alsines*, Bkh. *Chesham*, *Halton*, abundant ; *High Wycombe*, *Black Park* ; often taken at lime blossoms
- *blanda*, Tr. ; *taraxaci*, St.C. Generally common in woods and lanes
- *cubicularis*, Bkh. ; *quadripunctata*, St.C. Generally common ; destructive to grain ; sometimes found abundantly in corn stacks
- Grammesia trilinea*, Bkh. ; *trigrammica*, St.C. Generally distributed in woods
- Dyschorista ypsilon*, Bkh. ; *fissipuncta*, Haw. Found by the Rev. J. Greene at *Halton*, the pupa under moss on alders
- Dicycla oo*, Linn. *Buckingham*, *Black Park*, rare ; an extremely local species
- Calymnia trapezina*, Linn. Generally common in woods. The larva of this species is notorious for its habit of chasing, killing and devouring larvæ of more feeble kinds
- *pyralina*, Schiff. Formerly at *Black Park* ; usually a very scarce species
- *diffinis*, Linn. *Buckingham*, *Black Park*, *Halton* ; pupæ at the roots of elms, but scarce

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- Calymnia affinis*, Linn. *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chesham*, scarce; *Black Park*; *Halton*, common about elms
- Tethea subtusa*, Schiff. *Chesham*, *Halton*; the larva not uncommon upon willow
- *retusa*, Linn. *Black Park*, scarce
- Orthosia rufina*, Linn.; *helvola*, St.C. *Halton*; taken abundantly at ivy bloom in the autumn
- *ferruginea*, Schiff.; *circellaris*, St.C. Generally distributed and common among elm
- *pistacina*, Schiff. Generally common. Very conspicuous from its wild and eccentric flight round gas lamps in autumn. Abundant at ivy bloom
- *litura*, Linn. *Chesham*, *High Wycombe*, *Chalfont St. Peter*
- *lunosa*, Haw. *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Buckingham*, *High Wycombe*. Also to be seen flying wildly around gas lamps in the early autumn
- *lota*, Linn. Abundant in late autumn, frequenting ivy bloom
- *macilenta*, Hb. Common at *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chesham*, *High Wycombe*; scarce at *Halton*; pupa in a very weak cocoon at the foot of birch
- Cirrædia xerampelina*, Hb. *Chalfont Park*, not uncommon; *Chesham*, *Halton*, *High Wycombe*; always considered a rare species until the Rev. J. Greene showed that, by careful digging at the roots of ash trees, the pupæ might be obtained in moderate numbers
- Xanthia citrigo*, Linn. *Buckingham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Halton*, *High Wycombe*; most frequent about lime trees in chalk districts
- *cerago*, Schiff.; *fulvago*, St.C. *Chalfont St. Peter*, *High Wycombe*, *Chesham*, *Halton*; larva in buds of willow in woods; the moth frequent at early ivy blossom
- *silago*, Hb.; *flavago*, St.C. *Halton*, *High Wycombe*; rather common, yet not recorded elsewhere in this county
- *aurago*, Schiff. *Marlow*, *Halton*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chesham*, *Black Park*. This most beautiful species is very local, and is found more freely in this and one or two adjoining counties than in any other part of England.
- *gilvago*, Esp. Found at *Chalfont St. Peter* by the Rev. J. S. St. John
- Hoporina croceago*, Schiff. Formerly taken at *Black Park* by Mr. Samuel Stevens
- Dasycampa rubiginea*, Schiff. *Great Marlow*, *Slough*, *Halton*, rare. The Rev. J. Greene says: 'In the course of September I bred four specimens from eggs laid in a pill-box by a female moth taken at willow bloom at *Marlow* in the spring; the larvæ fed on the leaf of the Orleans plum, and were concealed during the daytime among the leaves. In regard to this species feeding on plum, a very fresh specimen of the moth was taken near this place on the bole of a plum tree at *sugar*, and another in an orchard.'
- Cerastis vaccinii*, Linn. Abundant in woods
- *ligula*, Esp.; *spadicea*, Stn. *Chesham*, *Halton*, *Buckingham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*
- Scopelosoma satellitia*, Linn. Generally distributed in woods in the autumn, coming freely to ivy bloom
- Xylina semibrunnea*, Haw. *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Black Park*; a very local species, attracted by ivy bloom
- *rhizolitha*, Fab.; *ornithopus*, St.C. *Chesham*, *Halton*, *Black Park*; not very common
- Xylocampa lithoriza*, Bkh.; *areola*, St.C. *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Black Park*, *High Wycombe*; on walls and tree trunks about honeysuckle in the spring
- Calocampa exoleta*, Linn. *Chesham*, *Black Park*; not common
- *vetusta*, Hb. Only noticed at *Buckingham* by Mr. Slade
- Cucullia verbasci*, Linn. Generally distributed, yet rarely seen in the moth state from its extraordinary resemblance when at rest to a bit of stick; the larva plentiful and conspicuous upon *Verbascum* and *Scrophularia*
- *lychnitis*, Ramb. The Rev. Bernard Smith recorded, in the year 1856, that he had reared one specimen at *Marlow*, but it is not stated clearly whether the larva from which this specimen was reared was found in this county; on the other hand the notice (*Weekly Intelligencer*, i. 140) appears to refer only to species found in Bucks, and is mentioned along with *Lophopteryx cucullina*. Probably it was found on the flowers of *Verbascum nigrum*. Larvæ taken in some numbers by A. T. Goodson in 1901 on the borders of the county near *Dancers End*.
- *chamomillæ*, Schiff. Recorded only from *Buckingham*; probably more widely distributed, its larva feeding on wild camomile in cornfields
- *umbratica*, Linn. *Chesham*, *High Wycombe*, *Buckingham*, but probably also elsewhere;

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- the larva feeding upon sow-thistle ; the moth visiting flowers in gardens in the summer
- Plusia chrysitis*, Linn. (Burnished Brass Moth). *Halton, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Buckingham, High Wycombe* ; probably generally distributed in lanes and gardens
- *pulchrina*, Haw. ; *v-aureum*, Gn. Only noticed at *Chesham* and in the *Chiltern* district
- *iota*, Linn. (Golden γ). *Halton, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Taplow, Buckingham, High Wycombe* and the *Chiltern* district ; widely distributed, frequenting gardens and lanes
- *gamma*, Linn. (Silver γ). Abundant everywhere, but the larva is by no means so common. There is reason to believe that vast migrations of this moth take place now and then from the continent
- Habrostola urticæ*, Hb. ; *tripartita*, St.C. *Buckingham, Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Halton* ; usually taken hovering at flowers, or its larva upon nettles
- *triplasia*, Linn. *Buckingham, Halton*, at flowers, often in gardens ; *High Wycombe* at the electric light
- Heliodes arbuti*, Fab. ; *tenebrata*, St.C. *Halton, Buckingham* ; common in the sunny corners of meadows
- Erastria fuscula*, Bkh. ; *fasciana*, St.C. Taken near *Chalfont St. Peter* by the Rev. J. S. St. John
- Bryophila perla*, Fab. Generally common, sitting upon walls ; its larva feeding on the minute wall lichens at night, hiding itself in a chamber in an interstice in the wall by day
- Phytometra ænea*, Hb. ; *viridaria*, St.C. Common at *Halton* and in the *Chiltern* district in rides of woods
- Anarta myrtilli*, Linn. *Black Park* ; taken flying swiftly over heather in the sunshine
- Gonoptera libatrix*, Linn. (Herald Moth). Generally distributed but not very common, hiding during the winter in houses or under roofs of outhouses
- Catocala fraxini*, Linn. (Clifden Beauty). The Rev. J. Greene refers to a rumour or statement that a specimen of this noble insect had been either captured or reared by Mr. W. E. Parsons of Aylesbury. This statement does not seem to have been confirmed or contradicted
- *nupta*, Linn. (Red Underwing). *Buckingham, Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, High Wycombe, Black Park*, about willows. This noble moth forms a great brown triangular figure as it sits on a tree trunk, or occasionally on a wall ; the development as it opens its brilliant red hind wings in flight is somewhat startling
- Catocala sponsa*, Linn. (the Crimson Under—*promissa*, Esp. } wings). Both these beautiful species were captured in *Black Park* by the late Mr. Samuel Stevens in the year 1844, but neither appears to have been seen in the county since that date. Both abound in certain years in the *New Forest, Hants*
- Euclidia glyphica*, Linn. Widely distributed in flowery pastures and meadows and on railway embankments
- *mi*, Clerck. Even more generally distributed in similar places
- Aventia flexula*, Schiff. Taken occasionally at *Halton* by the Rev. J. Greene, at *Black Park* by the late Mr. S. Stevens, and near *Leckhampstead* on the borders of *Whittlebury Forest* by the Rev. C. F. Thornehill. An uncommon species, usually found in old lichen-covered crab and thorn trees
- Herminia barbalis*, Linn. *Black Park, Marlow* ; in woods among willow
- *grisealis*, Hb. *Amersham*
- Hypenodes albistrigalis*, Gn. *Marlow*
- *costæstrigalis*, Steph. *Black Park*. It is probable that both these small and insignificant looking species are frequently overlooked
- Hypena rostralis*, Linn. *Marlow* ; among hop
- Brephos notha*, Hb. The capture of a single specimen near *Buckingham* is recorded by Mr. W. Slade
- Ourapteryx sambucata*, Linn. (Swallow-tail Moth). This fine geometra moth is common throughout the county, and is very conspicuous as it flies wildly along hedges at dusk. Its larva often feeds on ivy
- Angerona prunaria*, Linn. (Orange Moth). *Black Park*, and also on the borders of *Whittlebury Forest*. A conspicuous and handsome species, its male dancing vigorously at dusk along the rides and through the openings of the woods ; its female flying later at night
- Rumia cratægata*, Linn. ; *luteolata*, St.C. (Brimstone Moth). Abundant everywhere about hawthorn hedges
- Venilia maculata*, Linn. *Chalfont St. Peter* ; local, flying in woods in the sunshine
- Cabera pusaria*, Linn. This pretty snowy-white moth is common in woods among willow and alder

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- Cabera exanthemaria*, Scop. Also generally common in woods
- Bapta temerata*, Schiff. Generally distributed in the borders of woods, but not abundant
- *taminata*, Schiff.; *bimaculata*, St.C. *Marlow, Chesham, Amersham, Chalfont St. Peter*; not usually common
- Macaria liturata*, Linn. *Buckingham, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter*; common at *Black Park*; among firs
- Halia wavaria*, Linn. Generally common in gardens, its larva often injurious to gooseberry and currant trees, devouring their leaves
- Panagra petraria*, Hb. *Chalfont St. Peter*; common among brake-fern on open commons
- Strenia clathrata*, Linn. *Chalfont St. Peter, Amersham, Chesham, Buckingham*; common in clover fields and on railway banks
- Fidonia atomaria*, Linn. *Halton, Chesham, Black Park*; abundant on all heaths
- *pinaria*, Linn. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Black Park, Whittlebury Forest*; common about Scotch fir trees
- Numeria pulveraria*, Linn. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham*; in country lanes and hedges, as well as the borders of woods
- Scodionia belgiaria*, Hb. Taken at *Chalfont St. Peter* by the Rev. J. S. St. John
- Eurymene dolobraria*, Linn. *Black Park, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Halton*. The Rev. J. Greene says: 'This beautiful species I used to take in plenty in the pupa state under moss on beech trees in the *Beech Wood*; also occasionally on oaks; the larva enters the moss at the first convenient place, and in tearing it off (which must be done by hand, not with the trowel) great care must be taken in loosening the edge of the moss, for there the pupa is, I may say, invariably found'
- Odontoptera bidentata*, Linn. Generally distributed in wooded districts
- Ennomos autumnaria*, Wenb.; *alniaria*, St. M. The Rev. H. Harpur Crewe writes: 'Some three or four years since I bred a hopelessly crippled specimen from a larva which I beat out amongst a number of those of *E. angularia*, in *Buckinghamshire*. I at once detected a slight difference in its appearance and placed it by itself. It was on the point of laying up, and in a few days turned to a most singular mottled pupa. In about three weeks' time a crippled moth made its appearance. The wood in which I beat it consisted almost entirely of beech, but there were a few oaks, birches and maples, and as I had beaten them also, I cannot be certain what it had fed upon.' This species is not now the great rarity that it was at that time (1857), but it is almost confined to the extreme south coast, and is but occasionally met with even there
- Ennomos alniaria*, Linn.; *tiliaria*, St. M. *Chesham, Buckingham, Halton, High Wycombe*; larvæ beaten from poplar as well as alder
- *fuscantaria*, Haw. *Buckingham, High Wycombe, Halton, Marlow*. The Rev. Bernard Smith wrote: 'I have bred seven specimens from the egg, all males—a circumstance which has occurred in another instance known to me, and which seems to indicate that the female is really scarcer in this species.' Larva on ash
- *erosaria*, Schiff. *Chesham, High Wycombe, Black Park, Halton*; larva upon oak, not common
- *angularia*, Schiff.; *quercinaria*, St. C. *Chesham, Buckingham, Chalfont St. Peter, High Wycombe*, the *Chiltern* district; common at *Halton*
- Crocallis elinguarina*, Linn. Generally distributed; often to be seen sitting flatly upon the grass or dead leaves under a hedge, and conspicuous
- Himera pennaria*, Linn. Generally distributed in woods, but rarely seen except when attracted by a strong light; larva common on various trees
- Selenia illustraria*, Hb.; *tetralunaria*, St. C. *Halton, Black Park, Chesham*, and the *Chiltern* district, but scarce
- *lunaria*, Schiff. *Chesham, Black Park*
- *illunaria*, Hb.; *bilunaria*, St. C. Generally distributed
- Pericallia syringaria*, Linn. *Black Park, Halton, Marlow, Chesham, Buckingham, Leckhampstead*; male and female very different, but each singularly beautiful
- Epione apiciaria*, Schiff. *Chesham, Buckingham*; in damp places among willow, but not common
- Metrocampa margaritata*, Linn. Generally common in woods among oak, sometimes abundant
- Ellopiia fasciaria*, Linn.; *prosapiaria*, St. C. *Chesham, Black Park*, among Scotch fir; not common here
- Biston hirtarius*, Linn. *Halton, Buckingham*; not common
- *prodromarius*, Schiff.; *stratarius*, St. C. *Chesham, Buckingham, Halton*, about

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- oaks. Rev. J. Greene says that the pupa is scarce at the roots of these trees and rather apt to dry up
- Biston betularius, Linn. *Chesham, Buckingham, Halton, High Wycombe*; pupa at elm, much more commonly
- Phigalia pilosaria, Schiff.; pedaria, St.C. *Halton, Chesham, Buckingham*; on tree trunks in early spring
- Nyssia hispidaria, Schiff. Larvæ found at *Chesham* and reared by Dr. Churchill
- Cleora lichenaria, Schiff. Generally distributed in woods, and common where lichens are plentiful
- Tephrosia consonaria, Hb. *Halton, Marlow, Black Park, the Chilterns*. Rev. J. Greene says: 'In immense profusion on the trunks of beech trees, in *Beech Wood*, at the beginning of May. The insect emerges from the pupa about two in the afternoon, at which time I have seen them by dozens drying their wings on the trunks of the trees. This is one of the few species which I have taken in the pupa state at the roots of trees in woods. The pupa should be looked for under moss on the beech; it here appears to be exclusively attached to that tree.' This is singular since in other places it is to be found more frequently upon fir trees, sitting rather high up
- laricaria, Stainton
 - biundularia, Esp.; crepuscularia, Schiff. }
Opinions differ as to whether these form two species or one. Both forms are widely distributed in woods, the former appearing earlier in the spring than the latter. Rev. J. Greene says that both abounded in *Beech Wood*
 - extersaria, Hb.; luridata, St.C. *Black Park, Buckingham, Chalfont St. Peter*; rather local
 - punctularia, Schiff. This usually common species seems only to have been taken at *Chalfont St. Peter*
- Boarmia roboraria, Schiff. This noble species has been taken at *Black Park* and also by the Rev. C. F. Thornewill in *Whittlebury Forest* near *Leckhampstead*
- consortaria, Fab. Found near *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
 - repandata, Linn. Everywhere common in woods and hedges
 - rhomboidaria, Schiff.; gemmaria, St.C. Generally distributed; most frequent in gardens and shrubberies in the outskirts of towns
 - abietaria, Schiff. *Halton*; a few beaten out of fir trees in the *Beech Wood*; also found at *Black Park*
- Hemerophila abruptaria, Thunb. *Chalfont St. Peter, Halton, Chesham, High Wycombe*; about gardens among privet
- Hibernia aurantiaria, Hb. *Chesham, Halton*. The Rev. J. Greene found pupæ in plenty at elms
- defoliaria, Linn. *Halton, High Wycombe, Chesham*; pupæ at the same
 - progemmaria, Hb.; marginaria, St.C. Common everywhere
 - leucophæaria, Schiff. *Halton, Chesham*; common in woods in early spring
 - rupicaprararia, Schiff. *Chalfont St. Peter, Halton, Chesham*; on hedges in January
- Anisopteryx æscularia, Schiff. *Halton, Buckingham, Chesham, High Wycombe*; frequently to be seen on gas lamps at night
- Abraxas grossulariata, Linn. Everywhere abundant in gardens, the larva feeding on the currant trees; also in lanes on blackthorn. Mr. W. Slade says that he has here seen hundreds of the larvæ feeding on osier
- ulmata, Fab.; sylvata, St.C. *Chesham*; found by Mr. R. South at *Chalfont Road*; the larva feeds on small trees of wych elm in beech woods
- Ligdia adustata, Schiff. *Halton, Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Leckhampstead*; larva on spindle
- Lomaspolis marginata, Linn. Generally distributed in woods and among shallows in damp places; in this county rather constant in its markings
- Geometra papilionaria, Linn. *Chesham, Chalfont Road, Halton*, borders of *Whittlebury Forest*; about birch and alder
- Iodis vernaria, Linn. *Black Park, Halton, Chesham*; among Clematis vitalba
- lactæaria, Linn. Generally distributed in woods
- Phorodesma bajularia, Schiff.; pustulata, St.C. *Black Park*, borders of *Whittlebury Forest*; among oak; the larva loads itself with particles of dead bracts of oak till it looks like a mere web-tangle of rubbish, and is constantly overlooked for that reason
- Hemithea thymiaria, Linn.; strigata, St.C. Generally distributed in woods and usually common
- Ephyra punctaria, Linn. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham*; among oak
- trilineararia, Bkh.; linearia, St.C. *Chesham, Halton, Black Park, the Chiltern* district; common among beech
 - omicronaria, Schiff.; annulata, St.C. *Halton*, scarce; *Chesham, Leckhampstead*, among maple

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- Ephyra pendularia*, Linn. *Black Park*, among birch
- Acidalia scutulata*, Schiff. ; *dimidiata*, St.C. Generally distributed and common
- *bisetata*, Bkh. Common everywhere in woods and hedges
- *trigeminata*, Haw. The Rev. J. S. St. John records the capture of two specimens at *Chalfont St. Peter* in 1886
- *holosericata*, Dup. Also taken at *Chalfont St. Peter* and recorded at the same time
- *dilutaria*, Hb. ; *interjectaria*, Bdv. ; *osseata*, St.M. *Chalfont St. Peter* ; common at *Halton*
- *incanaria*, Hb. ; *virgularia*, St.C. *Halton*, *Chesham*, *Chalfont St. Peter* ; common in gardens
- *ornata*, Scop. This very pretty chalk frequenting species was found rather commonly on *Long Down Hill* by Dr. Churchill
- *remutata*, Hb. Generally common in woods
- *aversata*, Linn. Generally distributed ; often in gardens
- *inornata*, Haw. Found on the borders of *Whittlebury Forest* by the Rev. C. F. Thornewill
- Timandra imitaria*, Hb. Generally distributed and not uncommon, frequenting hedges
- Bradyepetes amataria*, Linn. *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Halton*, *Buckingham*, *Leckhampstead* ; in lanes and hedges
- Ania emarginata*, Linn. Recorded at *Halton*, by Mr. H. T. Stainton
- Melanippe subtristata*, Haw. ; *sociata*, St.C. Generally abundant in woods and hedges
- *rivata*, Hb. Taken by Mr. South near *Chalfont Road*
- Melanthia rubiginata*, Schiff. ; *bicolorata*, St.C. Generally distributed in woods among alder
- *ocellata*, Linn. In all woods, but not abundantly
- *albicillata*, Linn. *Black Park*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chalfont Road*, *Chesham*, *Halton*, borders of *Whittlebury Forest* ; this most delicately beautiful species is widely distributed in woods
- *procellata*, Schiff. *Black Park*, formerly at *Chesham* ; among *Clematis vitalba*
- *unangulata*, Haw. *Chesham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chalfont Road* ; not very common
- Anticlea rubidata*, Schiff. Taken near *Aylesbury* by the Rev. Joseph Greene.
- *badiata*, Schiff. *Buckingham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chesham*, *Halton* ; among wild rose
- Anticlea derivata*, Schiff. *Chesham*, *Buckingham*, *Chalfont St. Peter* ; also among wild rose
- Coremia montanata*, Schiff. Generally common, abundant in woods
- *fluctuata*, Linn. Everywhere common in gardens
- *propugnata*, Schiff. ; *designata*, St.C. *Chesham*, *Chalfont St. Peter* ; frequent in woods
- *ferrugata*, Linn. Everywhere abundant in lanes, hedges, and the borders of woods
- *unidentaria*, Haw. Generally distributed in lanes, woods and hedges, but not everywhere common
- *quadrifasciaria*, Linn. *Chesham*, *Black Park*, *Chalfont Road* ; very local
- *pectinitaria*, Fuessl. ; *viridaria*, St.C. Common in all woods and wooded heaths
- *didymata*, Linn. Abundant on heaths, hillsides, and the margins of woods
- *multistrigaria*, Haw. *Chesham*, *Black Park*
- Larentia olivata*, Schiff. *Halton*, common ; *Chesham*, *Chalfont Road* ; *Buckingham*, scarce
- Asthena luteata*, Schiff. *Halton*, *Chesham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chalfont Road*, *Leckhampstead*, *Amersham* ; about maple bushes, especially those in hedges
- *candidata*, Schiff. Generally distributed in woods
- *sylvata*, Schiff. ; *testacea*, St.C. Taken by Mr. South at *Chalfont Road*
- *blomeri*, Curt. *Marlow*, *Chesham*, *Chalfont Road*, *Rickmansworth* ; fond of sitting on the trunks of beech trees during the day
- Minoa euphorbiata*, Schiff. ; *murinata*, St.C. *Halton*, *Marlow*, not common ; among wood spurge
- Emmelesia affinitata*, Steph. *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Chalfont Road* ; among *Lychnis dioica*
- *alchemillata*, Linn. Taken some years ago at *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
- *albulata*, Schiff. Found at *Leckhampstead* by the Rev. C. F. Thornewill. Apparently not noticed elsewhere in the county, though it must surely be present in meadows among yellow-rattle
- *decolorata*, Hb. *Buckingham*, *Chalfont Road*, common at *Halton* ; among *Lychnis vespertina*
- Cidaria psittacata*, Schiff. ; *siterata*, St.C. *Halton*, scarce ; comes to the flowers of ivy in autumn
- *miata*, Linn. *Buckingham*, *Halton*, *Chesham* ; also attracted by ivy bloom, and by that of willows in the spring

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- Cidaria corylata*, Thunb. Generally distributed in woods, sitting by day on tree trunks
- *picata*, Hb. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Chalfont Road, Black Park, Amersham*; rather local; a most beautiful species
- *russata*, Schiff., *truncata*, St.C. Everywhere abundant in hedges and woods
- *immanata*, Haw. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Whittlebury Forest*, common at *Halton*
- *suffumata*, Schiff. *Halton, Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham*; frequent in lanes and the edges of woods in the spring
- *silacea*, Schiff. *Marlow, Halton, Aylesbury, Chesham, Whittlebury Forest*; larva upon *Epilobium angustifolium*
- *prunata*, Linn. *Buckingham, Drayton Beauchamp, Chesham*; in gardens among currant bushes
- *dotata*, Linn.; *associata*, St.C. *Buckingham, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, High Wycombe*; also in gardens among currant
- *fulvata*, Forst. Generally distributed in woods, lanes and gardens, among rose
- *pyraliata*, Bkh., *dotata*, St.C. *Buckingham, Chesham, Leckhampstead*; in hedges and gardens about cleavers (*Galium aparine*)
- *populata*, Bkh. Recorded from *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
- *testata*, Linn. *Chesham, Buckingham*
- Scotosia vetulata*, Schiff. *Halton, Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter, Drayton Beauchamp, Whittlebury Forest*; among *Rhamnus*
- *rhamnata*, Schiff. *Halton, Buckingham, Taplow, Drayton Beauchamp, Whittlebury Forest*; also among *Rhamnus*; readily attracted by light
- *undulata*, Linn. *Halton, Buckingham*
- *dubitata*, Linn. Generally distributed in gardens, lanes and woods, but usually not plentiful
- *certata*, Hb. *Chesham, Black Park*; among *Berberis* and *Mahonia* in gardens
- Camptogramma bilineata*, Linn. Abundant everywhere
- Phibalapteryx vitalbata*, Schiff. Reared from larvæ on *Clematis* at *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill, and taken at *Wendover* by Mr. H. J. Turner
- *tersata*, Schiff. *Chesham, Chalfont St. Peter*; about masses of *Clematis vitalba* in hedges, *Wendover*
- Thera firmata*, Hb. *Chalfont St. Peter, Marlow, Black Park*; among Scotch fir
- *variata*, Schiff. *Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Black Park*; common among firs
- Hypsipetes ruberata*, Frey; *literata*, St.C. *Chesham, Halton*; pupa under loose bark of poplars and willows, not commonly
- *impluviata*, Schiff.; *trifasciata*, St.C. *Chesham*; common at *Halton*; among alder
- *elutata*, Schiff.; *sordidata*, St.C. Everywhere abundant in hedges and woods
- Oporabia dilutata*, Schiff. *Chesham, High Wycombe*; very common at *Halton*, especially in the larva and pupa states; probably in most woods; flying in November
- Cheimatobia boreata*, Hb. *Chesham*, on palings; found by the Rev. Bernard Smith in 1854, rather commonly in beech woods at *Great Marlow* and *Honor Park*, sitting on the trunks of the beeches; its usual food plant, the birch, being almost absent
- *brumata*, Linn. Everywhere abundant in the winter in woods, orchards and hedges; larvæ most injurious to the apple-crop by feeding in the blossoms
- Lobophora sexalata*, Hb.; *sexalisata*, St.C. *Halton*, among willow
- *viretata*, Hb. *Marlow, Chesham*; on tree trunks
- Chesias spartiata*, Schiff. Reared by Dr. Churchill from larvæ found on broom at *Chesham*
- Anaitis plagiata*, Linn. *Halton, Chesham*, the *Chiltern* district; common on hill-sides
- Eubolia palumbaria*, Schiff.; *plumbaria*, St.C. *Chesham*, common at *Halton*; usually found plentifully upon commons and rough heathland
- *bipunctaria*, Schiff. *Wendover, Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Halton*; usually in chalk districts, resting upon the ground
- *cervinaria*, Schiff. *Halton, Chesham*; among mallow
- *mensuraria*, Schiff.; *limitata*, St.C. Abundant everywhere in waysides and rough grass land
- Eupithecia togata*, Hb. This large and handsome 'pug' moth was discovered, as British, in *Black Park*, in June, 1845, by Mr. Desvignes, the eminent hymenopterist, the late Mr. Samuel Stevens and others, of whom but one, Mr. J. W. Douglas, now survives. Some years later the Rev. J. Greene beat out two specimens from a fir in *Beech Wood* near *Halton*; it does not seem to have been seen in the county since, but is found among spruce fir, in the cones

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

- of which the larva feeds, in *Scotland*, the *New Forest*, *Hants*, and elsewhere
- Eupithecia venosata*, Fab. *Halton*, *Chesham*, *Buckingham*, *Taplow*; among *Silene inflata*
- *consignata*, Bkh.; *insigniata*, St.C. This scarce species has been taken at *Chalfont St. Peter* by the Rev. J. S. St. John
- *pulchellata*, Steph. *Halton*; the larva in the flowers of foxglove
- *centaureata*, Schiff.; *oblongata*, St.C. Generally distributed in gardens and lanes
- *succenturiata*, Linn. *Halton*, *Marlow*; among mugwort, not common
- *subfulvata*, Haw. *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Halton*, *Chesham*; among ragwort and yarrow
- *subumbrata*, Schiff.; *scabiosata*, St.C. Only taken at *Halton* and *Wendover*
- *pusillata*, Schiff. *Halton*; among spruce fir
- *indigata*, Hb. *Halton* and *Chesham*; among fir
- *constrictata*, Gn. The larva was found near *Drayton Beauchamp*, feeding on flowers of thyme, by the Rev. H. H. Crewe, forty years since
- *castigata*, Haw. *Chesham*, *Chalfont St. Peter*; common at *Halton* and *Amersham*
- *lariciata*, Frr. Taken at *Chesham* among larch by Dr. Churchill
- *albipunctata*, Haw. The larva was found at *Drayton Beauchamp* and near *Tring* at the border of this county, on *Angelica* and *Heracleum*, by the late Rev. H. H. Crewe. The moth is rarely captured
- *helveticata*, Bdv., and its variety *arceuthata*, Frr. Beaten out of junipers on rough chalky hillsides near *Halton*, by the Rev. J. Greene, and towards *Tring* by the Rev. H. H. Crewe; and the larvæ taken in plenty from the same bushes. The Rev. J. Greene, who happily still lives, and has assisted in drawing up this paper, says: 'My friend the late Rev. H. H. Crewe, M.A., was then devoting himself to the discovery of the larvæ of this interesting genus (*Eupithecia*), and with such success that, aided by friends, he discovered and described *all* the larvæ unknown in *Stainton's Manual*, and also succeeded in adding not a few to the British fauna. I hope that I may be permitted to say that I never met, nor heard of, such a larva hunter; he was a first-rate botanist, both as regards wild flowers and cultivated; had a marvellously quick eye; and never gave in'
- Eupithecia satyrata*, Hb. *Amersham*, *Halton*. The Rev. J. Greene says: 'In the *Beech Wood* was a small meadow surrounded on three sides by fine beeches; out of these I beat, in the daytime, this moth in great profusion, but found that they differed from the ordinary form, and this variety was named by Mr. Stainton, *callunaria*. Mr. Crewe found that it fed as a larva on *Gentiana campestris*.' It is curious that this variety should so closely coincide with that which is so abundant among heather in *Scotland*
- *plumbeolata*, Haw. *Halton*; larvæ found in the flowers of *Melampyrum*
- *trisignata*, H.S. *Drayton Beauchamp* and elsewhere towards *Tring*; the larva feeding on blossoms of *Angelica sylvestris*
- *valerianata*, Hb.; *viminata*, Dbld. *Halton*; larvæ on flowers of *Valeriana officinalis*
- *fraxinata*. *Halton*. The Rev. J. Greene found the pupa under moss on ash, on the leaves of which the larva feeds
- *subnotata*, Hb. *Chesham*; among *Chenopodium*
- *campanulata*, H.S. *Chesham*, *Drayton Beauchamp*. This is one of the novelties discovered by the Rev. H. H. Crewe, who found its larva feeding in the blossoms of *Campanula trachelium*
- *vulgata*, Haw. Common everywhere, especially in gardens
- *absynthiata*, Linn. *Chalfont St. Peter*, common at *Halton*; larva on various composite flowers
- *minutata*, Hb. Taken at *Chesham* by Dr. Churchill
- *assimillata*, Dbld. *Drayton Beauchamp*, common at *Halton* and *Chesham*; in gardens about currant and hop
- *tenuiata*, Hb. *Halton*; reared from willow catkins
- *subciliata*, Gn. *Halton*; among maples
- *dodonæata*, Gn. *Halton*; scarce
- *abbreviata*, Steph. *Halton*; among oak
- *exiguata*, Hb. *Chesham*, *Halton*, *Chalfont St. Peter*, *Buckingham*, *Wendover*; among hawthorn
- *sobrinata*, Hb. *Halton*, the *Chilterns*; among juniper
- *debiliata*, Hb. Reared by the Rev. H. H. Crewe from larvæ found near *Drayton Beauchamp*. Its usual food is whortleberry
- *coronata*, Hb. *Chesham*, *Leckhampstead*
- *rectangulata*, Linn. Generally distributed; too common in orchards, the larva devouring the stamens of the apple-blossom, and destroying the promise of fruit

INSECTS

- Eupithecia pumilata*, Hb. *Halton*; larvæ plentiful in various flowers
- *Odezia chærophyllata*, Linn.; *atrata*, St.C. (Chimney-sweep). *Buckingham*, local; among *Bunium flexuosum* (pignut)
- Pyralis fimbrialis*, Schiff.; *costalis*, Fab. *Marlow*
- *glaucinalis*, Linn. *Marlow*
- *lienigialis*, Zell. *Stony Stratford*; this is the only place in the United Kingdom in which this rare species seems to have been observed; several specimens were taken here at 'light' in the year 1880 by Mr. W. Thompson and Mr. Bryan; strange to say, since that date no further examples seem to have been found either here or in any other part of the British Islands
- Pyrausta punicealis*, Schiff.; *aurata*, St.C. *Halton*; among marjoram
- *purpuralis*, Linn. *Marlow, Halton, Wendover*
- *ostrinalis*, Hb. *Halton, Wendover*
- Ennychia anguinalis*, Hb.; *nigrata*, St.C. *Wendover*
- *octomaculalis*, Fab. *Marlow, Halton*; among golden rod
- Herbula cespitalis*, Schiff. *Wendover*
- Endotricha flammealis*, Schiff. *Black Park*
- Botys pandalis*, Hb. *Marlow*; among golden rod
- *hyalinalis*, Hb. *Marlow, Chalfont Road*
- *verticalis*, Schiff.; *ruralis*, St.C. Generally common about nettle beds
- *forficalis*, Hb. Abundant in gardens
- *urticalis*, Schiff. Generally abundant
- Spilodes cinctalis*, Tr.; *verticalis*, St.C. *Marlow, Taplow*; in clover fields
- Scopula olivalis*, Schiff. Generally common in hedges
- *prunalis*, Schiff. Common in lanes
- *lutealis*. Common near *Buckingham* town osier beds, 1897 (A. T. Goodson)
- Scoparia cembræ*, Haw. *Wolverton*; common
- *dubitalis*, Hb.; *pyralella*, Stn. *Amersham*, abundant
- Amblyptilia acanthodactylus*, Hb. *Chalfont Road*
- Oxyptilus teucii*, Greening. *Black Park*
- Aciptilia galactodactylus*, Hb. *Amersham*; larvæ found by Mr. H. J. Turner
- Dioryctria abietella*, Zk. *Black Park*; among fir
- Cryptoblabes bistriga*, Hw. *Black Park*
- Ephestia kühniella*, Zell. This destructive species, which had made its way into Europe, no one knows whence, ten years before, appeared here in 1887, and the first place in which it was found was a flour mill at *Stony Stratford*; here it was discovered by the late Mr. Wm. Thomas in plenty, the larvæ feeding upon 'rice-cones' and flour. In a very few years it had become most abundant in *London*, and now there seems hardly to be a flour store or mill in the kingdom from which it is entirely absent. It maintains itself by spinning together and feeding upon the flour which has settled in dust upon beams, joists, window ledges and corners. It has made itself equally objectionable in the United States of America—where it is called the Mediterranean flour moth—as well as on the continent of Europe generally
- Aphomia sociella*, Linn. *Black Park*; probably generally distributed, the larva infesting the nests of wasps
- Crambus pratellus*, Clk. Abundant in fields
- *hortuellus*, Hb. Everywhere common
- Tortrix cinnamomeana*, Tr. *Black Park*
- *corylana*, Fab. *Chesham*
- Eulia ministrana*, Linn. *Amersham*
- Peronea sponsana*, Fab. *Chesham*
- Penthina pruniana*, Hb. *Amersham*; plentiful
- *ochroleucana*, Hb. *Chalfont Road*; among rose
- *cynobana*, Linn. Generally common
- Ptycholoma lecheana*, Linn. *Amersham*
- Argyrotoza conwayana*, Fab. *Amersham*; among ash
- Spilonota suffusana*, Koll. *Amersham*; about hawthorn
- Pardia tripunctana*, Schiff. *Amersham*; among rose
- Sericoris lacunana*, Schiff. Generally abundant
- Orthotænia striana*, Schiff. *Chalfont Road*
- Sciaphila subjectana*, Steph. Generally abundant
- *hybridana*, Hb. *Amersham*; in hedges
- Capua ochraceana*, St. *Chalfont Road*
- Phoxopteryx lundana*, Fab. *Amersham, Chalfont Road*; among clover
- *comptana*, Fröhl. *Wendover*; abundant
- *upupana*, Tr. *Black Park*
- Grapholitha nisana*, Cl. *Chesham*
- *penkleriana*, Fisch. *Chalfont Road*
- Hypermea cruciana*, Linn. *Black Park*
- Pædisca profundana*, Fab. „
- Halonota brunnichiana*, Schiff. *Amersham*; about coltsfoot
- Retinia buoliana*, Schiff. *Black Park*; among fir
- Coccyx strobilana*, Linn. *Chalfont Road*; among spruce
- *splendidulana*, Gn. *Chalfont Road, Amersham*

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- Carpocapsa splendana*, Hb. *Black Park* ; among oak
- *nimbana*, H.S. Found at *Little Kemble* by Lord Walsingham in 1869, then new to Britain. He discovered larvæ and pupæ under moss on the bark of beeches ; it still remains very rare
- Stigmonota pallifrontana*, Zell. *Stony Stratford* ; first found here about 1869 by the late Mr. W. Thompson, and more recently by Mr. William Warren, who also found its larva on *Astragalus glycyphyllos* ; hardly known elsewhere in the British Isles
- *composana*, Fab. *Amersham* ; in clover fields
- *germarana*, Hb. ; *puncticostana*, Stn. *Black Park*
- Trycheris mediana*, Fab. ; *aurana*, St.C. *Linford Wood*
- Dichrorampha petiverana*, Linn. Generally common
- *plumbagana*, Tr. *Amersham* ; among yarrow
- *plumbana*, Scop. *Amersham* ; common in meadows
- Chrosis audouinana*, Dup. ; *bifasciana*, St.C. *Black Park* ; rare
- Xanthosetia hamana*, Linn. *Amersham*
- Choreutis scintillulana*, Hb. *Black Park* ; among *Scutellaria*
- Simæthis fabriciana*, Linn. Everywhere abundant
- Epigraphia avellanella*, Hb. *Black Park* ; on tree trunks
- Scardia cloacella*, Haw. *Amersham* ; in lanes
- *arcella*, Fab. *Chalfont Road*
- Tinea semifulvella*, Haw. *Black Park*
- Lampronia quadripuncta*, Fab. *Amersham* ; among rose
- Eriocephala seppella*, Fab. *Amersham* ; in speedwell flowers on hedge banks
- *thunbergella*, Fab. *Black Park*
- Micropteryx sangii*, Stn. *Mortimer* ; taken by Canon Cruttwell
- Adela sulzella*, Schiff. *Wendover* ; rather common
- *degeerella*, Linn. *Amersham* ; in woods
- *viridella*, Linn. *Amersham* ; among oak
- Anesychia bipunctella*, Fab. One of the two localities given for this very rare species by Mr. Stainton is '*Aylesbury*, many years back.'
- Eidophasia messingiella*, Fisch. *Wolverton*, in a small swamp
- Harpipteryx nemorella*, Linn. *Black Park* ; among honeysuckle
- Henicostoma lobella*, Schiff. *Amersham*
- Depressaria hypericella*, Hb. Larvæ found on *Hypericum* at *Amersham* by Mr. H. J. Turner
- Gelechia terrella*, Schiff. Abundant everywhere
- *scriptella*, Hb. *Amersham* ; among maple
- *lyellella*, Curt. *Black Park* ; on tree trunks
- *anthyllidella*, Hb. *Amersham* ; among clover
- Harpella geoffrella*, Linn. Abundant in lanes at *Amersham*
- Dasycera sulphurella*, Fab. Generally common
- *oliviella*, Fab. *Black Park*
- Œcophora tripuncta*, Haw. *Amersham* ; in hedges
- *flavifrontella*, Hb. *Black Park*
- Glyphipteryx fuscoviridella*, Haw. *Amersham* ; abundant in fields
- *thrasionella*, Scop. Generally common among rushes
- Coleophora anatipennella*, Hb. *Black Park* ; among blackthorn
- *inflata*, Stn. *Loudwater*
- Stathmopoda pedella*, Linn. *Black Park* ; among alder, excessively local
- Lyonetia padifoliella*, Hb. *Stony Stratford*— the only British locality given by Mr. Stainton
- Nepticula prunetorum*, Stn. *Loudwater* ; here discovered by Mr. Boyd

HEMIPTERA

Apart from the Lepidoptera and Coleoptera, the insects of Buckinghamshire seem to have been almost entirely neglected. While however I was compiling the list of the Coleoptera I received a few notices of Hemiptera from Mr. E. C. Elliman, Mr. Philip Harwood and Mr. H. Turner, and also some undetermined species which I have named and added to the list. It is perhaps hardly worth publishing, but it contains a few interesting species, and serves to show what will probably be obtained by any one who hereafter may work the county for this order.

SPIDERS

PENTATOMIDÆ

- Podops inuncta, Fab. *Wendover, Burnham*
 Sehirus bicolor, L. *Wendover*
 Tropicoris rufipes, L.
 Zicrona cœrulea, L. *Wendover*. Some-
 what common on junipers
 Acanthosoma hæmorrhoidale, L.
 — interstinctum, L. (griseum, auct. nec
 Linn.)
 — tristriatum, L.

COREIDÆ

- Verlusia rhombea, L. *Burnham*
 Coreus denticulatus, Scop. „
 Stenocephalus agilis, Scop. „
 Corizus parumpunctatus, Schill. *Burnham,*
Chesham

BERYTIDÆ

- Neides tipularius, L. *Burnham*
 Berytus minor, H. Schff.
 — montivagus, Fieb.
 Metatropis rufescens, H. Schff.

LYGÆIDÆ

- Cymus clavicularius, Fall. *Burnham*
 Ischnorhynchus resedæ, Panz. *Burnham*
 Rhyparochromus dilatatus, H. Schff.
 — chiragra, Fab.
 Tropistethus holosericeus, Schltz.
 Ischnocoris angustulus, Boh. *Burnham.*
 Both macropterous and micropterous
 forms
 Plinthisus brevipennis, Latr.
 Acompus rufipes, Wolff.

LYGÆIDÆ (continued)

- Stygnus pedestris, Fall.
 — arenarius, Hahn.
 Peritrechus luniger, Schill. *Burnham*
 Aphanus lynceus, Fab. „
 Scolopostethus affinis, Schill. (adjunctus,
 D. & S.)
 Notochilus contractus, H. Schff.
 Drymus sylvaticus, Fab.
 — brunneus, Sahlb.
 Gastrodes ferrugineus, L.

TINGIDIDÆ

- Orthostira parvula, Fall.
 Derephysia foliacea, Fall.
 Monanthia cardui, L.
 — dumetorum, H. Schff. *Burnham*
 — simplex, H. Schff. „
 Aneurus lævis, Fab. „

HYDROMETRIDÆ

- Velia currens, Fab.
 Gerris najas, DeG.

CIMICIDÆ

- Piezostethus cursitans, Fall. *Burnham*
 Triphleps niger, Wolff.

CAPSIDÆ

- Miris calcaratus, Fall.
 Pantilius tunicatus, Fab. *Chesham*
 Lygus pastinaceæ, Fall.
 — kalmii, L.
 Cyrtorrhinus caricis, Fall. *Burnham*
 Psallus variabilis, Fall.

ARACHNIDA

Scarcely any collections of members of this order have been made so far as the county of Buckinghamshire is concerned. The few species recorded, twenty-six in all, were collected by Messrs. Webb and F. P. Smith, except three which were recorded by the Rev. O. Pickard-Cambridge.

ARANEÆ

ARACHNOMORPHÆ

DRASSIDÆ

Spiders with eight eyes, situated in two transverse rows. The tracheal openings lie immediately in front of the spinners. The tarsal claws are two in number, but the anterior pair of spinners are set wide apart at their base, and the maxillæ are more or less impressed across the middle.

1. *Drassodes lapidosus* (Walckenaer)
 Colmbrook (Webb)

CLUBIONIDÆ

Spiders with eight eyes, situated in two transverse rows. The tracheal openings lie immediately in front of the spinners. The tarsal claws are two in number, but the anterior

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pair of spinners are set close together at the base, and the maxillæ are convex, and not impressed in the middle.

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| 2. <i>Micaria pulicaria</i> (Sundevall)
Colmbrook (Webb) | 5. <i>Zora maculata</i> (Blackwall)
Burnham Beeches (Webb) |
| 3. <i>Clubiona pallidula</i> (Clerck)
Chipping Wycombe (F. P. S.) | 6. <i>Micrommata virescens</i> (Clerck)
(O. P.-C.) |
| 4. <i>Clubiona corticalis</i> (Walckenaer)
Colmbrook (Webb) | |

THOMISIDÆ

Spiders with eight eyes, situated in two transverse rows, two tarsal claws and anterior spinners close together at their base. Maxillæ not impressed. The crab-like shape and side-long movements of these spiders are their chief characteristics, enabling them to be easily distinguished from the more elongate *Drassidæ* and *Clubionidæ*.

7. *Philodromus dispar*, Walckenaer
Colmbrook (Webb)

SALTICIDÆ

The spiders of this family may be recognized in a general way by their mode of progression, consisting of a series of leaps. More particularly they may be known by the square shape of the cephalic region and the fact that the eyes are arranged in three rows of 4, 2, 2, the centrals of the anterior row being much the largest. Otherwise the spiders are simply specialized Clubionids with two tarsal claws and other minor characters possessed in common with other members of this family.

8. *Marpissa muscosa* (Clerck)
Colmbrook (Webb)

PISAURIDÆ

Spiders with eight eyes in three rows, and three tarsal claws. The first row of eyes consists of four small eyes which are sometimes in a straight line, sometimes recurved and sometimes procurved. Those of the other two rows are situated in a rectangle of various proportions. *Pisaura* runs freely over the herbage, carrying its egg-sac beneath the body.

9. *Pisaura mirabilis* (Clerck)
Colmbrook (Webb) ; Chipping Wycombe (F. P. S.)

Very common ; adult in June and July. Known also as *Dolomedes* or *Ocyale mirabilis*.

LYCOSIDÆ

The members of this family have also eight eyes, similarly situated to those of the *Pisauridæ*, the tarsal claws also being three in number. The spiders are to be found running freely and carrying their egg-sac attached to the spinners. Many of the larger species make a short burrow in the soil and there keep guard over the egg-sac.

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| 10. <i>Lycosa ruficollis</i> (De Geer)
Chipping Wycombe (F. P. S.) | 13. <i>Pardosa lugubris</i> (Walckenaer)
Burnham Beeches (Webb) |
| 11. <i>Lycosa pulverulenta</i> (Clerck)
Colmbrook (Webb) | 14. <i>Pirata hygrophilus</i> , Thorell
(O. P.-C.) |
| 12. <i>Pardosa pullata</i> (Clerck)
Colmbrook (Webb) | |

AGELENIDÆ

Spiders with eight eyes, situated in two transverse rows. Legs with three tarsal claws. The species of this family spin a large sheet-like web, and construct a tubular retreat at the back of it, which leads to some crevice amongst the rocks or the herbage or the chinks in the

SPIDERS

walls of outhouses, wherever the various species may happen to be found. The posterior pair of spinners is usually much longer than the other two pairs.

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| 15. <i>Agelena labyrinthica</i> (Clerck)
Colmbrook (Webb) | 17. <i>Tegenaria atrica</i> , C. L. Koch
Burnham Beeches (Webb) |
| 16. <i>Tegenaria derhami</i> (Scopoli)
Chipping Wycombe (F. P. S.) | |

ARGIOPIDÆ

The spiders included in this family have eight eyes, situated in two rows, the lateral eyes of both rows being usually adjacent, if not in actual contact, while the central eyes form a quadrangle. The tarsal claws are three, often with other supernumerary claws. The web is either an orbicular (wheel-like) snare, or consists of a sheet of webbing beneath which the spiders hang and capture the prey as it falls upon the sheet.

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| 18. <i>Araneus umbraticus</i> , Clerck
Colmbrook (Webb) ; Chipping Wycombe
(F. P. S.) | 21. <i>Linyphia triangularis</i> (Clerck)
Colmbrook (Webb) |
| 19. <i>Araneus diadematus</i> , Clerck
Chipping Wycombe (F. P. S.) | 22. <i>Linyphia montana</i> (Clerck)
Colmbrook (Webb) |
| 20. <i>Araneus marmoreus</i> , Clerck
(O. P.-C.) | 23. <i>Linyphia hortensis</i> , Sundevall
Colmbrook (Webb) |

THERIDIIDÆ

The members of this family have eight eyes situated very much like those of the *Argiopidæ*, but the mandibles are usually weak, the maxillæ are inclined over the labium, and the posterior legs have a comb of stiff curved spines beneath the tarsi. The web consists of a tangle of crossing lines, and the spider often constructs a tent-like retreat wherein the egg-sac is hung up.

24. *Theridion ovatum* (Clerck)

DICTYNIDÆ

The species possess the calamistrum and cribellum and three tarsal claws, but the eyes, eight in number, are situated in two transverse rows, the laterals being in contact. They construct a tubular retreat with an outer sheet of webbing, which is covered with flocculent silk made with the calamistrum with threads from the cribellum.

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| 25. <i>Amaurobius similis</i> (Blackwall)
Burnham Beeches (Webb)
Known also under <i>Ciniflo</i> . | 26. <i>Amaurobius fenestralis</i> (Ström)
Colmbrook (Webb)
Known also as <i>Ciniflo atrox</i> . |
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CRUSTACEANS

Though there are mud fishes and climbing fishes and fishes that migrate from pond to pond, it still remains true that a fish out of water is in an anomalous position. With crustaceans the case is different. Like fishes they are essentially an aquatic tribe, but they have been more venturesome, more adaptive than their scaly companions. In various ways they have contrived to suit themselves to terrestrial life, so that to many species the immediate neighbourhood of water is unnecessary. None the less in all our counties, inland as well as maritime, the aquatic species and specimens are sure greatly to outnumber those that live in the open air. In fact, just as we speak of many men, many minds, we can with equal assurance speak of many waters, many crustaceans. Such local names as the manor of Water Eaton, the market town of Fenny Stratford, the hamlet of Waterside, sufficiently testify that Buckinghamshire can provide the carcinologist with happy hunting grounds. Until of late it is the hunters that seem to have been wanting. At any rate, if there have been any, the records of their researches have either not been published, or have been given to the world sporadically and in a manner no longer easy to trace. The species now to be reported depend not on the evidence of books or scientific transactions, but on inquiries specially made for the purpose of the present volume, and on investigations of which the results have been in the friendliest manner placed at my disposal.

That the river crayfish, *Potamobius pallipes* (Lereboullet), is plentiful in this county no one could reasonably doubt, having regard to the known facts of its distribution in neighbouring districts. A definite record of its occurrence however has come to hand in a rather amusingly circuitous way. The well-known statistician, Dr. W. Ogle, upon hearing of my wish for particular information, advised me to apply to his niece, Miss Johnson of Cutlers' Farm, Lane End, near High Wycombe. This lady very obligingly at once pursued the inquiry in a highly practical manner by laying it before her colleagues on a board of guardians. One of the members—from Hovenden, a tiny village at the foot of the hills close to Princes Risborough—immediately replied that there were plenty of crayfish in the stream there. Since there is good reason to believe that we have only one species of this genus in England, its existence in the locality may well be accepted on the disinterested testimony even of an anonymous poor law guardian, without any critical questioning of his zoological capacity. Of the stalk-eyed

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Malacostraca this is the only representative likely to be found living, in a wild or natural state, in the county. In all epochs of human history this and its kindred species have probably been consumed in large quantities for food. In the present epoch they are consumed in large quantities for education. Their fitness for this purpose should not be disregarded. Everything nowadays has to submit to analysis or dissection or both, water and milk, stars and ether, history and law, plants and animals. Among the latter enthusiastic students make their choice, some taking delight in the viscera of a kitten or the brains of a baboon, others preferring the minute anatomy of a slow-worm or a slug. Very likely all these subjects, according to taste or whatever the appreciative sense may be, are delectable handling and alluring to look at. But for unsophisticated persons, not yet prejudiced in favour of a snail or a cuttle or a sea-sausage, one can honestly commend the class of Crustacea as a basis and beginning of anatomical practice. Within that class the river crayfish supplies the very model of a handy specimen, not clumsy like a lobster, not inconveniently small like a shrimp, and withal so decent and decorous, internally and externally so free from anything to cause disgust, that the student may with satisfaction begin his study by eating a large part of his lesson book. For even when the meat or muscular part has been consumed the external skeleton remains, not un-instructive. All through the wonderfully diversified orders and sub-orders of the Malacostraca the fundamental character of that skeleton is found persistent. In some great sections of the group the species have their eyes set on movable stalks. In other great sections they have them seated immovably in the head. But interlacing characters make it difficult to draw a sharp line between these two assemblages. Apart from the eyes there are normally nineteen pairs of appendages in all the Malacostraca, each pair having theoretically a segment of the body to which it is attached, while the body ends in a segment which has no distinct appendages. The eyes are followed by two pairs of antennæ or feelers, a pair of mandibles usually stout or sharp for biting or piercing, two pairs of maxillæ thin and flat, and then a pair of jaws called maxillipeds because they are sometimes foot-like. After these come either two more pairs of maxillipeds and five pairs of legs, or else a complete series of legs in seven pairs. But the so-called legs are seldom all of them fitted for walking. The terminal portion of the animal known as the tail, the abdomen, the pleon or swimming part, carries six pairs of appendages, some of them called pleopods or swimming feet and some uropods or tail-feet, but under whatever names they pass subject to much diversity in form and function. From the Decapoda or ten-footed division Huxley selected 'the crayfish' as the subject of a lucid and concise zoological treatise. His explanations however are not limited to a page or a paragraph, but expanded into a volume, and in its chapters those who live where crayfishes live will amply learn what excellent opportunities for mental improvement that companionship affords them.

For specimens of Buckinghamshire sessile-eyed crustaceans I am

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indebted to the researches of Wilfred Mark Webb, Esq., F.L.S., F.Z.S., and to those of Miss Johnson and her sister. Some of the species, it is true, are so uniformly distributed over the whole neighbourhood that their existence in this county could not have been reasonably disputed. But the examples which my very obliging friends have sent from definite localities dispense with any necessity of depending on speculative inference, and, as will be presently seen, the results are not confined to those customary forms the occurrence of which could have been predicted. Here, as in all other counties, the Amphipoda are represented by *Gammarus pulex* (Linn.). It has the advantage of being everywhere obtainable from ponds and brooks. But it is of small size, so that for the proper understanding of its separate details some optical enlargement is almost essential. Otherwise it is a convenient object of study for the beginner, not only by reason of its great abundance, but also because in many respects it seems to offer a standard of comparison, a simple pattern from which the very numerous genera and species of Amphipoda diverge and radiate. Its insignificant size might readily put an observer off the thought of comparing it with a crayfish, but the organization is essentially the same. Here however the shield or carapace, instead of being produced backward as far as the pleon, stops short over the first maxillipeds. Hence there is left uncovered the middle body, consisting of seven segments, which as a rule are all articulated. To each of these is attached a pair of appendages. The first two pairs, which are generally used for grasping, have been called gnathopods, and these are homologous with the second and third maxillipeds of the crayfish. Maxillipeds and gnathopods alike mean jaw-feet, the words being intended to teach that the appendages in question are foot-like in form or in origin, but concerned with the food in point of function. All but the first of the seven pairs of legs may carry branchial vesicles, comparable with the more complicated gills which are hidden beneath the cheeks of the carapace in the higher crustaceans.

Along with *G. pulex* at Eton and at Iver Mr. Webb has taken the isopod *Asellus aquaticus* (Linn.). The two species are almost constant companions and perhaps equally abundant, but at some times and some places one or the other may be found to predominate in numbers. The Isopoda can scarcely be considered so united a group as the Amphipoda, and if any genus could be selected as a central representative it would scarcely be *Asellus*. Nevertheless, as the only aquatic isopod of our inland counties the species of it above mentioned deserves attention. It is as curious as it is common. Like other genuine isopods it agrees with the amphipods in having sessile eyes and seven uncovered articulated segments of the middle body, and differs from them in having its breathing organs in the pleon instead of attached to gnathopods and walking legs. But an extreme ventral flattening gives it a highly peculiar appearance. By this shape it is enabled to adhere very closely to the leaves and stems of the water weeds about which it climbs. Those who are at the pains to compare its appendages pair by pair with those of

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Gammarus pulex will possibly be surprised to find in animals superficially so unlike a long series of structural resemblances. These however cease to be conspicuous in the pleon. The seven large articulated segments which this part of the animal's body displays alike in the crayfish and the amphipod are in *Asellus* all consolidated into a comparatively small shield. Beneath this are five pairs of appendages in the male, but only four in the female. The sixth pair, the uropods, project from the caudal shield on either side of its central apex, and since their attachment belongs to the sixth segment of the pleon the apex may be regarded as the telson or proper terminal segment of the body.

The terrestrial Isopoda of the county, commonly called wood-lice, are distributed over three families of the Oniscidea. In these the pleon is divided into six segments, of which the first two are always narrower than those of the middle body and usually than those of the pleon itself which immediately follow. On the other hand the sixth segment, though presumably carrying with it the telson in coalescence, is the smallest of all, and like the first two takes no part in forming the outer rim of the body at the sides, though its special point or border completes the circuit at one end.

In the family Trichoniscidæ the county has been fortunate. A gathering of five small specimens obtained by Mr. Webb at Eton Wick has proved to contain representatives of three genera, two of the species being new to the English fauna. The third species may be mentioned first, this being the well-known and widely-distributed *Trichoniscus pusillus*, Brandt, described by Bate and Westwood under the name *Philougria riparia* (Koch).¹ Like members of its family in general, it has the pleon attenuated and the inner branch of the uropods as well as the outer conspicuously displayed. The antennæ are geniculate and spiny, with the slender terminal flagellum four-jointed. The back, which is claret-brown with some slight markings, is smooth and shiny, but at the same time under magnification it is seen to be plentifully sprinkled with minute hairs. The pleon has its apex truncate with a slight emargination. It is a character of the genus to have the eyes small but distinct, consisting of only three visual elements embedded in a dark pigment.² Mr. Webb reports it from Eton Wick, Langley, Hedsor, and the neighbourhood of Burnham Beeches. Only from the first of these localities comes *Trichoniscoides albidus* (Budde-Lund), of which the genus and species are alike new to England. The genus was established by Sars in 1898, principally on the character of the eyes, which he found to be 'simple or wholly wanting.' In the present species he describes them as 'distinct, but extremely small, circular, consisting each of a single corneal body, with underlying reddish pigment.'³ This crustacean is, like *Trichoniscus pusillus*, barely a sixth of an inch long. Preserved in spirit it is quite pallid. Alive, it is

¹ *British Sessile-eyed Crustacea*, ii. 456.

² Sars, *Crustacea of Norway*, 'Isopoda,' ii. 160.

³ *Loc. cit.* pp. 164-5.

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described as 'semi-pellucid, of a clear golden yellow colour, with a diffuse minium-red pigment on the back, forming slight ramifications on each side of the segments.' The head has an evenly-rounded front, and is roughened with little tubercles, of which there are transverse rows also on the segments of the peræon or middle body. The earlier segments of this part have the postero-lateral corners rounded, the sixth and seventh are angularly produced backwards. The second antennæ have the flagellum four-jointed. In the last pair of legs there is a dense ciliation on the outer margin of the sixth joint, and in this the finger to some extent participates. The single specimen procured appears to be a female, as it is without the dentiform projection at the base of the fourth joint, described as characteristic in the seventh pair of legs of the male. From the same locality was derived a solitary specimen of *Haplophthalmus mengii* (Zaddach), not previously recorded in this country. The generic name intimates that the eyes are simple, a character shared as we have seen with the preceding species, with which it agrees also in the ciliated margins of the seventh pair of feet and various other details. But it has also characters by which it is easily distinguished. It is paler and smaller, being white in colour and barely an eighth of an inch in length. The head has a triangular front, and dorsally from about the middle it is traversed by longitudinal ribs, which are repeated in six lines on the segments of the peræon. On the third segment of the pleon are a submedian pair of ribs, which are very distinctive, as nothing of the kind is found on *H. danicus* or allied species in neighbouring genera. The beauty of this little crustacean is attested by the name *H. elegans*, given to it by Schöbl, who wrongly supposed it to be a new species when instituting for it the genus *Haplophthalmus* in 1860.

Of the family Oniscidæ there are several species in this district. For convenience of recognition they may be divided into two sets, those that have the flagellum of the second antennæ three-jointed, and those in which it is two-jointed. To the former belongs *Philoscia muscorum* (Scopoli), a lively, shining, often brightly coloured species, considerably larger than the members which have been discussed of the preceding family. It resembles them in regard to the contracted pleon and the well displayed uropods, but its eyes are more strongly developed, its antennæ are not spiny, and the apex of its body is acute. Miss Johnson has sent it from Lane End, and Mr. Webb reports it from several places, to which no doubt innumerable additions could be made by simply extending the search. Similarly *Oniscus asellus*, Linn., is reported from Iver, Langley, Eton, Eton Wick, Hedsor, Burnham Beeches and Fulmer. This large and broad, rather smooth, slow-moving crustacean is tolerably well known. The contour of the peræon and pleon here present the continuous lateral curves of an oval, in contrast to the interrupted lines of all the preceding species. Moreover, the inner branch of the uropods in this and most of the species to be subsequently mentioned is almost hidden beneath the apical part of the body, the outer branch alone projecting conspicuously. From Hedsor Mr. Webb has submitted to me

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specimens which, by reason of their smaller size and much more strongly granulated head and body, may be distinct from the common form, but whether for these the name *O. fossor*, Koch, should be adopted remains uncertain. In the second set the genus *Porcellio* is as usual represented by the large and very abundant *P. scaber*, Latreille, sent by the ladies of Lane End, and reported from Mr. Webb's series of localities, 'near Dropmore' being in this case substituted for Hedsor. This species is not quite so broad as *Oniscus asellus*, and its surface is strongly granular. It is most often of a uniformly blackish grey colour in a general view, though on closer inspection lighter markings can be perceived and the borders are more or less pellucid. Sometimes it is marbled with grey and yellow, and this variety has been distinguished as *marmoratus* by Brandt and Ratzeburg. In the ordinary form the flagellum of the second antennæ has the two joints nearly equal, or the first a little shorter than the second. In some rather small prettily-marbled specimens submitted by Mr. Webb the first joint is much shorter than the second, a character shared by *P. ratzeburgii*, Brandt, from which however in some other respects they differ. At Eton Mr. Webb has met with *P. dilatatus*, Brandt. This broad, moderately granular species has the two joints of the antennary flagellum short and equal. From the preceding species it is well distinguished by the apical segment, which, instead of being acutely triangular and dorsally grooved, is flat above and drawn out narrowly tongue-like to a rounded tip. In addition to the above a very handsome species, not hitherto included in the British fauna, has been sent me by the Misses Johnson from Lane End and from Eton by Mr. Webb. This new acquisition is *P. ratbkei*, Brandt. It is more or less marbled over all the back, but has also three well-marked longitudinal stripes of pale flecks, which are drawn closer together on the pleon than on the peræon. The surface is moderately granular, but the hind margins of the peræon segments are smooth, not distinctly tuberculate as in *P. scaber*. The flagellum of the second antennæ has the first joint somewhat shorter than the second. The apical segment of the body is flat above and subacutely pointed at the tip. This species, like *P. ratzeburgii*, belongs to a section of the genus in which all the pleopods have the opercular branch provided with tracheæ (or pseudo-tracheæ), modified that is to say for aerial respiration. In the other species above mentioned it is only the first two pairs of pleopods that are thus modified. In the male of *P. ratbkei* the seventh pair of legs have the antepenultimate joint dilated near the base, a peculiarity to which attention has been called by Professor G. O. Sars.¹ The cosmopolitan species, *Metoponorthus pruinosus* (Brandt), taken by Mr. Webb at Langley and Eton Wick, agrees much in general shape with *Philoscia muscorum*, but in other respects more with *Porcellio*. It has the first two pairs of pleopods tracheate; the frontal margin is straight. The second joint of the antennary flagellum is much shorter than the first. The apical segment of the body is short, acutely triangular. The surface is finely granular and in colour brown. To the same family belongs the

¹ *Crustacea of Norway*, 'Isopoda,' ii. 180.

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little white and blind lodger in ants' nests, *Platyarthrus hoffmannseggii*, Brandt. Mr. Webb has found it at Langley. Sars ascribes to the short flattened second antennæ a 'flagellum only consisting of a single joint.'¹ Bate and Westwood speak of this flagellum as having 'a slight indication of a joint at its base.'² Budde-Lund more correctly describes it as two-jointed, with the explanation that 'the first joint is very minute, scarcely conspicuous, very much shorter than the second.'³ This joint is in fact quite distinct, but apt to be obscured by telescoping into the preceding joint of the peduncle. In this species the inner branch of the uropods projects much beyond the apex of the body.

In the family Armadillidiidæ, so well known from their habit of rolling themselves up into neat little globes with a pill-like appearance, the customary *Armadillidium vulgare* (Latreille) has been sent me from Eton and Lane End, the latter locality furnishing large and brightly-marked specimens and some of a clear brown in the ground colour.

For the Entomostraca of the county I have to rely exclusively on lists of names. But as these have been supplied me in the most obliging way by Mr. D. J. Scourfield it would be superfluous to wish for and difficult to find a better authority on which to place reliance. The catalogue illustrates, though very unequally, all the three orders of this great group, the 'gill-footed' Branchiopoda, the 'shell-enfolded' Ostracoda, and the 'oarfooted' Copepoda. Of the first the only sub-order to come under notice is that of the 'antlered' Cladocera. Of these Mr. Scourfield has identified thirteen species, a satisfactory instalment for the encouragement of future research. They are distributed between two families, the Daphniidæ and the Chydoridæ. One of the marks separating these two consists in the fact that the latter have a looped intestine, while in the former this convolution is not present. In both cases a glassy transparency of the chitinous envelope implies that one may without rudeness inspect the internal mechanism. Besides the simpler form of their inward parts, the Daphniidæ have one branch of the second antennæ four-jointed and the other three-jointed, to distinguish them from the Chydoridæ, which have both branches three-jointed. Three species representing as many genera of the Daphniidæ have to be named. *Ceriodaphnia quadrangula* (O. F. Müller) was obtained from the lake in Stoke Park, Stoke Poges. In the genus to which this tiny species belongs there is no distinct rostrum. In the next two genera that feature is distinct. *Simocephalus vetulus* (O. F. Müller) was found both at Stoke Park and in a pond at Burnham Beeches. Its generic name, being preoccupied, has recently been changed by the Rev. Dr. Norman, F.R.S., so that the species must henceforth be known as *Simosa vetula*. The second of the localities just named yielded also *Scapholeberis mucronata* (O. F. Müller). In the latter genus the valves have the junction of the hinder and lower margins marked by an acute process, or at least a more or less acute angle, whereas in *Simosa* the meeting of the margins is rounded off.

¹ *Crustacea of Norway*, 'Isopoda,' ii. 174.

² *British Sessile-eyed Crustacea*, ii. 462.

³ *Isopoda Terrestria*, p. 199.

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Of the Chydoridæ our list contains ten species distributed among seven genera, in the first five of which the head is not carinate above, in contrast with the other two in which it has a high thin keel. In *Chydorus*, Leach, from which as its oldest genus the family properly takes its name, the general form of the body in the female seen in profile is rounded or more or less globose. This character is further alluded to in the specific name of *C. sphaericus* (O. F. Müller), which is regarded as absolutely the commonest of all our British Cladocera. It was taken at Stoke Park and Burnham Beeches, and also in a pond on a common near the beeches. At the last of these localities there occurred with it *C. latus*, Sars. Among the distinctions between these two species the microscopist will be interested to observe that in *C. sphaericus* the length of the female is less than half a millimetre, whereas in *C. latus* it is equal to or a little greater than that half. The female therefore of the smaller species is less than a fiftieth of an inch long; the male in each case is smaller than the female. *Peracantha truncata* (O. F. Müller) was taken both at Stoke Park and Burnham Beeches, *Alonella rostrata* (Koch) at the park, *A. nana* (Baird) at the beeches. In these two genera the female seen in profile is not rounded, and while her rostrum in *Peracantha* is long and very acute, in *Alonella* it is not long and little acuminate. It must not however be dissembled that a beginner attempting to discriminate genera by help of one or two characters will find various stumbling blocks in his path. For instance, Professor Lilljeborg, from whose fine work on the Cladocera of Sweden these distinctions have been borrowed, says when describing the species *A. nana* that the general form of body in the female seen in profile is roundly subovate or sometimes almost rounded. Between the rounded *Chydorus* and the almost rounded *Alonella* the difference appeals to considerable acuteness of observation, when in one genus we are dealing with a species about a fiftieth, in the other with one about a hundredth, of an inch long. Again, we find Lilljeborg admitting that there was some reason for transferring Koch's *rostrata* to *Alonella*, though he himself prefers to place it in *Alona*,¹ but is not satisfied that it stands well in either genus.² When the seers are thus undecided their disciples are left in the lurch. *Graptoleberis testudinaria* (Fischer), taken at Burnham Beeches, *Alona rectangula*, Sars, from the same place, and *A. quadrangularis* (O. F. Müller) from Stoke Park, illustrate two genera which have the hind margin of the valves nearly equal to the greatest height of the valves, in contrast with the three preceding genera in which the hind margin is much less than that height. The altitude, it should be observed, is measured not from head to tail, but between the dorsal and ventral margins.

In *Alona* the rostral part of the head when seen in profile is narrowed and more or less acuminate. In *Graptoleberis* on the contrary this part from the same point of view is broad and rounded, so as to have a very characteristic appearance. *Camptocercus rectirostris*, Schöd-

¹ For which however he adopts the preoccupied name *Lynceus*.

² *Cladocera Suecicæ*, p. 482.

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ler, and *Acroperus barpæ*, Baird, both procured in Stoke Park, and belonging to the genera with the head keeled on the top, are distinguished one from the other by the tail of the female. This in the former genus is long and slender and armed with spines on the hinder or upper margin, but in the latter is 'of moderate length and breadth, without spines on the aforesaid margin, and only furnished on the sides with uniform fascicles of very minute spines.'¹ No very large bowl is needed for constructing a miniature pond in which to observe the manners and customs of these creatures. Their modes of motion are very various, and familiarity with these may be utilized for determining the kinds present in an aquarium. Mr. Scourfield says: 'Of all the peculiar modes of existence, that of deliberately making use of the ceiling of a pond, i.e. the surface-film of water, for support, is probably the most remarkable. So far as is known, only a very few species have acquired the power in a fully developed fashion, and these are all included in two genera, namely *Scapholeberis* (Cladocera) and *Notodromas* (Ostracoda).' In regard to *S. mucronata* he explains that on the perfectly straight and flattened ventral margin of each valve there exists a series of very peculiarly modified setæ, the anterior and posterior members of which are larger and project somewhat more than the rest; when the animal, which habitually swims in a reversed position, brings its ventral margin into contact with the surface of the water, the setæ which project farthest from the shell pierce the surface-film and produce minute capillary depressions.² These depressions, it appears, are large enough to support the difference in weight between the animal's body and the water which it displaces. By careful observation and experiment Mr. Scourfield has also determined that in addition to the morphological distinctions there is also a fundamental difference in the swimming habits of *Daphnia* and *Ceriodaphnia* on the one hand, and *Simosa* and *Scapholeberis* on the other, for whereas the two former always swim either vertically, or obliquely back uppermost, the two latter always swim more or less obliquely back downwards.³ Of *Chydorus sphaericus* Baird observes that its motion through the water is more like rolling, as Jurine describes it, than swimming.⁴

Of the Ostracoda, so abundant everywhere both in species and individuals, there is for the moment only a single Buckinghamshire record, the common *Cypris fuscata*, Jurine, having been taken in a pond on a common near Burnham Beeches.

Of the Copepoda there are five species included in three genera, a small collection but covering rather a wide space in classification. *Diaptomus castor* (Jurine) occurred together with the Ostracode just mentioned. It belongs to the extensive family of the Diaptomidæ, which is comprised in the division of the Copepoda called by Giesbrecht Gymnoplea. To explain this expression, it must be pointed out that in this order of animals the body is theoretically divisible into eleven segments,

¹ *Cladocera Sueciæ*, p. 400.

² Loc. cit. p. 395 (Nov. 1900).

³ *Quekett Microscopical Club*, p. 309 (1900).

⁴ *British Entomostraca*, p. 127.

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if the first which constitutes the head be allowed to count as a single segment notwithstanding its evidently composite character. The following five segments are thoracic, and the terminal five form the pleon, a part so called not with regard to the Copepoda but to other crustaceans in which it is in fact what the word implies, the swimming factor of the organism. In the Copepoda this generally ends in a pair of setiferous processes known as the caudal fork or furca, but otherwise it has no appendages, and the expression *Gymnoplea* means 'those that have a naked pleon,' or in other words a pleon without appendages. Contrasted with these are the *Podoplea*, or 'those that have feet on the pleon.' But the awkward thing is that these do not really any more than the others have such feet. What they do have is this. The last segment of the thorax, instead of keeping with its own company, has in a manner broken away, and tacked itself on to the group of pleon segments so that it gives the *Podoplea* not the reality but the look of having a pair of feet (often very rudimentary ones) on the pleon. To this division belong the family *Cyclopidæ*, of which *Cyclops fuscus* (Jurine) and *C. bicuspidatus*, Claus, were obtained respectively from Burnham Beeches and a common adjacent thereto, and the family *Arpacticidæ*, of which *Canthocampus pygmæus*, Sars, was obtained from both the last mentioned localities, and *C. staphylinus* (Jurine) from Burnham Beeches and Stoke Park. In the *Diaptomidæ* one antenna, either the right or the left, of the first pair is modified into an organ for clasping the female, a geniculation being formed between the eighteenth and nineteenth joints. In the *Podoplea* either both antennæ of the first pair geniculate or neither does. The genera *Cyclops* and *Canthocampus* agree in the character of having a pair of clasping antennæ. The marks of separation between the two families to which these genera respectively belong are rather too complicated to be conveniently discussed in this chapter. It may however be noted that, while the two species of *Cyclops* above named both have the first antennæ seventeen-jointed, none of the *Arpacticidæ* have more than ten joints in these appendages; in *Canthocampus staphylinus* they are eight-jointed.

When allowance is made for the scarcity or absence of any published information on the subject, the crustacean fauna of this county may now claim not only to have shown excellent promise for future researches, but to have given an earnest of success by already accomplished discoveries of unusual interest. In adding three species at once to the rather limited number of English terrestrial isopods Buckinghamshire will not easily be rivalled by other counties.

FISHES

Our county depends for its fishes on the Thames which bounds it from the City Stone at Staines up to Remenham just below Henley, on the famous regatta course, and on several tributaries, or rather portions of them. These are the Colne, which divides Buckinghamshire from Hertfordshire for a short distance ; and the Thame, which for a portion of its sinuous course divides our county from Oxfordshire. The Ouse, generally connected with Bedfordshire, flows across the northern side of Buckinghamshire. If we except char ; that curious member of the cod family, the burbot or eel pout ; the migratory salmonidæ and one or two species only found in lakes, Buckinghamshire can provide specimens of practically all the freshwater forms found in Great Britain. Time was of course when salmon and sea trout came up our premier river. At the commencement of the last century the Thames was a salmon river, and if the experiments which are being made by the Thames Salmon Association, led by Mr. W. H. Grenfell, M.P., prove a success—and those directing its affairs seem assured that salmon can be made to ascend the river—restocking will doubtless be carried out on a large scale, and the fish permanently reintroduced. When we find smelts, a fairly delicate fish, making their way up from the sea through the foul water of the estuary as far as Teddington, it may fairly be surmised that salmon could make the same journey. In all probability the obstructions in the river and pollution have a good deal to do with their absence, while the heavy netting which used to take place probably succeeded in ultimately exterminating the few fish which, pollution notwithstanding, endeavoured to fight their way up to the spawning beds. The opinion has been expressed that to turn the Thames into a salmon river is merely a matter of money, but it is nearly certain that, in consequence of the unsatisfactory spawning beds and the pollution of the water in winter from well manured agricultural land, salmon, which breed best in a wild country, will never become numerous in the river, unless salmon culture is carried out on an enormous scale, as is done by the United States Fish Commission in the case of those rivers where the fish are caught and tinned for the English and other markets.

It is an unfortunate fact that the tendency in a highly civilized and thickly populated country is to destroy rivers so far as their suitability for fish is concerned. That notable little river at High Wycombe, for instance, is more or less ruined as a trout stream by occasional pollutions from paper mills. It is a water which in the by no means remote past

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produced very remarkable trout, remarkable, that is to say, having regard to the size of the little stream. The fish, which have a high reputation among owners of trout streams, have been sent to various parts of the kingdom, and many have been turned into the Thames.

It is a matter to be proud of that Buckinghamshire produces, so far as it is a riparian county, some of the finest river trout of Great Britain ; for those found in the Thames are far superior to those bred in any other home river, and to find their rivals or superiors we have to go to the great rivers of the antipodes which have been stocked by eggs sent out from England and Scotland, or to some of our great lakes. Another feature of the county connected with fish life is the large barbel which are found in the Thames. These fish are, on the other hand, almost absent from the Ouse ; we say 'almost' because they have only been introduced there within living memory and are still scarce. But the slow flowing river produces huge shoals of bream, which are wanting in most parts of the Thames, and are only found in any quantities in the lower waters. Some have been introduced in the neighbourhood of Henley, and there are indications of an increase in the upper Thames. Now and again one is caught by an angler not fishing specially for them.

Next to the Thames the most important river in Buckinghamshire is its tributary the Colne, which produces exceptionally large roach, dace and chub, and beautifully marked trout, all being noted for the excellence of their condition. The feeding for fish in the Colne is, as a matter of fact, somewhat superior to that in the Thames ; but pollutions from paper mills and other sources have unfortunately much injured this fine tributary river.

Tench are comparatively common in the Thames, but are not often caught by the angler. Now and again carp are taken, but these are probably scarce. They are more of a lake than a river fish, both they and the tench usually attaining considerable size. The rainbow trout (*Salmo irideus*) has been placed in the Thames and in a few private sheets of water ; in these latter it flourishes exceedingly well, grows rapidly and is excellent on the table. What its future will be so far as the Thames is concerned it is impossible at present to say. In many rivers where it has been placed it has forthwith disappeared, but the experiments with it have not been carried out on a large scale. Owing to its being a rapid grower and enormous eater it sometimes travels in search of food far from the place where it was turned in, and like the brown trout of some rivers it gradually drops down to the sea. There is such a large quantity of food in Buckinghamshire's chief river that we may hope this very beautiful fish will be satisfied with Father Thames's commissariat, and remain with us. The fish is a native of the United States, and is closely related to the steelhead salmon. It may be known by its being for the most part a silvery fish covered with a very large number of small spots, while along its lateral line is a broad translucent rose-coloured band.

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TELEOSTEANS

ACANTHOPTERYGII

1. Perch. *Perca fluviatilis*, Linn.

These are among the most highly esteemed of the fish found in the Thames, the Colne and the Thame. They are most plentiful in the first named river, but do not attain the large weights which were not uncommon some twenty years ago. The writer was acquainted with two anglers, both dead now, who had caught several perch weighing 3 lb. in the Thames bordering Buckinghamshire. At the present day a fish of 2 lb. is considered a remarkably fine specimen. For edible purposes the perch of the Thames take a high rank, and are considered by some superior to Thames trout. There would without doubt be ten times as many perch in the Thames as there are if the numbers of swans and tame ducks which are allowed to be on the river during the spawning season could be materially reduced. Perch deposit their spawn on weeds and very near the surface, where it lies an easy prey to water-fowl. In the spawning season ducks may be seen working up and down the banks of the river devouring every ribbon of spawn which has been deposited, and it is surprising under the circumstances that perch have not been wholly exterminated.

2. Ruffe (Pope). *Acerina cernua*, Linn.

This fish is fairly common in the Thames. It is not specially fished for on account of its small size, though it is a sweet little fish on the table.

3. Miller's Thumb (Bullhead). *Cottus gobio*, Linn.

Wherever there is a clear flowing brook, and in some parts of the Thames and its larger tributaries, these fish are found.

HEMIBRANCHII

4. Three-spined Stickleback. *Gastrosteus aculeatus*, Linn.

This is a common fish in all the waters of the county, particularly in the stagnant portions of them. It is an extremely harmful fish to have in rivers, and should be destroyed wherever possible, as it feeds largely on the fry of other fish. The writer has seen it clear a globe full of bleak fry in the course of a few minutes.

5. Ten-spined Stickleback. *Gastrosteus pungitius*, Linn.

This little fish is found in the county. An instance was recorded in *The Field* on

31 January, 1902, when the Rev. J. P. Langley of Olney, north Bucks, stated that he had captured a specimen and kept it in his aquarium for some time.

HAPLOMI

6. Pike (Jack). *Esox lucius*, Linn.

The pike fishing in Buckinghamshire is among the best in the kingdom, the Thames yielding annually a very fair number of large fish. Since trailing was abolished by the Conservators at the request of the fishery preservation associations pike have certainly increased in numbers, but their average size is not nearly so great as it was a quarter of a century ago. In the Colne and Thame pike are less numerous than in the Thames.

OSTARIOPHYSI

7. Carp. *Cyprinus carpio*, Linn.

The Thames contains a few of these fish which are caught occasionally. It is believed that they have found their way into the river by escaping from ponds and lakes during floods. They are found in several private sheets of water in the county, and grow to a considerable size.

8. Gudgeon. *Gobio fluviatilis*, Flem.

The Thames, particularly the portion in Buckinghamshire, has long been noted for its gudgeon fishing. It is practically the only river where this little fish is systematically angled for from punts. It is feared that owing to over-fishing, and the injury done to the eggs of the fish by the steam traffic, the gudgeon has seriously decreased in numbers. Certainly not nearly so many are now caught as was the case ten or fifteen years ago. Thames gudgeon run to a large size, and are highly esteemed as breakfast fish at Thames-side hotels.

9. Roach. *Leuciscus rutilus*, Linn.

The roach of the Colne run to a considerable size, and are somewhat finer in their proportions than those in the Thames. In many ponds and lakes, and in the Thames, Colne and Thame the fish are plentiful, and many thousands are taken out by anglers in the course of the year. Like all other Thames fish they are strictly preserved during the spawning season.

10. Rudd. *Leuciscus erythrophthalmus*, Linn.

It is doubtful whether any of these fish are still to be found in the Thames, but they are

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caught in great quantities in a few private ponds and lakes. They were without doubt present in the Thames some years ago, but being easily captured have perhaps been exterminated.

11. Dace. *Leuciscus dobula*, Linn. (*L. vulgaris*, Day).

As we descend the Thames these fish, which are somewhat scarce in the upper reaches, become more plentiful, but in Buckinghamshire they by no means rival the roach in numbers, nor do they grow to a very remarkable size. In the Colne they run to a better average size than in the Thames, and rise more readily to the fly.

12. Chub. *Leuciscus cephalus*, Linn.

These are river fish and are fairly plentiful in the Thames, but less so in the Colne and the Thame. They grow to a considerable size in the Thames and also in the Ouse. In the former the steam traffic and the anglers together have decimated them; and whereas in former years an angler with a fly would often take 40 lb. weight of these fish in a day he now deems himself fortunate if he secures a bag of 10 or 15 lb. These fish run up to about 5 lb. in weight, and are most numerous in the Buckinghamshire portion of the Thames between Remenham and Maidenhead.

13. Minnow. *Leuciscus phoxinus*, Linn.

All the rivers of any importance in the county contain minnows, which, strange to say, are rapidly decreasing in numbers in the Thames. It is believed that the cause of this is the steam traffic, as it cannot be said that they have either been poached or caught in too great numbers by anglers. The Colne minnows are finer than those found in the Thames.

14. Tench. *Tinca vulgaris*, Cuv.

Tench are found in the Thames, the Colne, the Thame and the Ouse, but are more plentiful in ponds and lakes, and more frequently caught in still waters. Those from the Thames are considered excellent eating; but they are a shy fish, not easily captured, and therefore not much sought after. Those which are taken from the Thames generally vary from 2½ lb. to 4 lb. in weight.

15. Bream. *Abramis brama*, Linn.

Are extremely scarce in the upper reaches of the Buckinghamshire portions of the Thames, but get more frequent as we approach the tideway. A few were turned

in below Henley by the Henley Fishery Association, and some of these are occasionally caught. One was taken in 1902 between Marlow and Henley weighing 6½ lb.

16. Bleak. *Alburnus lucidus*, Heck. and Kner.

These are quite common fish in the Thames. They are little sought after except by children, their only use being as bait for Thames trout, pike and large perch. The Thames probably produces greater numbers of these fish than any river in England. From their scales was formerly obtained the silvery matter used in the manufacture of artificial pearls.

17. Loach. *Nemachilus barbatulus*, Linn.

Loach are found in the rivers and brooks in the county, but it cannot be regarded as a common fish except in certain localities.

18. Spined Loach. *Cobitis tænia*, Linn.

In Bucks and in England generally this fish is both local and rare. In *The Field* of 31 January, 1902, the Rev. J. P. Langley of Olney, north Bucks, stated that he had caught a specimen, which he kept for some time in his aquarium.

MALACOPTERYGII

19. Trout (Brown Trout). *Salmo fario*, Linn.

Very large sums of money have been spent in turning trout into the Thames, and now that the manner in which it should be done is better known the results should be still more satisfactory. At the Anglers' Hotel at Great Marlow are splendid specimens of Thames trout which have been caught in the district. It does not appear that these fish breed in the Thames to any extent, and the brooks up which they might run to breed are extremely few in number. The Thames therefore has for the most part to rely for its trout on the restocking operations mentioned. Like the Thames the Colne is noted for the fine trout it produces.

20. Rainbow Trout. *Salmo irideus*, Gibbons.

This fish has been introduced into the Thames comparatively recently, and it is difficult to say yet whether it will remain in its new quarters. As fish culturists find it a somewhat easier fish to rear and breed than *Salmo fario* it is possible that it may breed in the Thames to a greater extent than the native trout.

21. Grayling. *Thymallus vulgaris*, Nilss.

This is a very uncommon fish in the county. One straying from a Berkshire tributary is occasionally found in the Thames.

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Of late years they have been introduced into the Colne in the neighbourhood of Rickmansworth, where small fish have been taken recently by anglers, thus indicating that this species is breeding in that locality. The late Mr. Panmure Gordon introduced them into the Chess, a tributary of the Colne, whence no doubt some have dropped down into the larger river.

APODES

22. Eel. *Anguilla vulgaris*, Turt.

The eel fisheries of the Thames used to be of considerable importance, for the little elvers

from the sea found their way (and still find it, though in decreasing numbers) up the whole length of the river and its various tributaries. Many of the huge baskets known as eel bucks, which were used in catching these fish, have now been dismantled, and owing to the pollution of the estuary, so it is believed, there are not so many eels as formerly. At the same time the eel is a very common fish in the Thames and the Colne, and is still more plentiful in the Ouse. There is only one species found in British rivers, the difference between eels with broad nose or pointed nose being merely one of sex.

CYCLOSTOMES

23. Lampern. *Petromyzon fluviatilis*, Linn.

The Thames lampern fisheries were at one time famous, over a million of these fish a year being captured between the estuary and Taplow; but the modern system of locks and weirs has placed difficulties in the way of their ascent, over-fishing has left its mark, and very few are now taken above the tideway. Now and again a specimen is found in an eel basket.

24. Mud Lamprey (Pride, Blind Lamprey and Fringe-lipped Lamprey). *Petromyzon branchialis*, Linn.

This curious little fish is still found in the Thames, but not in large quantities. It is to be seen in the spawning season on the shallows of clear running brooks flowing into the main river.

REPTILES AND BATRACHIANS

There are few if any published records of the occurrence of even the commonest species of reptiles and batrachians in Buckinghamshire, but enquiries made of observers in different districts show that of our six species of native reptiles five are to be found within the confines of the county. The absentee is the smooth snake (*Coronella lævis*), whose claim to be considered a British species is now generally admitted, but, although common on the continent, it is of rather rare occurrence in this country. There is, I think, no reason why it should not be found in the county, for I am informed by Mr. M. D. Hill, B.A., F.Z.S., President of the Windsor and Eton Scientific Society, that both the smooth snake and the sand lizard have been reported from the Ascot district of the adjoining county of Berks. Of the tailless batrachians admitted to the British list three are said to occur, the fourth, which is the edible frog (*Rana esculenta*), being an introduced species now naturalized in the Fens and other localities in the eastern counties. The three British caudate batrachians have been observed.

It is an unfortunate fact that our reptiles are gradually disappearing. Snakes are usually killed at sight, probably through inability on the part of most people to distinguish our one venomous species, the adder or viper, from its harmless relatives. Old inhabitants inform me that half a century ago the common ringed snake and the slow-worm were abundant in many parts of the county where they are now infrequently seen or have altogether disappeared. The adder, too, is far less often met with than in days gone by, when these creatures were a real danger in the places which they frequented. Mr. T. D. Phillips of Aspley Heath informs me that in the Woburn Sands and adjoining districts, lying on the borders of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, very few reptiles are now found. He recollects when a boy that a different state of things prevailed, and that he and his companions used to organize snake-hunting excursions, seldom returning home without having accounted for four or five of one species or another. Once in early March, when out rabbiting with his father and others, they found such a number of adders in a disused sand-pit that it became necessary to call off the dogs and go to another part of the wood. The same observer contributes an interesting personal experience on the vexed question of the female adder swallowing her young for purposes of safety. He states that on the occasion just referred to he actually witnessed this phenomenon,

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and after the creature had been killed by one of the keepers it was opened and the young ones were found to be alive and well. An old labourer, now in my employ, named Arthur Figg, who was born at Ascot near Princes Risborough, and spent his early days in that locality, tells me that when a boy he used to catch vipers in a curious way. A red rag was tied at the end of a stick, and with this the reptile was teased until it became cross, when it would strike at and seize the rag in its mouth and was then easily despatched. If vipers became particularly abundant in any spot they were killed by setting fire to the bushes and undergrowth. The farmers had a habit of feeding them to keep them from attacking the cows. It is to be feared, too, that the popular belief that lizards and newts—'dry efts' and 'wet efts,' as they are called by the country people—can sting is responsible for the destruction of a great many of these harmless creatures. Especially is this true in the case of the lizards, which are now comparatively rare in Buckinghamshire.

REPTILES

LACERTILIA

1. Common Lizard. *Lacerta vivipara*, Jacq.

There can be little doubt that this is generally distributed over the county, but I am only able to mention two localities in which it has been seen. Mr. T. D. Phillips of The Woodlands, Aspley Heath, records that it is to be found in dry summers in that district. Arthur Figg informs me that it used to be abundant in the neighbourhood of Hampden Park, darting about the hedge-banks or basking on stone heaps by the wayside.

2. Sand Lizard. *Lacerta agilis*, Lichtenst.

Mr. T. D. Phillips reports this species as occurring 'not commonly,' and Mr. Alfred Howard of Luton, formerly of Chesham, informs me that it is to be found on Amersham Common.

3. Slow-worm or Blind-worm. *Anguis fragilis*, Linn.

This harmless creature is the most common reptile in many parts of the county. Although a lizard, it is generally looked upon by country people as a snake and destroyed. Instead of being a foe to man it is really a good friend, its food consisting of slugs, worms and insects, and for this reason alone deserves to be spared. Mr. Alfred Howard says that it is plentiful on the baulks near Chesham; Arthur Figg used to find it in the neighbourhood of his old home at Ascot, and

Mr. Phillips states that it is the commonest reptile on the Bedfordshire border, but that in 1903 he only saw two specimens.

OPHIDIA

4. Common Ringed or Grass Snake. *Tropidonotus natrix*, Linn.

Arthur Figg tells me that he used frequently to find this snake in the district lying between Princes Risborough, Ellesborough and Little Missenden. Mr. Phillips says the species is by no means common in his neighbourhood. Mr. Elliman was shown by a gamekeeper two or three years ago three fine specimens of the ringed snake strung up in a hedge near Chesham, his record of its occurrence in that neighbourhood being confirmed by Dr. Churchill of the same town, who speaks of both this species and the viper occurring there. Mr. Alfred Howard mentions the neighbourhood of Amersham as a locality for *Tropidonotus natrix*.

5. Viper or Adder. *Vipera berus*, Linn.

This reptile appears to be generally present, though as before mentioned it is not now common. Mr. E. George Elliman of the Broadway, Chesham, writes that in the summer of 1893 he disturbed three adders lying together sunning themselves at the edge of a clump of beech trees on the Aston Hills. He killed one of them which measured about twelve inches long, the two which escaped being about the same length. Mr. T. D. Phillips remarks that he has mostly noticed

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adders basking in the month of March. This observer attributes their decreasing numbers in some degree to the woods and heaths, their usual haunts, being more frequented by

people than formerly, and consequently they are killed in larger numbers. Mr. Alfred Howard says that adders are to be found on Amersham Common.

BATRACHIANS

ECAUDATA

1. Common Frog. *Rana temporaria*, Linn.

This species is abundant everywhere in damp places. All observers report its common occurrence.

2. Common Toad. *Bufo vulgaris*, Laur.

This also is of general distribution in Buckinghamshire.

3. Natterjack Toad. *Bufo calamita*, Laur.

Mr. T. D. Phillips informs me that the natterjack toad, though far from common, is to be found in certain places on the north-eastern borders of the county. It is locally known as the 'golden-back' from the bright yellow or cream-coloured line down the centre of the back.

CAUDATA

4. Great Crested Newt. *Molge cristata*, Laur.

This appears to be abundant, though probably less so than the common newt. Mr. T. D. Phillips states that both these 'efts' are to be found plentifully in the ponds near Woburn Sands and Aspley Heath.

5. Common Newt. *Molge vulgaris*, Linn.

Abundant in ponds and ditches throughout the county.

6. Palmated Newt. *Molge palmata*, Schn.

This species is not of very common occurrence in the Aspley Heath neighbourhood, where Mr. T. D. Phillips records its presence. Mr. M. D. Hill reports that the three species of *Molge* are to be found in the county.

BIRDS

The list of the birds of Buckinghamshire does not compare very favourably with those of many other counties. It is an inland county, and therefore the numerous birds frequenting or occasionally visiting our coasts are absent or scarce. Compared with many other counties the number of collectors and field-ornithologists is small, and it seems to us that the country people generally are less observant than they are in some other parts of England.

On the other hand it has a variety of scenery, which has an important influence on the number of species of its birds. Most of the southern portion of the county is hilly. The 'Chiltern Hundreds' and 'Chiltern Hills' are dry, chalky hills, partly wooded, although in places rather bare, and are the home of ciril buntings (*Emberiza cirilus*), long-eared owls (*Asio otus*) and others.

The southern line of Buckinghamshire is separated by the Thames from Berkshire, and this river of course adds many species which would otherwise not occur in the county. The Vale of Aylesbury and the flat, for a great part grass-covered, northern portion are very fertile, and possess streams and reservoirs, beautifully wooded parks and gardens, which are well stocked with birds.

We cannot avoid mentioning the Tring reservoirs, which comprise the large reservoirs near Marsworth, Little Tring, and Wilstone. These reservoirs were until quite recently large sheets of water, and they have always been visited by many water and shore birds, otherwise rare and unknown in the neighbourhood. They are well known as places where the great crested grebe (*Podiceps cristatus*), numerous ducks and other birds breed. They have not been neglected by ornithologists. In former years the late Rev. James Williams took some rare eggs on and near the reservoirs, which are now mostly in the collection of Miss Ellen Williams of Tring. The Rev. H. Harpur Crewe collated many notes on the birds frequenting these waters, which are mostly included in Mr. Clark Kennedy's book, and more recently the late Mr. J. E. Littleboy published many notes on birds from this neighbourhood supplied him by Mr. Rothschild; Mr. Alan F. Crossman also has often visited the reservoirs and obtained notes from the keeper Street. While the Rev. H. H. Crewe claimed the notes on birds recorded from the reservoirs for Buckinghamshire, and Kennedy incorporated them in his *Birds of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire*, Littleboy and Crossman have given all their notes in

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their publications on the birds of Hertfordshire. The latter were correct, but as both the Marsworth and Wilstone reservoirs are hard on the borders of Buckinghamshire, they must be taken into consideration when treating of the ornithology of this county, at the risk of being accused of overstepping our boundary. We are very sorry to say that owing to the drought of the last three or four years, and the fact that the canal companies are pumping out the water in great quantities, the Tring reservoirs are decreasing in volume at an alarming rate and are being abandoned by some of the more interesting breeding birds; and it is to be feared that very shortly nearly all the ornithological interest attached to these waters will have entirely vanished. A very fine place for water birds is the Halton (or Weston Turville) reservoir, which has so far retained its former volume of water.

We are very much obliged to a number of friends and correspondents who have most kindly supplied us with notes of their observations on birds. The Rev. Hubert D. Astley, until recently residing at Chequers Court, gave us notes on the birds of that district. Mr. A. Heneage Cocks supplied us with records from the neighbourhood of High Wycombe and the Thames. Mr. Alan F. Crossman supplied us with some observations made in south Buckinghamshire, and from Messrs. Heatley Noble and Charles J. Wilson we received several interesting communications.

Colonel Goodall of Dinton Hall extracted most valuable information from an old manuscript work at Dinton Hall, in which birds obtained in that neighbourhood are well figured and described. This work was commenced by his great grandfather, Sir John van Hatten, in 1772, and the notes are continued by the Rev. W. Goodall into the beginning of the nineteenth century. Both authors of this treatise have been permitted to look over the work and have verified the statements made in it.

Only one book on the birds of the county exists at the present. In 1868 appeared a handsome little volume of 232 pages entitled *The Birds of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire*, by Alexander W. M. Clark Kennedy, 'an Eton Boy.' This is a very praiseworthy little book, full of carefully collected and valuable information, though not without its faults. The author was not more than sixteen years old, and it is a pity that he did not endeavour to improve upon this work later and with a more mature experience.

We have strictly followed the nomenclature of Mr. Howard Saunders's list by the editors' request, but in a few cases where we consider a different nomenclature preferable we have, with the permission of the editors, added a note to that effect.

1. Missel-Thrush. *Turdus viscivorus*, Linn.

Not at all scarce, breeding in all suitable woods, parks and gardens. In autumn and winter they go about in flocks, many of which are doubtless migrants from north Europe.

2. Song-Thrush. *Turdus musicus*, Linn.

Very common and, like the missel-thrush and blackbird, a very early breeder. The majority of thrushes in the midland counties do not migrate, but stay throughout the

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winter, keeping to their familiar haunts and being comparatively tame where they are not persecuted. In autumn and spring however great numbers pass through on migration. As a rule it is easy to distinguish them from our own home-birds, as they keep in flocks and are very shy, though in severe weather they are bolder. In the Thames valley the song-thrush is often called 'thrusher' and 'thrortle.'

3. Redwing. *Turdus iliacus*, Linn.

A fairly common, sometimes very numerous winter visitor, generally arriving about the middle of October. Mr. H. Cocks reports a specimen shot at Harleyford on July 28, 1871.

4. Fieldfare. *Turdus pilaris*, Linn.

A common winter visitor, but like most migrants much more numerous in some years than in others. We have not as a rule seen them before the end of October, but much earlier dates have been recorded. In the Thames valley, along the borders of Buckinghamshire and Berkshire, it is called 'pigeon felt' or 'blue felt.'

5. Blackbird. *Turdus merula*, Linn.

One of the most numerous birds in the county. Pied varieties are not rare. We are sceptical with regard to supposed hybrids of blackbird and thrush. Such birds were offered to the Tring Museum which had been exhibited at one of the Crystal Palace shows and there pronounced to be hybrids, but when we examined them, we found them merely to be freshly moulted, well coloured female blackbirds.

6. Ring-Ouzel. *Turdus torquatus*, Linn.

This species passes through on the autumnal migration as early as the middle of September. We have several times seen it near Tring close to the border of Buckinghamshire, and several specimens have been obtained near Tring, therefore we believe it to be less rare than it is supposed. Our actual records for Buckinghamshire are, however, very few. One male, shot at Wingrave November 4, 1896, is in the Tring Museum, and Mr. H. Cocks informs us that one was 'shot near Chequers about ten years ago,' and another 'killed at Stoke Mandeville at least as long ago as 1887.' The Rev. Hubert Astley has sometimes observed it amongst juniper bushes near Chequers Court and Wendover during the autumnal migration. Clark Kennedy mentions a specimen shot at Risborough in 1840, and says that the Rev.

B. Burgess saw one near Chesham on September 9, 1862. A pair was observed during the same autumn near Wendover. In 1865 a male was killed near Burnham, and according to the Rev. H. H. Crewe a few can be observed during the migration periods near Drayton Beauchamp.

7. Wheatear. *Saxicola œnantbe* (Linn.).

In the cultivated fields and parks this bird is not met with, except occasionally when passing through on migration, but on commons, stony hillsides and such like places it breeds not uncommonly. The Rev. Hubert D. Astley informs us that on the sides of Coombe Hill (Chiltern Range), near Wendover, a few pairs rear their broods every year, also on chalk hills above Princes Risborough, in the vicinity of Whiteleaf Cross. Mr. Arthur Goodson has seen it on a high railway bank near Buckingham in the breeding season, E. Hartert not far from Halton, where it also breeds on the chalky hills, and where eggs have been taken by boys and seen by us.

8. Whinchat. *Pratincola rubetra* (Linn.).

Somewhat locally distributed, as it is a bird of the pasture land and fond of the neighbourhood of rivers and streams, and does not breed, as a rule, on dry hills away from pastures. It occurs sparingly along the Thames; a few nest in the Vale of Chesham, near Aylesbury, Burnham Beeches, Buckingham and Halton reservoirs. Hartert found it less rare along the river Ouse, especially near Castlethorpe. The Rev. H. D. Astley reports it as 'sometimes seen on the hedges near Chequers Court.' It breeds not rarely on suitable railway embankments, if they are well covered with grass. A real summer bird, not arriving before the end of April or first days of May.

9. Stonechat. *Pratincola rubicola* (Linn.).

The stonechat is if anything more numerous than the whinchat, though both can at certain places be found nesting close together. The stonechat is more partial to open commons covered with furze, on dry hills and among the gorse by the roadside. It therefore nests not uncommonly in most places along the Chiltern Hills, where we have frequently observed them. The Rev. H. D. Astley found it nesting near Wendover, where gorse abounds. Mr. Crossman 'found it not uncommon on Farnham Common and on a common between Chesham and Amersham,' and met it in some numbers on the road between Amersham and Wycombe, and we have at various times seen it on the road from Aylesbury to Buckingham and near

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Aston Clinton and Halton. Although not a regular migrant, we hardly think that it stays throughout really cold weather in Bucks and Herts. Sir John van Hatten records it as being shot by Mr. F. Sanders on November 15, 1774, near Dinton Hall, Aylesbury.

10. Redstart. *Ruticilla phœnicurus* (Linn.).

The redstart is apparently not as common as it is in many other counties, and rather locally distributed. It is however a regular breeder in many places, especially near rivers and streams, where willows and other suitable trees offer good opportunities for breeding. Nests are found, though this is not frequent, in holes of walls. We have both observed several pairs in and near Stowe Park; Hartert has seen it on the river Ouse, and the late Lionel Wigglesworth informed him that it was a common breeder in willow trees near Castlethorpe. We have seen it rarely near Walton and Aylesbury. Mr. Heatley Noble tells us that it breeds every year on the hill by Fawley village. The Rev. Hubert Astley reports it as nesting regularly on the Chequers Court estate, where in two cases holes under eaves of keepers' houses were chosen for the nest. Crossman and Hartert observed it in June at Burnham Beeches, where it appears not to be rare.

11. Redbreast. *Eritbacus rubecula* (Linn.).

(We are of opinion that the more correct name of the British form of the redbreast is *Eritbacus rubecula melophilus*, Hart. The above name (*E. rubecula*) should strictly only be used for the continental form, which has the throat of a paler red and the back not so deep rufous brown. See *Novit. Zool.* 1901, p. 317.)

One of the commonest birds everywhere throughout the year. We have not noticed any migration in this bird, neither do our birds apparently leave us as a rule, nor have we seen an influx of migrants. Specimens obtained at various times of the year and others closely observed belonged all to the British race. Some months ago a German lady during a visit to England remarked that she had been pleased with the frequency and tameness of the robins, and that they in England deserved the name 'redbreast' much more than those on the continent, which were not half so red and bright. This unsophisticated statement of a person ignorant of ornithology is rather striking, as it agrees with our view on the distinctness of the British race. Mr. A. Heneage Cocks writes: 'A nest was found on the ground under dead

fern on April 14, 1886. A fern pushing up from beneath had rendered the bottom of the nest convex, so that the eggs got arranged in single file round the edge. On the 22nd I removed two eggs which had fallen through the bottom of the nest.'

12. Nightingale. *Daulias luscinia* (Linn.).

Though unaccountably local, the nightingale is seldom absent on low, fertile ground, especially if water is near. It is mostly absent from high dry ground, though sometimes it takes up its residence in such places. The Rev. Hubert Astley found a pair nesting in a hedge bordering a road leading to an out-of-the-way farmhouse in the vicinity of beech woods with very little undergrowth. W. found it more common near Castlethorpe, Buckingham and Newport Pagnell.

13. Whitethroat. *Sylvia cinerea* (Bechstein).

From the middle or end of April one of the commonest birds in hedgerows, gardens, woods and commons. The eggs vary most wonderfully, though we have not seen any very unusual varieties from Buckinghamshire.

14. Lesser Whitethroat. *Sylvia curruca* (Linn.).

Arrives generally between April 15 and 20. Hartert has seen it in full song on April 16. A more or less common bird almost everywhere in similar places, but not as abundant as the common whitethroat.

15. Blackcap. *Sylvia atricapilla* (Linn.).

In suitable localities, viz. well wooded parks and woods with undergrowth, this beautiful songster is common. The majority arrive about the middle of April, but Hartert has heard it in full song on April 10. The pink varieties of the eggs are much rarer than the brown ones.

16. Garden-Warbler. *Sylvia hortensis* (Bechstein).

From the end of April or beginning of May this warbler may be found generally distributed in quiet, well-wooded parks, gardens and woods all over the county, but it is no doubt much rarer than the blackcap, and not so easily seen, though its song is often to be heard. Crossman and Hartert have observed it near Chesham, Beaconsfield, Burnham, Castlethorpe and Mentmore. The Rev. Hubert D. Astley calls it common in gardens at the foot of the Chiltern Hills.

17. Goldcrest. *Regulus cristatus*, Koch.

(The more correct name of this species, in our opinion, is *Regulus regulus*, as Linnæus

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described it under the name of *Motacilla regulus*.)

Frequently seen in winter, but also breeding wherever a sufficient number of conifers invite its residence. The nest hangs beneath the extremity of a branch of fir, cedar, or rarely a yew, but Mr. A. H. Cocks noticed in May 1883 a nest, the young of which were hatched and reared in the ivy on a tree in his garden. It was not placed as usual at the extremity of a branch, but in the ivy on the stem, immediately underneath one of the largest branches.

18. Firecrest. *Regulus ignicapillus* (C. L. Brehm).

This irregular and rare visitor to our islands must be included in the birds of Buckinghamshire on account of the following occurrence, which we quote with Mr. Alfred Heneage Cocks' own words: 'In the sixties, probably about 1863 and most likely during one of the periods of school holidays, my brother noticed a little bird which kept flitting about a branchy tree in our garden at Great Marlow without flying away from it. My brother began throwing stones at it, and seeing what a pretty bird it was, I joined him. Shortly afterwards the gardener joined, and presently he succeeded in knocking it over. Fortunately I had it stuffed, but it was not until a number of years later that I discovered it was a firecrest.'

19. Chiffchaff. *Phylloscopus rufus* (Bechstein).

Common in suitable localities, breeding in wooded gardens, parks and woods, and also passing through during the autumnal migration.

20. Willow-Warbler. *Phylloscopus trochilus* (Linn.).

Generally distributed in summer, and as common as the chiffchaff. Migrants pass through in autumn. We have not noticed either this species or the chiffchaff in the winter months, nor even after the end of October.

21. Wood-Warbler. *Phylloscopus sibilatrix* (Bechstein).

The wood-wren or wood-warbler bears its name rightly, for it breeds only where woods, principally of beech and oak, are found. In such localities however it is generally common in the county. We have found it in many of the beech woods in the Chiltern Hills. Mr. Crossman writes us: 'This species was formerly and is no doubt still fairly plentiful in Burnham Beeches, and I

have heard it in many of the woods between that place and Ashley Green on the borders of the county.' The Rev. Hubert D. Astley calls it common near Wendover.

22. Reed-Warbler. *Acrocephalus streperus* (Vieillot).

Not rare; and generally abundant, where reed abounds. On the Thames, the rivers Ouse and Colne, the reservoirs near Halton, and in the osiers on large ponds. The eggs of the cuckoo are frequently found in the reed-warbler's nest. The nest is not always placed among the reeds, but sometimes some distance away from the water in bushes in gardens.

23. Sedge-Warbler. *Acrocephalus phragmitis* (Bechstein).

Found commonly in most parts of the county where banks of streams, rivers and ponds with a luxuriant vegetation afford opportunities for its nesting, and sometimes in thick hedgerows with nettles, willow-bushes and such-like localities, mostly near the water.

24. Grasshopper-Warbler. *Locustella naevia* (Boddaert).

Generally distributed, though apparently nowhere numerous. The late Lionel Wiglesworth observed it near Castlethorpe. We have seen eggs from near Aylesbury, and heard its curious song near Halton and Mentmore. Mr. Crossman found it on Farnham Common, Clark Kennedy records it from Chesham, High Wycombe and Drayton Beauchamp.

25. Savi's Warbler. *Locustella luscinioides* (Savi).

In Saunders' *Manual of British Birds*, ed. 2 (1899), p. 92, we read: 'There is some evidence that this species was noticed in May, 1897, in the Humber district, as well as near Olney, Bucks.' E. Hartert wrote to Mr. Saunders for more information, and the latter kindly replied as follows: 'In reply to your inquiry about the supposed occurrence of Savi's warbler near Olney, Bucks, I have to say that my informant was Mr. C. J. Wilson, M.B.O.U., an old friend of mine and an exceedingly good field-ornithologist. The bird, the note, the locality, all tended so strongly to show that the bird was a Savi's warbler that I put it in print. There is no other record.' One of us wrote to Mr. Wilson himself, and this gentleman assures us that he is fully convinced that the 'Savi's warbler is a just record,' as the bird was close to him for some minutes.

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26. Hedge - Sparrow. *Accentor modularis* (Linn.).

One of the commonest birds everywhere. A perfectly white hedge-sparrow was taken sitting on eggs, in April 1848, near Drayton Beauchamp (H. H. Crewe, *Zoologist*, 1848, p. 2143). A very pale example was caught at Wingrave near Aylesbury on June 20, 1900, and is now in the Tring Museum. It is a young bird of the year. It is buff with brownish centres to the feathers above and on the breast and throat, the tail is creamy white, quills white with reddish buff outer edges, abdomen white.

- [Dipper. *Cinclus aquaticus*, Bechstein.

The British dipper differing somewhat from the continental forms or has correctly been separated by Tschusi under the name of *Cinclus cinclus britannicus*. Buckinghamshire not possessing rapidly-running mountain streams, which are the dipper's home, it cannot be of regular occurrence, and we have no recent records of it. In former times Yarrell stated that it had occurred on the Colne, near Wraybury, which is on the borders of Buckinghamshire. According to Gould it has been obtained on the Chess, and the Rev. H. Harpur Crewe said that he had observed one on the canal near Drayton Beauchamp (Clark Kennedy, p. 170.)]

27. British Long-tailed Titmouse. *Acredula rosea* (Blyth).

(In the *History of Herts*, 'Birds,' p. 199, the British long-tailed tit is called *A. caudata*. It is true that Mr. Saunders on p. 5 of his list, from which is taken the nomenclature in the *Victoria History of the Counties*, puts the 'white headed long-tailed tit' and the 'British long-tailed tit' in brackets, as if their distinctness was questionable, but they are perfectly distinct species, and the British form, the only one nesting in the British Islands, must not be called *A. caudata*.)

A. rosea, occasionally called 'bottle-tit,' is not a rare bird. It breeds in woods, parks, gardens and thick old hedges. In winter it goes about in small flocks. The continental species, *A. caudata*, has not to our knowledge been observed in Buckinghamshire.

28. Great Titmouse. *Parus major*, Linn.

The commonest of our tits in the county, and to be met with all the year round.

29. Coal-Tit. *Parus ater*, Linn.

(The more correct name of the British coal-tit is *P. ater britannicus*. The British coal-tit is

easily distinguishable by its brownish, not pure bluish-grey, upperside.)

Not rare, but much more conspicuous in winter, when it generally goes about in flocks, and rambles about over a good deal of ground in search of food, while in the breeding season it does not move far from its home. The suggestion of Mr. Crossman, that 'we have a large immigration' in winter is not borne out by our observations, as we have never yet seen a specimen of the continental form (true *P. ater*) from Buckinghamshire or Hertfordshire.

30. Marsh-Tit. *Parus palustris*, Linn.

(The more correct name of the British marsh-tit is *P. palustris dresseri*.)

Also by no means rare, though not nesting in very great numbers. (We have no record of the occurrence of the rarer 'willow tit,' which, though a distinct species, is not mentioned in the recent books of Messrs. Saunders and Harting.)

31. Blue Tit. *Parus cæruleus*, Linn.

Common. Next to the great titmouse, apparently the commonest of our tits in the county.

32. Nuthatch. *Sitta cæsia*, Wolf.

(The correct name of the British nuthatch, in our opinion, is *S. europæa britannica*, Hartert. The central European form, which should be called *S. europæa cæsia*, has a much more richly coloured underside.)

Not uncommon in all well timbered parts—woods, parks and larger gardens; but curiously enough many people are not very familiar with this bird. Mr. Crossman found it particularly common in Burnham Beeches.

33. Wren. *Troglodytes parvulus*, Koch.

(We would prefer the name *Olbiorchilus troglodytes*, Linnæus. It is in our opinion a pity to set Linnæus' names aside. The wren is here—between the nuthatch and tree-creeper—in our opinion in an unsystematic position.)

The wren is a very common bird all over the county.

34. Tree-Creeper. *Certhia familiaris*, Linn.

(The more correct name of the British tree-creeper, which is easily distinguishable from the typical Swedish *C. familiaris*, is *C. familiaris britannica*, Stejn. Cf. *Novit. Zool.* 1897, pp. 136-40.)

Not at all rare, but often overlooked, being rather inconspicuous and silent. Its pretty, but not at all very loud song is often heard

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as early as January and February. The nest is nearly always placed behind loose bark on old trees, sometimes also under the eaves of a building.

35. Pied Wagtail. *Motacilla lugubris*, Temminck.

The pied wagtail, often called 'dish-washer,' is nowhere rare. Generally migratory, single pairs are nevertheless sometimes seen in most months of the year. At Great Marlow a pair nested last year (1901) in a very small birdcage standing empty out of doors. The eggs were found on May 28, and the young were safely hatched and flew on June 12 (H. H. Cocks in litt.).

36. White Wagtail. *Motacilla alba*, Linn.

E. Hartert observed a pair feeding its young on June 17, 1902, on the river Chess below Latimer. In the vicinity, not more than 300 or 400 yards away, *M. lugubris* was apparently nesting.

37. Yellow Wagtail. *Motacilla raii* (Bonaparte).

A regular summer bird wherever there are suitable meadows. Generally arriving about the middle of April. Very fond of grazing sheep and cattle, in the proximity of which it is nearly always found in autumn in search of insects.

38. Grey Wagtail. *Motacilla melanope*, Pallas.

(This species was named *M. boarula* by Linnæus before Pallas named the eastern form *M. melanope*. The latter has a shorter tail and is to be called *M. boarula melanope*, the European form *M. boarula*, Linn.)

The grey wagtail is a somewhat rare bird in winter and autumn. We have seen it near Marsworth at those seasons; the Rev. H. D. Astley saw it near Chequers Court. On the banks of the Thames it has often been noticed. Clark Kennedy (p. 26) writes: 'I was rather surprised to be informed by the Rev. Bryant Burgess of Latimer, Chesham, that this wagtail annually makes its nest and rears its young on the river Chess, where it seems to be a summer visitor.' We have been on the look-out for this bird, but did not find it near Latimer.

39. Tree-Pipit. *Anthus trivialis* (Linn.).

Common all over the county.

40. Meadow-Pipit. *Anthus pratensis* (Linn.).

Not rare on lowland pastures. Mr. Crossman informs us that a few pairs are always

to be found on Farnham Common, where they nest. We have found it nesting near Halton, Aylesbury, Buckingham, Castlethorpe, and Hartert saw it at Burnham Beeches. It is also common near Eton. The Rev. H. D. Astley has sometimes seen flocks on the hills during the autumn migration.

41. Golden Oriole. *Oriolus galbula*, Linn.

A male was shot at Stoke Mandeville on May 19, 1897 (White, *Field*, 1879). Mr. Alfred Heneage Cocks writes (in litt.): 'This bird has been reported to have nested about three miles north from here in 1901, the nest and eggs having been taken; but I cannot answer for it personally.' Clark Kennedy writes (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 171): 'A nest of this bird is said to have been found near Burnham.'

42. Great Grey Shrike. *Lanius excubitor*, Linn.

A somewhat rare winter visitor. It was shot on January 8, 1778, near Dinton Hall. A female was shot near Wendover about the middle of November 1864, and a male on November 4 of the same year at Weston Turville (H. Harpur Crewe, *Zoologist*, 1865, p. 9416). 'In 1862 a fine male was shot by a son of the Rev. M. Gore, near the almshouses at Stoke. Some time ago, while looking over a collection of birds shot by Mr. G. Lillywhite of Eton Wick, Buckinghamshire, I was agreeably surprised to find a fine example of the great grey shrike. It was shot on the banks of the Thames, not far from Windsor, in the winter of 1865-6, and was stuffed by Mr. Drye of Eton. Another, in the collection of the Rev. Bryant Burgess, was killed a few years since at Hampden' (Clark Kennedy, *Birds of Bucks and Berks*, p. 169). Hartert saw one in October 1895 near Halton.

43. Red-backed Shrike. *Lanius collurio*, Linn.

Found in summer in all parts of the county, though generally by no means as numerous as it might be. It mostly frequents tall uncut hedges, but does not breed where no tall hedges or other tall thorn-bushes offer it suitable breeding places. It is common near Eton, Eton Wick, etc. Mr. Crossman saw it frequently in many parts of south Bucks. The late Lionel Wiglesworth and Hartert found it not uncommon near Castlethorpe; the latter has seen it near Chesham, Cheddington, Buckingham, Aylesbury, Dinton and Newport Pagnell. The Rev. H. D. Astley

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found it not rare about Chequers Court, and we have observed it regularly every year near Aston Clinton, Halton and Weston Turville. Mr. A. Heneage Cocks found it plentiful in the parish of Hambledon of recent years. He generally noticed it on small trees in hedgerows. It is mostly known as the 'butcher bird.'

44. Waxwing. *Ampelis garrulus*, Linn.

This irregular winter visitor appears very seldom in the midland counties. Clark Kennedy writes: 'An immense flock appeared along the eastern shores of our island in the winter of 1849-50, which was very severe, and several specimens were at that time procured in different parishes in Buckinghamshire. I am indebted to the Rev. Bryant Burgess for the notice of a Bohemian waxwing which was killed at Ivinghoe Aston in January 1850, and which is now in his collection. An immense number of Bohemian waxwings were shot in the neighbourhood of Buckingham during the spring of 1867, as Mr. J. W. Thorpe told me' (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, 1868, p. 174).

45. Pied Flycatcher. *Muscicapa atricapilla*, Linn.

We have very few records of this somewhat rare bird, though we have no doubt that it frequently passes through the county on migration, and perhaps even nests more or less regularly. According to Morris it has once been killed within the county, many years ago, and Clark Kennedy, on the authority of Captain Elwes, mentions a nest with eggs being taken near Eton in the summer of 1860 (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, 1868, p. 169). Mr. Heatley Noble wrote to us: 'A nest with six eggs was taken on my late father's property, Berry Hill, Taplow, in June 187- (the exact year cannot be given). The female was unfortunately killed on the nest.' Mr. H. Heneage Cocks writes: 'On May 12, 1883, our gardener at Great Marlow saw in our orchard a bird with white on the wings, which, from its movements and other habits, must have been a flycatcher. He said it looked somewhat like a female chaffinch, but the beak was different. Sir J. A. Godley, K.C.B., reported several years before to have seen one specimen there. Two days afterwards the gardener saw evidently the pair, but though I watched for them repeatedly I did not see them, nor were they ever seen again.' On May 10, 1901, E. Hartert heard its unmistakable and to him familiar note and saw the male at Mentmore, and he has no doubt that the bird was

breeding there, though he could not find the nest.

46. Spotted Flycatcher. *Muscicapa grisola*, Linn.

A very common bird everywhere. One of the latest arrivals in spring.

47. Swallow. *Hirundo rustica*, Linn.

Very common everywhere. They generally arrive in the second week of April or even later, but sometimes earlier. Clark Kennedy reported a pair being seen on April 1, 1867, near Eton in Bucks. Sometimes they also remain exceptionally late, namely till October 20, and even into November. In Loudon's *Magazine of Natural History* it is stated that Mr. F. G. Tatem observed two swallows at High Wycombe on November 22. Enormous quantities are sometimes seen on the Thames before their departure. In *Novitates Zoologicae*, vols. i. ii., one of us has recorded interesting facts about a pair of swallows in Aylesbury which hatched for several successive years some white young ones among the usual dark ones. In May 1891 four white swallows were hatched and flew away. In 1892 one was hatched in the same nest, the rest were said to have been of the usual colour. In 1893 the nest contained two white and two regularly coloured young. In 1894 two white and two regularly coloured ones. In 1894 another nest containing two white females and two or three dark birds was found in the same town. In 1895 the pair bred twice. The first time it had three white and two black ones, the second time it had four black young and one white. On August 6, 1895, a white swallow was seen a mile from Aylesbury by Arthur Goodson. Colonel Goodall often saw a white swallow in September 1901 in the parish of Dinton. He made inquiries and found that three white swallows were hatched in the same nest in 1899 at Broughton, and that one was hatched in 1900, another in 1901 at Waterstock, Oxon.

48. House-Martin. *Chelidon urbica* (Linn.).

Though a very common bird it is absent from many villages where one would expect to see it. The Rev. H. Harpur Crewe has reported having seen a martin 'merrily hawking for flies for about half an hour' at Hartwell near Aylesbury on December 5, 1874. The house-martin does not, as a rule, arrive before the middle of April, but Mr. Clark has seen a pair in the last week of March near Eton in Bucks. The same ornithologist has also noticed the martin as late as October

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18. Mr. Alfred Heneage Cocks writes : 'An extraordinary number, I should say about *a million*, was seen over the river and pool at Great Marlow opposite our house about 4 to 5 p.m. on September 18, 1896. Some hundreds were seen on October 7, 1899.' An old bird and two young were seen by the same gentleman at Great Marlow on November 13, 14, and 15, 1889.

49. Sand-Martin. *Cotile riparia* (Linn.).

Breeds where there are suitable places for it, i.e. sand-pits, river-banks, etc. It is frequently seen on the Thames. Albinos are not frequent in this species. According to Clark Kennedy (p. 91) an albino was shot on the river near Marlow, by Mr. F. Wheeler, in August 1867. A whitish variety was shot just on the borders of Bucks near one of the Tring reservoirs on July 20, 1901. The upperside is pale greyish white, wings and tail slightly more greyish; underside white, the band across the chest hardly noticeable. The specimen was a male. The iris and pupil were of an almost colourless watery appearance, the feet were pale flesh-colour.

50. Greenfinch. *Ligurinus chloris* (Linn.).

Extremely common all the year round.

51. Hawfinch. *Coccothraustes vulgaris*, Pallas.

(We consider that the correct name is *Coccothraustes coccothraustes* [Linn.] .)

Somewhat local and generally not common. Mr. Alfred Heneage Cocks writes : 'Its numbers are probably increasing. It nested just outside our garden at Great Marlow in 1890, and in 1891 about 30 feet high in a Scotch fir in our garden. For many years it has been nesting at Bisham Abbey near Great Marlow, Bucks.' Mr. Crossman says : 'This bird used to breed near Great Marlow, and is now to be found in increasing numbers in Burnham Beeches and the surrounding neighbourhood. I saw a number of these birds for two successive winters at Denham.' Mr. Kennedy records it breeding at Latimer near Chesham; the Rev. H. Harpur Crewe stated that a few pairs were breeding almost every year in the park at Hartwell House near Aylesbury. Near Chequers Court it is rare. We have seen it or had specimens from Halton, Cholesbury, St. Leonard's, Chesham and Stowe Park.

52. Goldfinch. *Carduelis elegans*, Stephens.

(The correct name, in our opinion, would be *Carduelis carduelis* [Linn.] .)

This bright-coloured bird is nowhere common. Though it is seen everywhere

occasionally and breeds in limited numbers in many places it seems to decrease. Everybody complains about the professional bird-trappers. The Rev. H. D. Astley says that they spread their nets with decoys on the hills above Wendover, where the goldfinch is 'not nearly so numerous as twenty years ago.' We saw it occasionally near Cholesbury, Chesham, Aylesbury and Cheddington. Mr. Crossman has seen it only 'very occasionally' in southern Buckinghamshire.

53. Siskin. *Carduelis spinus* (Linn.).

An irregular winter visitor, rare or unnoticed in some mild winters, generally more frequent in cold winters with much snow. In the hard winters of 1866-7 and 1857 great numbers were seen and many were captured near Windsor. Bird-trappers often catch it.

54. House-Sparrow. *Passer domesticus* (Linn.).

Only too numerous everywhere. Albinos and pied varieties have been taken too frequently to enumerate them. Certainly one of our earlier breeders, the young being not unfrequently hatched in the middle of April, but it breeds very late into July. Two broods are the rule, but three are not unfrequent.

55. Tree-Sparrow. *Passer montanus* (Linn.).

'A resident species, but nowhere numerous and very local.' Those words were written by Clark Kennedy in 1858 (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 32), and we find this statement still correct, though it must be admitted that this sparrow is doubtless overlooked by many casual observers. We have specimens from Aston Clinton in the Tring Museum; it nests near Buckingham, where Mr. Kennedy reports a case of a nest in a sand martins' hole. Specimens have been killed at Datchet, Slough, Newbury and Aylesbury.

56. Chaffinch. *Fringilla œlebs*, Linn.

Certainly one of the most common birds, if not the most numerous bird of the county. Nests everywhere and is seen during the winter in flocks, many of which must have come from the north.

57. Brambling. *Fringilla montifringilla*, Linn.

The brambling appears every winter, though many people mistake it apparently for the very different chaffinch. We have frequently seen flocks late in October, and W. Rothschild saw a great flock near Eddlesborough as late as March 3, 1902, but they are noticed most frequently in December and January.

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Their number varies much, and as a rule they are far more frequent in severe winters and when there is plenty of beech-mast. In 1865 Mr. A. E. Atkins of Farnham Court, Slough, observed vast numbers in Stoke Park. When the flock started from their roosting-place they continued streaming by without intermission for thirty-five minutes!

58. Linnet. *Linota cannabina* (Linn.).

Very common.

59. Mealy Redpoll. *Linota linaria* (Linn.).

The mealy redpoll is a winter visitor to England, occurring along the east coast south to the south coast, where it is frequent in some years, as was the case in 1895, when many hundreds were caught near Brighton; yet it is generally rare. We have hardly any record for Buckinghamshire, but it is sure to occur more or less frequently in the county. It is known to visit the Thames valley, and one was taken by Mr. Banfield on the borders of Hertfordshire near Ivinghoe in September 1883. The breeding home of this bird is Scandinavia to 69° north lat., Finland, western Russia, and south to the north-eastern corner of East Prussia.

60. *Linota holbælli* (C. L. Brehm.).

(This bird is not mentioned in Mr. Saunders' list. It is true that *L. bornemanni* is mentioned as doubtfully distinct from *L. linaria*, but *L. bornemanni* is quite a different form again, inhabiting Greenland during the breeding season. We have adapted the name of the present form to Mr. Saunders' nomenclature, although we believe that the proper generic name should be *Acanthis*.)

The breeding home of *L. holbælli* is Norway, northern Lapland, and perhaps parts of Sweden. Sharpe (*Handbook to the Birds of Great Britain*, i. 47) mentions two specimens of this form in the British Museum which are labelled by John Gould as having been obtained near Norwich in January. We have in the Tring Museum an adult male caught near Aston Clinton, Bucks, on December 14, 1895. There can be no doubt that it belongs to *L. holbælli*, but the red on the crown is abnormally pale. The wings are 80 mm. long, the tail 62. There is much more red on the rump than in *L. linaria*.

61. Lesser Redpoll. *Linota rufescens* (Vieillot).

Frequent in most winters, though varying in numbers. We do not know of an authenticated nest in the county, but we have no doubt that it has occasionally bred there. W. Rothschild has several times seen it on

the 'flats,' near Champneys Park, close to the borders of Bucks, in summer, and is confident that it nested there, and Crossman records its breeding on Berkhamsted Common, close to Bucks.

62. Twite. *Linota flavirostris* (Linn.).

A somewhat scarce winter visitor, though doubtless often unnoticed. We have it from the neighbourhood of Aston Clinton and Halton. Mr. Alfred Heneage Cocks informs us that three specimens were caught near Skirmett in a pheasant trap in the middle of February 1902.

63. Bullfinch. *Pyrrhula europæa*, Vieillot.

Very common throughout the year.

64. Crossbill. *Loxia curvirostra*, Linn.

A frequent winter visitor, and though rare or even absent in some years very numerous in others. As is well known, this bird is somewhat erratic in its breeding places, and it has probably also bred, though exceptionally, in the county. In the old manuscript at Dinton Hall is the figure of a specimen of 'ye Crossbill or Shellapple' which was shot in 1782. The author adds the following interesting notes: 'Is an inconstant visitor of this island and breeds in ye pine-forests of Germany and Switzerland; it feeds on ye cones of those trees. It is a fact that it changes ye shades of its colour in different seasons of ye year from deep red to yellow and ye females which are greenish alter to different varieties of the same colour. Ten of these birds were shot and several others seen by ye Revnd. W. Goodall in ye Wilderness of Dinton Hall August 8th 1791. They had been observed by the servants some weeks, tho' they mistook them for bull finches. Q^r had they bred there? As some of ye males had not then gained their full plumage and one of ye females had not as yet a single yellow feather.'

65. Corn-Bunting. *Emberiza miliaria*, Linn.

Locally, Bunting, Bunting-Lark or Common Bunting.

Common enough in the arable districts, but absent from wooded hills and parks. It is very seldom seen here in winter.

66. Yellow Bunting. *Emberiza citrinella*, Linn.

Better known as the yellow hammer. A common resident.

67. Cirl Bunting. *Emberiza cirlus*, Linn.

This bunting is a regular breeder in the Chiltern Hills, though being far from com-

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mon. It is a late breeder, nesting from May till July. The Rev. H. Harpur Crewe found a nest in a juniper bush on June 4, 1864, near Drayton Beauchamp (*Field*, Dec. 3, 1864, p. 384). The Rev. Hubert D. Astley found it not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Chequers Court on Coombe Hill, amongst gorse and brambles, and along the hills above Wendover. He found a nest in the shrubbery of the gardens at Chequers Court in a bush of 'mock orange' (*Syringa*), about three feet from the ground. The female was seen on the nest; the eggs were typical. The male was often seen on wire rails close by. The young flew unmolested (June 1898). Hartert saw eggs taken near Halton. In winter the cirl bunting is less stationary and of course more easily noticed. We have seen it in winter near Ivinghoe, and received specimens from Aston Clinton. It has been caught at Pitstone.

68. Reed-Bunting. *Emberiza schoeniclus*, Linn.
Locally, Reed-Sparrow or Blackheaded Bunting.

Resident and generally distributed, though of course somewhat local, as it affects only reed beds and bushy stretches along marshy ditches, streams, rivers and ponds. It breeds at Stowe Park, on the rivers Thames, Colne, Chess and Ouse, on the Weston Turville reservoirs and other suitable places. It shifts its haunts more or less in winter, when it is sometimes seen in flocks.

69. Snow-Bunting. *Plectrophenax nivalis* (Linn.).

A cold weather visitant to the county. Not noticed every year, but sometimes in great numbers, and then as a rule in cold weather with deep snow. We have seen large flocks in 1895. The earliest date we know of is November 4, 1901, when a male was shot by Mr. H. Jenney at Drayton Lodge, Bucks, between Aylesbury and Tring. These birds are often seen near Aston Clinton. Their old manuscript mentions the occurrence in the great snow of January 8, 1776.

70. Starling. *Sturnus vulgaris*, Linn.

Very numerous and resident.

[Rose-coloured Starling. *Pastor roseus* (Linn.).

In Gould's *Birds of Europe* (vol. iii.) it is stated that a specimen was shot by John Newman, at Iver Court, near Langley, in Buckinghamshire.]

71. Jay. *Garrulus glandarius* (Linn.).

Very numerous residents, though frequently

killed on shooting days in the woods and anxiously kept down by the keepers.

72. Magpie. *Pica rustica* (Scopoli).

(Linnæus named this bird *Corvus pica*; we would therefore call it *Pica pica* [Linn.].)

Resident throughout the year and generally distributed over the county, but far from common and rather local, being ruthlessly destroyed by most of the gamekeepers. It is regularly seen along the railway from Cheddington to Castlethorpe, and we have seen it more or less often near Mentmore, Bletchley, Yardley Chase, Buckingham and Aylesbury.

73. Jackdaw. *Corvus monedula*, Linn.

By no means rare throughout the year. Nesting in holes of trees, old towers and other buildings, sometimes also in a rooks' nest. Of the many nesting-places we may cite Stowe Park, Eton, Dinton Hall. Much persecuted by the keepers.

74. Raven. *Corvus corax*, Linn.

Probably once upon a time a regularly breeding bird, but now only very rarely met with. In the old manuscript we find figures and notes of specimens shot on March 25, 1828, and December 16, 1829. Even then it was apparently not considered a very numerous species. Mr. Crossman writes: 'On August 14, 1887, I had the great pleasure of seeing one of these birds at Farnham near Slough. The bird was shy and difficult to approach, but there was no mistaking its hoarse note.'

75. Carrion-Crow. *Corvus corone*, Linn.

A regular resident throughout the county, though ruthlessly destroyed by the keepers, and therefore very scarce where pheasants are bred in great numbers. Perhaps most frequent in the grass country of north-eastern Buckinghamshire and north and west of Aylesbury. Colonel Goodall says it is common near Dinton. It is however rather on the decrease than on the increase. Mr. Crossman writes: 'In May 1892 I found a nest of this species near Chicheley containing three eggs, two of which were firmly embedded in a dead mole.'

76. Grey or Hooded Crow. *Corvus cornix*, Linn.

A winter visitor, generally scarce, but more common in the plains near Cheddington, Mentmore, Leighton Buzzard and Fenny Stratford. Sometimes seen in great numbers.

77. Rook. *Corvus frugilegus*, Linn.

Very numerous. There is hardly a suitable park without a rookery in the county.

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78. Sky-Lark. *Alauda arvensis*, Linn.

Very numerous on fields and pastures. Pale and pied varieties are not rare. An entirely 'buff-yellow' variety was shot on December 26, 1863, at Weston Turville (R. Tyrer, *Zoologist*, 1864, p. 8957).

79. Wood-Lark. *Alauda arborea*, Linn.

A rather rare and local bird in Buckinghamshire, being partial to dry, chiefly sandy, districts with open woods and plantations. It occurs therefore sparingly along the Chiltern Hills, and was observed near Chequers Court by the Rev. H. D. Astley.

80. Swift. *Cypselus apus* (Linn.).

(The correct name, if priority of generic as well as of specific names is recognized, is *Apus apus*. *Cypselus* is the third oldest generic term.)

Sometimes called the 'devil.' Very frequent, arriving within the first days of May, more rarely during the last days of April. E. Hartert had some correspondence with several prominent members of the British Ornithologists' Union, showing that, though the usual number of eggs is certainly two, three eggs are not unfrequently found in one nest.

81. Nightjar. *Caprimulgus europæus*, Linn.

This summer visitor is by no means rare in suitable localities, viz. dry open woods, chiefly of conifers, dry ground covered with heather, gorse or ferns. Mr. A. Heneage Cocks says it is plentiful in all the woods in the Humberdon district. It is not rare about Burnham Beeches, and very common on the hills above Halton. There it can be heard and seen on every summer's night. The Rev. Hubert D. Astley calls it numerous near Chequers Court, Coombe Hill and above Wendover. W. Rothschild saw it near Buckingham, E. Hartert near Princes Risborough. It is said to be abundant near Slough and Eton, and Mr. Clark Kennedy described it as common in the woods near Beaconsfield.

82. Wryneck. *Iynx torquilla*, Linn.

Locally, Cuckoo's mate, Nile bird (at Great Marlow), Pea bird.

The first name evidently refers to the time of arrival, which may be much the same as that of the cuckoo; the third must, we think, refer to its cry, and the second name does perhaps the same. The wryneck is, it seems, somewhat decreasing in number. It is seen or heard in most districts, but nowhere is it common. Mr. Crossman informs us that it used formerly to be plentiful round Farnham

and Burnham. In 1878 it was heard as early as April 5 at Stoke Pogis Vicarage near Slough. A pure white wryneck, a young one of the year, was killed on October 27, 1878, at Wendover Hall.

83. Green Woodpecker. *Geococcyx viridis* (Linn.).

Though nowhere numerous, it occurs wherever there are old trees in which it can nest. Altogether it is probably the most plentiful woodpecker in the county. Its very loud note makes it easily heard.

84. Great Spotted Woodpecker. *Dendrocopos major* (Linn.).

(The more exact name of the British great spotted woodpecker is *D. major anglicus* [*Novit. Zool.* 1900, p. 528]. It differs very strikingly from the typical Swedish form in its smaller size, especially shorter wing and slenderer bill, as well as less pure white underside.)

Only found in woods and well-wooded parks, and therefore not universally distributed. It breeds near Aylesbury, Aston Clinton and Halton, at Howe Park and near Castlethorpe. Mr. Crossman found it in many places in south Bucks, more especially where the beech is plentiful. It is often seen at Burnham Beeches (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 44), and has been observed at Chesham, Eton, Taplow and Ashridge Park.

85. Lesser Spotted Woodpecker. *Dendrocopos minor* (Linn.).

A resident bird throughout the year, and perhaps commoner than most people think, being small and less noticeable than the other woodpeckers. It often makes its nests in fruit trees in orchards at variable height. Mr. Crossman knows of nests in the neighbourhood of Farnham and Newton Blossomville near Olney. We have had a specimen from Wingrave, and it has been obtained or observed at Stoke Park, Eton, Dorney near Brill, Latimer, Langley near Stokes, Datchet, Aston Clinton, Buckingham, Ashridge Park, Marsworth, Cheddington, Mentmore, Aylesbury and Castlethorpe.

[Great Black Woodpecker. *Picus martius*, Linn.

Clark Kennedy (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 178) says: 'In March 1867, while walking under some elms in Ditton Park, I saw a great black woodpecker busily engaged on one of the tallest trees within a short distance of me. I was sufficiently near to identify the bird with certainty, and had an opportunity of

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observing its movements for the space of half a minute, when it flew off with an undulating flight to a considerable distance and was seen no more.]

86. Kingfisher. *Alcedo ispida*, Linn.

Resident and generally distributed wherever there are streams or other suitable waters. Owing to their bright plumage they are frequently shot without object or reason, and the nests are often robbed, so that they get considerably thinned out. They have evidently been very frequent at times. Mr. A. R. Cocks tells us (*Zoologist*, 1891, p. 154) that a local birdstuffer at Great Marlow had nearly 100 specimens to stuff in the year 1890. Mr. Cocks also informs us (in litt.) that they have become much rarer through persecution, but that they have to a certain extent recovered their numbers since they have been less persecuted in recent years.

87. Hoopoe. *Upupa epops*, Linn.

This beautiful bird has been obtained a good many times. A female was shot at Stewkley April 24, 1862 (Jones, *Field*, 1862, p. 387). A male was shot in April 1888 near Wendover, in one of the driest parts of the Chiltern Hills (Odling, *Field*, 1888, p. 536). One was killed at Lavender Park farm November 20, 1889 (Tomalin, *Field*, 1889, p. 777). On April 27, 1859, one was seen at West Wycombe, and one, probably the same specimen, shot two days after at Eyrsham (Roby in the *Field*, 1859). On May 3 one was wounded at Burnham Grove near Maidenhead (Thomas Ingatton). One was caught alive in 1861 or 1862 near Eton. In 1828 one was shot near the Eton Wick public-house (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*). In 1857 one was shot at Aston Abbots. Others have been killed at Chesham and Buckingham. It is certainly a pity that almost every specimen seen in England falls to the gun, and science is hardly benefited thereby. Whether the hoopoe would, if unmolested, soon become a regular breeding species, as has been said by ornithologists, we doubt very much. There would have been plenty of time to develop into a regular breeder before every one shot the hoopoe down, but in spite of assertions to the contrary, there is no proof that the hoopoe was more frequent in olden times than it is now. Where this bird breeds it is well known, and yet Dr. Muffet, who died in 1590, wrote: 'Houpes were not thought by Dr. Turner to be found in England, yet I saw Mr. Serjeant Goodrons kill one of them in Charingdon Park, when

he did very skilfully and happily cure my Lord of Pembroke at Ivychurch' (see Harting, *Handbook of British Birds*, p. 115). The old MS. in Dinton Hall shows an excellent figure of the bird, said to be cock and hen, the latter however being evidently a young bird. The following note is added: 'Hoop or dung bird. Shot by William Lee of Ford 1760. The vulgar in country esteem it a forerunner of some calamity. It visits these islands frequently but not at stated seasons, neither does it breed with us.' Now this is exactly what is the case now, for the instances in which it has bred are few and far between and not the rule. A regular breeding bird is never considered 'by the vulgar in country to be a forerunner of some calamity.'

88. Cuckoo. *Cuculus canorus*, Linn.

Very frequent. Eggs are known to us as having been taken in nests of hedge-sparrows, reed-warblers and pipits in Buckinghamshire, but we have had no time for egg-hunting.

89. White or Barn-Owl. *Strix flammea*, Linn.

(The more exact name of the west European barn-owl, or, as it is correctly called, white owl—in opposition to the typical *S. flammea*, with a brown under-surface—is *S. flammea kirchboffi*, Brehm. See *Novit. Zool.* 1800, p. 533.)

Breeds commonly and is found throughout the year. Though nesting in various sorts of buildings, especially old towers, the majority are probably now nesting in this county in hollow trees, and we have so often flushed them, at all seasons, from thick plantations of young trees, that we think it may exceptionally nest there—perhaps in old nests or rabbit holes, as long-eared and little owls do. Clark Kennedy mentions as many as nine eggs being taken from a tree in Burnham Beeches; and near Tring as many as eleven eggs have been found in one nest. In April 1893 Mr. Crossman found a bird of this species sitting on one of its own eggs and two stock dove eggs in a hole in a tree at Newton Blossomville.

90. Long-eared Owl. *Asio otus* (Linn.).

Locally found over the county, but only in wooded parts and especially in fir-plantations, where it deposits its eggs in old nests.

91. Short-eared Owl. *Asio accipitrinus* (Pallas).

Frequently called the woodcock owl. A common visitor in autumn and winter, though very rare in some years.

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92. Tawny Owl. *Syrnium aluco* (Linn.).

Generally called the brown owl or wood owl. Common wherever there are large and old trees with hollows to breed in, but absent, at least during the breeding season, from places where such trees are wanting. An extremely grey variety, 'with the white markings conspicuous and no trace of rufous tawny,' was shot at Great Horwood near Winslow in July 1884 (Aplin, *Zoologist*, 1884, p. 471). It is well known that this owl occurs in a brown and a greyish phase, but the brown and often very rufous phase is apparently the prevailing one in England.

93. Little Owl. *Athene noctua* (Scopoli).

The captures of this owl in Buckinghamshire being all of recent date (1896, Fingest; 1894, Turville; 1902, Bletchley), there can be no doubt that all are due to the many introduced specimens. Every year cages full are sent over from Holland, and in Northamptonshire (Lord Lilford) and Tring (Mr. Rothschild) many have been liberated and bred, though they are decreasing in numbers.

94. Scops Eared-Owl. *Scops giu* (Scopoli).

(The proper name is *Pisorhina scops*.)

'A bird of this species was shot by a farmer on the borders of Bucks, near Brill, in the spring of 1838, and taken to Mr. Forest, from whom we shortly after received information of its occurrence' (A. H. Matthews, *Zoologist*, 1849, p. 2596.)

95. Marsh Harrier. *Circus æruginosus* (Linn.).

Though doubtless in former times fairly numerous in marshy districts, we have no detailed records of this bird's breeding in the county, nor notes of very recent occurrences. In 1868 Clark Kennedy wrote (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 4): 'Resident throughout the year but nowhere numerous. It is distributed sparingly in both counties, and is doubtless often confounded with the hen harrier. A few are still to be seen at various seasons in the neighbourhood of Chesham; and it remains all the year in some favoured localities, which are now, alas! "few and far between" in the two counties. The Rev. Bryan Burgess of Latimer, near Chesham, wrote me word of an immature marsh harrier which was killed some years ago near Risborough.'

Mr. Cocks tells us that Mr. R. Lunnon winged a male near Spade Oak, Little Marlow, in the heavy snow on January 19, 1881, and gave it alive to Mr. Cocks on December 21, 1881.

96. Hen-Harrier. *Circus cyaneus* (Linn.).

Like most birds of prey the hen-harrier is also a bird of the past in most places where it used to breed. According to Mr. Clark Kennedy a male was shot at Eton College in 1857, and it 'has occurred at Chesham and near Cookham.' Some fifteen years ago or so one was shot near the Tring reservoirs, close to the borders of Herts.

97. Montagu's Harrier. *Circus cineraceus* (Montagu).

(The correct name in our opinion is *Circus pygargus*, Linnæus, 1758 and 1766.)

According to Mr. Cocks (*Field*, 1873) a specimen was killed near Hurley in 1870. A fine adult male was trapped near Wigginton, Tring, close to the Bucks border. Clark Kennedy wrote (p. 166): 'The Rev. Harpur Crewe informed me that a specimen of this bird was killed some years since by Mr. A. H. Jenney in the parish of Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire. It is now in the possession of Sir J. H. Crewe. Mr. R. B. Sharpe sent me word that a harrier of this species was procured by a gentleman of his acquaintance near Eton in the summer of 1867, and is now in his collection.'

98. Buzzard. *Buteo vulgaris*, Leach.

(We would call this bird *Buteo buteo* (Linn.), being the *Falco buteo*, Linn.)

In the *Field*, March 1875, p. 72, Mr. Thomas Marshall writes: 'A fine specimen of the common buzzard was trapped in the neighbourhood of High Wycombe early in March 1875. Another was killed last year at Little Marlow. I am informed that the latter had been observed and stalked for a long time previously.'

99. Rough-legged Buzzard. *Buteo lagopus* (Gmelin).

(Should, in our opinion, be called *Archibuteo lagopus*. It is inconsistent to suppress the genus *Archibuteo* if so many other genera are recognized.)

A specimen was trapped near Wycombe on December 6, 1880 (T. Marshall, *Field*, ii. 1880, p. 905). In the late autumn of 1891 three were trapped (one of them alive) near Halton, and of these two are now in the museum at Tring. These are the same recorded by Mr. Crossman in the *History of Herts*, p. 206, in 1893 as having been 'shot at Tring.' They were caught near Halton, near Tring in Buckinghamshire, and the year was certainly not 1893, but 1891 or possibly 1890. Clark Kennedy (p. 165) mentions a pair which were shot in Bledlow

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Woods in November 1839. The female of this pair was in Mr. Burgess's collection. Mr. Heatley Noble tells us that he saw one at Fawley Court in the winter of 1885 or 1886.

100. White-tailed Eagle. *Haliaeetus albicilla* (Linn.).

'In 1846 one was caught in a trap near Chequers Court, the seat of Sir Robert Frankland Russell' (A. & H. Matthews, *Zoologist*, 1849, p. 2594). Yarrell says that one was taken at Fawley Court, but no details are, unfortunately, given to prove the correctness of this statement. About 1885 or 1886 a bird of this species was often seen in the Fawley deer park. It was strictly preserved and remained there most of the winter.

101. Sparrow-Hawk. *Accipiter nisus* (Linn.).

Common enough in winter and still breeding in many woods where permitted to do so. In the Thames valley on the borders of Bucks and Berks it is called 'blue-hawk.'

102. Goshawk. *Astur palumbarius* (Linn.).

A male, shot by the Rev. W. Goodall near Dinton Hall on September 10, 1789, is figured in the Dinton Hall MS. work.

103. Kite. *Milvus iclinus*, Savigny.
Milvus milvus (Linn.).

A kite was killed in the sixties at the reservoir near Drayton Beauchamp by Mr. S. W. Jenney and passed into the collection of Sir John Harpur Crewe, of Colne Abbey in Derbyshire (Kennedy, p. 163). Mr. Wolley told Mr. Kennedy 'that while out for a stroll one day many years ago in the fields near Eton a kite flew over his head, and so low as to enable him to determine easily the species by its forked tail' (Kennedy, p. 164). (The specimen killed near Drayton Beauchamp was probably shot within the borders of Hertfordshire, but as it is not mentioned in the *History of Herts*, and has been quoted as having been obtained in Bucks, the record must here be mentioned.)

104. Honey-Buzzard. *Pernis apivorus* (Linn.).

Kennedy, p. 166, says: 'I am indebted to the Rev. Bryant Burgess for the notice of a honey-buzzard which was captured in 1842 between Chesham and Missenden.' Gardner, *Field*, 1867, p. 73, reports a 'splendid specimen' shot near Maidenhead by Captain Robson in July. Mr. Aplin, *Zoologist*, 1882, p. 116, informs me that on or about September 23, 1882, two honey-buzzards were killed in Shabbington Woods near Brill.

105. Peregrine Falcon. *Falco peregrinus*, Tunstall.

The peregrine is a rare occasional straggler, but perhaps less rare than is generally thought. Kennedy (p. 162) writes: 'Mr. James Britton, of the High Wycombe Natural History Society, informed me of one of these birds which had been recently captured in Brickhill Wood near Woburn.' Mr. Cocks writes, in litt.: 'One was trapped at Fawley lately and another killed there about three years ago; *vide* Mr. W. Rhodes, December 27, 1879.' The Rev. Hubert D. Astley informs us that a peregrine falcon, a tiercel, was found drowned in the artificial reservoir on Beacon Hill, Chequers Court Park, in autumn 1898. A male, moulting, was shot at Long-Marston on October 4, 1897, by Mr. Chapman, close to the Buckinghamshire border.

106. Hobby. *Falco subbuteo*, Linn.

This pretty little falcon has bred in Buckinghamshire and, as it is occasionally shot, might possibly do so again if it was left unmolested by the gamekeepers. Clark Kennedy wrote (p. 69): 'A pair of these falcons built their nest in a wood not far from Datchet in the summer of 1861. Although the old birds escaped molestation, four young ones were shot at Thorney almost as soon as they had learnt to fly. I saw two of these at Datchet in the collection of Mr. Ferryman, to whom they had been presented.' An adult pair were shot by Mr. Chapman on August 14 and 16, 1894, near Long-Marston, close to the Buckinghamshire border.

107. Merlin. *Falco aesalon*, Tunstall.

An occasional and probably regular winter visitor. A beautiful adult was shot by Mr. Chapman on the Bucks border near Long-Marston, November 14, 1895.

108. Red-footed Falcon. *Falco vespertinus*, Linn.

Clark Kennedy (p. 162) writes: 'The inspector of the Eton police force—an intelligent man who has a taste for natural history—informed me that an orange-legged hobby was shot by the under-keeper on Sir Henry Vernon's estate at Steeple Claydon near Buckingham in January 1858. The date is an unusual one at which to find the species here, but my informant is acquainted with the bird and is not likely to have been mistaken.'

109. Kestrel. *Falco tinnunculus*, Linn.

Common all over the county and nesting regularly, though in small numbers. Many are killed by gamekeepers in spite of remonstrances.

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110. Osprey. *Pandion haliaëtus* (Linn.).

A number of single specimens have been obtained and seen at various times. In February 1845 an osprey was killed at Chequers. In 1868 it was in the collection of Lady Frankland Russell (Kennedy, p. 158). In 1854 one was shot on the canal at Halton, and was sold to Sir Anthony de Rothschild in Aston Clinton. One was seen in Fawley Woods in the winter of 1858. On September 26, 1863, the lodge-keeper shot a specimen in Ditton Park (Kennedy, p. 159). During the greater part of September 1864 a pair of ospreys frequented the large reservoirs and canals near Weston Turville, Wilstone and Marsworth. They were tame and fearless and not molested even by the gamekeepers; but on September 30 a country lad killed the female and the specimen was obtained by the Rev. H. Harpur Crewe at Drayton Beauchamp. According to Willis (*Field*, 1862, xx. 319) another specimen was killed at Ditton Park on September 9, 1862. In August 1867 a female was shot by Captain Robson near Maidenhead. On October 11, 1901, Mr. Pope, jun., shot a fine specimen on Aston Hill above Halton, and from some reports of two different people it would seem that a second specimen had been seen there shortly afterwards.

111. Cormorant. *Phalacrocorax carbo* (Linn.).

In 1857 Mr. John Wig shot one near Marlow railway bridge; in 1858 one was killed on the reservoir at Weston Turville by Mr. T. Billington (Kennedy, *Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 214). Mr. A. H. Cocks informs us that a specimen of *Phalacrocorax* passed him flying on the Thames between Bisham and Marlow, in a thick fog, too dense to allow of identifying whether it was a cormorant or a shag.

112. Gannet. *Sula bassana* (Linn.).

This exclusively marine bird was caught by the Rev. J. Rogers at Sherington near Newport Pagnell in November 1847 (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 216). One was killed on the canal near Wendover in 1886, and passed into the Tring Museum.

113. White Stork. *Ciconia alba*, Bechstein. *C. ciconia* (Linnæus).

Said to have been shot near Buckingham in September 1846 (F. O. Morris, on the authority of Mr. James Dalton).

114. Common Heron. *Ardea cinerea*, Linn.

Hérons are frequently seen on canals, rivers and ponds, especially on the river Ouse, Wes-

ton Turville reservoirs and Thames. We are aware of only two heronries in the county, both on the Thames. There is an old heronry at Harleyford, which was formerly large. Mr. Crossman made investigations about this heronry, and wrote as follows: 'On the 26th of August I visited Harleyford Manor on the Thames above Marlow, and found that the heronry which formerly had a good many nests had now dwindled down to very few. Sir William Clapton's bailiff informed me that he did not think that more than two or three pairs now nested there. It is very difficult to say at this time of the year how many inhabited nests there were this season, as nearly all the nests were in two or three tall fir-trees.' Mr. Heatley Noble tells us that there is a small heronry of some thirteen nests in a wood called Oaken Grove at Fawley Court. They came there about eighteen years ago, possibly from Harleyford. Before this heronry established itself at Fawley Court a single pair bred there once, but the nest was robbed.

115. Night-Heron. *Nycticorax griseus* (Linn.).

'Many years ago a specimen in the immature plumage was shot near Thame' (Matthews, *Zoologist*, 1849, p. 2600). It is also said to have been killed near Cliefden in 1797 (cf. Kennedy, p. 189).

116. Little Bittern. *Ardetta minuta* (Linn.).

Single specimens have been shot at various times in the south of the county. In the *Field*, 1865, p. 254, Mr. J. Marshall records having shot a specimen just below Monkey Island on the Thames near Maidenhead. Another was shot at the same place about ten years before, and many years ago others were taken near Maidenhead. Those who know how little these birds are noticed in the daytime—in most parts of Germany Hartert considers them much more frequent than they are supposed to be—can hardly doubt that some must have bred near the Thames when these specimens were shot. The Rev. L. Jenyns also mentions its appearance on the river near Windsor, and 'it has once occurred in Buckinghamshire, near Uxbridge, on the borders of the county' (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 186).

117. Bittern. *Botaurus stellaris* (Linn.).

This bird is sometimes noticed in autumn or winter, but we have only a few exact records and dates from Buckinghamshire. Clark Kennedy wrote: 'I am informed by Mr. Dalziel Mackenzie that a fine specimen of the bittern was shot at Fawley Court

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in January 1864. One was shot at Medmenham in 1851 and specimens are said to have been taken near Chesham (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 189). One was shot near the border at Cockmarsh, close to the river, by Mr. Jackson on January 14, 1871 (*Cocks, Field*, 1873, p. 135). A specimen was shot on Cholesbury Common by a keeper on December 12, 1892. It is well known that a pair had bred on the Tring reservoirs in 1849, the old bird having been killed on the nest (!) and some eggs having been taken. One of the latter is in the collection of Prof. Alfred Newton, another in that of Miss Williams, Tring. This case of breeding is correctly mentioned in the *History of Herts*, p. 208, but Clark Kennedy claimed it for Bucks. The fact is that the border of Bucks and Herts just touches the outside of the reservoir.

118. Grey Lag-Goose. *Anser cinereus*, Meyer.

A rare winter visitor, sometimes alighting in flocks on inundated meadows in the Vale of Aylesbury in the parishes of Hulcott and Aston Clinton (Kennedy, p. 199); also seen sometimes, as the late Mr. Wiglesworth told us, near Castlethorpe on the river Ouse.

119. White-fronted Goose. *Anser albifrons* (Scopoli).

According to Kennedy (p. 199) it has occasionally been shot on the Thames. In 1867 some were seen near Surley, some obtained near Eton, Windsor and Datchet. According to information from the Rev. H. Harpur Crewe this species has occurred near Drayton Beauchamp, but no details are known.

120. Bean-Goose. *Anser segetum* (Gmelin).

Occasionally comes to the Thames in hard weather, and flocks are occasionally reported of this as well as of other geese; it is however not safe to mention these reports as the identification is always uncertain if no specimens have been obtained. According to Kennedy (p. 117) it occurs in cold weather near Slapton and Chesham.

121. Brent-Goose. *Bernicla brenta* (Pallas).

In 1865 a person named Bunce shot a pair of these geese near Datchet. Two specimens were shot near Eton in January 1867, when many more were seen. The Rev. H. Harpur Crewe has seen them in severe weather in small flocks near Drayton Beauchamp on the reservoirs (Kennedy, p. 118).

122. Whooper. *Cygnus musicus* (Bechstein).

The wild swan, whooper or hooper, is an occasional winter visitor, generally less rare in

severe winter weather. There are a number of records, but it is wise to be careful with records about this swan, as escaped or feral mute swans are often mistaken for the whooper by non-ornithologists, especially if the birds were only seen, not obtained. Mr. Hassell (*Field*, February 1861, p. 93) says that a pair were shot at Wraysbury on February 17, 1861. One was shot at Latimer, and was in 1868 in the collection of Lord Chesham. On February 21, 1864, five wild swans were seen at Fawley, and with them were two mute swans. The two latter were killed, while the whoopers flew westward over the Chiltern Hills. Mr. Crossman is in error, saying that the whooper had not occurred on the reservoirs near Tring of recent years, though Clarke Kennedy stated that it was formerly an occasional visitor there. A flock visited the reservoirs in the winter of 1891, and two were shot by the head keeper.

123. Mute Swan. *Cygnus olor* (Gmelin).

Kept on many waters, and often flies away to other lakes or ponds. Many are hatched on the river Thames. Feral mute swans are often reported as 'wild swans.' Doubtless (among others) a so-called wild swan that was 'knocked over with a stone' near Brickhill by a labourer on December 22, 1870, was a mute swan—the same that escaped from a water not three miles distant (see *Field*, 1870, pp. 9, 30) the day before.

124. Common Sheld-Duck. *Tadorna cornuta* (S. G. Gmelin).

Tadorna tadorna (Linn.).

This species lives on salt water, and is only a rare visitor inland; but according to Kennedy it has occurred on the Thames near Cookham. It appears from time to time on the Tring reservoirs on the borders of Buckinghamshire. Already in 1868 the Rev. H. Harpur Crewe had seen it 'several times swimming about the reservoirs.' Walter Rothschild saw one on January 8, 1888; Street, the keeper, another on January 10, 1897. W. Rothschild shot a young male on November 6, 1893, another young male December 12, 1899, both in the presence of E. Hartert. Both are in the Tring Museum. A gander sheld-drake was shot in this neighbourhood in March 1780 by the Earl of Chesterfield's keeper (MS. in Dinton Hall with picture of the bird).

125. Ruddy Sheld-Duck. *Tadorna casarca* (Linn.).

These birds are kept in semi-confinement

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on many waters in England, and no doubt many of the captures of ruddy sheld-ducks which are reported are referable to unpinioned escaped birds; but apparently some of the birds of this species shot in England, notably in 1892, were genuine wild birds. We have no trustworthy record of such an occurrence in Buckinghamshire, but Mr. Vyse (*Zoologist*, 1892, p. 360) informs us that 'during the past four years ten were bred at Stoke Park near Slough, of which only a few were caught and pinioned, while the rest flew away, usually when the frost and snow came.' Probably all winter captures deal with escaped birds, while the summer records may possibly refer to genuine wild birds.

126. Egyptian Goose. *Chenalopex ægyptiacus* (Linn.).

J. W. Owen (*Field*, November 19, 1859, p. 425) says: 'A fine specimen was shot on November 1 at Marlow.' It is supposed to have been driven there during preceding gales, as it presented no appearance of ever having been in confinement. We are inclined to think that it must have escaped from some pond.

127. Mallard or Wild Duck. *Anas boscas*, Linn.

Common in all suitable localities.

128. Shoveler. *Spatula clypeata* (Linn.).

A somewhat scarce winter visitor on larger waters. Near the Tring reservoirs, close to the Buckinghamshire border, two or three pairs have been breeding regularly for at least ten or twelve years. On the Weston Turville (Halton) reservoir it has sometimes been seen in winter. From the old manuscript at Dinton Hall we learn that it was shot there on September 10, 1774, and that four were seen, one of which was shot on August 29, 1800, at the place.

129. Pintail. *Dafila acuta* (Linn.).

Will most likely occur occasionally in winter, though we have no exact records beyond Clark Kennedy's statement (p. 122) that it was shot on a sheet of ice in Stoke Park by a man named Gregory in the winter of 1863. According to the same author 'the Rev. H. H. Crewe states that this species visits the reservoirs at Marsworth, Wilstone and Weston Turville every winter in considerable numbers.' This statement is no doubt erroneous, as we have only two single records of birds shot on Tring reservoirs, in February 1892 and December 1893, but the latter had apparently escaped from a pond near Tring,

where several had been kept in a semi-wild state.

130. Teal. *Nettion crecca* (Linn.).

A regular winter visitor to the reservoirs, streams and rivers. It has also nested near Burnham (Kennedy, p. 124), in small numbers on and near the reservoirs near Tring, and, according to the late Lionel Wiglesworth, not far from Castlethorpe. On the western Turville reservoirs flocks are often seen in winter.

131. Garganey. *Querquedula circia* (Linn.).

Occurs doubtless occasionally in winter, but we have no records. It has not occurred on the reservoirs near Tring within the last few years, though at least one specimen was killed there in 1846 or 1847 and seen by one of us.

132. Wigeon. *Mareca penelope* (Linn.).

The wigeon is a common winter visitor, generally from October onwards, to the rivers and reservoirs of the county.

133. Red-crested Pochard. *Netta rufina* (Pallas).

The bird reported by W. Rothschild to Mr. Littleboy as a female of this species (shot at the Tring reservoirs in September 1887) turned out to be an abnormally coloured female of the common scoter, *Ædemia nigra*. A large flock of some forty individuals visited Wilstone reservoir, of which Walter Rothschild himself shot four males and two females, of which three males and one female are now in the Tring Museum, the remaining pair having been given to Mr. J. G. Millais.

134. Pochard. *Fuligula ferina* (Linn.).

A frequent winter visitor to all larger waters of the county and breeding in some numbers on the Weston Turville (Halton) and Tring reservoirs. Full clutches of eggs are found about the middle of May. It must have been breeding in the county long ago, as a specimen was shot at Dinton Hall on June 16, 1825.

135. Baer's Pochard. *Fuligula baeri*, Radde.

On November 5, 1901, the Hon. N. Charles Rothschild obtained a male specimen of this rare duck a few hundred yards from the border of Buckinghamshire on one of the Tring reservoirs. It was shot by a gentleman standing close to him, and he at once remarked that it was an unusual duck and took it home with him. It is a male in moult, changing to the full winter plumage, which it has nearly acquired. The colours of the soft parts were put down by one of us as fol-

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lows: iris, white with a faint greyish tinge; feet, pale bluish grey; joints and webs, blackish; bill, bluish grey, lightest near base and before tip; 'nail' on bill almost black. Width (expanded wings), $75\frac{1}{2}$ cm.; wing in flesh, 22 cm. This specimen is the only one known to have been obtained in Europe. It was in good condition and certainly a genuine wild bird. Careful inquiries made by Mr. N. C. Rothschild have shown that no unopinioned bird of this species was kept in England and that none had escaped (cf. *Bulletin Brit. Orn. Club*, Nov. 1901, xii. 25).

136. Tufted Duck. *Fuligula cristata* (Leach).

Not infrequent as a winter visitor to all larger pieces of water, especially the reservoirs, and breeding in some numbers on the Weston Turville (Halton) and Tring reservoirs.

137. Scaup-Duck. *Fuligula marila* (Linn.).

An occasional but irregular winter visitor to the larger pieces of water, such as the Tring reservoirs, the river Chess, and probably the Thames. We have one shot on the Tring reservoir on December 2, 1892, and have seen it at least twice since then, once in large flocks.

138. Goldeneye. *Clangula glaucion* (Linn.).

An irregular winter visitor, often appearing in great numbers on the Tring reservoirs in very cold weather. We have seen many adult males among them, but they are very wild and difficult to approach. Specimens have been shot in various places in Buckinghamshire.

139. Common Scoter. *Edemia nigra* (Linn.).

A rare winter visitor, but sometimes more numerous than usual. In 1892 (October and December) there were quite a number of females on the Tring reservoirs, and four females of those dates are now in the Tring Museum. On March 22, 1879, an adult male was shot on the Thames near Windsor (Curtis, *Field*, 1879, p. 369). Joe Cox, jun., shot a young male at Deadmere, Great Marlow, on December 18, 1893 (A. H. Cocks, in litt.).

140. Goosander. *Mergus merganser*, Linn.

The goosander, 'saw-billed duck,' or 'dun diver' is a rare winter visitor. A female (called *Mergus serrator*, but from the figure a goosander) was shot at Dinton Hall on November 26, 1774. Almost every winter specimens are observed or obtained on the Thames, where it separates Buckinghamshire and Berkshire. In the winter, generally in cold weather, single specimens and small

parties have from time to time been observed on the Tring reservoirs. Two females were shot on November 8 and 29, 1901. Mr. Alfred Heneage Cocks informs us that one was shot near Great Marlow on January 27, 1881.

141. Red-breasted Merganser. *Mergus serrator*, Linn.

A much rarer visitor. Mr. Kennedy says only vaguely that individuals are occasionally shot on the Thames. We have not ourselves been able to verify its occurrence on the reservoirs until 1901, when three young males and females were shot on the Marsworth reservoirs, on the Buckinghamshire borders, by Mr. N. C. Rothschild and the keeper. (A year or two before 1883, which was the first year I shot on the reservoirs, the Rev. A. Birch shot a female on Little Tring reservoir, which he had stuffed.—W. R.)

142. Smew. *Mergus albellus*, Linn.

As long ago as 1774 this bird was noticed in Buckinghamshire. In that year a female, called *Mergus minutus*, red-headed smew, was shot on November 23 at Dinton Hall. On January 12, 1891, a young female was shot in the Brewery sewage works below Great Marlow. The only other instance of its occurrence actually in the county is an adult male shot in January 1876, opposite Stonehouse on the Thames (A. H. Cocks, *Zoologist*, 1891, p. 153).

143. Ring-Dove or Wood-Pigeon. *Columba palumbus*, Linn.

Very common, breeding everywhere. In certain years, apparently only when there is plenty of food in the form of beech-mast, it appears in enormous numbers, as for example in the winter of 1894-5.

144. Stock-Dove. *Columba œnas*, Linn.

This species nests throughout the county where old trees afford nesting-holes. It is however a migrant, leaving us in winter. Kennedy (*Birds of Berks and Bucks*, p. 55) has apparently confounded the ring-dove and stock-dove, and it is the former (*Columba palumbus*) which feeds in winter in large flocks on the beech-mast, not the stock-dove, as reported by the Rev. H. Harpur Crewe.

145. Rock-Dove. *Columba livia*, Gmelin.

'A wild, white-rumped pigeon, slightly smaller than the wood-pigeon, and equally distinct from the stock-dove, is, or was, plentiful at one particular spot in Buckinghamshire, viz. a high chalk cliff, facing the Thames near the lower end of the Danesfield estate, near where Harleyford estate

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adjoins. These birds could always be seen flying thence over the river, and I have shot specimens, but never since I began collecting, and for some years now shooting has been stopped on the river, and I cannot say whether they are still there, but see no reason to the contrary' (Heneage Cocks in litt.). It is to be considered whether these pigeons are not feral individuals, which very often revert to a wild state and closely resemble wild *Columba livia*, or descendants of such.

146. Turtle-Dove. *Turtur communis*, Selby.
Turtur turtur (Linn.).

A common summer bird, not arriving before the last week in April or early in May.

147. Pallas's Sand-Grouse. *Syrrhaptes paradoxus* (Pallas).

'During the visitation of this species in 1888 my grandfather saw a flock of birds at Farnham Royal, which from his description were undoubtedly of these birds. I was unfortunately unable to see them on going to the place about an hour afterwards' (A. F. Crossman in litt.). W. Rothschild saw three flying overhead when shooting near Halton in 1896.

148. Capercaillie. *Tetrao urogallus*, Linn.

A pair was shot in autumn 1855 at Burnham Beeches (Kennedy, p. 182). The author believes that they 'must have escaped from confinement.'

149. Black Grouse. *Tetrao tetrix*, Linn.

In the *Field* (xxii. 297, September 19, 1863) we find the following interesting note: 'Lord Curzon presents his compliments to the editor of the *Field*, and begs to inform him that his keeper shot a very fine black-cock in the woods near Penn House, Amer-sham. Lord C. is quite unaware from whence this bird could have come; he has been seen during the summer, and has been sent to the Earl Howe, at Gopsall near Atherstone.' In 1815, according to Kennedy (p. 56), specimens were turned out in Berkshire, and the author says that the last of these which came under his notice was one of which the Rev. Bryant Burgess told him that it was killed on Hyde Heath near Chesham in 1852. Possibly this was also a descendant of the stock turned out in Berkshire in 1815 (?).

150. Pheasant. *Phasianus colchicus*, Linn.

(The above name is the one adopted by Mr. Saunders, but the ordinary English pheasant of to-day being a cross between *P. colchicus* and *P. torquatus*, more resembling the latter, inasmuch as almost every specimen has a wide

white ring, the above name is somewhat illogical.)

Large numbers are reared in many places, and many are breeding wild in the woods, though of course pheasants are introduced birds. No other species has established itself, though Japanese and other species have often been reared and crossed with English pheasants.

[The Californian quail has been turned out in various places, but, unlike the pheasant, has not become an established species at all. In 1867 they were breeding successfully near Great Marlow, and in 1897 a specimen was shot near Newport Pagnell.]

151. Partridge. *Perdix cinerea*, Latham.

(*Perdix perdix* is the name we would prefer for the partridge.)

Common, except in wooded parts.

152. Red-legged Partridge. *Caccabis rufa* (Linn.).

Also fairly numerous, though somewhat local, being fonder of dry ground than of low meadows. It is now as much a wild bird as the grey partridge, though originally, but more than a century ago, introduced.

153. Quail. *Coturnix communis*, Bonnaterre.

The quail is now decidedly rare. Wherever it is anything like common its delightful 'wet-my-lips' is heard in the fields in spring and summer, and it is flushed in September when walking up partridges. Now however one may walk through the fields in autumn for days without coming across a single quail, and ride or walk through the county for many miles in spring without hearing the call. Last year E. Hartert was cycling over the greater part of the county and heard the quail only twice near Cheddington and Leighton Buzzard. Until three years ago we heard its call near Marsworth in June, but even then it was a rare bird. Even in 1868 Clark Kennedy called it 'not common.' He then told us that 'the majority of quails which were obtained were shot either in May or September.' Now nobody will be brutal enough to shoot quail in May; such habits must have decreased their number, but nevertheless the high farming and drainage have probably done more than persecution to make the quail so rare.

154. Land-Rail or Corn-Crake. *Crex pratensis*, Bechstein.

Crex crex (Linn.).

The land-rail is nowhere numerous, but we have heard its unmistakable call-note in spring and summer near Marsworth, Chesham, Ayles-

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bury, Mentmore, Halton, Castlethorpe, Newport Pagnell, Buckingham, Bletchley, Fenny Stratford, or we have seen eggs taken near some of these places. In September we generally flush a few single birds out of the fields when shooting partridges.

155. Spotted Crake. *Porzana maruetta* (Leach).

(*Porzana porzana* would be the more correct name.)

The spotted crake is a not uncommon, though more or less unobserved, migrant, especially in autumn, and a number of captures are reported from the Thames and places where there is bog, swamp and reed, but no instance of its breeding in the county is known.

156. Water-Rail. *Rallus aquaticus*, Linn.

We ourselves have seen and shot water-rails in autumn and winter, and received some in spring as late as April 13, but probably it also breeds in various places. According to Clark Kennedy nests have been taken near Eton.

157. Moor-Hen. *Gallinula chloropus* (Linn.).

Very common, even on small ponds.

158. Coot. *Fulica atra*, Linn.

Very common on all larger waters. On the Halton (Weston Turville) and Tring reservoirs they breed plentifully, and in winter huge numbers assemble, when they afford some sport for the gun. On the Thames they are comparatively rare, being never very fond of flowing rivers, but more of stagnant lakes and reservoirs or backwaters of rivers.

159. Thick-knee or Stone-Curlew. *Ædicnemus scolopax* (S. G. Gmelin).

(This bird should, in our opinion, be called *Ædicnemus ædicnemus* [Linn.])

This bird is one of the past. Formerly it was by no means uncommon on the chalk hills near Ivinghoe and Drayton Beauchamp (see Kennedy, p. 97) and north of the Thames, near Aylesbury, Buckingham and Slapton, and in other places. In 1868, the Rev. H. Harpur Crewe told Clark Kennedy that 'it may still be often heard whistling overhead on a still summer's night,' but now we have not even trustworthy evidence that it has been heard for years past, and it is not now nesting anywhere in the county as far as we know.

160. Dotterel. *Eudromias morinellus* (Linn.).

Judging from all accounts the dotterel was once a bird of regular appearance in the spring

and autumn migration time, but now it is doubtless very rare, and its visits are irregular and far between. As long ago as 1868 Clark Kennedy considered it evidently a regular visitor. He says that a few were shot in a field near Burnham in the spring of 1857, that it has been procured in the neighbourhood of Aylesbury and Drayton Beauchamp. The Rev. H. Harpur Crewe (Kennedy, p. 141) had an adult male of this species which was killed by a keeper of Earl Brownlow's on August 14, 1862, in a cornfield near Ivinghoe. In 1856 and 1858 several specimens were killed by Mr. Henry Taylor on the banks of the river near Windsor.

161. Ringed Plover. *Ægialitis biaticula* (Linn.).

A regular visitor during the autumnal migration, very much rarer in spring, on all larger waters.

162. Golden Plover. *Charadrius pluvialis*, Linn.

A regular visitor in autumn, but flocks are often seen throughout the winter. Much rarer now than, judging from all accounts, it was in former times.

163. Grey Plover. *Squatarola helvetica* (Linn.).

On November 25, 1819, one was obtained near Dinton Hall. We have no further record of this bird in Buckinghamshire, but it is bound to occur occasionally, as E. Hartert shot one on December 12, 1897, on the Wilstone reservoir, not more than a few hundred yards from the Bucks borders.

164. Lapwing or Peewit. *Vanellus vulgaris*, Bechstein.

V. vanellus (Linn.).

Common throughout the year, breeding in many places, sometimes on quite dry ground. The Rev. H. D. Astley tells us that a few pairs used to breed on Coombe Hill above Wendover, but that they are there no longer. In winter they assemble sometimes in enormous flocks. Hard frost and deep snow are disastrous to the lapwing, many dying then of starvation.

165. Oyster-Catcher. *Hæmatopus ostralegus*, Linn.

According to Clark Kennedy (p. 184) individuals have occasionally been seen and shot on the Thames. As this is a coast bird we cannot look forward to many visits of it in Buckinghamshire.

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166. Grey Phalarope. *Phalaropus fulicarius* (Linn.).

Of rare occurrence in autumn and winter. Mr. Clark Kennedy (p. 198) wrote: 'Out of the flocks which visited England in the autumn of 1866, a single specimen only seems to have occurred in Buckinghamshire. This bird was seen on the canal at Halton.' No doubt the bird will occasionally occur on larger waters, as specimens were obtained on the Tring reservoirs in 1891 and near Tring in 1899, all close to the Bucks boundary.

[Red-necked Phalarope. *Phalaropus hyperboreus* (Linn.).

This also might occur occasionally in Buckinghamshire, as one was obtained at the Tring reservoirs in October 1885. (This is recorded by the late John Littleboy as *P. fulicarius* through an error of E. Rothschild's.)

167. Woodcock. *Scolopax rusticula*, Linn.

The woodcock is a regular migrant in the county, though nowhere numerous. It breeds occasionally, though we have no records of recent date. The eggs have been taken near Beaconsfield, and Mr. Kennedy procured an example from a wood near Burnham in the spring of 1867. A few pairs have been known to breed in the 'sixties' near Stoke and at New Woods, Burnham, as well as near Brickhill (Kennedy, p. 115). It nested in the woods above Drayton Lodge about fifteen years ago, but the eggs were deserted, because one of the parents was shot by a neighbouring keeper (W. R.).

168. Great Snipe. *Gallinago major* (Gmelin).

Must certainly occur now and then as a migrant, though we have no records for Buckinghamshire. The statement in the *Birds of Hertfordshire*, p. 213, that an albino variety has been obtained near Tring in 1880 is erroneous, this variety being that of a common snipe.

169. Common Snipe. *Gallinago caelestis*, Frenzel.

Gallinago gallinago (Linn.).

Common in suitable places, i.e. wherever there is marshy ground. According to Mr. Kennedy nests have been found on East Burnham Common. Mr. Alan F. Crossman told us that he saw and heard this bird drumming on Farnham Common, and that he was told that it was to be found there every year. E. Hartert also heard it there last spring. In the severe winter of 1867 snipes were reported as so tame that they ventured

on to the doorsteps near Eton, and flew only a few yards when disturbed. During continuous hard weather many die of starvation.

170. Jack Snipe. *Gallinago gallinula* (Linn.).

Certainly much less frequent than the common snipe, but probably occurring wherever that is found, though generally less partial to swampy ground and not seldom flushed from meadows and fields. Kennedy mentions Chesham, Missenden and Slapton as localities where it had occurred. Near Tring, close to the Buckinghamshire borders, it occurs sparingly every year, and there are several specimens from the reservoirs and the 'flats' in the museum.

171. Wilson's Snipe. *Gallinago wilsoni*, Temminck.

(The proper name is *G. delicata*, Ord. [1825], the name *wilsoni* being given in 1826.)

According to Mr. Harting (*Handbook*, 1901, p. 434) a specimen was obtained at Taplow on August 1, 1863. Neither Saunders nor Sharpe have quoted this occurrence. It was first published in the *Zoologist*, 1872, p. 3273.

172. Dunlin. *Tringa alpina*, Linn.

In spring, late summer and autumn—but not at all periods of the year—a more or less regular visitor to the banks of the Thames and other rivers, as well as to all reservoirs or large ponds.

173. Little Stint. *Tringa minuta*, Leisler.

Might possibly be found occasionally, as it was obtained on the Tring reservoirs in August 1883 and on July 29, 1893. (Specimens in Tring Museum.)

174. Curlew-Sandpiper. *Tringa subarquata* (Güldenstädt).

We have no evidence of this bird's occurrence in Buckinghamshire, but it is sure to occur exceptionally, as it sometimes visits the Tring reservoirs, where, among others, three young birds were shot on September 3, 1892, and are now preserved in the Tring Museum.

175. Sanderling. *Calidris arenaria* (Linn.)

Clark Kennedy says that one was shot on the river Thames near Surley Hall in winter 1866. We have not seen the sanderling on the Tring reservoirs recently, though it occurred there at least as late as 1886; but on 18 August, 1902, an adult male, changing into winter plumage, was shot by Mr. T. Horwood near Drayton Beauchamp.

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176. Ruff (♀ Reeve). *Machetes pugnax* (Linn.).

Kennedy mentions a specimen shot near Chesham. It was shot at Dinton Hall on August 8, 1774, and it has occasionally been shot on the Tring reservoirs, specimens shot on September 5, 1894 and September 19, 1898, being in the Tring Museum, but not on August 17, 1895, as Mr. Crossman says.

177. Common Sandpiper. *Totanus hypoleucus* (Linn.).

A common bird in the migration periods. It has been reported to breed on suitable watercourses, such as the Chess, Colne, etc., which is probably correct, as it may be seen during the greater part of the year in most of these places. Frequently called the 'summer snipe.' Mr. Cocks tells us that it is now much rarer on the Thames.

178. Wood - Sandpiper. *Totanus glareola* (Gmelin).

Uncommon, but a more or less regular visitor during the migration periods, and generally stated to be rarer than the following species, which is however not the case near Tring.

179. Green Sandpiper. *Totanus ochropus* (Linn.).

Also seen during both migration periods, especially the autumnal one, but nowhere frequent.

[Mr. Crossman, in the list of birds of Hertfordshire, has not mentioned the recording of a specimen of the Marsh-Sandpiper, *T. stagnatilis*, by W. Rothschild in October 1887. This bird was identified by means of Dresser's *Birds of Europe*, and with regard to the note in Mr. Saunders' *Manual* (p. 620) E. Hartert can only say that in 1891 he found his collaborator fully acquainted with the distinctive characters of *T. stagnatilis* and all its allies. Unfortunately the specimen in question was inadvertently burnt by the caretaker with a number of other very rare birds in 1890.]

180. Redshank. *Totanus calidris* (Linn.).

Occasionally met throughout the county. At Dinton Hall it was shot on August 11, 1774. We have several specimens from the Tring reservoirs, where we have often seen the bird. A few years ago Mr. Charles J. Wilson observed one and sometimes two pairs of redshanks frequenting the river Ouse, just above Olney, during the months of May and June, for two or three years, and he is inclined to think that this species may breed there, which is quite possible.

181. Greenshank. *Totanus canescens* (Gmelin).

A more or less regular, though not frequent visitor, especially during the autumnal migration.

182. Bar-tailed Godwit. *Limosa lapponica* (Linn.).

'For a notice of the only occurrence in Buckinghamshire I am indebted to the Rev. Bryant Burgess of Latimer, who kindly wrote me word that in the first week of May 1846 a pair of these birds were observed to frequent a field on the farm of Mr. Biggs, in the parish of Slapton. The hen bird was shot by Mr. Biggs, but unfortunately he neglected to skin it, and it became putrid. When in this state it was examined by Mr. Burgess, who found it to be in an intermediate state of plumage, having nearly acquired the red breast which is peculiar to this species in summer' (Clark Kennedy, p. 193).

In winter 1895 (the exact date was not noted down) a man in the employ of Mr. H. M. Roberts in Ivinghoe shot a specimen that was feeding (or resting) near the brewery (H. M. Roberts in litt.).

183. Curlew. *Numenius arquata* (Linn.).

Sometimes the cry of this bird is heard at night, and small flocks are seen in the county during the migration periods, especially near the Thames and other waters. Specimens have been obtained near Chesham, Maidenhead, Woburn and in the Chiltern Hills (Kennedy, p. 143). In 1900 one was shot near Dinton Hall.

184. Whimbrel. *Numenius phæopus* (Linn.).

According to notes given by the Rev. H. H. Crewe to Clark Kennedy, this bird is often seen on the reservoirs and canals near Halton and Tring, but we have no recent evidence of this. Two were shot in the north-eastern corner of Buckinghamshire, not far from the river Ouse, in the second week of May (Aplin, *Zoologist*, 1894, p. 267).

185. Black Tern. *Hydrochelidon nigra* (Linn.).

A not unfrequent but somewhat irregular visitor to the Thames and other waters throughout Buckinghamshire. In the late spring and early summer it appears however every year in some numbers on the Tring reservoirs. 'These birds were shot by Sir John van Hatton and the Rev. W. Nance on May 10, 1774, at Elthorpe' (Dinton Hall MS.).

186. Sandwich Tern. *Sterna cantiaca*, Gmelin.

Mr. Heneage Cocks (*Zoologist*, 1895, p.

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190) records eight adults opposite his house at Great Marlow on April 10, 1895. It has also once occurred on the reservoir near Tring in October 1886.

187. Common Tern. *Sterna fluviatilis*, Naumann.

The sea swallow, as it is generally called, is a frequent visitor to all larger pieces of water and streams throughout the county.

188. Arctic Tern. *Sterna macrura*, Naumann.

According to Clark Kennedy this tern has several times been observed and obtained in the county: river Thames, Marsworth and Wilstone reservoirs.

189. Little Tern. *Sterna minuta*, Linn.

An irregular and somewhat rare summer visitor, appearing mostly in small flocks on the Thames and larger reservoirs of the county during the autumnal migration period or in late summer. The terns are mostly called 'sea swallows.'

190. Black-headed or Brown-headed Gull. *Larus ridibundus*, Linn.

The commonest of all *Laridæ*, passing through in small numbers during the migration periods, and also seen sometimes in the late summer as well as in winter on the Thames, on reservoirs and streams.

191. Common Gull. *Larus canus*, Linn.

Certainly less numerous than *Larus ridibundus*, being a sea bird which does not breed inland, but is nevertheless often observed on the larger inland waters of the county (Thames, Chesham, Wycombe Rye, Halton reservoirs).

192. Herring-Gull. *Larus argentatus*, Gmelin.

This bird appears accidentally, mostly in severe weather, on the larger waters of the county.

193. Lesser Black-backed Gull. *Larus fuscus*, Linn.

An irregular visitor to the Tring reservoirs, therefore doubtless occasionally occurring in Buckinghamshire.

194. Great Black-backed Gull. *Larus marinus*, Linn.

Probably now and then occurring in Buckinghamshire, as it has been identified on the Tring reservoirs by W. Rothschild and the keeper, when visiting pinioned specimens of the same species.

195. Kittiwake. *Rissa tridactyla* (Linn.).

On January 11, 1830, a kittiwake was killed near Dinton Hall. According to

Clark Kennedy, it occurs sometimes on the Thames and has been shot near Chesham.

196. Pomatorhine Skua. *Stercorarius pomatorhinus* (Temminck).

The only records we know of are those given in Clark Kennedy's book, viz.: 'I was informed by Mr. Gardner, of Oxford Street, that a skua of this species was sent to them for preservation by a gentleman resident in Buckinghamshire, on whose estate it was procured. The precise date, or further particulars, I was unable to ascertain. A second was taken some years since near Crendon; and Mr. Burgess told me of a third which was shot at Chesham, in November or December, 1859. The last is in the collection of Mr. Lowndes.'

197. Guillemot. *Uria troile* (Linn.).

According to Kennedy a male was caught in the river at Fenny Stratford on November 13, 1852, and another was seen near Simpson, in Buckinghamshire, on November 14, 1852.

198. Little Auk. *Mergulus alle* (Linn.).

We have two Buckinghamshire records. A single specimen was taken in 1841 'on one of the large pieces of water near Drayton Beauchamp' (*vide* Rev. B. Burgess in Kennedy, p. 212). Mr. Thos. Marshall (*Standard*, December 21, 1901) says that he knows of one obtained in Bulstrode Park, Bucks.

199. Puffin. *Fratercula arctica* (Linn.).

According to information from Mr. Heneage Cocks a puffin was caught after the great gale in October 1881, near Aylesbury.

200. Great Northern Diver. *Colymbus glacialis*, Linn.

Occurring occasionally on the larger waters of the county. An adult bird was found by William Saunders of Ford on December 3, 1774 (Dinton Hall MS. and picture). A 'young one' (?) was obtained alive at Chequers Court near Risborough on May 9, 1850. Mr. W. B. Botting (*Field*, xxvi. 426) records having bought one in December 1865, which was shot on the Thames; and a Mr. Lamb shot one at Maidenhead in 1794. It has also occurred two or three times on the Tring reservoirs.

201. Red-throated Diver. *Colymbus septentrionalis*, Linn.

According to Clark Kennedy, they used to be obtained on the Thames near Eton and Windsor and one was procured near Burnham.

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202. Great Crested Grebe. *Podiceps cristatus* (Linn.).

As long ago as 1744 it was shot by Mr. van Hatten's keeper about a mile and a half from Dinton Hall. Occasionally obtained on the waters of the county. It breeds in some numbers on the Halton (Weston Turville) reservoirs, as well as on the Tring reservoirs. W. Rothschild saw a pair with young in May 1901, in Stowe Park near Buckingham.

203. Red-necked Grebe. *Podiceps griseigena* (Boddaert).

A 'fine specimen,' 'in winter plumage,' was shot at Sanderton near Risborough, on October 10, 1848.

204. Slavonian Grebe. *Podiceps auritus* (Linn.).

One was shot by Mr. Heneage Cocks' gardener at Great Marlow in the 'sixties.' Two were shot on Halton reservoir between 1874 and 1880. These were identified by the Rev. H. Harpur Crewe and seen by W. Rothschild in a keeper's possession, but we do not know where they are at the present moment. Mr. Kennedy mentions a specimen killed upon the Thames at Datchet in December 1867, and he heard of another near Eton about the same time.

205. Eared Grebe. *Podiceps nigricollis* (Brehm).

This bird was obtained on the Tring reservoirs in 1846 or 1847. The specimens were identified by W. Rothschild, who saw them in the hands of a keeper, but we do not know where they are now. The statement that it was found breeding on Tring reser-

voirs (Kennedy, p. 210) must be erroneous. In the MS. at Dinton Hall a specimen shot on November 20, 1776, is figured.

206. Little Grebe or Dabchick. *Podiceps fluviatilis* (Tunstall).

A very common bird, breeding on many reservoirs and ponds of the county.

207. Storm-Petrel. *Procellaria pelagica*, Linn.

In 1865 an example was shot and preserved near Burnham by a man named Hebbs. In October 1859, after the dreadful gale that wrecked the *Royal Charter*, one was found lying dead, but still warm, upon the road opposite the Priory, Burnham. On January 21, 1868, one was knocked down near Wycombe (Kennedy). About the middle of October 1877, one (said to belong to this species) was seen flying against a mill at High Wycombe, but recovered and flew away. There had been strong gales the previous days (D. Thurlow, *Field*, 1877, Oct. 20, p. 441). In November 1880 a storm-petrel was picked up near Wendover (Clark Kennedy, *Zoologist*, 1881, p. 68).

208. Leach's Fork-tailed Petrel. *Oceanodroma leucorhoa* (Vieillot).

After the strong gale in the summer of 1847 or 1848 a man named William Hibbs caught a specimen at Eton. On November 1, 1859, during the storm that brought a storm petrel to the county, a gardener of Lord Chesham found a fork-tailed petrel in the park at Latimer, which was examined by Mr. Burgess (Clark Kennedy, p. 218).

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CHEIROPTERA

According to the list of British mammals given by Mr. Oldfield Thomas, F.R.S., in the *Zoologist*, 1898, p. 100, which is the latest authoritative statement on the subject, twelve or perhaps thirteen species of bats occur in the British Islands. How many of these are included in the fauna of Bucks is, I am sorry to say, uncertain. The ground may however be partially cleared by eliminating a few species which may safely be said not to be residents in the county, although owing to their powers of flight stray individuals may at any time appear within its borders, when they would be (as said under similar circumstances of birds) 'rare accidental visitors.'

Those species therefore which are believed not to be residents in the county are included in square brackets, but are inserted in their proper place in the following list.

This plan is adhered to in printing the remaining orders of mammals as the most convenient.

[Greater Horse-shoe Bat. *Rhinolophus ferrum-equinum*, Schreber.

Mr. (now the Rev.) J. E. Kelsall, in the *Zoologist*, 1887, p. 89, remarks that the distribution of the greater horse-shoe bat may be summarized as 'England south of the Thames (from Kent to Cornwall) and South Wales.' The same observer recorded one in the *Zoologist* for 1884, p. 483, as having been shot about 1875 at the Oxford reservoir, which is actually in Berks, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the nearest point of Bucks.]

[Lesser Horse-shoe Bat. *Rhinolophus hipposiderus*, Bechstein.

The lesser horse-shoe bat does not appear to occur (except as an accidental straggler) in England to the south-east of Gloucestershire and Warwickshire (*Zoologist*, 1887, p. 91). The late Lord Lilford believed it to be more common than generally supposed in south Devon (*ibid.* p. 63).]

1. Long-eared Bat. *Plecotus auritus*, Linn.

The long-eared bat is probably of general distribution throughout the county; Mrs.

Raikes reports it near Buckingham, and it is extremely common in the neighbourhood whence I write (Hambleton parish); there is a colony in my barn, and I have obtained specimens (here, and from the neighbouring parish of Turville) in nearly every month of the year, even December and January. Hereabouts indeed it appears to be even more numerous than the pipistrelle, which is certainly not the case at Great Marlow. The long-eared bat has rather long hair, and the underside is quite light coloured. When at rest, the remarkable long ears can be folded as it were on hinges, in two directions—(1) backwards, like a hood, so as to lie on the neck and shoulders, when the curiously high, semi-transparent tragus remains erect, and forms a very good substitute for the ears proper; and (2) sideways, in an outward direction, like the folding of a fish's fin when the tension on the anterior ray is relaxed.

2. Barbastelle. *Barbastella barbastellus*, Schreber.

Bell—*Barbastellus daubentonii*.

Bonap.—*Barbastellus communis*.

The honour of securing the first recorded Bucks specimen of this species must be divided between three gentlemen, who, when at Mr. F. H. Parrott's bungalow at Great Kimble on 24 April 1904, in broad daylight about 3 o'clock on a beautiful sunny afternoon, noticed a bat flopping about in so peculiarly unsteady a fashion that Dr. J. C. Baker suggested attempting its capture with a landing-net. Mr. Parrott promptly produced one, and Mr. L. Crouch successfully manipulated it. Dr. Baker kindly took charge of the captive and handed it to me the following day.

As bats with the peculiar floppy flight described are not infrequent, it would seem probable that the barbastelle is hardly a rare species in Bucks. On 11 September 1904 I was brought another specimen, caught behind a window shutter at Ibstone House.

The peculiar face of this species once seen can never be again mistaken. The ears meeting in the middle line with the inner edge

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deeply folded or reduplicated, and the extraordinary hollow behind the naked nose, extending thence to the ears, are unmistakable. The hair is very dark, with a purple tinge, and so long as to be almost shaggy. A small ill-defined patch on the under-side near the root of the tail is nearly white.

In the *Zoologist*, 1874, p. 4128, Mr. William Borrer records the barbastelle from South Weston (near Tetsworth), Oxfordshire, and from Hornsey, Middlesex, on either side of Bucks, the former place being only about 3¼ miles from Bucks. The late Lord Lilford received a solitary specimen from near Oundle in Northamptonshire in March 1894 (*Zoologist*, 1894, p. 187).

3. Serotine. *Vespertilio serotinus*, Schreber.

Bell—*Scotophilus serotinus*.

The late Lord Lilford (*Zoologist*, 1887, p. 65) states that he had never succeeded in obtaining this species in Northamptonshire, but felt certain that it occurs occasionally near Lilford; but as its mode of flight, general coloration, make, and extent of wings, very much resemble those of the noctule, it is impossible to speak positively without having handled a specimen in the flesh. He received examples from Sussex and Hampshire.

In Bucks I have frequently noticed 'rats-bats,' i.e. bats of the largest size,¹ of obviously different species, flying about at the same time. One species would be the noctule, and the serotine probably another.

[Parti-coloured Bat. *Vespertilio murinus*, Linn.]

Mr. Oldfield Thomas considers this species only doubtfully British.]

4. Noctule (Great or White's Bat). *Pipistrellus noctula*, Schreber.

Bell—*Scotophilus noctula*.

White—*Vespertilio altivolans*.

Common, and apparently universally distributed in the county; but essentially (so far as my own experience goes) a summer bat, very seldom appearing like some other species at odd times during every month of the year. At Great Marlow, noctules were always very common during August, but little seen after that month; and though not absent, yet not specially in evidence during June or even July. One was found dead there in March, and I shot one at my present

¹ The smaller species are known indiscriminately as 'bat-mice.'

home on 30 September, which are somewhat unusual dates for meeting with this species.² I always supposed that their habitat at Great Marlow was the creeper-covered spire of St. Peter's (R. C.) church; but as there were plenty of old elms, containing numerous large hollows, close to the river, both on our lawn, and especially at Court Garden, besides others a little further inland, it is more probable that some of these trees harboured them. Many years ago a large number of bats, probably this species, were found in a hollow poplar on our lawn at Great Marlow. I have an example stuffed, which was captured (by the butler) in a butterfly net on our lawn at Great Marlow, one August evening about the middle of the 'sixties'; and have since then obtained various others both at Great Marlow and at my present abode in Hambleton parish. They appear to be more numerous at the former than at the latter place. The fur is reddish brown, occasionally light fawn red; muzzle, ears and membranes, dusky. Hair on membranes, and along under-side of fore-arms.

[Hairy-armed Bat. *Pipistrellus leisleri*, Kuhl.]

5. Pipistrelle. *Pipistrellus pipistrellus*, Schreber.

Bell—*Scotophilus pipistrellus*.

Probably by far the commonest bat in Bucks; it was so at Great Marlow, but at my farm near Hambleton I think the long-eared bat outnumbers it. As however it generally flies low, and largely frequents the vicinity of houses, and is abroad on many more days of the year and oftener by daylight than most other species, the pipistrelle is more noticeable and more readily captured, and therefore appears proportionately commoner than it is in reality.

² Mr. T. Wolley however, writing in the *Zoologist*, 1845, p. 952, says: 'The Noctule does not retire for hibernation nearly so early in the autumn as it is generally said to do. I had long observed its late disappearance in the south of Buckinghamshire, where it is very abundant; but I have more particularly watched it at Cambridge, and now for two seasons I have seen it throughout the first week in November. Both years my observations were put an end to by cold and stormy weather. This year (1845) I first saw it on the 25th of March, . . . it might have been about for several days previously.' Gilbert White, who first noticed this species in England, says (note to Letter XXVIII.) that he had never seen them 'till the end of April, nor after July. They are most common in June.'

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[Bechstein's Bat. *Myotis bechsteini*, Leisler.

Bell—*Vespertilio bechsteini*.

On 10 March 1901, while exploring a chalk cave on the Berks side of the Thames, at Park Place near Henley, only about 1½ miles from the Bucks border, Messrs. Heatley Noble and J. G. Millais captured six bats. These comprised one long-eared bat, two Natterer's bats, two Daubenton's bats, and one which proved to be a Bechstein's bat.¹

The first British examples of the species were taken a good many years ago in the New Forest, and are now in the British Museum; about a dozen examples were found in the same locality by Mr. E. W. H. Blagg in July 1886, one of which was identified by Mr. Oldfield Thomas; and two examples were obtained at Preston near Brighton.²

6. Natterer's Bat. *Myotis nattereri*, Kuhl.

Bell—*Vespertilio nattereri*.

The late Lord Lilford (*Zoologist*, 1887, p. 64) considered Natterer's bat 'very local,' but stated that it was 'by no means uncommon' in his neighbourhood in Northamptonshire. There is no reason to doubt its occurrence in Bucks, though I do not know of any specimen being actually obtained; but as stated under the last species, two examples were obtained within 1½ miles of the borders of the county, on the Berks side of the Thames near Henley on 10 March 1901; and in the *Zoologist*, 1903, p. 349, this species is recorded from Turvey, Bedfordshire, less

than a mile from the Bucks border near Olney, where Mr. J. Steele-Elliott saw 'several' and obtained one; also from Bloxham (about a dozen miles from Bucks) in Oxon, in which county Mr. O. V. Aplin says it 'does not seem to be very uncommon'; and from Milford, Surrey (near Godalming), where Mr. G. Dalgliesh obtained a single example.

7. Daubenton's Bat. *Myotis daubentoni*, Leisler.

Bell—*Vespertilio daubentonii*.

As with the last species, there is no reason to doubt that Daubenton's bat occurs in Bucks, though I do not know of any specimen having been actually identified; but as mentioned under Bechstein's bat, two examples were obtained on the Berks side of the Thames near Henley, about 1½ miles from the Bucks border, in March 1901. No doubt it is this species which one so commonly sees on the Thames, flying just above the surface of the water.

8. Whiskered Bat. *Myotis mystacinus*, Leisler.

Bell—*Vespertilio mystacinus*.

The whiskered bat may be expected to occur sparingly in Bucks, but I regret that I am again with this species unable to speak with certainty. Bell records it in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, and in Kent. Mr. O. V. Aplin obtained a single example at Bloxham in Oxfordshire in July 1901 (*Zoologist*, 1901, p. 315), and it has also been recorded from Godstow near Oxford.

INSECTIVORA

9. Hedgehog. *Erinaceus europæus*, Linn.

Generally distributed and common. Usual food, beetles and worms; but to some extent destructive to both eggs and young of game birds. That flesh is not their normal food however is shown by the loud *champing* noise and the slow progress made when eating anything of the kind. I once tamed a freshly-caught adult hedgehog in an hour by pouring beer into the concavity resulting from the folding of its two ends on to the underside, as it lay on its back, tightly curled up; each time that it was forced to uncurl I handled it, and poured in more beer when it curled up again; until after a few doses of beer alternating with handling, it became too intoxicated to curl up any more! From that time forwards it always allowed me to handle it

freely without rolling up. One only, out of the many I have kept, was ferocious, and if a finger was held out to him, he would at once fly at it and seize it, and allow himself to be held in the air for a long while before letting go. Hedgehogs are seldom abroad during the daytime, but are lively after dusk. Indeed the few that I have seen about in broad daylight appeared to be invalids, and swarming with fleas; but whether the fleas were the cause or the effect of the indisposition I cannot say. They lie up in hedge-bottoms, or any little hollow in a wood that is dry, and where they can hide under dead leaves or dry grass. Hedgehogs hibernate partially or imperfectly; that is to say for uncertain periods, up to perhaps a month at a time. I have known hedgehogs breed in April; also between mid August and mid September; they are therefore either irregular in their breeding season, or more likely have two, or

¹ *Proc. Zool. Soc.* 1901, ii. 216.

² *Zoologist*, 1887, p. 162; 1888, p. 260.

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even more litters in a year. The number in the litter has ranged between four and seven.¹

10. Mole. *Talpa europæa*, Linn.

If it were not for the mould excavated in their tunnelling, which breaks the level grass surface of meadows, and that their sharp teeth sever the roots of corn or other crops which they encounter in tunnelling, moles would be unmixed benefactors, both on account of the worms and grubs which they eat—and their appetite is far larger in proportion to their size than that of (probably) any other mammal except the shrews—and also on account of the surface drainage which their long tunnels produce. Moreover the 'hills' which they throw up, though in the way in mowing grass, form, when spread about, the very best top-dressing. In common with every other animal, they are constantly persecuted by man; but as their natural enemies—most of the carnivorous mammals and predaceous birds—are so largely extirpated, it may be doubted whether their numbers are much diminishing. The young, about three or four in number, are born in or about April, in hills nearly 2 feet in height, lined with grass, constructed in any quiet place where the grass or other vegetation is long and fairly hides them. What may be considered a favourite site, for instance, is the enclosure round a rick in a corner of a meadow, which very likely remains unentered until the rick is cut. The young, when not too small, readily drink cows' milk from a teaspoon, so could be easily reared. Having captured a mole one hot summer's day, which a friend and I waited for as it seemed to be working its way to the surface, and being close to the Thames, I experimented as to whether these animals can swim, by placing it gently in the water over the side of a boat. It struck out vigorously with its fore-paws, but floated in a nearly upright position, seeming not to understand how to maintain a horizontal one by the help of the hind limbs; and it seemed evident that it could not cross anything wider than a very narrow ditch or brook. My experiment however was possibly not a complete one, as I very shortly rescued my captive from its evidently unsuited element. Mr. John Williams, Treasurer of the Bucks Architectural and Archæological Society, Aylesbury, has a chocolate coloured mole stuffed, obtained at Broughton about 1884 or 1885. Captain Clark Kennedy (*Zoologist*, 1867)

¹ For this latter number see a letter by Mr. F. H. Parrott of Aylesbury, *Zoologist*, 1887, p. 424.

was told of a cream coloured example with pink eyes obtained near Eton (though whether on the Bucks or Berks side of the river is not stated) in the summer of 1865. The late Rev. H. Harpur Crewe mentioned in the *Zoologist*, 1878, p. 22, a pale orange coloured specimen obtained at Halton about the previous November.

11. Common Shrew. *Sorex araneus*, Linn.

Apparently universally distributed, and probably far more numerous than the number seen (dead and alive) would lead one to suppose. Examples vary a good deal in colour and measurements.

12. Pigmy Shrew. *Sorex minutus*, Linn.

Bell—*Sorex pygmaeus*.

I have seen and obtained a few lesser shrews on my land in Hambleton parish, but though the species is undoubtedly to a great extent overlooked, it appears to be much less numerous than the common species. The external differences between the pigmy and an immature common shrew of like size (putting aside the differences in dentition, which cannot be detected in living examples, and hardly in dead specimens without skinning them) are well shown in the figures in Bell's second edition, where however these points are not noted under the head of specific characters. The nose of the lesser species is somewhat longer, and more tumid and softer than in the common species, and the tail is thicker. The latter seems also to be more uniformly long than in the common species, in which its length is rather variable. In their normal coloration the two species are, I think, hardly distinguishable, but there appears to be more individual variation in the common species than there is in the pigmy; though this may be simply due to the want of observation of a larger series of pigmies. Their colour, so far as I have had opportunity of noting, is snuff-brown, shading into brownish gray on the under side. In this respect, Bell's figure is unsatisfactory. Tail covered with hair, corresponding in coloration on its upper and lower sides with the upper and lower sides of the body.

13. Water Shrew. *Neomys fodiens*, Pallas.

Bell—*Crossopus fodiens*.

I have occasionally met with the water shrew near Great Marlow, though never in the immediate proximity of water. At Poynetts, my present home near Hambleton, I have obtained several examples, and one from a field in Turville half a mile or rather

MAMMALS

more distant, and seen a few others. This seems noteworthy, because the valley is perfectly dry as a rule, but a landspring broke out in consequence of the wet summer of 1903, and these water shrews seem to have anticipated it, and some were obtained before the water appeared. No doubt they would find moisture before the water was sufficient to be perceptible to human beings. One of these caught alive on 8 August gave birth to a litter of four or five young during that night; they were blind and naked, and hardly larger than common house flies, not nearly so large as bluebottles. She had had no time to prepare a nest, and after taking every care of them for two whole days, she ate them during the third night.

Up to the time of writing she has thriven on a 'diet of worms,' occasionally varied by a beetle, grub, moth, etc., and captured a fly which incautiously came of its own accord within reach. A cockchafer was evidently considered a great (in both senses) prize, and she attacked it standing on three legs, one or other forepaw in turn being held raised, ready for action perhaps in case the victim resented being eaten piecemeal. It is amusing to watch her with a large worm when the latter is lively; the encounter then becomes heroic. She does not care for snails so long as the worms continue in such plenty. Of these I reckon that she eats quite once and a half her

own bulk daily, and fully twice her own weight. The amount which passes from her, consisting chiefly of the earth contained in the worms, is on a correspondingly surprising scale. When excited she utters a rather shrill chatter, which is always, so far as I have noticed, sustained for half a minute or so, and never limited to a single note. As may be expected from the elongated, delicate snout, the shrews hunt their prey by scent. This specimen raises its long flexible nose nearly straight up, and bends it on itself rapidly from side to side, and very quickly discovers the whereabouts of a worm. When yawning the flexible nose is turned considerably up—nearly to a right angle with the gape, and the upper incisor teeth then show as of surprising length. Mr. C. Harper of Grendon Underwood informs me that he once saw a pair of water shrews in a brook near Brill, and watched them 'sporting about' for some time; and in May 1903 he saw one in a brook close to Aylesbury. Dr. J. C. Baker, M.B., M.B.O.U., and Mr. F. H. Parrott of Aylesbury inform me that the water shrew is found in colonies on the banks of the canal between that town and Aston Clinton, nearer the latter; attention was directed to them from finding piles of empty snail shells on the banks. The *Sorex remifer*, or oared shrew, is now admitted to be merely a variety of this species.

CARNIVORA

[Wild Cat. *Felis catus*, Linn.

The wild cat has so long been exterminated in the county that no record or tradition of it remains. It must have been already very scarce if not altogether gone, when first the churchwardens of the different parishes took to paying rewards for the killing of various carnivorous animals, as I have in no case met with an entry referring to it. On two occasions at Great Marlow I trapped cats which I am convinced were feral cats that had never been under a roof in their lives, but born in a wild state, descendants of run-away ancestors. They were coloured and marked almost exactly like wild cats, so much so that my animal keeper, who is in daily touch with specimens of the true *Felis catus*, in both cases thought they were real wild cats; but the smooth coat, thin tapering tail, and inferior bone, left me in no doubt even momentarily as to their nature. I once lost a wild cat at Great Marlow, which for all I ever heard to the contrary may still be roaming the county! In captivity

I have usually found the gestation to be sixty-eight days, in one case sixty-six, and in one other sixty-five days.]

14. Fox. *Vulpes vulpes*, Linn.

Bell—*Vulpes vulgaris*.

A few have been turned down in the county, but probably a much larger number have been poisoned. One of the latter, a vixen suckling a strong litter, was found by me on my farm in Hambleden (but not poisoned there!) on 15 March 1901. Mice, probably any species they meet with, and moles certainly enter largely into the dietary of this species, and fruits (in their season) of almost any kind obtainable. I have kept several specimens in captivity, but finally gave up doing so, on account of the strong and lasting smell which is beyond comparison worse than that of badgers and polecats, which are usually credited as special offenders in this respect. Foxes, however tame, have an underhand way of sneaking up to one from behind, in marked contrast to the

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straightforward habits of otters and other animals.

[Pine Marten. *Mustela martes*. Linn.

I know of no occurrence of the marten—the most beautiful of the British mammals—in Bucks, although as lately as 1891 an example was seen disporting itself in a tree by a gentleman entomologizing only a mile or two outside the borders of the county. I prefer not to indicate the locality, in case there should still be an example or two left there, as I have heard of specimens being obtained there within tolerably recent years; and a gamekeeper near here knows the species from seeing one or more examples there before he came to his present situation. No doubt however the locality will be fully indicated in the *Victoria History* of the county in which it is situated. Martens are not mentioned in any of the churchwardens' accounts of this county which I have examined. I have bred five litters of this species in captivity; three of these numbered three, one litter numbered two; from the remaining litter I only reared one, but with little doubt heard the voices of one or two other cubs at first. The gestation is surprisingly long, probably 103 days, but certainly between 94 and 106 days. The young are pure white at birth.¹ I am not aware of this species having ever been bred in captivity elsewhere.]

15. Polecat. *Putorius putorius*, Linn.

Bell—*Mustela putorius*.

Within the last five-and-twenty years polecats still occurred—if but thinly—over a great part of the county, and fifty years ago seem to have been pretty general; but the steel-trap has nearly cleared them out, and at the present time only a very few stragglers remain, of which two or three are within a couple of miles or so of this house at the time of writing this. The following are a few parishes in which I have actually heard of polecats within recent years, though probably not one of them contains examples at the present time: various parishes round Aylesbury (Bierton, etc.), Steeple Claydon, Biddlesden, Stowe, Dorton, Long Crendon, Kingsey, Hedsor. Mr. J. H. B. Cowley in the *Zoologist*, 1890, p. 178, mentions having received three specimens from Bucks, namely from Bierton, Waddesdon and Stoke Mandeville. Churchwardens' accounts in all parts of the county prove the general distribution of this species through the eighteenth century

¹ See *Zoologist*, 1883, p. 203; and *P.Z.S.* 1900, p. 836.

by constant entries of payments for victims. In Hambleton parish the accounts² show that between the years 1722 and 1808 (= 87 years) the churchwardens paid for 330 polecats, or an average of $3\frac{3}{4}$ per year. The largest number in one year was 21. Three examples which I obtained in 1880 and 1881 from Kingsey Park were all accidentally caught in rabbit-trapping, and not in traps intended for vermin; and the use of steel traps for rabbit catching has probably done more to extirpate polecats throughout the country than all the traps intended for them specially. I have had considerably over 100 polecats in my menagerie, inclusive of those born in captivity. Of 25 litters of this species born in my collection, there were born in:—

May (from the 23rd),	4	litters =	16	per cent.
June (up to the 15th),	12	„ =	48	„
„ (from 16th to end),	7	„ =	28	„
July (up to the 7th),	2	„ =	8	„

and a litter of five cubs received early in July were, according to my estimate, born about 24 May. Of these 26 litters:—

2	litters	numbered	6	young
5	„	„	5	„
4	„	„	4	„
5	„	„	3	„
4	„	„	2	„
3	„	„	1	„
3	„	number	not	ascertained.

} Probably a larger number born

It is curious that a litter is not as a rule fairly evenly divided as to sex; but usually all the cubs, or all but one, are of the same sex. One male polecat born in my collection I rescued from his cannibal mother just in time; she had eaten the other members of the litter, and had already taken a bite out of him. His eyes were not yet open, but I had no difficulty in rearing him by my bedside. He grew up perfectly tame, and was a remarkably amusing pet, but he had one serious failing. With prophetic acumen I named him 'Snap,' and seldom has a name been more appropriate, for though perfectly tame and as playful as a kitten, he could not resist every now and then having a good hard chew at a finger. I used to let him run loose on the lawn when I could look after him, and at other times tethered him by collar and line to a peg. Not unfrequently if left unwatched too long, I should find he had slipped his collar and disappeared. A Lapland dog, of the large breed such as is used in Norway and Sweden for elk hunting, was then set to find him for me. The dog would retreat before him, and was perfectly

² As quoted by me, *Zoologist*, 1892.

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to be trusted not to attempt to injure him, while the polecat, who knew quite well the dog's amiable disposition, would come flying out of a bush or other cover, springing high and far, making feints at the dog's nose. Some two or three times I had occasion to chastise the dog while the polecat was loose on the lawn. Directly he saw his friend in a scrape, describing a circle as I held on to his collar, the little wretch would fly at the dog's tail or hind quarters, and be whisked round at the outer axis of the circle. I have no idea how many times the keeper who then had charge of my animals came to me and declared that 'Snap' had had the last drop of his blood that he ever should have; but probably within a week the same declaration would be repeated; and this, time after time. There was something extremely fascinating about the little varmint! On one occasion when my old friend, Captain F. H. Salvin, came to pay me a visit, being engrossed I suppose in interesting conversation, I left 'Snap' tethered on the lawn when we went indoors for dinner. During the meal I recollected him, and as soon as we had finished we went out after him, only to find that 'Snap' had slipped his collar and vanished. I hunted the Lapland dog round the various shrubberies after him, while Salvin stood more or less still in the open. Presently I heard a loud view hollo from him, and hastening back, he told me that while standing quite still he was startled by 'Snap' running up his leg. The view hollo had however apparently caused him to relinquish his hold and drop, and scuttle off again into the darkness. The dog however very soon found him and I 'collected' him. On some two or three occasions when there were rats in the cowhouse or other conveniently enclosed place, I tried him in the capacity of ferret. But directly he *smelt* rat, long before he saw one, he became so demoniacal from excitement that I was glad to catch him up in a wire trap and not attempt to handle him again that day. I never ventured to try him at rabbits, or at rats anywhere in the open, because he was such a galloper. There was no running into him in a fair stern chase so long as he went on, but fortunately he never ran (at any rate if pressed) for more than about a hundred yards (generally less) without taking cover, where one got a chance of picking him up. He greatly appreciated being carried about in one of the 'hare pockets' of one's jacket, and would often sit in it with his bright little eyes looking out at the top and taking in all there was to be seen. Rabbits, rats and mice form unquestionably

the staple articles of polecats' diet; but no species of bird which roosts on the ground (or is otherwise to be caught there) would come amiss, unless perhaps the great bustard may have been in its day considered too large. It may be doubted also whether swans would be attacked. Hedgehogs when skinned form of course good food for nearly all carnivorous animals, and the skins with their fleshy *panniculus carnosus* and the bristles, go to my polecats and hybrid stoat-ferrets, who always eat them bristles and all! Eels are much appreciated, and frogs also. Polecats (in a wild state) are during the autumn much infested with ticks.

16. Common Stoat. *Putorius ermineus*, Linn. Bell—*Mustela erminea*.

Still fairly common (and in some places decidedly so) in spite of the unremitting persecution to which it is subjected in consequence of the prevailing system of game preservation, but must inevitably become scarce before many more years are past. It is the most *douce* and phlegmatic of the British *Mustelidæ*, rarely showing rage in captivity, the very opposite of its near relation the excitable weasel. A few white examples occur probably every winter, or at least when there is a spell of unusually cold weather before Christmas. In this county, as elsewhere in the southern part of England, the white coat is rarely perfect, but generally a little colour remains on the back of the head and neck. A white example was caught in a wire trap at Lowgrounds farm, Great Marlow, on 30 December 1877, which had been seen on several previous days. A large white one was shot at Turville Court in December 1901; and stuffed white specimens are to be seen in probably nearly every parish in the county. I have been told of a buff young one in a litter of ordinary colour; probably this was an albino. A stoat sent me by a friend from Banffshire in October 1901 had, in the following January, a band of white about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide across the upper jaw, just behind the naked nose. About two years later, in January 1903, it again had the same narrow band of white across the nose, the normal white on the lower side then extending considerably more than half way up the flanks, and including the whole of the legs, and the cheeks with the insides of the ears; and in addition the rump and tail, with the exception of course of the black tip of the latter, are white. It seems probable, though I write under reserve, as I have only recently formed the opinion, and regret not having utilized all opportunities

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of noting the point, that the amount of white in the summer coat increases with age, and by inference that the majority of individuals in this and other southern counties which turn more or less completely white in winter are fairly old animals (not necessarily of extreme age). In some cases in the summer coat the white on the hind feet is limited to one or two hairs, while on the fore feet merely the three inner toes are more or less white, and the two outer toes have only one or two white hairs on them. On the other hand some summer specimens have all four feet completely white, the white extending up so as to be continuous with that on the under side of the body, which also varies in breadth; and there are all intermediate variations. A female trapped at Ibstone on 13 March 1901 contained five foetuses, three in the right horn of the uterus, and two in the left, about the size of castor oil beans (or the largest pea, or small nut), making it probable that she was about a fortnight gone in pregnancy. If therefore, as is likely, though quite unknown, the gestation of this species is about forty days, these young would have been born about 8 April. The average date for the birth of stoats is probably a little later than this. In captivity stoats starve sooner than eat 'pluck'—even perfectly fresh livers, hearts, etc., of rabbits or poultry, but must be fed exclusively on the flesh of birds or small animals; rabbits by preference! It is astonishing to see, when a heavy fall of snow facilitates tracking, the amount of ground a stoat will cover; and when rabbits are scarce, the great number of holes a stoat will descend in quest of a supper. In summer stoats often frequent the banks of small rivers, or ditches, in pursuit of water-voles. They are good climbers, sometimes ascending trees to a height of 30 feet or so, and are quite adept at birds' nesting in tall hedges. They have much larger feet in proportion to their size than either polecats or weasels, and like martens are to a great extent plantigrade. I have a race of hybrids between stoat and ferret and now descended to the fourth generation of hybrid bred with hybrid. Instances of weasels being caught in traps set for moles in the runs of the latter are common, but it seems worth recording the capture of a stoat under these circumstances on my land at Poynetts in Hambleton parish on 29 February 1904. It was caught without injury by the neck and I have it alive at the time this is passing through the press.

[The Irish Stoat, *Putorius hibernicus*, is confined to the country it is named after.]

17. Weasel. *Putorius nivalis*, Linn.

Bell—*Mustela vulgaris*.

Probably everywhere in Bucks, as elsewhere in the southern three-quarters of Great Britain, the weasel is more numerous than the stoat; very much thinned down where game has been systematically preserved over a fairly large area for any length of time, but still fairly numerous where there are districts less strictly trapped, and in some places quite common. Among animals whose dietary presents no special difficulty, weasels are perhaps the hardest to keep alive for any length of time in captivity, from their excitability. No animal gets tame up to a certain point so quickly as the general run of weasels, and yet at any subsequent time any disturbance may cause sudden death, apparently by something akin to apoplexy. While admittedly mischievous to the young of game birds and to rabbits, yet to farmers, gardeners, horticulturists and foresters, weasels are the greatest possible benefactors. Like kestrels and the owls among birds, their chief food supplies are drawn from the hosts of mice and small voles which work such an incalculable amount of mischief to the vegetable world. The committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture in 1892 to inquire into the plague of field voles in Scotland, recommended that weasels should be tolerated, as from their small size, the destruction they wreak on game is slight, while the good they effect by checking the numbers of the smaller rodents is very great and certain.¹ Weasels are hardly such expert climbers as stoats, which may be accounted for by their shorter legs and relatively much smaller sized feet, and being more digitigrade than the latter. They have not the aquatic habits of the stoat. A sign of their uncontrollable excitability is shown in a state of freedom by the readiness with which they can sometimes be drawn from a hiding place by making a sharp chirping or squeaking noise; and in captivity by the extraordinary boldness with which after a very few days they come out and show themselves, so different to the behaviour of any other wild animal with which I am acquainted. There are exceptions even to this rule; I have had one weasel, and one only, that declined to show itself until it had been caged for a good many weeks. I have been told since I came to live at my present home in Hambleton parish,

¹ At least one large landowner (Lord Barnard at Raby Castle, Durham) in a printed *Memorandum of Instructions to Gamekeepers, etc.*, has: 'Where rats, mice, voles, etc., are numerous, Weasels should be preserved.'

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of weasels being seen fighting near here, so engrossed that they almost allowed a man to put his foot on them; of a troop numbering ten in company in one of my meadows; and of a weasel being chased by a rabbit out of my wood, far out on to a ploughed field. A friend (in Oxfordshire) told me that his keeper recently found in a 'Wonder' wire trap (which requires no setting) a weasel and a rat, the former being dead. The question naturally suggests itself, which followed the other in?

18. Badger. *Meles meles*, Linn.

Bell—*Meles taxus*.

Still fairly represented in the county. They no longer I believe occur in any of the parishes in the south-east border of the county, but they certainly occur in many, and probably in a large majority, of the remainder. Mr. W. Uthwatt of Little Linford Manor says there are none in that parish (though he has twice turned one down there) or in that of Newport Pagnell, but some were found in the adjoining parish of Calverton. They cannot be said to be 'generally distributed' like rabbits, moles, etc., but inhabit certain woods or other spots, leaving others unoccupied. A few miles from Buckingham where woods are generally small, and the land chiefly pasture, they inhabit holes near the hedges of grass meadows quite devoid of rough vegetation or any other cover. Here on frosty mornings steam may be seen rising from the holes, apparently showing unmistakably where a badger is lying underneath. During the last thirty-three years I have kept a good many badgers in captivity; a pair in my possession at the time of writing were caught about two miles from this house, and I have at different times been offered a good many from this neighbourhood. The female (of the above pair) was dug out in a neighbouring wood on 2 March 1902, with her two small cubs about three weeks old, which, as I had expected, she killed during the ensuing night. On different days in May 1902 I was brought another pair of cubs from the wood previously mentioned, born probably much about the same time as the other cubs, and therefore then aged about three months. These I also purchased, hoping to save their lives. The young female died from injury received in trapping, but the young male continued to share a cage with the old female, where he gradually grew into a fine animal. Early on the morning of 21 March 1903 young were born, but whether the young male was their father, or some wild male met with over a year before I do not know. The gestation

of badgers has been discussed over and over again during the last half-century, and though the accumulation of more instances is necessary before the question can be considered settled, yet the evidence available, when reviewed, seems to point unmistakably to the very remarkable conclusion that the period may be anything between under five and over fifteen months, or a range of over ten months, and yet that the young are all born within a season of about six weeks.¹ In over twenty cases in which either the exact or approximate date of the births of young is recorded all fall between 10 February and 21 March, a small majority being in the latter month. Moreover the females which paired earliest by no means necessarily whelp earlier in the six weeks' season than others which paired several months after them.

It seems probable that the length of the individual gestation is correlated with a varying degree of maturity in the young when born. For instance in one case the young were stated to have been blind for twenty-nine days, and in the case of a litter born in my collection the time was about thirty days, the bed-box being too dark to admit of certain observation; while Mr. J. Paterson, who has bred several litters in captivity, states that the young are blind for six weeks, and the same time is given in a case recorded in the *Field*, 11 May 1872. There is a similar difference of opinion as to whether the cubs are born naked. The litter generally numbers two, somewhat less frequently three; sometimes there is only one cub and occasionally four, the average being about two and a quarter. Their eyes are very inconspicuous, being sunk, and not prominent as in the young of most animals. They are rather long-lived animals; I had one female for over fourteen years, which had then to be killed, as she dislocated her shoulder; and I know instances of their living over fifteen years in captivity. They are very inoffensive animals, and not at all quarrelsome. Albinism (though I cannot say whether in every case the eyes were pink, as in some instances I merely saw skins where the colour of the eyes had not been noted or since forgotten) is common among badgers; but in every example that I have met with, including two or three Bucks specimens, the coat is not a uniform white, but the facial stripes, and all other parts which are normally black, are cinnamon-coloured. Badgers are wholly nocturnal, or crepuscular, never venturing abroad even in the long summer evenings, before at least the near approach of twilight.

¹ For details see the *Zoologist*, 1904, p. 108.

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Their food supply covers a wide range, but the chief source is furnished by the invertebrate hosts—beetles, worms, slugs, etc.; but nothing (in a fresh state) that I know of except toads, that can be included under the comprehensive term 'animal food,' comes amiss to them. Stops of young rabbits, and old ones to boot; mice, and especially moles; the young of any ground-nesting bird they happen to meet with, but I do not believe they interfere with adult birds; snakes, lizards and frogs are all acceptable. The last named—in captivity at least—they treat in a singular manner. Holding down the unlucky frog with one fore foot, they literally scrub it to death with the palm of the other foot; the object being apparently to get rid of the secretion of slime. I tried my badgers one day with the carcase (without skin and skull) of an old polecat which had died extremely fat. They were not very hungry, and a good choice of other food was offered at the same time. Both badgers came up and smelt the polecat, and seemed at first not much to like it, but after a minute or two the female in preference to the other varieties of food, seized the carcase and began devouring the intestines with evident relish. Next morning not a vestige of the polecat was to be found. Wasp and bee grubs and honeycomb are appreciated as usually credited to them, and I have also no doubt they eat certain kinds of vegetable food—green corn for one—but what the 'various roots' are that books always say they dig up, I am not botanist enough to know, though I do not for a moment doubt the fact. Mr. Harting in his article already alluded to (*Zoologist*, 1888) enumerates 'roots of various kinds, the bulbs of the wild hyacinth, earth-nuts, beech-mast, acorns, fungus, blackberries.' In captivity they will eat all ordinary kinds of vegetables boiled. Mr. W. Uthwatt writes to me:

The idea that they drive away foxes is absurd, there are hundreds of places where they have lived together for centuries. Neither is there any proof that they interfere with game, as there are never any remains found that could be attributed to them, either in their burrows or other haunts. They like a dry sandy soil the best, by the side of a hill, as this makes it easier digging. They have been called the 'pioneers of fox-earths and the natural miners of the country.'

A curious point in their anatomy is in the articular part of the glenoid fossa on the skull, which receives the condyle of the lower jaw on each side. The edges of these articular parts are so prolonged and curled over the condyles as to effectually clasp them in place; and even in a macerated skull the lower man-

dible of an adult cannot be detached. The digging powers of a badger are marvellous. In soft ground they can bury themselves in a very few minutes. Visiting a pair of badgers in my possession, late one night, I found the female more than her own depth underground, though the floor of the cage was composed of paving bricks set in cement and bedded on concrete. One of a pair of these animals formerly in my collection, aged eleven, was found lying dead on the floor of the outer part of the cage; its abdomen was such an enormous size that I supposed it was the female that had died in parturition, and was surprised to find that it was the male. The enormous distention of the abdomen was caused by a hydatid cyst in the liver, making that organ quite half as large as a football. Presumably the badger had swallowed an egg of tapeworm with the intestines of a rabbit, and not proving a suitable 'host' for that pest, the *scolex* had revenged itself by inflating itself, and the unlucky badger's liver, into this huge hydatid.

19. Otter. *Lutra lutra*, Linn.

Bell—*Lutra vulgaris*.

Owing to the entire southern boundary of the county being formed by the Thames, whose waters with their bends flow for nearly thirty miles within its confines, the county boundary being as a rule in mid-stream, otters are fairly well represented. Were it not for the big river affording a certain measure of shelter and opportunities for reproduction, otters would be very scarce in the county; for as Mr. W. Uthwatt of Great Linford Manor, Master of the Bucks Otter Hounds, to whom I am indebted for some most interesting notes on the species in the county, quoted in due course, writes:

The smaller rivers are supplied with otters from the deep waters of the Thames and Ouse. It is disgraceful the way that otters are trapped and shot on the Thames, on account of the ignorant prejudice that they harm the fishing. A couple of swans will do more harm to fish than twenty otters. If they are killed on the big waters, the smaller waters cannot be supplied, for this is only done by otters travelling, they do not stay in one place long.

I am happy to say that the secretary of the Thames Conservancy in response to a request I made him in 1903, at the suggestion of Mr. C. Barnett, of Mill End, Hambleton, has now forbidden the lock-keepers and other men in their employ to trap otters.

Mr. Uthwatt considers that in North Bucks 'there are not more than one or two

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otters to 10 miles of stream.' In the Upper Thames I should be inclined to say that there must be fully one otter to every 5 miles of river, which is a somewhat higher estimate than that for the north of the county. A curious fact about otters, which seems only to have been realized of late years, is that they breed at any time of year, although they do not have more than one litter in about a twelve-month. Certain animals, such as some of the rodents, breed nearly all the year round under favourable conditions; and the gray-seal breeds exclusively in the autumn, which appears also to be the custom of the dormouse, though rather earlier, and with greater range of date; while for a wild animal only reproducing about once in twelve months, to have no special season, appears to be a unique arrangement. The female otter comes in season with the greatest regularity every month from the time she is ten months old. The most common number of young in my own experience is two, but frequently three, a larger number being exceptional; but Mr. Uthwatt says, 'Three is about the usual number of the litter, though they often have four or five, and occasionally six.'

My friend Mr. Thomas Southwell, M.B.O.U., F.Z.S., was the first really to grasp the fact that otters have young at any time of year, and published notes on it in the *Zoologist* for 1877 (p. 172) and 1888 (p. 248); the first of these being a reply to a note of mine in the same volume (p. 100). It may now be asserted with some confidence that while the young are born during any month of the year, yet that more litters are born between October and February, both inclusive, than during the remaining seven months of the year. Mr. Uthwatt says on this point: 'They breed all the year round, but probably more cubs are born in January, February, and March, than at any other time.' Though differing most reluctantly from one with so great a practical experience, I believe this is not the case.

I have noticed by observation of otters in captivity, that the females when in season have a curious habit, which seems to be designed to attract the attention of any passing male. This is that they collect little mouthfuls of short straws and deposit them here and there. In a state of liberty short bents or dead aquatic plants would doubtless be substituted for the straws; but outside a cage these little tufts would be very difficult for a human eye to recognize. Having once noticed this habit among my otters in captivity, it is now easy to tell when one is in season, without further observation. I began

keeping otters in captivity in 1869, and during the last thirty years have, with one short interval of a few months, kept them continuously, seldom having fewer than two in my possession at any one time, and sometimes a larger number.

The story of the breeding of a litter in my collection was told originally in a note published in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society*, 1881, p. 249; repeated with additions in the *Zoologist*, 1882 (p. 201); and also copied into the *Live Stock Journal* in the former year. The facts noted are briefly as follows: Pairing took place while swimming in the tank early on 12 August, and after a gestation of sixty-one days (during the last ten or twelve of which the female was obviously gravid) young were born on the afternoon of 12 October. The mother had been hand-reared with a feeding-bottle, and was extremely tame, so I ventured to look at the cubs on the 25th (when thirteen days old), finding them to be two in number and about 8 inches in total length. Though the mother made not the smallest objection to my looking at the cubs, yet on returning to them her instinct came in, and within a couple of hours she transferred them to the other bed-box. From that day they were constantly (often daily) shifted backwards and forwards from one box to the other. They were in every case I think removed by the most direct route—across the tank; and the greater part of the way they were under water, being carried by the scruff of the neck. They were blind for about thirty days. On 9 December, when they were eight weeks two days old, they first voluntarily emerged from the shelter of the bed-box and made a little tour of inspection of the cage (about 28 feet long); they went into the water both intentionally and accidentally as was supposed. One had hung half out of the box four days previously. The next day I first saw the mother carry fish into the box, to try to tempt the cubs to begin a more solid diet; and on the afternoon of the same day the cubs were anxious to take a little walk, but the mother hearing the garden men grubbing some bushes, in spite of her extreme tameness, felt nervous on their behalf, and would not allow them out of shelter. She kept pulling them back as first one and then the other crawled towards the exit. At last losing patience with one which was specially insubordinate, she seized it by the side of the neck and carried it to the tank, in which she gave it a thorough sousing and thence straight back to bed, where, after a further short demonstration of independence, it subsided. Two days later, one of the cubs

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while out for a stroll, was frightened by an accidental noise, and at once plunged into the tank and swam across, nearly all the way under water. The next day (when the cubs were almost nine weeks old) on my giving some fish to the old otter while the cubs were out with her, she took two small roach to them and tried to entice them to eat, by taking first one fish, then the other, then both together in her mouth and moving them about close in front of the cubs to attract their attention, at the same time uttering a peculiar whine or growl, or something between the two, which was quite new to me, and which sounded ferocious; her intention evidently was to make them believe she did not want them to take the fish from her, while all the while she was using her utmost cunning to incite them to do that very thing! The cubs were by dint of much patience gradually induced to try, and though they at last occasionally gnawed at the fish, they appeared on this occasion to get nothing off. This amiable dissimulation was repeated daily for some time afterwards. On 31 December (when 11½ weeks old) they appreciated an additional fish meal at about 11.15 p.m.; and a day or two later a third meal was added first thing in the morning; but the cubs lay up through all the remainder of the day, and if food were given at other times the mother made no attempt to induce them to eat. On 25 January (when fifteen weeks old) the cubs came out an hour earlier than usual (at 5 instead of 6 p.m.), and continued gradually to come out earlier until 20 February, when they were out as early as 2.30 p.m. I could not satisfy myself how long they continued to suckle, but believe they did so all through the spring.

The above are the bare bones of the story, but the whole episode, watched day by day, and almost night and day, with its various little details, proved one of the most interesting events, from a naturalist's point of view, that I can imagine. Both cubs were females; one I eventually sold; the remaining one came in season for the first time when ten months old, but was hardly full-grown before she had completed her twelvemonth. Males continue to grow rather longer than this. She spent six months of her life in London, at the Fisheries Exhibition. From the time I obtained the mother as a cub about two months old, to the death of the daughter, seventeen years and almost nine months elapsed. Each lived to be over ten years old. The cause of death in the mother was slightly obscure, while the daughter was drowned during very cold weather under the ice in her tank. In both cases however they had lost

the vigour of youth, so died from accidents that would hardly have proved fatal to younger animals.

The two largest Thames otters that I have handled were trapped at different spots above Bisham, near Great Marlow, and were naturally both males. One, caught 14 July 1889, was brought to me alive, but died from the injury sustained in trapping. The other was caught 23 April 1882. The two largest females from the Thames, of which I have measurements, were both caught by myself. One, on the lock eyot, Great Marlow, 1 May 1896, died 25 February 1898; the other, caught 10 July 1873, died 27 December 1878. The largest ever killed by the Bucks Otter Hounds was near Thornton Hall, Buckingham, and weighed more than 30 lb., which was the limit of weight the steel yard could show.

The second of the two Thames females mentioned above was caught in an unusual manner. On the evening of the day named (10 July 1873), I went up the river to shoot some water voles for my wild cats, and after securing two or three, saw near the Bucks side, a little above Bisham Grange, a piece of water weed travelling steadily *up* stream. Not doubting that this was being carried by a water vole, I put up the gun and was on the point of firing when I noticed what appeared to be a water vole's head about a foot beyond the water-weed, and the two objects kept exactly the same distance apart as they proceeded up the river. Struck by this odd circumstance I paused, and instantaneously saw that the leading object was not a vole's head but an otter's nose, the remainder of the head being under water; and that the weed was lodged against the curve of the back, which just protruded above water. To shoot an otter being about the last thing I should wish to do, I half-cocked and put down the gun, whispered to my dog, who was on the tow-path, and had seen me put up the gun, though he could not see what I was pointing at, to 'down-charge,' which he did at once; and noiselessly backed the boat up stream to see as much as I could of the otter. It continued steadily up stream, generally swimming, but once or twice getting into shallow water it waded for a few yards, until at last it disappeared into or under a thick stubby hazel-bush growing out of the bank and hanging down to the water's edge. I forced the boat's head into the bush, and kneeling in the bow pushed my head in likewise; on opening my eyes I saw a large hole—doubtless a water-expanded water vole's hole—under the roots of the hazel, and the otter looking out of it.

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Quick as thought I pushed my open hand through the branches to the mouth of the hole, to stop the otter (if I should have the luck to be in time) from rushing out, thinking I would wait there (for a week if necessary!) until some one should pass by who would either go for a spade or send some one with one. The otter however saved me the trouble of what might have been a very inconveniently long wait by jumping at my hand and seizing me by the thumb. I closed my fingers round its lower jaw, and giving a 'mighty heave' brought the otter plump into the boat. The other hand sufficed to disengage it from my thumb, and, to complete my good luck, I chanced to have my cartridges in a ferret-bag, so shaking them out I stuffed the otter in, and having made the string secure, gave vent to my feelings in wild hurrahs! Not until the otter was actually in the boat did I discover that she was not full grown, though of considerable size—a circumstance doubtless just as well for my thumb. The bite was fairly severe, but I have had hundreds worse, and I was quite ready to catch any number more otters on the same terms. Five and a half years afterwards she was killed by another otter; I macerated and articulated her skeleton, and it was exhibited at the Fisheries Exhibition.

The following interesting remarks are very slightly abbreviated from the notes kindly given me by Mr. Uthwatt:—

Otters lie in hollow trees, hollows in the banks and among roots, and are very fond of old stone drains and the sewers of towns. The claws of otters inhabiting rocky or gravelly streams are found to be worn down. If an otter's claws appear to be freshly worn down, it has been disturbed from its usual haunts, and has been travelling in search of a fresh habitation or of one of the opposite sex. The male is however solitary, and two adult males are never found together. It is curious that when otters are killed, even when one is chopped, nothing is found in the stomach.

Probably this is because, owing to the peculiarly small size of the œsophagus necessitating the very complete mastication of the food, it is quickly digested. Mr. Uthwatt has seen slides down banks of snow, and tracks, as if otters had been sliding in the way described of the North American species in Mr. Harting's account in the *Zoologist*, 1894, p. 379, but has never met any one who has actually seen them using the slide.

Otters are also fond of rolling on grass, and it is probable that this is done to some extent in order to get rid of the large ticks, with which they are sometimes infested.

In Bucks, otters are not often found at a distance from water, as is the case in more mountainous parts of the country, where the smaller rivers run very low in the heat of summer.

Mr. Uthwatt remarks that an otter 'generally chooses a very hidden spot in which to have young, either in a water-worn hollow beneath the bank, or a hollow tree, or a tree root.' I have known used as nurseries the cup-shaped top of a pollard willow, and the interior of a hay-rick built on an eyot, above and below Great Marlow respectively; and the dry arch of a bridge over the Cherwell (Oxon), the nest in this instance consisting of a large accumulation of water weeds. I have no doubt also that they not unfrequently nest in spaces accessible only by water in the foundation of the mills on the Thames.

They may be enticed away from stretches of water where it is impossible to hunt them by making artificial holts convenient for them. Mr. Frank Higgins of Buckingham has been very successful in this. The nest is formed of reeds and grass. The bitch will take care never to leave her 'wedgings,' or the slightest sign of her presence, on the banks of the river where she has established her nursery, and either never uses the banks at all until the cubs are able to swim, or else nature has provided that she shall leave no scent during the period. She generally lays up her 'wedgings' in a secret place, often in the same cavity as the nest, if it is large enough.

One can tell that an otter has young, if when she is hunted, after being put down by the hounds, she determinedly keeps away from the spot where she was found.

A bitch is a good deal more difficult to hunt than a dog, being gamer, not so lazy, more rapid in her movements and much more crafty. We have frequently hunted a bitch for hours in a weedy river without even viewing her chain. Cubs look after themselves as soon as they lose their milk-teeth.

In its nocturnal wanderings in search of prey, an otter never swims much of the river at a time, but cuts overland across the bends, leaving what is technically known as 'the drag.' The strongest scent is left by the 'dripping drag,' which is where the water was still dripping off its coat. The drag generally ceases about a hundred yards from the holt, the remaining distance being traversed in the water.

In hunting, the bank of the river to which the wind is blowing is usually drawn, generally up stream, until a drag is struck. An otter generally works the side to which the wind blows when going out, and the side from which it blows when returning to its holt.

If it is a last night's drag, the pace in the rich meadow land of the midlands is fast enough to tax the best runner, unless he knows the country and is able to run cunning, and there is always the

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danger of passing the otter. The scent of an otter lies for a long time, though the duration naturally depends on the weather and on the land. Some of the younger hounds will often mark at an old nest, and the hounds generally will speak to the scent three or four days after the otter has gone by; and in some places, where otters have habitually walked for long periods, the ground becomes so saturated that the hounds can own it six months afterwards.

The drag may continue for ten miles or more, and is either then run out, in which case it is known they have been hunting heel (though the older hounds generally have a preference for running in the right direction at the start), or the hounds mark at some strongholt, and bay furiously, tearing at it with teeth and claws. The terrier is then put in and the otter bolted, when his 'chain' may be viewed; but in any case the hounds at once leave theholt. If during the hunt the otter shows rapidly, a number of times in succession, it means that it is taking in air, in order to take a long and desperate dive. It is not swimming all the time it is under water, but frequently walks along the bottom, especially in shallow places.

As this was news to me, I wrote to Mr. Uthwatt asking if this was beyond a doubt. He was unfortunately out of the reach of letters at the time (somewhere up country in South America), but Mrs. Uthwatt kindly wrote, saying she knew her husband was quite convinced this is the case, and that her brother-in-law, who has hunted the hounds for a great many years, is quite of the same opinion.

The otter is always some feet in front of its 'chain,' which is formed by its breath and the air contained in the fur. Sometimes when lost it betrays its whereabouts by taking in breath with a sort of gasping sigh, but it takes a keen ear to distinguish it.

On one occasion (in Warwickshire) the Bucks otter hounds ran a drag through eight fields of standing corn, from the river Itchin to the Leam. Even when shallows (of which there are however not many in Bucks) are lined two men deep, to keep the otter in a certain direction, it often breaks through.

Though the Bucks otters are not so quick and muscular as those of mountainous districts, not having swift streams to fight, yet they are not nearly so easy to kill, owing to the abundance of cover, the depth and muddiness of the streams, and the fact that the water carries no scent after it has been stirred up once or twice by the hounds.

An otter seems to know that he leaves a strong wash in the water, and often when being hunted goes down to rapid water, in order to lead the hounds from him, and then goes up stream and lies up.

Mr. Uthwatt has 'noticed that where a river has been diverted by a railway or for

other reasons, the otters in their nocturnal travels show a preference for following the old course of the river, even when quite dry and is the furthest way.' A pack of otter hounds was formerly kept at Tyringham, and hunted by the late Rev. C. W. Selby Lowndes. A pack was also kept for a short time by Sir H. Hoare at Wavendon, about two years before the pack of which Mr. Uthwatt is the successful master was started in 1880. There was also a pack kept at Rowsham Park on the Cherwell (Oxfordshire) by an ancestor of the present owner of the property.

I have had on several occasions (successful) otter hunts about the lawn of my old home at Great Marlow after otters that had escaped from their cage, in one instance tailing it within two or three yards of the water's edge. One otter did escape, and subsequently paid several visits to our lawn. On one occasion, after a fall of snow, I tracked her a long distance inland, nearly to her old cage. Over a year after she escaped she (presuming it was the same individual) put her foot into a rat trap, which did not hold her, but caused her to discontinue her visits. Undoubtedly wild otters occasionally visited our lawn, and three weeks after I caught the adult female mentioned as the largest female I have measured from the Thames an otter visited her cage during the night. On some few occasions besides that above mentioned I have either seen or heard otters in the river. The best view of one was obtained in one of the backwaters at Harleyford (Great Marlow), when a fisherman (long since dead) and I were proceeding in a boat perfectly noiselessly according to our custom, and an otter suddenly rose to the surface of the water alongside the boat, and almost within reach of one of the skulls. Neither of us men moved a muscle, but remained as rigid as if suddenly turned to stone, and the otter floated alongside us staring in utter astonishment for some few minutes, until I suppose it had collected its wits, when it sank out of sight.

The most amusing animal I ever kept was a tame otter hand-reared in the house (this was the one I bred from). I have never ceased to regret I did not write down at the time the many proofs of her extraordinary sagacity, and the equally numerous instances of unmistakable humour; but even as it is, many queer acts of hers, and of many of the other otters I have kept, might be added to this already overgrown section.

[The Pinnipeds (seals) and Cetaceans (whales and dolphins) are naturally, from

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the inland position of the county, the only access to which for them would be through London, unknown there, though it is likely that in early days the common seal (*Phoca vitulina*) and two or three species of the smaller *Delphinidae* may have sometimes found their way up the Thames as far as to what is now the southern border of the county of Bucks. I have kept examples of the two species of seal resident in the British Isles in

captivity in Bucks, and have found the gray seal (*Halichoerus grypus*), which has been given so bad a character by all previous writers on it, to be a much maligned animal, proving very docile and affectionate, and capable of receiving considerable education. In fact I can confidently recommend the gray seal as by far the most interesting animal I have ever kept, and readily taking to the performance of tricks.]

RODENTIA

20. Squirrel. *Sciurus leucourus*, Kerr.

Bell—*Sciurus vulgaris*.

Generally distributed. It seems remarkable however that they are not particularly numerous in the big beech woods of this neighbourhood, where one would have expected them to abound. Perhaps there is no great supply of food there except during the mast season; but possibly also the magpies, and even the jays (which are extremely numerous in these woods), may thin out the young before they leave the dreys. On two or three occasions squirrels visited our garden at Great Marlow, which is more than a mile distant from the nearest wood, except Bisham Woods in Berks, from which it was divided by a double width of the Thames (channel and backwater). In the beech woods they seem to live to a great extent on the bark of crab-apples; one finds small trees of this species completely stripped of bark from end to end. Among several examples which I have kept in captivity were a pair reared in company with a pine marten by a domestic cat. Squirrels breed chiefly quite early in the year, but occasionally as late as April.

21. Dormouse. *Muscardinus avellanarius*, Linn.

Bell—*Myoxus avellanarius*.

The dormouse seems to be of general distribution in the county, though from its retiring habits it is comparatively seldom met with. I kept one here for about eighteen months, caught at Turville Grange in 1901, and given me by Miss D. Donald, and other examples have since been seen and caught there; I have two at the moment of writing caught at Danesfield, Medmenham, 2 April. They were in separate nests, about a chain apart, made of moss, under nearly 2 feet of dead leaves. One of them made its escape the same night, but was recaptured on 12 May, having apparently slept through the entire interval. They are fairly well known under the name of sleepy mouse or sleeper.

In the *Zoologist*, 1885, p. 204, Mr. G. T. Rope quoted a letter by J. B. R. in the *Field* of 19 April 1884: 'Dormice are not at all uncommon about Henley-on-Thames. A boy who used to live at Nettlebed (a village five or six miles distant), and come to school every day, has brought in scores. This is no exaggeration.' Henley is less than one mile from Bucks and Nettlebed about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles, so that this statement refers to the borders of this county. Mr. Rope continued by quoting from a letter by Mr. J. F. Woods, stating that in 1856 and 1857 he took several dormice in the parishes of Great Brickhill and Bow Brickhill, and that they were by no means rare thereabouts at that date. Mr. Rope next quoted from a letter by Mr. F. Hayward Parrott of Walton House, Aylesbury (19 April 1884), who stated that 'Dormice occur in the beech woods on the Chiltern Hills in Buckinghamshire, and are locally known by the name of "sleepers."' In the *Zoologist* for 1887, p. 463, Mr. F. H. Parrott wrote with reference to Mr. Rope's above quoted article, that 'since then I have ascertained that these little animals are far more numerous in the nut hedges. Towards the end of October last a man in this town had a consignment of five dozen, which were caught in the nut rows on Buckland Common.' One 'had a white tip to its tail.' In the *Zoologist* for 1901, p. 472, Mr. T. Vaughan Roberts of Watford wrote that, having seen the above account of how plentiful dormice were at Buckland, he went down and interviewed a man who collected them for London shops. Both he and another man told Mr. Roberts that they never found the nest of the dormouse in spring, but always in autumn, when the nuts were beginning to appear. Mr. Roberts's note was written in confirmation of a letter by Mr. H. E. Forrest of Shrewsbury in the same volume (p. 423), stating that he had found near there a nest containing young 'about half-grown' on 28 August, another containing young

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'quite naked and blind' on 29 September, and had been told of several other nests early in October containing young. I was told of a nest in the hedge of a cottage garden at Cadmore End, which contained quite small young, somewhere about 20 August. The dormouse would therefore seem to share with the gray seal the distinction of being the only British mammals having young but once a year that select the autumn for the event. I found a dormouse's nest near here on 22 September in a hazel bush in a hedge, formed of coarse hedge-side grass, lined with hazel leaves, which were still quite green and fresh. A friend climbing a spruce fir in Sussex to a supposed magpie's nest twenty feet from the ground dislodged from it a dormouse, which ran up and down the smooth upright stem with great ease for some time before we could catch it. In Surrey many years ago I found one dead in a thrush's nest, which had apparently been killed there by one of the birds. In captivity dry toast forms a very suitable stock food.

22. Harvest Mouse. *Mus minutus*, Pallas.

During the last thirty years or so, many thousands of mice have passed through my hands (as food for sundry British carnivorous animals, hawks, etc.). I have sometimes had 200 live mice, or even perhaps 300, in my possession at one time after a day's thrashing; and considerably larger quantities dead; besides multitudes singly or in small quantities, trapped or otherwise procured under a great variety of circumstances. Never however, out of all these hosts, including several species, have I recognized a harvest mouse, and I can hardly be wrong in concluding that they must be rare, or perhaps very local, in the county. All the harvest mice that I have seen were captive specimens procured in other counties; for instance, my friend, F. H. Salvin, captured a number at his place in Surrey—I think something like a dozen and a half—which he presented to the Zoological Society, and my late respected friend, Professor Rolleston of Oxford, kept a pair alive for a considerable time under a bell glass in his dining room, by which arrangement they could be observed almost to perfection. Several persons have assured me that harvest mice are quite common in the county, but on the slightest attempt at cross-examination have proved so vague on the subject, not being sure even whether they have long or short tails, or whether they are larger or smaller than the common house mouse, that their evidence is valueless; but from a very few

persons I have obtained what appears reliable information as to their existence in the county, so hope eventually I may secure specimens. Probably the species has everywhere greatly decreased since machinery was introduced, which reaps corn so much closer to the ground than stubbles were formerly left.

23. Long-tailed Field Mouse. *Mus sylvaticus*, Linn.

Very plentiful, but its numbers probably fluctuate (as also those of the grass and bank voles) very greatly in any particular locality in different years, or groups of years. It breeds all the year round; on 16 January 1893, for instance, we captured in our garden at Great Marlow a litter of seven, probably barely three weeks old. On 28 March 1884 I was given a true albino (pink eyes) which had been found dead that day in the garden of Dropmore Vicarage. There was the slightest possible tinge of colour on part of the back and flanks. It was a female, and its abnormal coloration had—judging by its teats—proved no obstacle to its finding a mate and becoming the mother of a family.¹ Mr. F. H. Parrott of Aylesbury has bred this species freely in captivity, and before the young were born the female was observed more than once to eat her fellow captives. He found a winter nest containing a pair. Having removed a newly born litter from a female in captivity, Mr. Parrott substituted the wild-caught young of the grass mouse (*Microtus agrestis*), which she took kindly to, and reared.

[Yellow-necked Mouse. *Mus flavicollis*, Melchior.

Years ago I remember to have been struck with the large size and bright pelage of some long-tailed field mice, procured at different times either in part or wholly in our garden at Great Marlow. These were I now suppose of this species (?), first recorded as British by Mr. W. E. de Winton in the *Zoologist* for 1894, p. 441. One remarkably large and highly coloured specimen I recollect skinning (about 1880), and giving away to serve as a doll's antimacassar, mounted on cloth. Certainly however, I have met with no example of this conjectured species since the publication of Mr. de Winton's paper, either in Bucks or elsewhere.]

24. House Mouse. *Mus musculus*, Linn.

It was perfectly astonishing how many mice blind of one eye, and in a good many

¹ *Zoologist*, 1884, p. 226.

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cases totally blind, were captured through a succession of years about our house and grounds at Great Marlow. The greater number and the first of these blind mice were caught in the stable, which induces me to mention that an Icelandic pony of mine went blind, and to wonder whether the form of ophthalmia from which he suffered can have been contagious, and communicated itself to some of the mice, among whom it spread and continued rife for a good many years, though no horse or other domestic animal took it. I am however uncertain as to the year in which I first noticed these blind mice, and whether therefore it coincided with the going blind of the pony. A 'singing mouse' (always caused, I believe, by lung disease) was given me on 12 October 1889, by Mr. F. Rowe, jun., of Great Marlow, captured in his father's house if I remember right, at any rate locally. The 'singing,' which was very strong at first, gradually lost its fullness, and in the afternoon of 6 December the mouse died suddenly in a fit. In ten pregnant mice, obtained at various places in the south of the county, and all between January and May, but in different years, I found nine, seven (twice), six (four times), five, four and two fetuses, or an average litter of nearly six. One occasionally meets with examples abnormally dark, and occasionally one slightly lighter than usual, but I have never met with a really black or a white specimen in a wild state. Mrs. Raikes of Chandos Villa, Buckingham, informs me (in a letter, 9 May 1903) that she has seen in that neighbourhood 'some of a cream colour.'

[Black Rat. *Mus rattus*, Linn.

I never heard of a black rat in Bucks, and it is probably a good many years since the last straggler in the county made way for the brown species. I have kept a few examples of the black rat in captivity, obtained elsewhere.]

25. Brown Rat. *Mus decumanus*, Pallas.

A plague in Bucks as everywhere else. I have no doubt that brown rats are far more numerous now than when I first made acquaintance with the species, as is only to be expected considering how prolific they are, and that man continues to exercise all his ingenuity and energy to encourage them by destroying all their natural enemies. It does not seem to be generally known that the adult buck rats live by themselves, and when one is captured in a mixed company it is only because he chanced to be at the moment visiting his harem. I knew several

holes at Marlow which (when in use) would contain a single old buck, and no amount of ferreting or trapping could produce a second inhabitant. In perhaps a fortnight's time, after having forcibly removed the occupant, the hole would be again used, and again proved to hold a single male rat, and so on, year after year. These buck habitations are much shorter and less complicated than the buries occupied by the does and young, which are frequently very extensive. Another point not, I think, generally known is that if several live rats are put together in a cage (the more the merrier) they settle quietly down after a very few minutes, and any one may put his hand in and pull the rats about without their attempting to bite. One day a friend sent me (at Marlow) about a score of live rats in a sack, which had just been caught while thrashing. I emptied the sack into a cage trap, and walked off with my prize, but the weight of so many rats was too much for the springs of the door, and it opened, letting them all escape in a moment. My dog killed one before I could stop him, but I recovered all the others alive single-handed. On one occasion a steel-trap which I had set over night in our house at Great Marlow was sprung, but contained only the severed foot of the rat. Two or three days afterwards, while looking for young sparrows among creepers on trellis-work on the house, I saw the large eye of something in a nest, and before I had time to get my hand there out jumped a large rat, which my dog stopped directly it reached the ground, and I found this was the owner of the severed foot, which in this freshly maimed condition had taken up its abode where it had to climb about 11 feet up and down each time. In March 1893, at Great Marlow, one pregnant doe rat contained six fetuses; two each contained seven, one contained eight, and one eleven; quite a small doe at Poynetts (Hambleton), May 1903, contained twelve, or an average of eight and a half young in a litter. I snared a buck rat which weighed 1lb., which is the heaviest weight I have personally proved, but I have handled many examples considerably larger and no doubt heavier. When brown rats are swimming in shallow water it is possible to pin them with the bifid end of a punt pole; and one can harpoon them with a boat-hook in any situation. Some years ago when on the river with two cousins (girls), I caught sight of a rat swimming in mid-river. Getting to the bow of the boat, and directing my cousins how to row, we presently, in spite of his many doublings and of the awkward trim of

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the boat, rowed the rat fairly down, and I captured him by hand in mid-stream after one of the most sporting little hunts imaginable. Very good fun may be had in the early summer where there are wide ditches or brooks infested by rats by ferreting them out of their holes into the water, and running after them as they swim away, armed with a long-handled punt landing-net, and scooping them up.

26. Water Vole. *Microtus amphibius*, Linn.

Bell—*Arvicola amphibius*.

Commonly known as the water rat. Abundant in the Thames and its tributaries, as well as the other streams of the county. It is much more at home in the water than the brown rat, and it is far harder to 'pin' one in shallow water with a punt-pole or boat-hook, or to scoop one up in a landing-net as described under the brown rat. A peculiarity about the water vole when so captured and put into a cage is that each one in turn stands on the defensive (like the Norwegian lemming), and fierce battles result, totally at variance with the normal conduct of brown rats under the same circumstances. The latter take matters wonderfully submissively unless by accident one is caged that has received some slight hurt, when for a few minutes it falls foul of all and sundry whom it may encounter. Water voles are mischievous to some classes of vegetation; at Great Marlow we had several magnolias killed at different times by the stems being gnawed by them; and to embankments, such as artificially-made sides of ponds or canals, by their burrowing allowing the water to escape. They are however distinctly an ornament on any piece of water, and afford a pretty sight when swimming, or sitting on a water-lily leaf or little accumulation of floating vegetable *flotsam* and *jetsam*, while they busily gnaw away at some edible find.

For breeding, water rats to a great extent leave the big river in favour of its backwaters and tributary ditches and small streams. Pairing takes place in the water. I have a note of this taking place on 23 April. The male remains, I believe, with his mate, and assists to take care of the young. During June young voles may be seen very commonly making little excursions in the ditch or other stream in the banks of which they were born. The skin of the water vole is extremely pretty. I have a large antimacassar, or small rug, made of picked skins, all killed during December or January, early in the 'seventies,' and still in good preservation. Only one or two persons out of some dozens to whom I have shown the rug have guessed the source.

27. Field Vole. *Microtus agrestis*, Linn.

Bell—*Arvicola agrestis*.

Commonly known as grass mouse. Not nearly so abundant as the bank vole, though five and twenty years ago, or even a good deal later, I should have confidently asserted the contrary. They seem more apt to frequent the neighbourhood of human habitations than the bank vole. On 1 July 1884 I was brought a white—but not albino—specimen alive, which had been captured the previous day in a hay field close on the Great Marlow side of Razzler Wood (Harleyford). A male example allowed itself to be captured by hand in one of my fields on 28 September, owing no doubt to the fact that it was infested with numerous ticks. Mr. F. H. Parrott has reared the young of this species in captivity, under a long-tailed field mouse.

28. Bank Vole. *Evotomys glareolus*, Schreber.

Bell—*Arvicola glareolus*.

Very abundant, and probably much on the increase, the number of its natural enemies (the *Mustelidæ* and raptorial birds, and in lesser degree magpies, jays, etc.) being continually and rapidly on the decrease. The plentiful beech-mast crop of 1900 brought millions of this species and the long-tailed field mouse to the woods in this neighbourhood, whence of course they spread to the neighbouring fields and homesteads. From that autumn until well into the following summer, when walking through a wood after sunset, it would prove positively alive with swarms composed of these two species; a rustle of dead leaves, or sometimes the mouse itself, catching one's ear or eye every half dozen yards or so. The first two or three of many which I have kept in captivity died within a short time, and I was jumping to the conclusion that they were difficult to keep under artificial conditions, until I discovered that from my ignorantly supposing that they required soft food, their incisors had overgrown, and the poor little voles had starved. A regular supply of nuts, maize and other hard food entirely put an end to the high death-rate.

29. Common Hare. *Lepus europæus*, Pallas.

Bell—*Lepus timidus*.

Thanks to the Ground Game Act, hares have now very little chance of maintaining a footing except in favoured places where a landowner keeps a fairly large acreage in his own hands. Here hares may still be preserved and a considerable number accounted for; and these oases of comparative security

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are of the greatest use to less favoured localities.

Hares do not average so large in Bucks (or in the south of the county at all events) as in some other parts of the country—the Berkshire downs for instance. Few leverets are born between August and Christmas, though a doe hare in my possession at the time of writing was picked up by me when a field of wheat was being cut here on 8 September, which was at that date so small that she could sit easily on my hand, and had to be fed for some time on milk with a teaspoon. In January many leverets make their appearance; e.g. a doe shot here on the 17th of that month contained a single foetus within two or three days of birth, and in most years those does that are not already in young take the jack during the month with probably very few exceptions. On 7 May, in a meadow near here, I saw eight hares in company going through a most interesting and diverting performance closely resembling a 'musical ride' by troopers at a military tournament. Probably seven of these were jacks, all courting a single doe. The individual already mentioned is the only specimen of this species that I have kept in captivity; she was a most engaging and delightful animal as a pet while small, but as she grew she seemed to adopt 'Excelsior' as her motto, and rode her hobby to an extent I could not endure for long. When let out of her box in the room, after she had grown to about a third of her full size, she would constantly sit and gaze upwards to the tops of all the higher pieces of furniture, and with considerable ingenuity in taking advantage of any projections, she quickly achieved the ascent of one piece after another, and I was speedily obliged for the sake of the various ornaments and knick-knacks, independently of the ink-stand, to banish the amusing and playful little sinner to an out-door cage. Whether this habit was an idiosyncrasy of this particular individual or whether Cowper and the other hare fanciers had no ink-stand or breakable ornaments, I do not know. Certainly however to any one who lives without these amenities, I can recommend a hare as the most charming pet possible. She found by experiment that one particular door (of four) of a large bird-skin cabinet was specially resonant, and she delighted to drum on it with her fore feet for long and frequent spells. For an interesting and amusing account of a tame hare, I would recommend any one interested to read a paper by Mr. R. Deane, F.L.S., in the *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society*, xxvii. pt. ii. 1894-5. I venture to offer a

suggestion as to the preparation of hares for the table. Contrary to the accepted custom, draw as soon as possible after death, including in this removal the liver, which allows the blood to run. Then hang the hare by the chin instead of the hind legs, which promotes the drainage of the blood, and the result is something distantly approaching the highly esteemed 'hunted hare.'

[Mountain or Blue Hare. *Lepus timidus*, Linn.

The blue hare has never existed as an indigenous animal so far to the south as Bucks; at any rate within historic times.]

30. Rabbit. *Lepus cuniculus*, Linn.

Bucks contains no great rabbit-warren or preserve on so large a scale as some other counties, but rabbits are nevertheless ubiquitous and very common; and in some parks and other places the ground is literally honey-combed by them. Rabbits, like probably every kind of herbivorous animal, vary in size according to the locality they come from; the chemical properties of the soil producing varying degrees of nutriment in the herbage of which their food consists. All about the parish of Great Marlow in which I lived until recently, rabbits were small. Tame rabbits breed during the greater part of the year, but cease to do so during the winter months; but with the wild rabbit the case appears to be different. When shooting in September one constantly sees little rabbits which have but lately emerged from the nest, but few does at that time contain foetuses; later in the season however, during December and especially January (in most years) almost every doe rabbit is heavy in young. Five seems to be the most usual number for a litter, then four; and nine is the largest number I have met with. Tame rabbits produce of course much larger litters. The intestines of rabbits are largely infested with tape-worms; and besides these, scolices of a different species are almost invariably present on the rectum, and generally on the mesentery as well. These are rounded gelatinous bodies, rather smaller than a dried pea. Sometimes they are present in clusters to the number of thirty or even more, while it is exceptional to find an adult rabbit that does not harbour at least two or three. Rabbits frequently also harbour small flukes (*Distoma*). In the autumn they are sometimes half covered by harvest-bugs.

Mrs. Raikes of Chandos Villa, Buckingham, informs me (in litt. 9 May 1903) that there are in that neighbourhood (apparently

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in the park at Stowe) wild rabbits of various colours, viz. white, black, silver-gray, spotted and brown in plenty. No doubt these must be the descendants of tame rabbits introduced for the sake of variety.

Mr. W. Uthwatt writes :

I have seen a stoat after a young rabbit, and the old one come out and kick the stoat over with its hind foot, and the stoat run away. They all seem to go in one run when going out to feed, and all migrate in a body when there is insufficient food, or the place has been disturbed.

UNGULATA

Deer only exist in Bucks at the present time in some seven parks. Of these parks five contain—

31. Red Deer. *Cervus elaphus*, Linn.

Ashridge Park (Earl Brownlow).—the larger half of which is in Herts—is the only one where the species can be considered as likely to be indigenous, or enclosed while wild red deer still roamed the county, it having been enclosed at any rate since 1286. 'The close of the Park' of the manor of Ashridge (then about 1,300 acres) was given in that year by the Earl of Cornwall to the Rector and Fraternity of Bonhommes; and a confirmation of this charter was granted by Edward I. two years later.¹ 'The Park, about five miles in circumference, . . . was anciently in two divisions, one of them stocked with fallow deer and the other with red deer.'² Lipscomb states that the park contains about 1,500 acres, of which 385 are in Pitstone parish, 258 in Ivinghoe and the remaining larger half in Hertfordshire; but Mr. Whitaker³ gives the total acreage at the present time as 1,100, and the number of red deer as 100.

Fawley Court Park.—Within two miles of Henley, a portion of the park being in Oxfordshire. The park was formed afresh and stocked with deer by Mr. W. D. Mackenzie and the owner (whom I have to thank for the following information), about 1881, and in June 1901 contained eighty to ninety red deer. It consists of about 250 acres. The red deer here are full grown at about seven years old, and improve up to twelve years, after which they go back. Duration of life believed to be about twenty years. A stag which had a splendid head of fourteen points for two years was shot the succeeding year (about 1886), and had then

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. and Antiq. of Bucks*, iii. 432, 433. He is a little mixed in his account. Richard Earl of Cornwall died in 1272 and he was brother and not son of Henry III. (and consequently a younger son of King John). It was Richard's son Edmund who founded the house of Ashridge in 1283 (see Kennett's *Paroch. Antiq.* (ed. 2, 1818), i. 423 et seq.

² *Ibid.* 447.

³ *Deer Parks and Paddocks of England* (1892).

a poor head of ten points. He was an old animal, and the grazing was very short that year. The master stag was once killed during the rutting season by the two next best stags; he had something like seventy wounds on him. One Easter Sunday (about 1897) a fine stag was found by the keeper with his horns right through the master stag, who had just shed his horns; they were both dying when found. The younger stag was believed to have harboured a grudge against the master stag since the rutting season in the previous October. The chief rutting season here is early in October; calves are born in April and May. The horns of the older stags are shed early in April, but the last horns of the younger animals are not shed until the middle of May. Number of points, ten to twelve when five years old, and then run up as high as eighteen points. In hard weather the deer are given a few locust beans and acorns, a little hay, and ash-poles to bark. A deer park existed here at the breaking out of the Civil War, but the park pales were broken down and the deer destroyed by Prince Rupert's troops. In *Memorials of the English Affairs*,⁴ it is stated that in 1642

'Prince Rupert ranged abroad with great Parties, who committed strange Insolences, and Violences, upon the Country. . . . They broke down my Park Pales, killed most of my Deer, though Rascal and Carrion, and let out all the rest, only a tame young Stag, they carried away and presented to Prince Rupert, and my Hounds which were extraordinary good.'

The allusion to a 'young stag' shows that there were red deer here at that date. Fawley Park is mentioned in *Memoirs of the Verney Family*.⁵ 'In the spring of 1660 "Cousin Winwood" is negotiating for Sir Ralph the purchase of "my Lord Whitlocke's deere," which has also to be discreetly managed, for "if it be knowne at Henley that the deere are sould, my Lord being now under a little cloud, they will endeavour to share with his Lordshipp, therefore the sooner & the privater

⁴ By 'Mr. [Bulstrode] Whitelock,' 'A New Edition,' fol. London, 1732, pp. 64, 65. (Not in the original edition.)

⁵ Vol. iii. p. 411.

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the business be down the better." The portion of the park between the Court and the Marlow Road (formerly called Fawley Lane) is still called 'The Lawn,' as Mr. Mackenzie informs me, a term used of parts of deer parks.

Langley Park.—Red deer were introduced into the old-established deer park about the sixties or early seventies by the late Sir Robert Bateson Harvey, bart., father of Sir Robert G. Harvey the present owner, whom I have to thank for information. They were purchased by him at Whittlebury (just over the borders of the county in Northamptonshire, adjoining Lillingstone Lovell), when that property was sold at the death of Lord Southampton. Twenty-five animals were brought here, and another twenty-five were purchased by the late Mr. Coleman, then owner of Stoke Park, and introduced there. The late Sir Robert Harvey also bought (elsewhere) some white red deer, of the same strain as those at Windsor and Welbeck, which are believed to have originally come to England from a royal park in Denmark. In 1887 the present Sir Robert Harvey killed off all the normally-coloured red deer, leaving only the white specimens. Hinds still occasionally throw red calves, but they never now throw one of intermediate colour. At the present time they number about seventy, and all are white. The best white stag once had twenty-three points. Sir Robert Harvey has recently considerably reduced the herds in the park. There are also fallow deer, about forty Japanese deer, which came from Sir Victor Brooke's park, Colebrook (where they were introduced by him and Lord Powerscourt from Japan); and a flock of (so-called) St. Kilda four-horned black sheep. The ground accessible to the deer comprises 383 acres.

Stoke Park, Stoke Poges.—Mr. W. Bryant, the owner, kindly informs me that the park contains about 100 red deer and comprises 500 acres. Sir Robert Harvey has kindly informed me that though this has been a deer park from time immemorial, red deer were added only some forty years ago by Mr. Coleman, the then owner, being obtained from Whittlebury in Northants. Shirley¹ states that Sir John de Molins obtained licence from Edward III. to empark his woods here² in 1337, having in 1331 obtained permission to embattle his houses here and at Ditton.

Stowe Park.—The manor belonged to Oseney Abbey until the dissolution of monasteries,

¹ *Account of English Deer-Parks* (1867).

² Lipscomb however (iv. 545 and i. 288) states that it was his woods in Ilmer that Sir John then obtained licence to empark, with 100 acres in Beaconsfield, Burnham and Cippenham.

and no deer seem to have been kept here until about 1651, when, according to Browne Willis,³ Sir Peter Temple 'enclosed a Park on the disparking of Wicken Park, Co. Northampton, by the Lord Spencer, the Deer of which he bought.' Whitaker gives the number of red deer as twenty.

32. Fallow Deer. *Cervus dama*, Linn.

Probably not indigenous to Great Britain; and only occurring in Bucks in seven parks.

Asbridge.—In addition to red deer, Mr. Whitaker stated the number of fallow deer (1892) as 300.

Biddlesden Park.—The fallow deer, according to Whitaker (1892) numbered 160. He states that this is the ancient deer park of the Cistercian Abbey which existed here, dating from 1120.⁴ Extent about 150 acres.

Fawley Court Park.—In addition to red deer, forty to fifty Japanese deer and three Axis deer, contains about sixty to eighty fallow deer. The species was introduced by Mr. Mackenzie about 1881. The fallow deer here include both the brown and the spotted varieties.

Langley Park.—In addition to red deer, about forty Japanese deer,⁵ and a flock of so-called S. Kilda four-horned black sheep, contains at the present time about forty fallow deer, the number having been recently reduced. Whitaker (in 1892) gives the number of fallow deer as about eighty. On visiting this park, by kind permission of Sir Robert Harvey, in April 1903, I saw five of this species quite white, and three or four others very light coloured. This was a royal park until sold by Charles I. to Sir John Kederminster in 1626. This park is mentioned in a deed quoted by Lipscomb dated 1523; and 'the bucks and does therein,' i.e. fallow deer, are mentioned in 1551, when Edward VI. gave this manor and park to his sister the princess Elizabeth. In an MS. in the British Museum written by J. Norden, Surveyor of the Woods to James I.,⁶ this park is alluded to as 'Langley Parke, . . . whereof M. Edmond Kederminster is keper, hath about 140 fallow deere, about 35 of antler, about 14 buckes.' 'Deer of antler' would mean the young males, the 'buckes' being only those of four years and upwards.

³ *Hist. and Antiq. of the Town, Hundred and Deanery of Buckingham*, p. 276.

⁴ 1147 is the date of the foundation according to Lysons's and Lipscomb's County Histories.

⁵ The Japanese deer came from Sir Victor Brooke's park, Colebrook, where they were introduced by him and Lord Powerscourt from Japan.

⁶ Lipscomb, iv. 533 (footnote).

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Stoke Park.—In addition to red deer, Mr. W. Bryant, the owner, kindly informs me that there are at present about 100 fallow deer here. Whitaker (1892) stated the number at about 200.

Stowe Park.—In addition to red deer, it is stated by Whitaker (1892) to contain about eighty-six fallow deer. Lipscomb's plate of this house shows deer in the park.

Whaddon Hall.—Up to 1840, deer, apparently red as well as fallow, existed in a wild state in Whaddon Chase, some 2,200 acres; but now the chase is enclosed and in great part cultivated, and the deer destroyed. Only some fifty head of fallow deer remain in the park. Evidence of the existence of the Chase and of the 'venison' contained therein, as early as the reign of William Rufus is furnished by Lipscomb.¹

Besides the above mentioned deer parks, deer were formerly living at the following places, and I do not suppose this list is a complete one.

Bernwood Forest.—Originally the western portion of the great Chiltern Forest. It doubtless contained red deer as well as fallow, though only the latter are actually mentioned in inquisitions recorded in the chartulary of Boarstall, where in 1363 and 1364 three persons were severally accused that each 'interfecit unam damam.'² Bernwood was disforested in the reign of James I., though very likely fallow deer at any rate remained later at Boarstall, where another estate called 'The New Park' is mentioned in 1654.³

Bulstrode Park.—In Hedgerley parish, containing about 800 acres, is mentioned by Lipscomb as 'stocked with a great number of deer,' and is included in Shirley's *English Deer Parks*, published in 1867. A print in my collection, labelled 'Bulstrode, Buckinghamshire,' engraved by Walker from an original drawing by Corbould, published 1794, shows numerous deer in the park; three in the foreground are drawn with unmistakable red deer horns, though of course this evidence as to species is quite untrustworthy. In a paper in the *Records of Bucks*, v. 330, the late Rev. Bryant Burgess stated that the last Duke of Portland who lived here, apparently meaning the third duke, as the fourth duke sold the property in his lifetime in 1814, directed in his

¹ iii. 491, quoting Cooke's MSS., and there are other references to the deer at later dates, pp. 496, 497. The deer here are also referred to in *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, i. 75, 237.

² Kennett (2nd edition), ii. 139 et seq.

³ Lipscomb, i. 76.

will that the fine herd of deer in the park should be killed and buried. The executors faithfully carried out this direction, but the venison was dug up again before it had become high. If this story is true deer may have been subsequently reintroduced.

Claydon House.—In the third volume of *Memoirs of the Verney Family* are quoted several attempts of Sir Ralph Verney to purchase deer for the park at Claydon. In 1657 we are told that 'Sir Ralph's next project was to have a deer-park.' Apparently the idea was put into his head by acting as agent or ambassador for his cousin, Richard Winwood of Quainton. On 28 December of that year (?) (misprinted 1688), Sir Ralph induced his uncle, Doctor Denton, to accompany him to the Fleet prison, to bargain with Lord Monson, an Irish peer, one of the regicides, for his herd of deer at Grafton Regis Park, just over the Northants border west of Hanslope, which 'Cousin Winwood' was anxious to buy, 'where' (as Sir Ralph wrote next day):—

at first my Lord, having almost forgot my Uncle, seemed somewhat shy, and carelesse of parting with his Deere, but as soon as hee caled him to minde, confessed clearly they cost him money, and yeilded him neither profit, nor pleasure, and was very inquisitive what his Friend would give (for you were never named), and at last told him, hee knew not what to aske, but intrated him . . . to get as much as hee could for a Poore Prisoner.

The negotiations begun with Lord Monson in the Fleet prison for the purchase of deer stretched over a considerable time. Doll Smith (Dorothy Hobart, who married W. Smith of Akeley, afterwards Sir William) wrote (27 October 1657) of some deer offered to her husband from Lord Gray's park (apparently in Herts, somewhere near St. Albans):—

. . . but non but dows, & fawnes, and prickets & prickets sisters . . . twenty shillins a peece for all thees, one with another, & that he must be tyed to take twenty brace of them for else they will not bestow the making of a cops to take them.

About the same time Thomas Stafford was procuring deer for Sir Ralph from Mr. Dodesworth of Harrold Park in Beds, about five miles north-east of Olney.

In June 1658 (?), after an infinite amount of negotiation, Lord Monson was ready to accept an offer for his deer at Grafton Park; Sir Ralph intended to buy them all and then to divide them with 'Cousin Winwood.' On 1 January 1659 the latter wrote:—

Because you desire to know what price I can

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be contented to give, I doe as in all cases of purchase, ground my selfe upon the markt, which is twentie shillings for every Deere above a Fawne . . . the purchaser being att all the charges of taking and bringing away, & thirtie shillings a piece to have them delivered to me att Quainton. I shall expect the full indevor of the Keepers to holpe me in the taking of them, and to paie my money when I receive them.

Further on we read of two of the deer at Claydon getting drowned and of others sickening in the winter, and of the steward's distress thereat. In the spring of 1660 'Cousin Winwood' was negotiating for Sir Ralph Verney the purchase of the deer from Fawley Court as above mentioned. The deer are again referred to in 1665 and 1681.

Ditton Park.—Ditton Park is about three miles from Stoke Park; and in a description of Windsor Forest and its Liberties, by Norden,¹ Surveyor of Woods to James I., it is stated that 'Ditton Parke hath about 220 deere, about 50 of antler, and 20 buckes,' and contained 'about 195 akers good ground.' Deer 'of antler' would mean the young males, the 'buckes' being those of four years and upwards.

Doddersball House, in Quainton parish.—The deer park here was converted into arable and meadow on the death of the Dowager Countess Say and Sele, whose second husband (of three) was John Pigott, Esq., in 1789.

Hartwell House.—A print in my collection is labelled 'Hartwell House Buckinghamshire,' engraved by S. Middiman from an original drawing by Metz, published 1793. Five deer are shown close to the front of the house; black spots on some seem to indicate fallow deer, but the horns are too small and conventionally drawn to afford any indication of species.

Quainton Park.—Has been mentioned under the heading of Claydon Park. The Winwoods' house was partly demolished, and the remainder converted into a farm, at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Salcey Forest.—Chiefly in Northamptonshire, but as a small portion is in Hanslope parish it must be mentioned as a former habitat of deer in Bucks. It has been disforested within living memory, and I have seen small fallow deer horns from animals formerly inhabiting it.

Thornton Hall.—In *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, ii. 160, Lady Sussex, writing in July 1643, says:

Sr edwarde terell was a little fearfull; prince

robort [= Rupert] hade bene hontinge att his parke [i.e. Thornton], . . . ; he kailde fife buckes, shote them and his doge boy poullde them down, he hide not ride att all.

Turville Park.—Fallow deer were perhaps introduced when the present house was built by William Perry, shortly after 1735. They were got rid of probably between 1858 and 1863, during which period there were several changes in the ownership of the property. Mrs. Stafford O'Brien Hoare informs me that an old farmer named Pitcher, of Ibstone, who died two or three years ago, told her that he had helped to drive the deer from here to Stonor Park in Oxon, only about three-quarters of a mile distant. A track from one park to the other was temporarily prepared and fenced. Langley mentions this as a deer park.

West Wycombe Park.—Sir Robert J. Dashwood, Bart., the owner, kindly showed me a 'Survey made by John Richardson, 1767, of the Manor of West Wycombe, then belonging to Sir Francis Dashwood, afterwards Baron Le Despencer,' in which several deer are figured in the park, and a man out of all proportion in size, is shooting at one at extremely short range. An oil painting of a view of the house now in one of the bedrooms, shows deer in the park. The dress of a lady in the picture seems to mark the date at about 1790. Without much doubt the deer were fallow, but Sir Robert knows nothing as to the date of their introduction or removal. Langley observes that 'though the wood has not yet acquired the venerable appearance of a more ancient deer-park, yet it is making considerable advances,' etc. Langley's work was published in 1797, and it would seem therefore that deer were only here for a comparatively short time.

[The Roe Deer. *Capreolus capreolus*.

Bell—*Capreolus caprea*.

The roe has long been exterminated from this county, and its remains are scarce. We obtained several bones in the pile village at Hedsor of Romano-British date, and there are two or three unlabelled horns in the Museum at Aylesbury, probably from the latter neighbourhood, and of uncertain date, but apparently ancient.]

[Wild Cattle.

Wild Cattle or some kind inhabited the Chiltern forests in late Saxon and early Norman times,² but there is no record of a

¹ MS. in Brit. Mus. quoted by Lipscomb, iv. 570.

² Storer, *The White Wild Cattle of Great Britain*, p. 74.

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park herd of white cattle in the county, the nearest known being at Ewelme in Oxon, about five miles from the Bucks border or less, as I believe the park was two miles nearer the border than the village is. The cattle there are alluded to in 1536 and down

to 1627.¹ Bones of the urus are dredged in some numbers from the bed of the Thames, together with great quantities of red deer bones, a few bison, and other animals.]

¹ Op. cit. p. 98.







REFERENCE

- Paleolithic Implements
- * Miscellaneous Finds, Neolithic implements, coins, &c.
- × Bronze Implements

SCALE 4 MILES TO AN INCH

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8



EARLY MAN

NO account of the story of Buckinghamshire could be considered complete which did not include particulars of the prehistoric antiquities found from time to time within its borders. In these relics we find the only existing traces of periods and peoples that have long since passed away ; and, fragmentary and partial as this species of evidence might at first appear, it is remarkable to find how important and how precise are the conclusions to which it leads.

The prehistoric antiquities of Buckinghamshire cannot, it is true, be accurately described as of first-rate interest in point of numbers or special importance, but it would obviously be unfair to judge of the richness of this or any other county by the number of recorded antiquities found in it. The simple fact is that many of the English counties have been practically neglected as far as their prehistoric remains are concerned, and it is only in quite recent years that scientific methods have been applied to the deciphering and illustrating of some of the most interesting phases of the early history of mankind.

Yet if the prehistoric remains of this county are numerically few, they are characteristic of each of the various periods into which archæologists divide the prehistoric past.

Following the plan already adopted in these volumes, it is proposed to describe and figure the more important of these remains under their respective heads, prefixing to each section a few introductory remarks in order to give to the general reader an intelligible idea of the succession and relation of the stages or phases of human culture.

The main divisions of prehistoric civilization have received the designations : (1) palæolithic age, (2) neolithic age, (3) bronze age, and (4) prehistoric iron age. It is proposed to adhere to this method of division on the present occasion, but it must be confessed that the use of precise terms of this kind is not entirely convenient and is not without its dangers. There is constant need to remember, when using these terms, that they apply, not to definite periods of time, but to stages of culture and progress, usually regular as to succession, but very irregular as to chronology, and, except in the division between the palæolithic and neolithic stages, largely represented by periods of transition and overlapping.

THE PALÆOLITHIC AGE

The materials for the reconstruction of the story of Buckinghamshire in palæolithic times are few and not particularly important. They

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have been noted only in the southern end of the county and have a close relationship to the drift gravels of the Thames valley in which they have been discovered. The fact that at least some specimens have undergone drift-wear, indeed, suggests that, strictly speaking, they neither have now, nor ever had, any connection with the past history of the area we now know as Buckinghamshire, because drift-wear shows that they have travelled a considerable distance down the Thames valley since they were shaped by primitive man. Their place of origin as human tools or weapons may have been Oxfordshire, or even farther off.

In order to obtain a glimpse of Buckinghamshire in those far-off times it is necessary to consider the river-drift deposits of the Thames valley as a whole. This is the more desirable because the palæolithic age is separated from our own times by a long period of time and great physical changes, with the natural result that scarcely anything in the form of archæological relics less hard than stone has survived. Founded on the evidence of the bruised, battered, and worn flint implements, our ideas of the condition of man in palæolithic times are far from extensive and far from satisfactory. Still, as far as they go, they are perhaps more precise than one might imagine who had not studied the subject.

The Thames valley contains a number of beds of drift-gravel among which a large total number of palæolithic tools and weapons have been found. It has already been mentioned that some of these have been much worn and have obviously been transported to considerable distances. Others, particularly those found in sand or brick-earth, show no sign of drift-wear. In other parts of the Thames valley it is clear that the manufacture of palæolithic implements was carried on close by the river-side. Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell found the site of a regular implement factory at Crayford, Kent; Mr. J. Allen Brown found another at Acton, Middlesex; and still another has been found by Mr. W. G. Smith, at Caddington, in Bedfordshire. In all these cases it has been found possible to replace the flakes, as they were struck off by palæolithic man, so as to build up the nodule of flint practically to its original form.

One of the features of the occurrence of palæolithic implements in the Thames valley, and in other valleys, is the comparative abundance of implements, flakes, etc., at one spot and the rarity or entire absence of them at many other parts of the valley. It is possible, or even probable, that the physical forces which are responsible for the presence and arrangement of drift-gravel in a river valley may have had an intimate relation to the diffusion of implements, but it is impossible to avoid the inference that the population of the country in the palæolithic age was sparse, partial, and chiefly confined to the banks or immediate neighbourhood of rivers. In palæolithic times, however, it must be remembered that the River Thames was a very much larger body of water than at present, and adequately filled up its valley.

The actual remains of the palæolithic age found in Buckinghamshire comprise flakes and implements or weapons formed of flint of the usual character and types of river-drift implements. These have been dis-

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covered at Burnham, Great Missenden, Iver, Langley, Marlow, and Taplow.

THE NEOLITHIC AGE

From what has been said as to the termination of the palæolithic age in this country, it will be understood that there can have been no intimate relation between the people of the old stone age and those of the new stone age. By the beginning of the neolithic age the general appearance of the country had assumed practically the same shape, form, and condition it now possesses. Forests and woodlands were more abundant, but the main features of river and valley, moorland and hill, which characterise the England of the present day, had already received their forms.

Of the neolithic age, just as in the case of the palæolithic age, the most numerous and characteristic archæological remains are implements, weapons, etc., formed of stone, usually flint. There is, however, this difference between the two groups: the earlier, or palæolithic work is boldly, broadly, and skilfully chipped, and this by means of a very few blows: the neolithic work, on the other hand, displays, it is true, a greater delicacy and elaboration of form, pointing to a somewhat extensive system of specialization of use, the implements being shaped by less vigorous and more numerous blows. Again, whilst the palæolithic implements never show a trace of shaping by grinding, the neolithic implements frequently do so, particularly in the case of those weapons or implements which approach a chisel- or axe-like form.

The neolithic people evidently belonged to a race entirely different and distinct from the palæolithic; and whilst an attempt has been made by some writers to demonstrate the existence of a transitional period, which they call mesolithic, connecting the palæolithic and neolithic periods, the theory is not generally accepted.

Although the most numerous relics of the neolithic age are stone implements, they are not by any means the only remains. Camps, hut-floors, and possibly roads or trackways still remain in some parts of England to testify to the civilization of the neolithic inhabitants.

At Hitcham, in Buckinghamshire, some circular hut-floors constructed partly below the level of the ground were discovered, and whilst the recorded account¹ seems to suggest that they are of the bronze age, the general form of the floors is strikingly like that of neolithic floors elsewhere. The discovery of bronze-age pottery in and around them may point to a subsequent occupation in the bronze age on the site of neolithic huts.

In the neighbourhood of Hitcham and Taplow numerous neolithic implements, etc., have been discovered. These comprise flint axes, lance-heads, arrow-heads, scrapers, flakes, waste chips, etc. In the neighbourhood of Bledlow, which lies close to the Chiltern Hills, the writer has observed numerous flint flakes and scrapers, lying on the

¹ *Eighth Report of the Maidenhead and Taplow Field Club*, p. 46.

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surface of the ploughed fields ; and, indeed, there is reason to believe that they occur pretty generally throughout the county.

Sir John Evans¹ mentions Pulpit Wood, near Princes Risborough, as a place where neolithic flakes and scrapers are abundant.

Two ground flint celts, or axes, have also been found in Buckinghamshire. One, a specimen made of cherty flint, measuring $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length, the whole surface of which had been smoothed by grinding, was found at Chalvey Grove, Eton Wick, and was exhibited by Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum, F.S.A., at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London,² in 1873. A fragment of another was found in connection with the Hitcham hut-floors already referred to as possibly of the neolithic age. Celts of chipped stone have been discovered at Hambleton and Great Marlow.

If the whole surface of the county were carefully examined it is probable that traces of neolithic man would be discovered in some abundance, and judging by what has been observed in neighbouring counties it would probably be found that the population was mainly distributed along the banks of the rivers and in other fertile situations.

THE BRONZE AGE

The bronze age, which commences with the introduction of metal arms and tools into these islands, synchronizes with the appearance of the Goidels or Gaels, a branch of the great Celtic race, of which many traces remain in this country to the present time.

The substitution of metal for stone gave an immense advantage to the warrior, the hunter, and the husbandman ; and it is certain that the beginning of the age of bronze marks the commencement of an important epoch in human civilization and advancement.

The clearest and most trustworthy information we possess as to the age of bronze in Britain is that which is derived from a careful and comparative study of hoards or secret underground deposits of implements, etc. Many such hoards have been found in England and elsewhere. M. Gabriel de Mortillet has shown that, generally speaking, they are capable of classification in the following way :

1. The treasured property of some individual, who may have buried his bronze possessions during troublous times and never recovered them.

2. The hoard of a trader in bronze, the objects being numerous and generally unused.

3. The hoard of a founder in bronze, the bronze articles consisting of old and broken implements, rough lumps of metal, and also new, unused implements.

Many useful deductions may be drawn from an examination of the contents of hoards of bronze, the following being some of the most obvious :

¹ *Ancient Stone Implements*, 2nd edit. pp. 281, 310.

² *Proceedings*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 13.

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(a) Bronze was a metal so much valued that implements and weapons formed of it were often hidden underground as a security against robbery.

(b) When bronze implements, etc., were worn out, or broken, or spoiled in the casting, the metal was preserved and melted down for fresh castings.

(c) There were men whose special trade or craft it was to cast objects in bronze.

(a) Bronze objects after being cast were kept for some time before being finished off.

(e) Tin is never found separately from copper in bronze hoards, although lumps of practically pure copper are found; from which it may be concluded that tin was perhaps used in a powdered form, and therefore is not easily detected.

The bronze age antiquities of Buckinghamshire comprise a group of implements which must unquestionably be regarded as one of these hoards. At Lodge Hill, Waddesdon, five socketed celts, varying in length from $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and of plain character, were found together in the year 1855. They were lithographed on a plate by Mr. Edward Stone. Probably this was the hoard of a dealer in bronze celts, and from the socketed form of the celts it is evident that the deposit belongs to the middle or latter part of the bronze age.

It is now upwards of half a century since Mr. (now Sir John) Evans exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London a bronze sword found in 1851 in a field in the parish of Hawridge. It is two-edged, pointed, and measures 21 inches in length. The lower part exhibits perforations through which the studs or rivets pass fastening it to its handle. Mr. Evans remarked that "the present specimen differs in no material point from others already known, though the substitution of slots or longitudinal openings for the series of circular rivet-holes is not of frequent occurrence."¹

Some important discoveries of objects belonging to the bronze age were made near Wycombe Marsh in December 1888. Attention was first drawn to the matter by an accident. As a man was guiding his plough one of the horse's feet stepped into a hole, and on examination it was found that this hole was the interior of a large cinerary urn buried in the earth. The site of this discovery was known as Barrow Croft, and it is probable that the urn had once been covered by a sepulchral mound or barrow which had become levelled in the course of many years of cultivation of the soil.

Subsequent investigations of the deposit were superintended by Mr. John Parker, F.S.A., who contributed to the Society of Antiquaries



BRONZE
SWORD
FOUND
AT
HAW-
RIDGE.

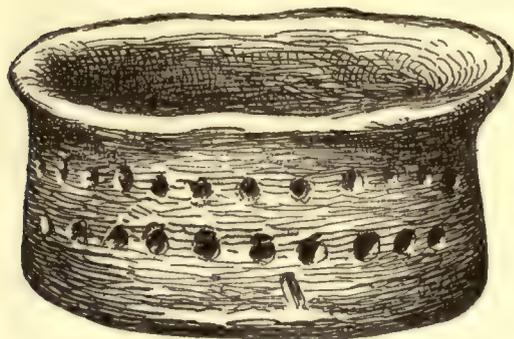
¹ *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries*, 1st series, vol. ii. p. 215.

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of London¹ a valuable account of his observations. The large urn, into which the horse had stepped, was found to be an unusually fine specimen measuring 17 inches in height, and having a broad and pronounced band, or rim, round the upper part. This urn, it was found, had unfortunately been much damaged by the horse; the bottom was broken through, and much of the contents, consisting chiefly of calcined human bones, had been dispersed.

The operation of excavating the larger urn led to the discovery of a smaller urn, turned bottom upwards, resting on the shoulder of the larger specimen. The smaller urn contained powder of whitish colour, among which the following substances were identified: (1) chalk, (2) flints, (3) wood charcoal, (4) spiculæ of bones, (5) white flocculent matter, which dissolved completely in diluted hydrochloric acid, and (6) carbonate of lime.

In the larger urn, which it should be mentioned was in an inverted position, was found a charming example of those little earthen vessels to which the somewhat hypothetical name of incense-cup has been



INCENSE CUP FOUND AT WYCOMBE MARSH.

given. There is a certain character about the ornamentation of this example which gives it a special archæological interest, although it does not, perhaps, contribute anything towards the solution of the purpose which so-called 'incense-cups' served.

The smaller of the two urns measured $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and was regarded by the finder as a miniature cinerary urn rather than

a food vessel or drinking cup. Like the larger urn it has a broad, well pronounced, and flat rim.

The use to which the so-called incense-cups were put is a question which still awaits a satisfactory explanation. The popular name given them is not quite satisfactory, because the openings usually found in the sides would not be suitable for censuring purposes; it is difficult to understand how such vessels could hold incense. Another, possibly more plausible, explanation is that they were vessels used to convey some inflammable substance for the kindling of the funereal fire. The interesting point about the Wycombe Marsh 'incense-cup' is that the holes do not entirely pierce through the sides, leading to the conclusion that they represent a tradition which had become meaningless.

Some other rather interesting pieces of pottery of the bronze age found in Buckinghamshire, and now in the British Museum collection, were found during some explorations of circular hut floors at Hitcham. These consisted of three drinking cups, one of which is decorated by no

¹ *Proceedings*, 2nd series, vol. xii. pp. 338-346; also *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. vi. pp. 259, 260.

EARLY MAN

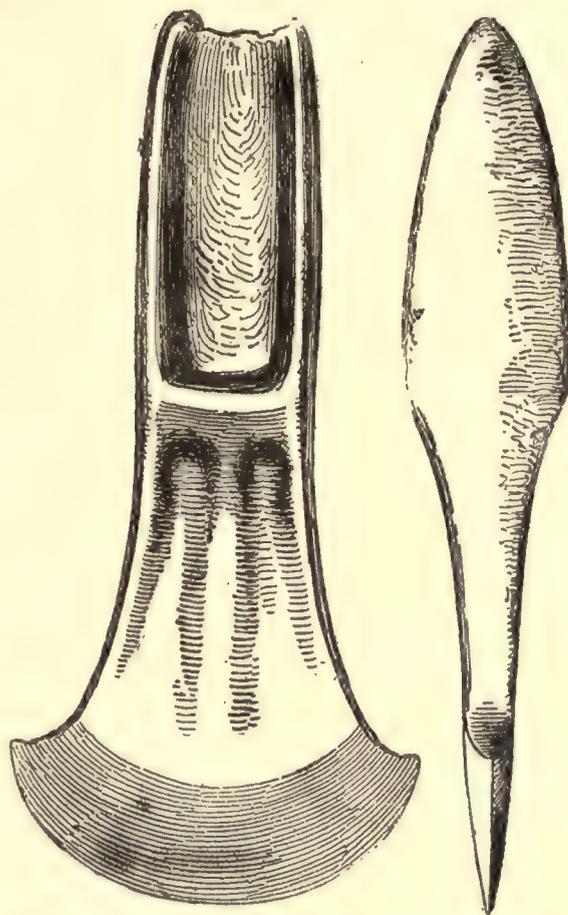
less than twenty-two lines of dotted ornament running horizontally round the outside of the vessel. These hut floors, or 'pit-dwellings' were formed by sinking a floor 3-7 feet and throwing out the earth round the opening which was 14-20 feet in diameter; on the bank thus formed were placed stakes leaning towards the centre and supporting a roof of turf, bracken, or other material. Associated with the 'drinking-cups' were cinerary and other vessels, also fragments of ornamented pottery, bones of domestic animals, and part of a polished stone axe.

A hoard of bronze-age objects was found at New Bradwell in the year 1879. This hoard, which was contained in a deep cist filled with black earth and about 1 foot 6 inches deep, consisted of sixteen objects, namely, 9 socketed celts, 3 broken celts, 1 palstave, 2 spear-heads, and a leaf-shaped sword broken into four pieces. The site of the discovery is now occupied by the County Arms Hotel.

In the British Museum is a bronze palstave,¹ 6 inches long, and not of uncommon type. It has sides and stop ridges, and a raised rib on the blade. It is of interest as having been found in Buckinghamshire, but the exact locality is not known.

Sir John Evans, in his treatise on the *Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain* (page 333), records the discovery in the Thames near Datchet of an 'eyed' spear-head no less than 22 inches long; also of another spear-head (page 330) 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches long in the same locality, and now preserved in the British Museum.

The river-bed near Taplow, which may be considered to be as intimately related to Buckinghamshire as to Berkshire, has furnished some bronze-age weapons, etc., of an unusually interesting character. The British Museum possesses an important collection procured here, and presented in 1898 by Mrs. Ada Benson. The articles include five socketed spear-heads and two broken swords. One of the spear-heads



BRONZE PALSTAVE FOUND IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.
(Now in the British Museum.)

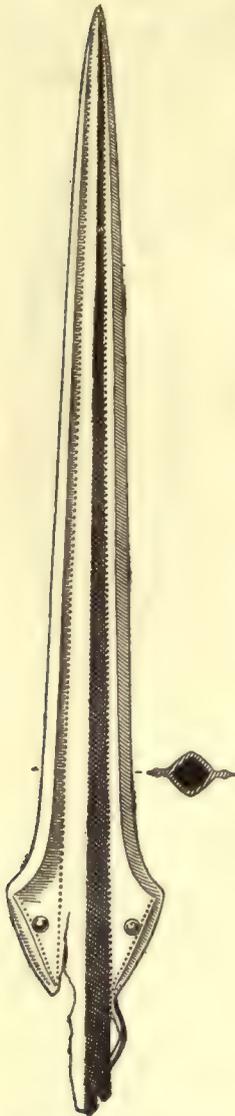
¹ It is inadequately figured in one of the lithographed plates in *Horæ Ferales* (Plate iv. fig. 26 and page 145).

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is particularly well shaped and finished, and bears a kind of ornament produced by slight punctures or dots.

Here, too, was found the very interesting specimen of a bronze sickle¹ now in the British Museum. Unfortunately it is not quite perfect, but it displays considerable care, the blade being well developed, whilst its rigidity and strength are secured by two nearly parallel curved ridges running throughout its existing length.

By far the most important bronze-age object yet found at Taplow, and, indeed, in the county, is a rapier-like socketed spear-head decorated with two studs of gold and by a series of punctured dots which bear an intimate relation to the ornament on the example just described as having been given by Mrs. Ada Benson. This spear-head has been fully described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*² by Mr. Charles H. Read, and we venture to quote from that description :



SPEAR-HEAD FOUND
AT TAPLOW.

As a type of spear-head it is up to the present unique in this country, and even in Ireland the only example figured by Sir John Evans (fig. 400)³ makes no pretensions to the same artistic qualities. This specimen was recently found in a creek near Taplow, at the same spot where some ordinary leaf-shaped spear-heads were discovered some years ago, and presented to the British Museum by Mrs. Benson. The socket of the spear, which is filled with the remains of the wood shaft, has unfortunately been damaged, so that the original length is impossible to ascertain, but the present length is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the blade alone measuring $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length. It has been cast with considerable skill, and the edge of the upper curve has apparently been hammered, as is customary, which both hardens the metal and produces at the same time a keener edge. The lower part of the wings has also been hammered so as to produce a furrow or channel near the edge, and the edge itself is not only beaten up to produce a flange, but is also ornamented with a herring-bone design. On each side of the broad mid-rib is a row of dots which continues on the inner side of the channel within the wings.⁴ On each face of the wings are two gold studs, conical in form and apparently of nearly pure metal. How these are made fast is not quite easy to see, as the studs do not come exactly opposite one another on the two faces, and it would seem as if the hole through which the rivet joining them passes is in a diagonal direction. This feature, i.e., the presence of the gold studs, has not hitherto been found in any spear-head of the bronze age; similar studs, however, occur upon a stone bracer in the British Museum, which was found at Driffield, East Riding, Yorkshire. Below the wings have been originally two loops of triangular section, only one of which now remains.

Apart from the special interest of this spear-head as an unusual and artistic production of the bronze age, it has the additional interest of showing how the socketed spear-head was evolved from the sword-like weapon which has

¹ This is figured in the *Guide to the Bronze Age Antiquities in the British Museum*, p. 80, fig. 67 (1).

² Second series, vol. xix. pp. 287-289.

³ *Ancient Bronze Implements, etc.*

⁴ This kind of dotted ornament is of great interest as being almost identical with that on one of the spear-heads in the group from Taplow already described. Probably both specimens were the work of one man.

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been called, not very happily, a rapier. This weapon has the same form as the blade of the spear-head before us, although usually with a different form of mid-rib, but if the socket be taken away it will be found that in outline it exactly resembles some of the many rapiers figured in Sir John Evans's and other works, and that the two gold studs on either face are the survival of the rivet-heads which fixed the handle to the weapon.

The presence of highly finished metal weapons of this character in the county unquestionably points to a high state of bronze-age culture. The worker in bronze who produced weapons of such high finish and so enriched with ornament had elevated his calling almost to a high art. Indeed, the latter part of the bronze age, to which period the Taplow spear-head may be unhesitatingly referred, was clearly marked by a high standard of civilization. The River Thames was utilized as a navigable stream, and two timber boats which have been found in its vicinity, at Bourne End and Great Marlow respectively, have been assigned to the period of the bronze age. Both boats were constructed, or rather shaped, in the most primitive manner, having been simply hollowed-out tree-trunks. The Bourne End example measured 25 feet 3 inches long and 3 feet 4 inches wide. It was purchased by Mr. A. H. Cocks and sent to the Buckland Collection at South Kensington Museum, now known as the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Great Marlow boat was found in the River Thames in 1871.

As far as one can judge from the distribution of the antiquities of this very interesting period, it seems probable that the bronze-age population of the area we now know as Buckinghamshire was mainly along the banks of the rivers.

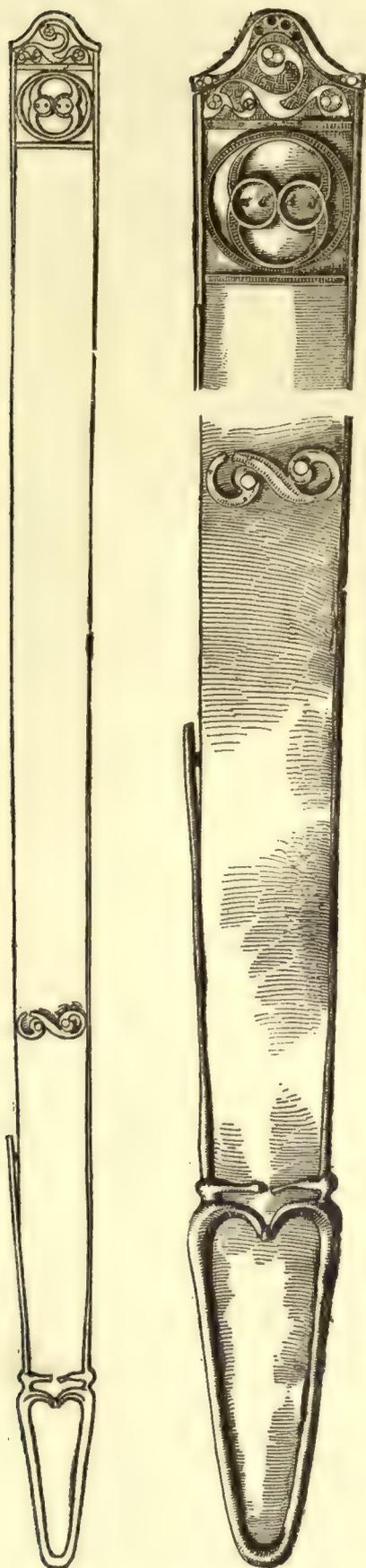
PREHISTORIC AGE OF IRON

The last great change in the condition of prehistoric man anterior to the Roman period is that which commenced with the introduction of the art of working iron, a discovery brought to these shores by the Brythons who, like the Goidelic race, formed a part of the great Celtic family. The bronze age may be called the early Celtic period, whilst the prehistoric iron age may be considered the late Celtic period.

It need hardly be pointed out that the introduction of iron marked a very important advance in culture. Not only did iron provide an excellent material for the manufacture of weapons and tools requiring a hard, keen, and tough edge or point, but the extraction of the metal from the ore and the working and fashioning of it demanded a high degree of skill. The possession of this knowledge and skill, therefore, proclaims a cultured and civilized people.

An important sword and scabbard of late Celtic character, and doubtless of the late Celtic period found at Amerden on the banks of the Thames, one mile south of Taplow, is now preserved in the British Museum, to which institution it was presented by Dr. (afterwards Sir) A. W. Franks in 1893. It was dredged up from the bed of the Thames

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE



SWORD AND SCABBARD FOUND AT
AMERDEN.

in or about the year 1891.¹ The sword, which is almost entirely of iron, is firmly fixed into its bronze sheath by an accumulation of rust. This sheath, upon which a good deal of decoration has been bestowed, is 2 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, varying to $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches towards the point, in breadth. At the point is a kind of elongated heart-shaped compartment answering to the shape of a leather scabbard. Near the middle of the lower half of the sheath is a rather pretty little applied ornament resembling in shape a reversed letter S. The chief efforts at decoration, however, have been expended upon the upper end, which has a kind of rounded angular, or ball-shaped termination reminding one very forcibly of the sword sheaths of La Tène. Fitting closely into this end of the scabbard is the bronze guard of the sword perforated for the tang of the sword. The rounded triangular space and a square panel below it are filled with ornament, the form and character of which are not easily described, but will be best seen from the accompanying illustrations.

A good example of the survival of bronze after the introduction of iron is furnished by a fine bronze torque, five inches in diameter, found in a bed of solid clay at a depth of five feet below the surface of the ground, and by the side of a rivulet not a mile from the town of Winslow. The torque was exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 21 November 1793, at which time it was in the possession of Mr. Grove, of Whitchurch. It was figured in *Archæologia*,² where it is described as a 'fibula of copper.' The ends were dilated and turned back so as to form a species of hooks or fastenings, giving a general appearance which enables one to place it without doubt within the late Celtic period.

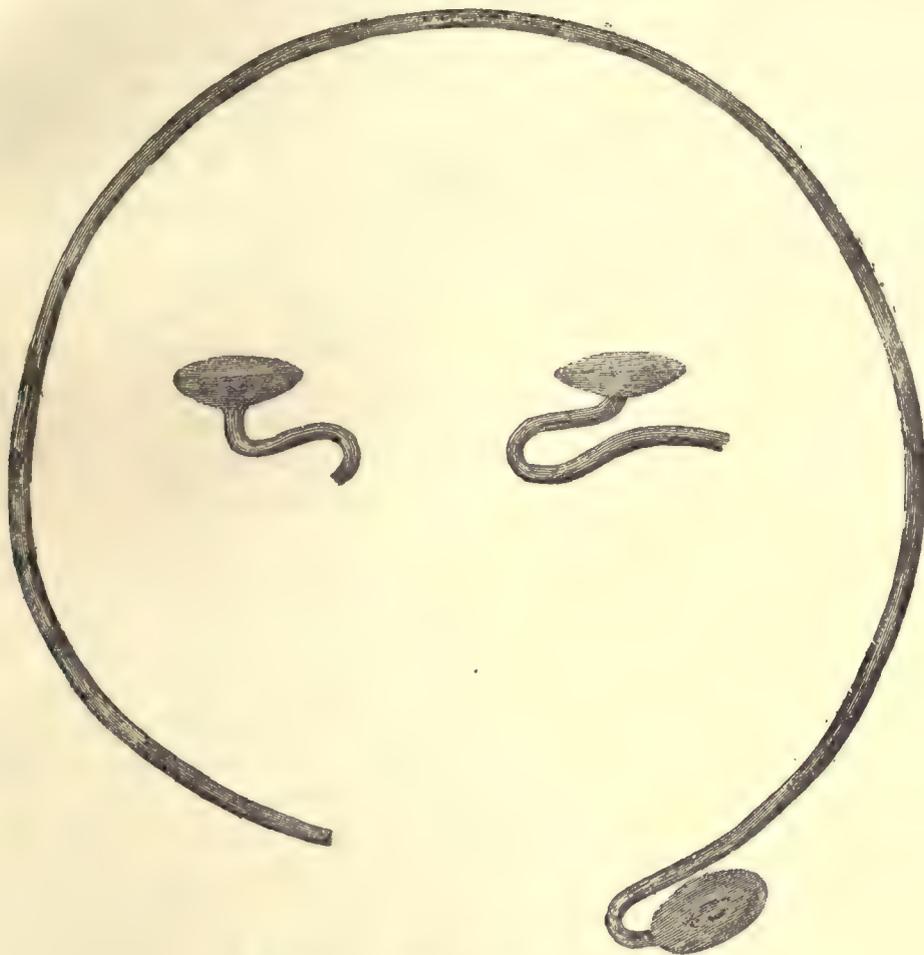
¹ A very brief account of the discovery of this important object was printed in the *Eighth Annual Report of the Maidenhead and Taplow Field Club* (1892), p. 47.

² Vol. xi. p. 429, and Plate xix. fig. 3.

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Another interesting trace of late Celtic art in Buckinghamshire is furnished by some pottery found at Aston Clinton, and now in the museum at Aylesbury. Dr. Arthur J. Evans¹ refers to this pottery as being of the same general character as that found at Aylesford, Kent, and tapering off to a pedestal below.

In the remarkable bronze fibula found at Datchet Old Ford we have another example of the wonderful and versatile ingenuity of the late Celtic people. It is almost four inches in length, and may be described as of cruciform plan and of a bow-like general form. The sharp end of the pin is protected in a similar way to the modern safety-



BRONZE TORQUE FOUND AT WINSLOW.

pin. It is ornamented with seven beads of amber and two of blue coloured glass, all of a somewhat flattened globular form. It must have formed an effective and useful ornament. It may be considered to be of the late Celtic period, although it is of rather unusual character.

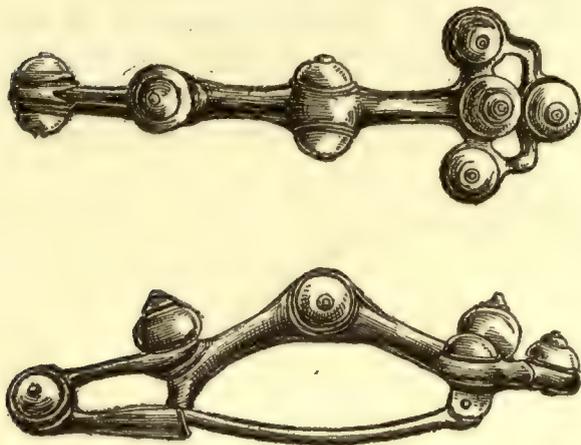
The brooch was found by a dredger in the River Thames, and exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London,² 24 May 1894.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. lii. p. 354.

² *Proceedings*, vol. xv. p. 191.

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About the year 1827 two silver bracelets or armlets, exhibiting certain features of late Celtic character, were found by a farmer at Burtles Hill, in the parish of Castle Thorpe.¹ A small black earthen pot, in which they had been deposited, was struck and broken by the coulter of a plough. It was then discovered that numerous coins had been



BRONZE FIBULA FOUND AT DATCHET OLD FORD.

contained in the pot. No less than twenty silver coins and thirty-five large brass coins, together with a massive silver ring set with a cornelian, were picked up in the plough furrow. The coins included some of Antoninus Pius, Faustina and Verus in the finest condition, so it is probable that the time of the deposit was during the reign of Verus, A.D. 161-169.

The armlets are of great interest on account of their zoomorphic terminations and the decorative work all round their external surfaces. Mr. Thomas Bateman, into whose possession they subsequently passed, considered that they represent the heads of serpents, but the treatment is perhaps of a too conventional character to allow of identification of the precise species of creature intended to be represented.

From the fact that these treasures were found enclosed in an earthen vessel showing traces of fire it seems probable that they represent the remains of the cremation of some individual during the period of the Roman occupation of Britain. The discovery of a skull during a subsequent irregular search by servants is noteworthy, although it would not of itself be sufficient evidence that this was a sepulchral deposit. The association may have been purely accidental.

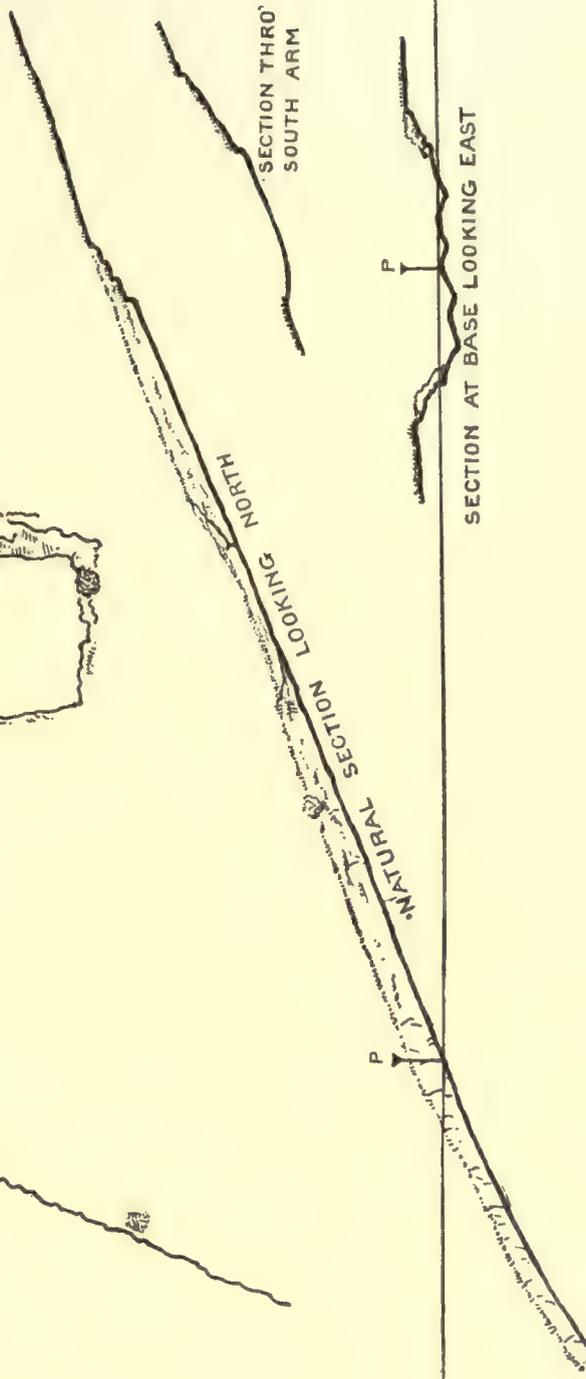
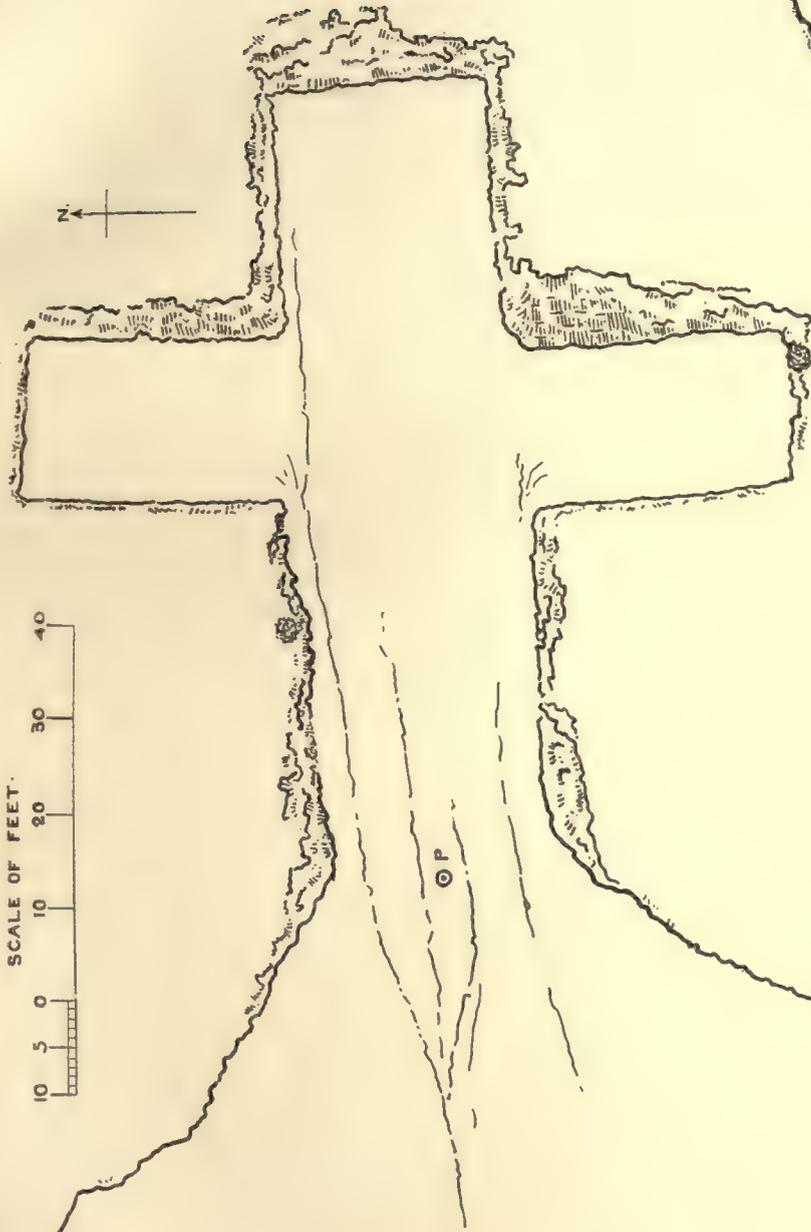
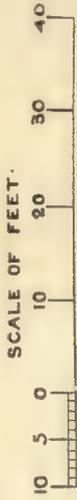
It is a remarkable fact that two other silver armlets of very similar character to these were found in a cavern at Carleswark, in Middleton Dale, Derbyshire.² The Derbyshire specimens, as well as those from Buckinghamshire, may be referred to a period not later than the second century A.D.

Other examples were found with the burnt remains of a cremated interment at Slay Hill Saltings, Upchurch, Kent, and, like those from Castle Thorpe, are now in the British Museum.

Judged by their broad general characters one would be inclined to place these armlets within the region of Roman art, as they unquestionably are in respect of the date of their manufacture. The evidence of

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. ii. pp. 352-355; *Catalogue of the Bateman Museum*, pp. 130, 131.

² *The Reliquary*, vol. iii. p. 113.



SECTION THRO'
SOUTH ARM

P

SECTION AT BASE LOOKING EAST

EARLY MAN

Celtic influence is afforded by the dotted or punctured ornament which is carried round the whole of the penannular armlets, a species of decoration which is found on enamelled horse-trappings of undoubtedly late Celtic character.

A gold bracelet or armlet with a snake-like termination, found at Newport Pagnel,¹ and now in the British Museum, is unquestionably of Roman workmanship.

WHITE CROSSES AT MONKS RISBOROUGH AND BLEDLOW

These two gigantic cruciform figures cut in the turf on the steep sides of the Chiltern Hills in the neighbourhood of Monks Risborough and Bledlow are of great antiquity, and may perhaps belong to pre-historic times.

These crosses cut in the chalk present certain features which offer striking parallels to the White Horses and Long Men in other parts of the kingdom. That all these hill-side figures are of great antiquity may be inferred from the fact that popular tradition assigns them to the Saxons, and in some cases associates them with battles fought by that race. An examination of the forms both of the animals and men tends, however, to show that they belong to an earlier period. The horses, especially in the case of the famous example at Uffington, display a remarkable resemblance to the animals portrayed on ancient British coins.²

Whether the Buckinghamshire crosses may be regarded as still retaining their original forms, or as having been modified in order to conform to Christian ideas, must, in the present imperfect state of our knowledge, be pronounced uncertain; but having regard to the unquestionably symbolic character of the Long Man of Cerne Abbas, Dorset, and probably too that of Wilmington, Sussex, the evidence seems to be in favour of the theory that the Buckinghamshire crosses are modifications of purely phallic forms.

Apart from any specially symbolic meaning, these crosses resemble the other hill-side figures in (1) their colossal forms, in (2) being situated on a steep hill-side visible over a large area of country, and in (3) facing generally in a western or north-western direction.

The cross at Whiteleaf, to the east of Monks Risborough, which stands out on the hill-side so prominently that it is said to be visible from a distance of thirty miles, is shown in the accompanying plans. The perpendicular stem or shaft of the cross, apart from the triangular base, is over 80 ft. in height, and 80 ft. across. Its stem and cross-limbs are a little over 20 ft. in breadth.

The cross near Bledlow, which has been cut on a prominent spur of the Chiltern Hills, is less striking from its somewhat smaller size and more grass-covered condition. Its form, apparently, has been somewhat

¹ *The Archæological Journal*, vol. viii. p. 39.

² Particulars of the hill-side monuments of Buckinghamshire and Berkshire may be found in (1) *A letter to Dr. Mead*, by Francis Wise, 1738; (2) *Further observations upon the White Horse*, by Francis Wise, 1742; and (3) in Lipscomb's *History of the County of Buckingham*, vol. ii.

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modified, and at the present time the limbs are about 15 feet in breadth. It has no base.

The Whiteleaf cross is kept in fairly good repair, some parts having been returfed recently ; and there is a local tradition that both of these crosses were regularly cleaned or "scoured," like the White Horse at Uffington.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS

The period covered by what are commonly called ancient British coins overlaps, in a certain sense, the historic period, because the names of various ruling princes are inscribed on British coins.

Many of the coins found in Buckinghamshire, however, are of an early character and uninscribed. The most important discovery in the county was that made in February 1849 at Whaddon Chase, when upwards of 400 gold coins were unearthed by the plough. Mr. J. Y. Akerman, F.S.A., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, contributed to *The Numismatic Chronicle*¹ an account in which it is stated that

"About February 1849, the son of a tenant of Mr. Lowndes ploughed up a quantity of gold coins at Whaddon-chase, in a field called Narbury in the parish of Little Horwood. The discovery brought to the spot many persons, some of whom contrived to get possession of nearly one hundred specimens, which have been dispersed. About 320 reached the hands of Mr. Lowndes, who has kindly submitted them to our inspection. Fragments of an earthen vessel were said to have been turned up where the coins were found ; but, on enquiry, no satisfactory information on this point could be gathered. . .

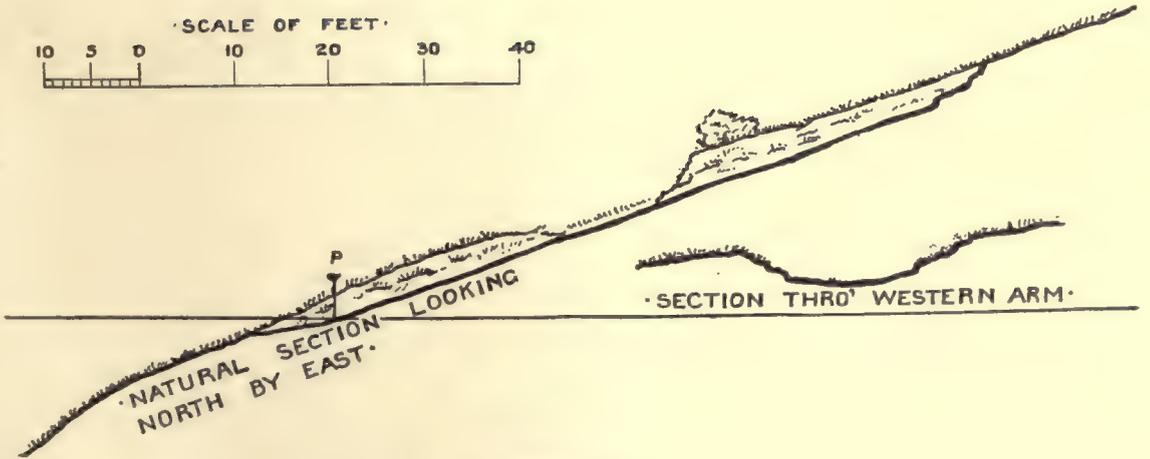
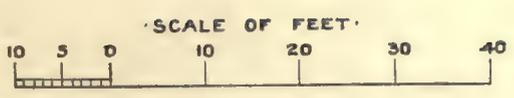
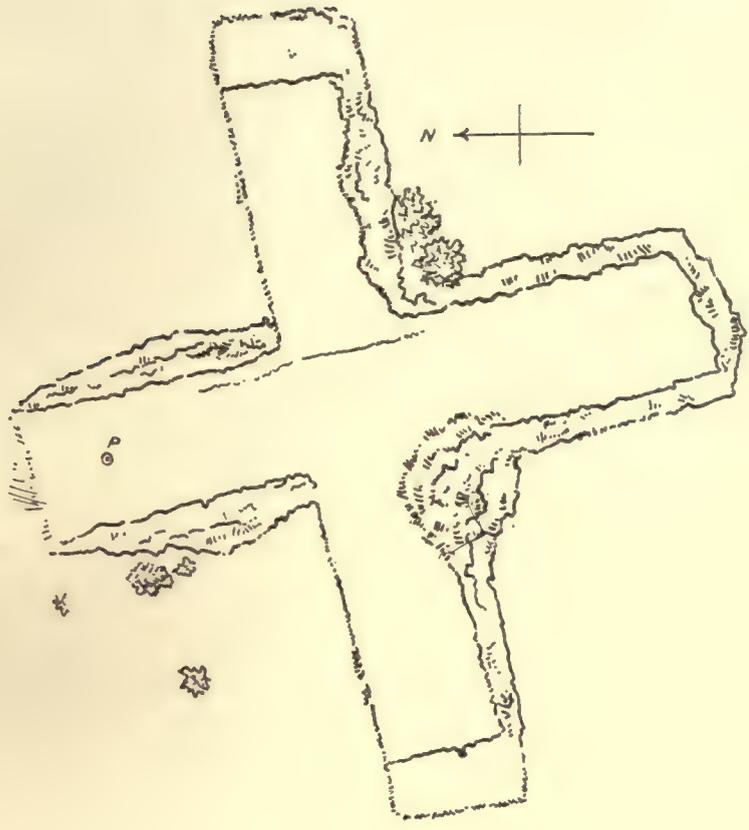
"Though extremely interesting to the numismatist, it is greatly to be regretted that not a single example of an inscribed coin occurs in this find. About one fourth consists of pieces of a type already well known, stamped on one side only with the rude figure of a horse, the head grotesquely shaped, and resembling the bill of a fowl, and the limbs disjointed. The rest have, on some examples, a tolerably well-executed figure of a horse unbridled and at liberty ; and on the reverse, a wreath dividing the field."

Sir John Evans, who deals with the question of the date of these coins in his monumental work,² writes : "Their weight, which is usually about 90 grains, or even a little more, proves them to be earlier than those of Cunobelinus, or even Tasciovanus, whose coins rarely, if ever, exceed 85 grains. At the same time, the type of the obverse does not show so complete an oblivion of the original prototype as the cruciform ornament on the coins of Tasciovanus."

The ancient British coins found in the central part of England, including the counties of Oxford, Bucks, Herts, Beds, and Essex, are represented on Plate C of Sir John Evans's book just referred to. They show very degraded versions of the laureate head of Apollo (or of the

¹ Vol. xii. pp. 3-5.

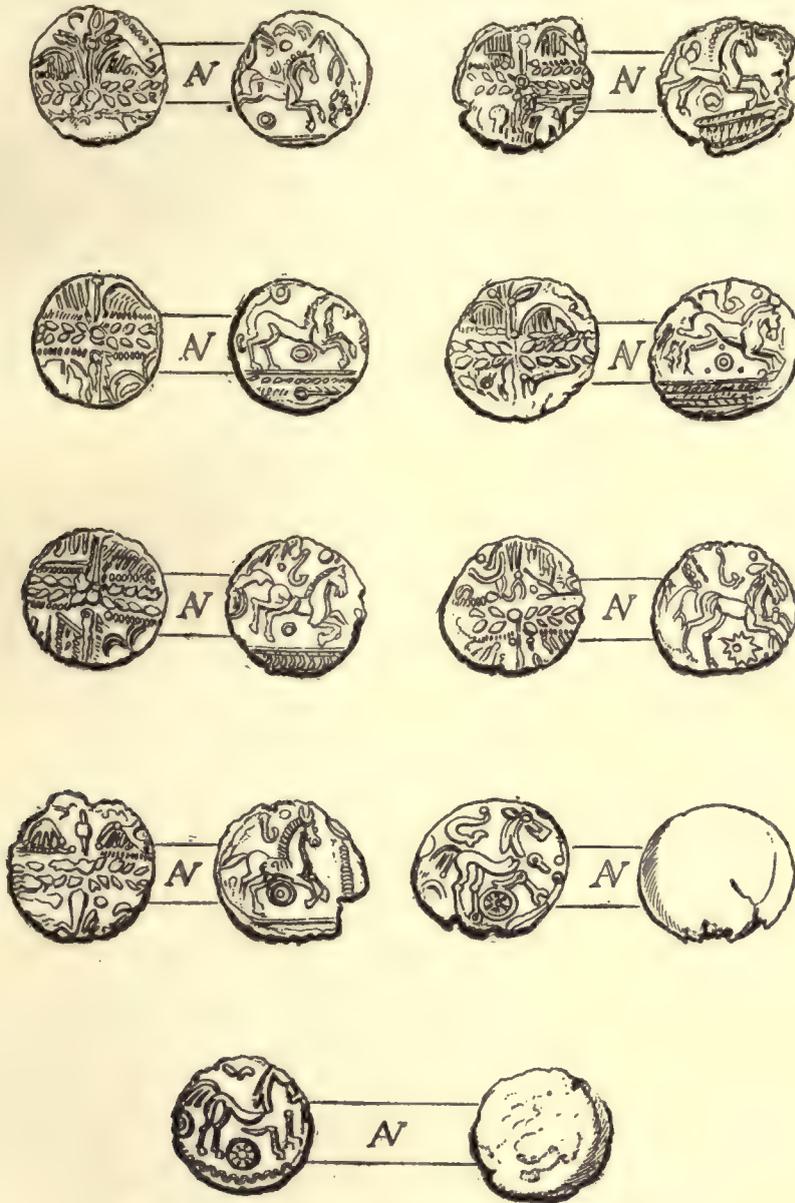
² *Ancient British Coins*, p. 73.



BLEDLOW CROSS.

EARLY MAN

young Hercules) found on the coins of Philip II. of Macedon. The wreath in some cases has been converted into a cruciform object, whilst the horse, derived from the two horses and biga on the reverse of Philip's coins, has retained its proper form more perfectly. The wheel of the biga, however, is shown about midway betwixt the fore-legs and hind-legs of the animal.



BRITISH GOLD COINS FOUND AT WHADDON CHASE.

Buckinghamshire belongs to what Sir John Evans, for numismatic purposes, classifies as "the central district." "ANDOCO" and "AND," inscriptions which appear on coins found at Chesham and Ellesborough, are evidently fragments only of the name of a prince who ruled over a territory comprising parts of the counties of Bucks, Beds, and

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Northants. "The style and types of his coins," writes Sir John Evans,¹ "prove him to have been a contemporary of Tasciovanus and Eppillus; and as, from the rarity of his coins and the paucity of the types, his reign would appear to have been of short duration, it is by no means improbable that he was subjugated by the former, whose coins are found over much the same district." The full name of this prince may have been Andocomius or Andocombos.

Coins of Tasciovanus have been found at High Wycombe and Stoke Mandeville; copper coins of Cunobelinus at Fenny Stratford, Fleet Marston, and Thornborough; gold coins of the same prince at Cuddington and Quainton; a coin of Addedomarus at Chalfont Park, near Slough; one bearing the mysterious inscription RUFU or RVLI, found at Creslow; a coin inscribed VER in allusion probably to its having been struck at Verulamium; and various other uninscribed coins found in different parts of the county, particulars of which will be found in the topographical list at the end of this article.

[The writer wishes to express his obligations to Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., and Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., for kind assistance on points relating to the late Celtic antiquities of Buckinghamshire; and especially to Mr. A. H. Cocks, F.S.A., for the loan of many notes on the prehistoric antiquities of the county.]

TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

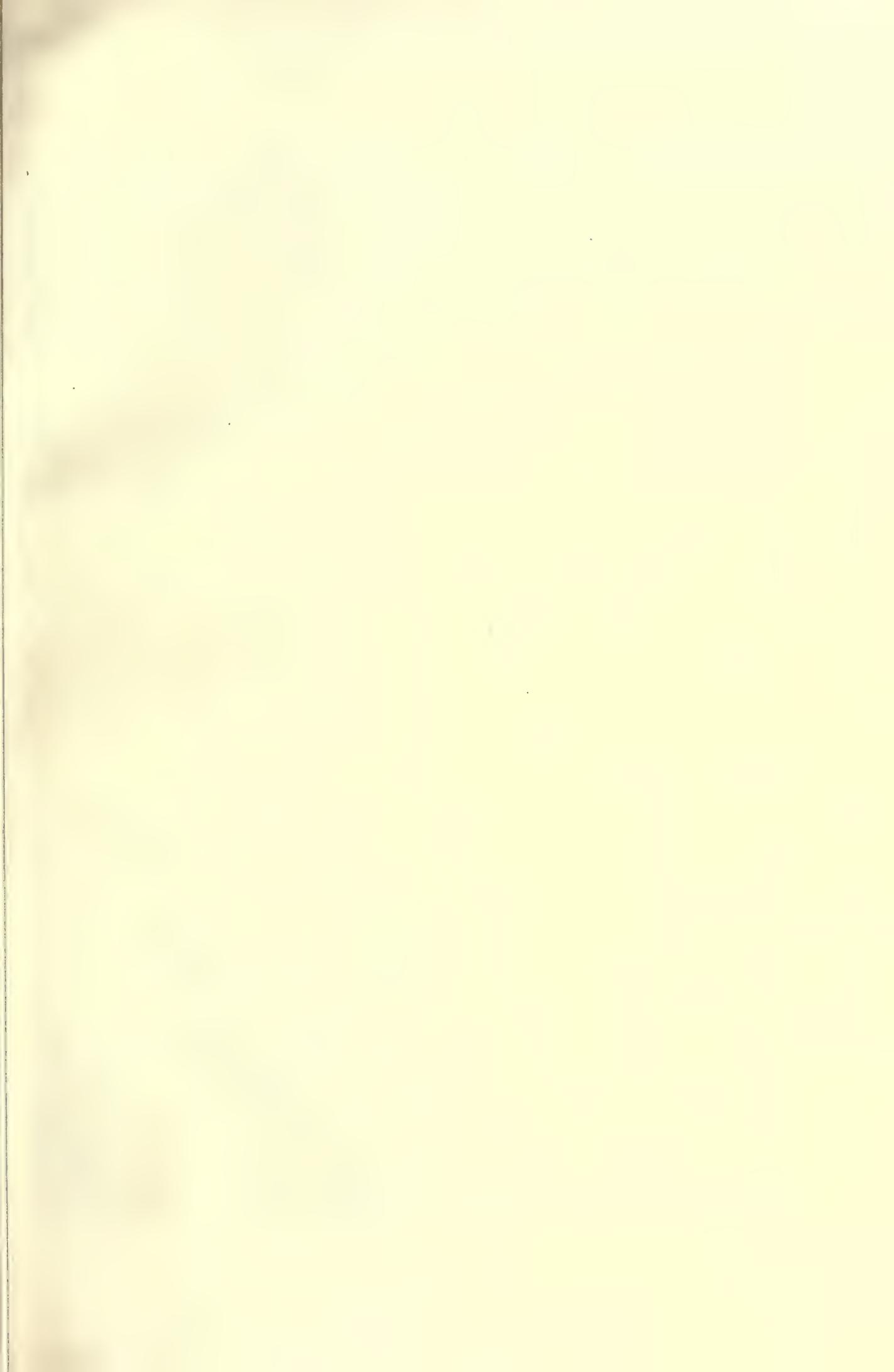
- ASTON CLINTON.—Late Celtic pottery, now in Aylesbury Museum [*Archæologia*, vol. lii. p. 354].
- BIERTON.—British urn, 12 inches high, 3 feet from surface, in Aylesbury Museum [*Records of Bucks*, iv. 224].
- BLEDLOW.—Numerous neolithic implements. Prehistoric cruciform cutting on side of hill.
- BRADWELL, NEW.—Hoard of sixteen bronze implements, etc., found here in 1879 [*MS. notes of Mr. A. H. Cocks, F.S.A.*]. Now in Aylesbury Museum.
- BURNHAM.—Palæolithic implements [*Ancient Stone Implements*, 591].
- CASTLETHORPE.—Pair of silver armlets showing traces of Late Celtic influence in the ornament [*Journal of the British Archæological Assoc.*, vol. ii. pp. 352–355].
- CHALFONT ST. GILES.—Coin of Addedomanus found at 'Chalfont Park, Slough' [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 578].
- CHESHAM.—Ancient British coin inscribed ANDO. [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 218]; and uninscribed gold coin [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 432].
- CRESLOW.—Ancient British coin inscribed RUFU, or RULI [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 260].
- CUDDINGTON.—Inscribed gold British coin [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 299].
- DATCHET.—Bronze spear-head [*Evans' Ancient Bronze Implements*, 333; and *MS. notes of Mr. A. H. Cocks, F.S.A.*].
- Important collection of bronze implements, etc., presented by Mrs. Ada Benson to the British Museum. There is also in the British Museum a very remarkable bronze spear-head with gold studs, dredged from the Thames, purchased in 1903 [*Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 2nd series, vol. xix. pp. 287–289].
- Late Celtic fibula [*Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 2nd series, vol. xv. p. 191].
- DRAYTON BEAUCHAMP.—Uninscribed gold coin [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 449].
- EDLESBOROUGH.—A flint arrowhead (uncommon in Bucks), figured [*Evans' Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 383].
- ELLESBOROUGH.—Ancient British coin inscribed AND. [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 218].
- Uninscribed gold British coins found at Chequers Court [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 435, 436].

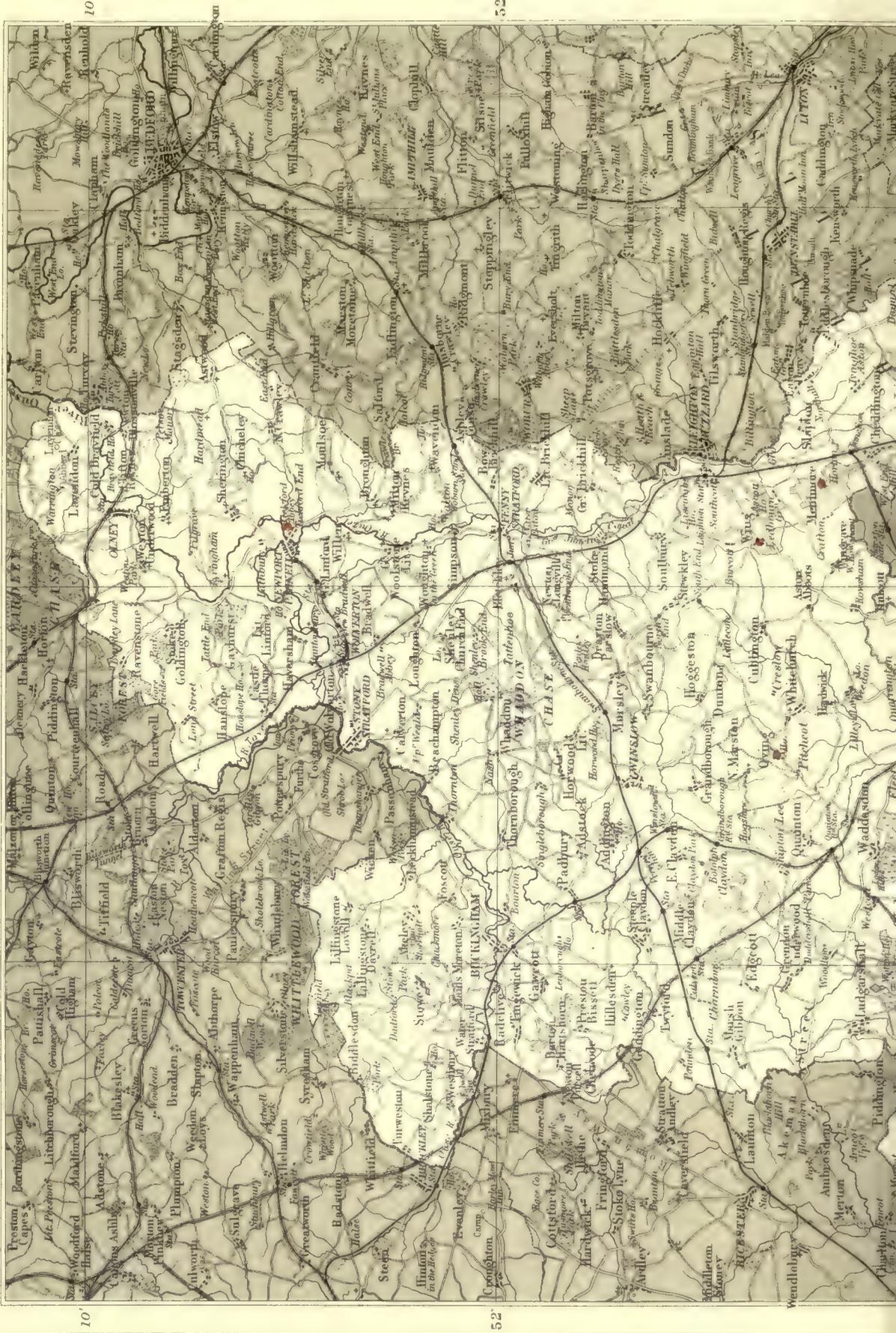
¹ *Ancient British Coins*, p. 216.

EARLY MAN

- ETON.—Neolithic celt of ground cherty flint found at Chalvey Grove, near Eton Wick [*A. J.* xxx. 284; *Evans S.* 101; *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 13].
- HAMBLEDEN.—Palæolithic implement 5½ inches long at Skirmett. Neolithic flint celt (chipped) also at Skirmett.
- HAMPDEN, GREAT.—Three bronze celts [*Records of Bucks*, i. 139].
- HAWRIDGE.—Bronze sword [*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 1st series, ii. 215; *Evans' Ancient Bronze Implements*, 279].
- HEDSOR.—Several flint scrapers and flakes low down in, and near the Pile Village, the greater part of the contents of which were of Romano-British time. Some of the piles believed to have been pointed by stone tools [*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd ser., vol. xvi. pp. 7-15; *Records of Bucks*, vol. vii. pp. 538-549].
- HITCHAM.—Palæolithic implements [*Records of Bucks*, v. 318].
Circular (probably neolithic) hut-floors and part of a ground neolithic celt, and numerous neolithic implements [*Maidenhead and Taplow Field Club, 8th Report*, p. 46]. Bronze age pottery now in British Museum.
- IVER.—Palæolithic implements [*Evans' Ancient Stone Implements*, 591]. Many others collected by Mr. J. Rutland.
- KIMBLE, GREAT.—Numerous neolithic flakes and scrapers near the encampment in Pulpit Wood [*Evans' Ancient Stone Implements*, 281, 310].
- LANGLEY.—Palæolithic implements [*Evans' Ancient Stone Implements*, 591].
- MARLOW, GREAT.—Palæolithic implements [*Evans' Ancient Stone Implements*, 591].
Portion of a dug-out boat, probably of the bronze age, and said to have contained a skull (or skeleton), dredged from river-bed below the Point.
- MARSTON, FLEET.—Copper coin of Cunobelinus [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 568].
- MEDMENHAM.—Bronze spear-head, 2 feet below surface, near the entrenchment close to the new house at Danesfield, in Mr. A. H. Cocks's collection.
- MISSENDEN, GREAT.—Palæolithic implements [*Evans' Ancient Stone Implements*, 596].
- QUAINTON.—Coin of Cunobelin [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 300].
- RISBOROUGH, MONKS.—Prehistoric cross cut on side of Whitecliffe Hill.
- STOKE MANDEVILLE.—Coin of Tasciovanus [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 536].
- STRATFORD, FENNY.—Copper coin of Cunobelinus [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 259].
- TAPLOW.—Palæolithic implements [*Evans' Ancient Stone Implements*, 591].
Amerden (opposite Bray) Late Celtic iron sword in bronze scabbard, now in the British Museum.
- THORNBOROUGH.—Coin of Cunobelinus [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 335].
- WADDESDON.—Five socketed bronze celts [*Evans' Ancient Bronze Implements*, 111].
- WENDOVER.—Uninscribed British gold coin [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 52].
- WHADDON.—Important hoard of British uninscribed gold coins (see pages 190-191) [*Records of Bucks*, i. 15, and ii. 125].
- WINSLOW.—A Late Celtic (?) copper torque [*Archæologia*, vol. xi. p. 429, plate xix. 3; and *Evans' Ancient Bronze Implements*, 380].
- WOOBURN.—A dug-out, flat-bottomed boat, 25 feet 3 inches long, 3 feet 4 inches wide, of oak, probably of the bronze age, found in dredging in the Thames near the railway bridge at Bourne End. Bought by Mr. A. H. Cocks, and it having been declined by the British Museum, and the Oxford Museum, he finally gave it to the late Frank Buckland, for his collection at the S. Kensington Museum [*Records of Bucks*, iv. 122].
- WYCOMBE, HIGH.—Important find of bronze-age pottery, at Wycombe Marsh [*Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 2nd series, vol. xii. pp. 338-346]; and *Records of Bucks*, vi. 259]. Now in Brit. Mus. Several ancient Brit. coins [*Evans' Ancient British Coins*, 78, 227, 231, 247, 248].









REFERENCE

- Intermittents
- ✕ Miscellaneous Finds, Coins, &c.

SCALE - MILES TO AN INCH

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

40

30

40

30

30

45

I



ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS

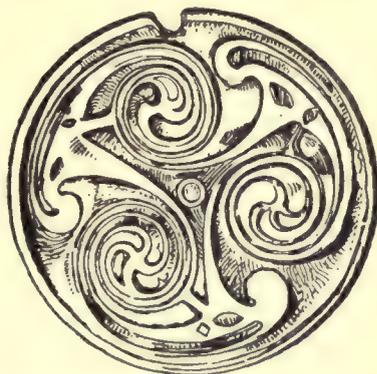
THOUGH the chalk downs of Kent, of Sussex, Wiltshire and the Isle of Wight are strewn with Anglo-Saxon burials of the pre-Christian period, it would seem that those of Hampshire and Buckinghamshire, perhaps to a less extent also Berkshire, were neglected in favour of the more fertile valleys. A circular pendant of gold (see fig.), with filagree ornament almost identical with Kentish specimens,¹ has indeed been found at High Wycombe in



GOLD FILAGREE
PENDANT, HIGH
WYCOMBE.

circumstances that indicate one or more interments of the seventh century, but further evidence is wanting of an extensive occupation of the chalk area. The fact that a large part of the Chilterns was forest or waste land, subsequently under forest law, is no adequate reason, for though the lower slopes were no doubt thickly wooded at that time, the higher ground must always have been dry and open. That these heights were inhabited during the early part of the seventh century is indeed shown by the mention of the Chiltern-sætna, or dwellers on Chiltern, in the tribal hidage,² but whether these were Saxon immigrants or refugee Britons, or a blend of both races, cannot be deduced from the record, and must be left to archæology to decide. Perhaps in some uncultivated area a discovery may yet be made of equal interest and importance to that on Farthingdown, to the south of Croydon, where a series of interments were brought to light some years ago.³

Though it proves little as to British occupation, an interesting relic from Oving near Whitchurch, preserved in the museum of the Buckinghamshire Archæological Society at Aylesbury, may be mentioned here. It is an enamelled disc (see fig.) ornamented on one face with graceful scrolls that can be at once distinguished from early Anglo-Saxon work. How long the Celtic arts survived the Roman conquest is an unsolved



BRONZE ENAMELLED DISC, OIVING.

¹ Several are figured in Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, plate iv.

² W. J. Corbett in *Transactions of Royal Historical Society*, new ser. xiv. 191; *V.C.H. Herts*, i. 252.

³ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 264.

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problem, but several discs of this description with sunk (*champlevé*) enamels have been found with Anglo-Saxon interments in various parts of England.¹ Only two however have been published from Ireland, which was untouched by the Romans and preserved its artistic traditions for many centuries after Britain was cut adrift from the empire. Bronze bowls with such discs attached to the outside below the hooks for suspension have been found from time to time, and there can be little doubt that bowls so richly ornamented were the work of Celtic artists in England or Ireland. They are found however in graves that presumably belong to the seventh century, while in Norway they are common during the Viking period, but no very plausible suggestion as to their use has yet been brought forward.

How far beyond Bedford the Saxons advanced under Cuthwulf or his successors has yet to be determined, but a northern limit about Daventry, Dunsmore Heath and the Warwickshire Avon is indicated by the remains already discovered. It is a fair deduction from the statement in the Chronicle that the capture of the four towns (Aylesford, Bensington, Eynsham, and perhaps Lenbury in 571) led at once to the occupation of Buckinghamshire and parts of the adjacent counties by the West Saxons. In spite of the aggressive policy of Mercia in the middle of the seventh century, it is by no means improbable that the West Saxon did not finally retire from the district thus won till the battle of Bensington in the year 779.

Up to the present time archæology has not furnished any positive evidence of any settlement by the West Saxons in the immediate neighbourhood of Lenbury and Buckingham, but their occupation of the Vale of Aylesbury is illustrated in a clear and consistent manner by relics recovered from the soil. Even in recent times the physical characteristics of natives of that fruitful vale have been held to exhibit a strong West Saxon element,² and there can be little doubt that this was one of their richest and best protected seats. It is from this as a centre that a brief review of early Saxon remains recovered from the soil of the county and now preserved in museums and private collections should naturally start.

Close to Aylesbury, on the south-west, is a group of Anglo-Saxon sites, from which a few unmistakable relics of the pagan period have been recovered. At Hartwell, on the road to Thame, a number of iron weapons, spearheads, knives and shield-bosses were brought to light about 1866, and exhibited to the Archæological Institute.³ At Stone, on the same road, there seems to have been a cemetery at that date between the vicarage garden and the mill, but only a few particulars are recorded of discoveries made there about sixty years ago.⁴ On one occasion were found six skeletons regularly interred, and with one was a coin of the Emperor Magnentius, who died in the year 353, though the date has

¹ Most of the sites and references are given in Mr. Romilly Allen's paper in *Arch.* lvi. See also *V.C.H. Warwickshire*, vol. i. for examples from Chesterton.

² Dr. Beddoe, *Races of Britain*, p. 257.

³ *Journal*, xxiii. 78.

⁴ *Arch.* xxxiv. 23, 26, and map, pl. ii.

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS

little bearing on that of the burial. In the sandpit adjoining the mill a skeleton was discovered, provided with spear, knife and shield, while a small pottery vase had been placed at the feet; but the most important discovery was made in the orchard of the vicarage, which had doubtless formed part of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery. This was a saucer-brooch of unusual size (see fig.), now in the British Museum. The material is bronze, originally gilt, and in the centre is a cruciform design, rudely engraved and filled in with bands of straight and curved lines that represent the original animal ornament of early Anglo-Saxon art.

That this type of brooch was unfamiliar sixty years ago, even to antiquaries of such wide experience as John Yonge Akerman, is curiously illustrated by his attribution of it to the Byzantine period,¹ though he was subsequently convinced of its home manufacture and pagan origin.² An error that has been more frequently noticed but is more readily excused was made in 1848, when the antiquities of Stowe House were sold by auction. Two very similar saucer-brooches from Ashendon appeared in the catalogue as the pans of a pair of scales, and scales have indeed been found more than once in Anglo-Saxon graves. In the present case however there is no room for doubt, and at the back of the specimen could be detected linen shreds from the grave clothes of the original owner, while the pair found only five miles distant at Ashendon are known to have been associated with a human skeleton discovered in a stone quarry.³ In all probability therefore they had not been accidentally lost by the living but interred with the body in the grave; and as the custom of burying the dead in full dress was discouraged by the Christian Church, and ceased before the eighth century, it is unlikely that the ornaments in question are any later than the seventh.

Further discoveries have been made in the same neighbourhood. At Eythrop, three miles west of Aylesbury, some iron relics that are easily recognized as part of a warrior's equipment have recently been unearthed, but no further details are forthcoming. A quarter of a mile north of Dinton Church, and on the right of the main road to Thame, there formerly existed a cluster of bell-shaped barrows, which were opened in



BRONZE-GILT BROOCH, STONE.

¹ *Arch.* xxx. 546.

² *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* (1855), p. 76, illustrated on pl. xxxviii. fig. 1.

³ Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxviii. fig. 2; *Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc.* v. 113.

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1769, but the few details recorded were not published till seventeen years later. Though not in themselves of much importance, they suggest that the road existed before the interments were made, and furnished a means of communication between several early Saxon settlements on its course. More than twelve skeletons were discovered at Dinton, but many of the bones were scattered. In three cases however the direction of the graves could still be determined, the head being to the north-west, but beyond a glass cup, nothing except iron weapons of the usual kind appear to have been deposited with the bodies. Douglas published a letter from Sir John Van Hattem, the owner of the estate, briefly describing the exploration of the mounds, and illustrated three of the objects discovered.¹ An iron spear-head and knife call for no remark, but the conical glass cup, apparently from the grave of a warrior,² is of a form somewhat rare in England. Being footless, the vessel cannot stand upright, and the ornament consists, as usual, of loops and spirals of applied threads. Outside the more richly furnished graves of Kent, specimens have been found at Kempston, Beds, and East Shefford, Berks, and also in a Jutish cemetery on Chessell Down, Isle of Wight.³

Another brooch of the saucer-type has been found at Bishopstone, about 2 miles east of Dinton, and the same distance from Aylesbury; while beside it in the museum of the Bucks Archæological Society is exhibited another variety from the same locality. Instead of being made all in one piece, this brooch has an embossed gilt plate of bronze applied to the front, while a separate vertical border is attached to a stouter plate at the back to which have been affixed the pin and catch. The applied plate is very common on circular brooches from this part of England, and in the large cemetery at Kempston, Beds, many were found associated with the true saucer-brooch manufactured in one piece. The latter type is also represented by a specimen in the same museum found in 1859 at Kingsey Park, another site in the Aylesbury district, but no further particulars of its discovery are on record. Yet another⁴ was discovered about sixty years ago at Mentmore, where several skeletons were subsequently unearthed at different spots.⁵ Some were found in a gravel pit in the centre of the village; and others, of which two had been accompanied by spears, were met with on the brow of the hill immediately south of the church. About twelve more burials in all were found nearer the church and kennels, but the only objects found with them were a bronze buckle-plate, a coin of Constans or Constantius (fourth century) and a few fragments of iron weapons. Those burials of which any note was taken at the time had been in an east-and-west direction, the head being to the west. At Wing, 3 miles distant, several skeletons

¹ *Nenia Britannica*, pl. xvi. figs. 4, 5 and 6, and p. 69. *Records of Buckinghamshire*, ii. 137-9; *Arch.* x. p. 169, pl. xviii.

² Douglas conjectures that it came from a woman's grave, but its association with a spearhead seems decisive.

³ Akerman's *Archæological Index*, pl. xiv. fig. 12. *Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc.* i. 52, fig. 2. Others are published from Andernach, Bavaria and Rhenish Hesse.

⁴ Figured in *Arch.* xxxv. 381, where the excavations are described; see also *Proc. Soc. Ant.* iii. 72.

⁵ One is marked on the 6-inch ordnance map.

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described as undoubtedly Saxon were met with about the same period, but were reinterred in the churchyard to which they were supposed to have originally belonged. There can be little doubt that the church at Wing dates from Anglo-Saxon times.

Besides the saucer-brooch already mentioned, there were other relics discovered with burials at Bishopstone that call for remark. That the interments were not by way of cremation is apparent from the good conditions of several fragile objects, amongst which may be mentioned a crystal bead, a spindle-whorl of blue and white glass, bronze toilet articles on a ring, a buckle with tinned front, three small square-headed brooches and a number of glass and amber beads. The graves of several warriors were marked by iron spear-heads, shield-bosses and two swords of the usual pattern, but the most interesting relic was undoubtedly a small engraved buckle-plate of bronze (see fig.) which is ornamented in precisely the same style as one found in a Saxon cemetery on High Down, near Worthing, Sussex.¹ These two pieces present a notable contrast to the usual ornaments of the pagan time in England; and instead of simple geometrical or disjointed animal patterns, show such delicate execution and tasteful design that one is tempted to refer them to a Roman artist; but whether they were produced in this country or in some centre of civilization on the Continent cannot as yet be determined.



ENGRAVED BUCKLEPLATE
OF BRONZE, BISHOPSTONE.

To quite another district belongs the famous Saxon barrow at Taplow, 20 miles from Aylesbury and separated from it by the whole breadth of the Chilterns. Its position on a height overlooking the river suggests a search for parallel discoveries further down stream, and it is indeed to Kent that one must turn for anything of like importance.

Adjoining Taplow Court is the old churchyard with an artificial mound at its western end. At the present time there are no visible traces of the church which was demolished in 1827, though some ruins were allowed to remain till 1853. It was then discovered that the foundations passed over a ditch which, with its accompanying rampart, showed that the position had been fortified in early times, the church being subsequently built at the east end while the mound occupied the centre of the enclosure. The locality is known to-day as Bury (or Berry) Fields, and this spur of the high ground on which Taplow stands would have many advantages as a stronghold, the view in all directions except the north being very extensive. That it was seized upon from time to time as a point of vantage to command the river-passage, is suggested by the large quantities of pottery fragments dating from early British, Roman and Saxon times, that have been collected on or near the surface of the churchyard.

¹ Figured in *Arch.* liv. 378, pl. xxvii. fig. 8; Salin, *Altgermanische Ornamentik*, p. 196, fig. 476.

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The mound or barrow was 30 yards from the west end of the old church, and exists to this day almost in its original form. The trunk of an ancient yew tree, with a girth of over 20 feet, still stood on the summit when excavations were undertaken in October 1883 at the instance of Mr. James Rutland, who was assisted in the work by the late Dr. Joseph Stevens of Reading, who presented an illustrated report to the British Archæological Association; by the late Major Cooper King of Sandhurst, who prepared a plan of the interment; and by Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., of Newbury. The present account is mainly derived from the unpublished manuscript of Mr. Rutland, who however related most of the particulars to the Maidenhead Naturalists' Field Club in 1884, and also to the Society of Antiquaries of London.¹ Before the excavation began, measurements were taken, and the barrow was found to be roughly circular, about 240 feet in circumference at the base, and 80 feet in diameter; while the flat top was 15 feet above the level of the churchyard and had a diameter of 20 feet. A start was made at the southern end, from which a cutting was directed towards the centre; other openings were then made from the north and west, and a tunnel driven below the yew tree which subsequently collapsed. Among the roots between 2 and 3 feet from the top of the mound were found several pieces of dressed chalk that may well have formed part of a door or window in the Norman church, and been buried in the mound when that structure was restored or rebuilt in the fourteenth century.

The cuttings disclosed several irregular layers of black earth alternating with red sand and gravel; and the numerous relics of human workmanship proved that the entire mound had been thrown up by man, though perhaps not all on one occasion. The upper layers contained fragments of coarse pottery, bones and bone tools, hammer-stones and flint flakes, cores and scrapers, all irregularly dispersed throughout the mass; while about 12 feet down, in the western shaft, was found a pair of bronze tweezers, perhaps of Roman date. At the bottom of the excavation occurred a fragment of 'Samian' ware and part of a brick, both undoubtedly of Roman origin.

These remains of the civilization that prevailed in Britain during the first four centuries of our era would no doubt be lying on or near the surface of the soil at the time the mound was thrown up; while relics of a ruder age would be naturally included in the material taken from a lower level to form the upper part of the mound. Latest of all was the interment over which this imposing monument was raised, and a detailed account of the principal discovery may now be proceeded with. The excavation had reached a depth of 20 feet from the summit, when several strands of gold thread were discovered. These had been woven into braid with a diamond pattern, and to judge from previous discoveries of the same kind in Kent and the Isle of Wight, were sufficient indication

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant.* x. 19. Other notices of the discovery are in the *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxix. 431; xl. 61; *Antiq. Magazine & Bibliographer*, Jan. 1884, p. 14; *Times*, 6 Nov. 1883; *Illustrated London News*, 17 Dec. 1883; *Pictorial World*, 27 Dec. 1883.

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of a rich interment beneath. In the centre of the area covered by the mound, and below the yew tree, was found a rectangular grave that had been cut in the gravel about 6 feet below the original level of the church-yard; and measured 12 feet in length and 8 feet in width. There can be no doubt that this was the principal interment in the mound, and the grave-furniture proved it to be of Anglo-Saxon date, though there is absolutely no foundation for the belief that it was the tomb of a Viking. Of the skeleton but little remained, but in a straight line, running parallel with the longer sides of the graves approximately east and west,¹ several vertebræ were discovered a little to the south of the centre. These with part of a thigh-bone to the west, and a fragment of jaw-bone containing a tooth to the east, may be taken to prove that the interment was not orientated in the Christian manner. The position of the gold braid, spreading north-west and south-west from a point near the top of the vertebral column, supports this view; though the iron spearhead which is usually found beside the skull must have been inverted when the burial took place, as the point was found only a few inches from the west end of the grave. At the side of the body had been placed an iron sword, 2½ inches wide and 32 inches long, in a wooden scabbard, with the grip under the arm. In one account this weapon is said to have been on the warrior's left hand,² but it is more generally held to have been on the north side, and is so located on a plan of the grave prepared during the excavation. In this connection more than one writer has called attention to Roman sepulchral monuments³ in the Rhine district representing a horseman spearing a prostrate foe, his sword girt high upon his right side; and the Roman brooch worn on the shoulder is perhaps represented in the Taplow barrow by a remarkable buckle (fig. 1), which seems to have fastened the gold-embroidered garment of wool. It is of gold, in almost perfect preservation, and bears a very close resemblance to more than one specimen from the richer graves of Kent.⁴ The hoop is set with garnets backed with gold foil, and two of the cells or cloisons are filled with an opaque substance resembling lapis lazuli. The plate is triangular, two of the corners being marked with cabochon garnets, and the end with a large cell-work boss with slabs of the same stone; while the central space, round which is a raised border of applied gold wires, is filled with a filagree design representing in a very imperfect and confused manner the animal forms affected by Teutonic artists in metal during the pagan period.⁵ In the fifth century the treatment was fairly naturalistic, though examples of that date are scarce

¹ The exact bearings are not given, but 'a little south of east to a little north of west' closely corresponds to the direction of the grave at Broomfield, Essex, which was W.N.W. and E.S.E.

² *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xl. 66 (Dr. Joseph Stevens). There seems to have been no strict rule on the subject.

³ Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. iii. pt. viii. pl. 4.

⁴ Compare illustrations in *Arch. Cantiana*, vi. 169 and xix. 32 of the contents of a warrior's grave at Sarre, Kent.

⁵ For examples of the gradual degeneration of the animal forms see Dr. Sophus Müller's *Die Thier-ornamentik im Norden*.

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in England ; and copy after copy must have been made, during a considerable interval, before the style of workmanship on the costliest objects could have fallen so far below that of the earliest examples. Similarly debased is the ornament on the pair of gilt bronze clasps (fig. 3) found in the same grave close together on the left side of the waist. They appear to have belonged to the belt, from which no doubt a knife and other objects were suspended ; and each pair consists of two triangular plates smaller than that of the buckle, but not unlike that in outline and decoration, though the delicate cell-work and inlay of the larger jewel are here unrepresented.

Above the head on the right were two shield bosses of iron belonging to an ordinary type, the wooden framework of the shields having perished. Close to these lay an iron knife and a ring of the same metal, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Opposite these relics, near the south-east corner of the grave, was, first, a bucket of about 12 inches diameter, with an iron frame and ashen staves, the outside coated with thin embossed plates



BRONZE BOWL FROM TAPLOW BARROW.

of bronze. Next came to light a fine piece of bronze-working in the shape of a standing bowl (see fig.), 12 inches high and 16 inches in diameter at the rim, which is twelve-sided with knobs at the angles and a pair of massive drop-handles.¹ The base contained a quantity of carbonate of lead to ensure stability, but the vessel lay on its side ; and underneath the stem was a small drinking-horn with silver-gilt bands and

¹ One almost identical found in Egypt is assigned to the fifth or sixth century (Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, p. 262, No. 9407, pl. xxvii.) ; and a similar border occurs on a bronze bowl from Kent in the British Museum.



C. PRETORIUS, F.S.A.

ANGLO SAXON ANTIQUITIES FROM TAPLOW, BUCKS

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS

terminals. Some feet further to the west were the fragments of an olive-coloured glass cup (fig. 2), of a type fairly common in Kent, having bands of hollow claw-like projections round the body which widens towards the mouth.

Towards the west end of the grave lay in a very crushed condition a large bucket or tub which must have been placed over the thighs of the deceased warrior. It was 2 feet in diameter with an iron frame and bronze covering, and contained the remains of two glass tumblers 11 inches high and 4 inches wide at the mouth, similar in size and colour to the specimen already mentioned. In it were also two large drinking-horns (fig. 5), terminating in an exceptionally fine example of the Teutonic bird-ornament (fig. 5b); and one of a smaller size, all with bronze and silver-gilt mounts of excellent workmanship. Two other silver rims were included, which seem to have belonged to barrel-shaped cups of thin wood such as have been found in south-east England, at Croydon, Surrey; Broomfield, Essex; and Faversham, Kent. The rims in all these cases are very much alike, but the Taplow and Faversham specimens are peculiar in having rather solid mounts in the form of a human head placed at intervals across the fragile gilt band (fig. 5a); while the more usual representation of the human features is seen in repoussé on the triangular mounts round the opening of the horns (fig. 4).

North-west of the large bucket and on a somewhat higher level was a long iron spearhead 26 inches long, pointing west. This was originally barbed, and belongs to the so-called 'angon' type, and found more commonly in Belgium and the north of France. Near this was another bucket, similar to that in the south-east corner of the grave; and along the western end several minor objects were met with, including another glass tumbler, the fourth, and a drinking-horn; a second spearhead of the ordinary socketed kind, a silver-gilt ornament of crescent shape, and about thirty cylinders of bone, about an inch in height, the ends closed by discs united by a silver pin. These last were doubtless meant for use in some game resembling draughts, and may be compared with several of horses' teeth in the Gibbs collection from the King's Field, Faversham.

All the objects enumerated were more or less crushed between stout planks which had been placed both above and below the body; and herein lies one of many resemblances to the interment at Broomfield, Essex.¹ The similarity in the direction of the two graves has already been noticed, and in both cases the body was apparently laid with the head at the east end. In both graves also a large bowl or tub, placed midway between the longer sides, contained two horns, two glass vessels, and two wooden cups. Both sword and spear were on the north side of either interment, and shield-boss or bosses in the north-east corner. In the middle of the south side both had a circular bowl standing on a tall foot, and at either end of this side one or two buckets. Such a series of coincidences must be more than accidental, and goes far towards connecting

¹ *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 326.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

the leaders, if not the hosts, of Teutonic blood who made the Thames their highway to the interior, and buried some of their greatest in ground they had won in its vicinity—at Faversham, at Broomfield, and at Taplow.

In the British Museum are a sword and shield-boss from a warrior's grave in Windmill Field, Hitcham, near Taplow ; and at Newport Pagnel, in the northern angle of the county, about midway between the county towns of Buckingham and Bedford, there seems to have been a West Saxon settlement, which was no doubt in touch with both those centres during the early period. An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at the east end of the town has not been systematically examined, but has yielded interesting relics from time to time.¹ The first discoveries were made early in 1900 while gravel was being dug in a field on the Tickford Park Estate, and remains of unburnt burials were brought to light. By the side of male skeletons, placed on the gravel about 3 feet from the surface, three iron swords of the usual double-edged type were discovered, while an iron spearhead was generally found beside the skull. In what must have been the grave of a man was found a cup of amber glass, while in that of a woman was found a larger number of articles. At the head had been placed a small bucket, the bronze hoops of which had been forced on to the skull and were mistaken for part of a head-dress ; besides this was a bronze hair-pin, and a small iron knife, such as is found in nearly all unburnt burials of this period, lay across the breast. The arms had been encircled by strings of variously coloured beads of glass, as was the case at Kempston only 10 miles distant to the east, in the neighbouring county of Bedford ; while the bronze brooches met with all seem to have belonged to a very common type, with a flat circular face ornamented by incised rings in a very simple style. Pieces of charred wood and bones of the ox, horse, or sheep were considered with some reason to have been the remains of the funeral feast at the grave-side ; and a remarkable feature in at least one part of the cemetery was the arrangement of the graves in two concentric circles, with the feet all pointing to the centre, where some person of importance is supposed to have been interred. A similar grouping of the graves has been observed at Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire ; at Shoeburyness, Essex ; and at Vendhuile, a Frankish site in the department of Aisne, France.

Once a footing was gained in this desirable region, the West Saxon never retired till driven southward of the river for half a century or more by his Anglian rivals, who, presumably, came down from the Trent valley. It is possible that from the accession of Penda in 626 the Anglians of Mercia gradually penetrated into Buckinghamshire, perhaps along the Watling Street through what is now Northamptonshire ; and it is generally supposed that Archbishop Theodore, who reorganized the English Church, turned Dorchester-on-Thames into a

¹ A brief description was furnished to the *Bucks Standard* of 24 February 1900, by Mr. Alfred Bullard. See also the *Antiquary*, April 1900, p. 97.

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS

Mercian see about the year 679. Whether the districts of Aylesbury and Buckingham had by this time passed under the rule of the Mercian Æthelred cannot now be determined ; but Caedwalla of Wessex recovered territory north of the Thames after his accession in 686, so that the Mercian see of Dorchester had only a few years of existence.

The next century however saw the rapid expansion of the Anglian dominion of the Midlands ; and though the West Saxon defeat in 733 at Somerton (perhaps in Oxfordshire) was retrieved by Cuthred in 752 at Burford, the battle of Bensington in 777 (779) was a crushing blow to Wessex, and everything north of the Thames was thenceforth in Mercian hands till the revival of Wessex under Egbert fifty years later, and the consolidation of the English kingdom. A coin of Offa (757-96) found at Mentmore¹ may be looked upon as a souvenir of the final Mercian occupation of Buckinghamshire.

It will thus be seen that there is good reason for the scarcity of Anglian relics in Buckinghamshire ; and at least before the general acceptance of Christianity, there was a marked difference in the ornaments worn by the two peoples as well as in their funeral customs. Not a single specimen of the distinctive long brooch of the Eastern counties and the north, where the Anglians mostly settled, has been recorded from the county, and only two instances of the Anglian rite of cremation have come to light within its borders. Two urns of the ordinary type of dark pottery, rudely ornamented and made without the wheel, were found in 1859 near Tythrop House, at the extreme west end of Kingsey village.² Both were filled with human bones in a fragmentary condition, and in one of them was also a coin of the emperor Hadrian, who died in 138—another instance of imperial money continuing in circulation for centuries. An iron spearhead of an ordinary Anglo-Saxon type illustrated from the same site may have belonged to either of these or to an unburnt burial.

The later history of Anglo-Saxon Buckinghamshire, subsequent to the spread of Christianity in this district about the middle of the seventh century, seems to be represented by a solitary relic in the museum at Aylesbury. It is a stirrup of iron, with a rectangular loop, belonging to a type usually associated with the Danish invaders of the ninth and tenth centuries ; and a certain number inlaid with brass may be seen in the British Museum, chiefly from the Thames and the Witham. Another is preserved at Canterbury and was found in the neighbourhood, while one with inlaid decoration of interlaced animals has been illustrated³ from Mottisfont near Romsey, Hants.

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant.* iii. 222.

² *Records of Buckinghamshire*, ii. 166, and plates.

³ *Arch.* vol. 50, p. 533.

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IN proportion to its area Buckinghamshire receives a fairly liberal allowance of space in Domesday Book. As against its twenty-one pages Oxfordshire, which 'marches with' its western border and has a slightly larger area, occupies but fifteen, while Berkshire, a slightly smaller county, is only allotted sixteen. In Middlesex, although the survey appears to be extremely full, the proportion to area is no greater than in the case of Bucks. Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, however, although between them not quite half as large again as this county, occupy twice the number of pages. At a time when arable land was the chief source of wealth, its hills and its then extensive woodlands can hardly have admitted of Buckinghamshire being reckoned a rich county, in spite of its fertile valleys ; but it is not probable that the space allotted to a county in Domesday had much, if anything, to do with its wealth or its population.

The determining factor in this matter was really the amount of detail that the authorities decided to include. Domesday Book, we must always remember, is only a compilation from original returns for the Hundreds, which included, we have reason to believe, many details in addition to those which appear in that compilation.¹ It is possible that the Domesday Commissioners themselves varied, on their several circuits, in the amount of detail they asked for, but it was clearly the compiler who was chiefly responsible for cutting down the information supplied on certain points in the inquiry. Apart from a certain fulness of detail in this county, its survey, fortunately for us, contains a few of those personal touches which make the men and women even of that remote period something more than mere names.

The first information found in an entry after the name of the holder of the land is the number of 'hides' at which it was assessed. The 'hide' was merely a unit of assessment, of which the 'virgate' was a quarter,² and this assessment was of arbitrary character, being based on a unit of 'five hides.' In Buckinghamshire this unit becomes peculiarly prominent, as in the neighbouring counties of Bedford and Cambridge, and even the casual reader can hardly fail to be struck by the large number of manors assessed at such sums as 5, 10, 15,

¹ We draw this conclusion from the transcripts of the Cambridgeshire original returns, and from the Domesday Survey of the eastern counties, as well as from the 'Exon Domesday.'

² At Lathbury in this county an entry (probably unique) speaks of 'i hida, v pedes minus.' It is difficult to follow this reckoning.

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exacted £56 in money weighed and assayed, with £10 'by tale' in respect of the (market) toll, and from Wendover £38 of money weighed and assayed. From Brill was exacted as much as from Wendover, besides £12 of similar money 'for the forest,' although it had formerly paid but £18 by tale. Buckingham, again, which under King Edward had 'rendered' no more than £10 by tale, was now called upon to pay £16 in blanch (*albo*) silver.

The technical term 'blanch silver,' in use at the Exchequer of the twelfth century, has had some learning expended on it. Our Buckinghamshire evidence tends to show that Domesday used it as equivalent to 'weighed and assayed' money; and this is considered probable by the latest writers on the subject.¹ In that case the payment in blanch silver involved an increased exaction of about a shilling in the pound.² It should be observed that the three manors in which the king had succeeded Harold made their payments, one of them in 'weighed and assayed' money, and two in 'blanch silver.' This, as in the case of the other manors, supports the view that the two phrases meant the same thing. The character of these payments deserves careful study, because they are peculiar to the king's demesne. Even the seventh and last manor entered under 'Terra Regis,' namely (part of) Biddlesden, is not so distinguished, it being only an escheat and not part of the demesne; the lands of Earl Aubrey, which he had lost before the Survey, are normally entered apart, under his name, in Domesday, but—probably because he had held but this estate in the county—they are here, as it were, tacked on to the king's lands.

The manors which Harold had held present some difficulty. It seems to have been the practice of the Conqueror to look on these as his peculiar spoil and to annex them to the Crown demesne; and accordingly in Buckinghamshire (Princes) Risborough, together with Harold's lands in Swanbourne and in Upton near Slough, underwent this fate. On the other hand, Wooburn was given to Remi, Bishop of Lincoln, while Harold's share of Ellesborough was held at the time of the Survey by William son of Ansculf (de Picquigny). But of the latter manor Domesday records, in a slightly obscure phrase, that his father Ansculf had obtained it, by the king's command, in exchange for half Risborough 'contra Radulfum Talgebosch.' The character and object of this exchange is complicated by the fact that Ansculf certainly, and Ralf (we shall find) probably, had been sheriffs of this county, for sheriffs, as Domesday shows in the adjoining county of Herts, were apt at times to confuse the king's manors with their own. All that we can say is that Ansculf must have somehow obtained possession of a moiety of Princes Risborough, and that he was given the Ellesborough estate as compensation for its loss.

The difficulty is caused not so much by the fact that the Wooburn and Ellesborough estates were valued at the time of the Survey like any

¹ The editors of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* for the Clarendon Press (1902), p. 34.

² *Ibid.* p. 31.

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others, as by their values under the Confessor receiving the same treatment, while those of the three estates annexed by the Conqueror are entered as 'renders.' In other words, although these lands had all alike been held by Harold, Risborough, Swanbourne, and Upton are recorded to have 'rendered' £10, £1 10s., and £15 respectively; Wooburn and Ellesborough are entered as having been 'worth' £15 and £9. As Domesday uses the two words carefully and by way of distinction, one is tempted to suggest that the three manors differed in character from the two, the more so as there is reason to believe that in the adjoining county of Herts the lands entered as Harold's had really been Crown manors. It might, again, be suggested that the three had really been 'comital' manors, held, that is, by Harold in his official capacity as the earl. Professor Maitland indeed has said that—

one of the best marked features of Domesday Book, a feature displayed on page after page, the enormous wealth of the house of Godwin, seems only explicable by the supposition that the earlships and the older ealdormanships had carried with them a title to the enjoyment of wide lands . . . The greater part of the land ascribed to Godwin, his widow and his sons, seems to consist of *comitales villæ*.¹

Mr. Freeman, however, considered that Buckinghamshire was 'probably' within the earldom of Harold's brother, Leofwine, a belief which he based largely on the number of Leofwine's 'men' within it.²

So far as the lands they held are evidence, there is nothing to tell us which of the brothers had been earl in this county. Leofwine had held six estates as against Harold's five, but their annual value was about £13 less. Those of Tostig, the third brother, were only three in number, but were worth rather more than those of Harold himself. It is worthy of notice that while the Bishop of Bayeux had obtained, as in Kent, Surrey, and Hertfordshire, the whole of Leofwine's land, save only Halton, this latter had gone to the Archbishop of Canterbury. For in the adjoining county of Middlesex Leofwine occurs as having held—at Edward's death—the vast manor of Harrow, which had similarly passed to Lanfranc in 1086, and had done so, clearly, because it formed part of the possessions of his see. From this we may conjecture that if Halton passed, unlike the rest of Leofwine's land, into the hands of Lanfranc, it was because the see of Canterbury had claims to its possession, and that this was also why Lanfranc obtained the important manor of 'Nedreham,' which had been held by Tostig. For Godwine and his sons are accused of being apt to encroach on the lands of the Church, and Tostig is charged in the English Chronicle with having 'robbed God.' Turning from the lands of the three brothers to their 'men' within the county, we find that, as Mr. Freeman observed, Leofwine had a good number; but Harold had almost as many. On the whole, therefore, one cannot say that Domesday affords much evidence for the tenure of the earldom by Leofwine.

¹ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 168.

² *Norman Conquest* (1870), ii. 560, 567.

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The Archbishop of Canterbury's land, which follows that of the king, consisted of three manors, 'Nedreham' and Halton (of which I have spoken), and (Monks) Risborough, which, like the king's manor of (Princes) Risborough, was assessed at 30 hides. 'Nedreham' is of interest for the singular transaction by which, but a few years after the date of the Survey, Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, agreed with William Rufus to fortify the *enceinte* of Rochester castle with a stone wall in return for possession of the manor.¹

To the see of Winchester there here belonged two extensive manors, while the Bishop of Lincoln—who had removed his throne from Dorchester (Oxon)—can only be said with certainty to have succeeded Wulfwig his predecessor in one, namely Buckland, which Godric, a brother of Wulfwig, had held. Another brother of Bishop Wulfwig, 'Alwine' by name, had held Westbury (by Shenley?); indeed, before as after the Conquest it was at times a profitable matter to be the brother or nephew of a prelate.² Wulfwig had several 'men' in the county, but Remi did not obtain their lands. He succeeded, however, his predecessor in the richly endowed livings of two royal manors, as we shall find when dealing with church endowments.

It was as a son of the Conqueror's mother and not, of course, as a prelate that Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, received, here as elsewhere, so large a share of the spoils. The record of his Buckinghamshire lands fills more than three columns, and at four places he had for tenant no less a man than his fellow-prelate, Gilbert, Bishop of Lisieux. When his great fief was forfeited, it was broken up into baronies, representing the holdings of his chief tenants, which were thenceforth held directly from the Crown. It is followed in the Survey by those of Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, and of a far more interesting man, Gilbert 'Maminot,' Bishop of Lisieux, the Conqueror's friend and physician, and an astrologer. He held here two manors as a tenant-in-chief in addition to those spoken of above, which came to him, doubtless, as a member of the Courbépine family, who were vassals of Bishop Odo. The Gilbert Maminot who held of the latter at Leckhampstead was probably a nephew and namesake of the Bishop of Lisieux.

The manors held in Buckinghamshire by English religious houses were but few in number, the county having no local abbey such as that of Abingdon in Berkshire or St. Albans in Hertfordshire. Denham had been given to Westminster Abbey before King Edward's death, but we are not told how or when that house had acquired its lands at East Burnham; we only learn that from its former holders there was due a customary annual payment to 'the minster of Stanes.' Although 'Stanes' is

¹ 'Quomodo Willelmus rex filius Willelmi Regis rogatu Lanfranci Archiepiscopi concessit et confirmavit Rofensi ecclesie . . . manerium nomine Hedenham; quare Gundulfus episcopus castrum Rofense lapideum totum de suo proprio Regi construxit' (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 337). Although only Had-denham is here spoken of, the manor lay in Cuddington also. In the actual charter recording the transaction (Campbell charter vii. 1) it is called 'Hedrehan,' a close approximation to the Domesday name.

² Compare Heming's Cartulary (ed. Hearne).

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the Domesday name of Stone in this county, I am disposed to think that this entry refers to Staines, Middlesex, which is just across the border ; for Stone is more than twice as far from East Burnham, and Staines, moreover, belonged, by the time of the Survey, to Westminster Abbey. There seems, however, to be no trace of a 'minster' or specially important church at Staines.

Foreign monks had already begun to receive endowments in English lands ; from the Count of Mortain his abbey of Grestain received manors at Ickford and Marsh Gibbon, and the monks of St. Nicholas one at Crafton, while the noble abbey of La Couture at Le Mans obtained from Walter Giffard lands at Great Woolstone. Very shortly after Domesday the abbey of the Holy Trinity on Mont St. Catherine above Rouen received the manor (*mansionem*) of Tingewick from Ilbert de Laci, who held it, at the Survey, of the Bishop of Bayeux' fee, his original charter of donation, with equestrian seal attached, being still preserved in the archives of Winchester College.¹

The occurrence of the Count of Mortain as a tenant-in-chief in the county left an impress on its feudal history deeper than that created by the holdings of his brother the Bishop of Bayeux. For the knight's fees upon his lands enjoyed the peculiar privilege of paying only two-thirds (or rather less) of the amount exacted from other fees. Thus the existence of his fief became of lasting importance. Although throughout England it was known as the fief of Mortain, it was alternatively styled in this district the Honour of Berkhamstead from the count's great castle of that name just beyond the eastern border of the county. Accordingly we find in the feudal returns of 1302-3 and 1346 'the Honour of Berkhamstead' entered by itself at the end of the Buckinghamshire Hundreds,² and the holdings therein (which represent Domesday manors of the count) distinguished as 'de parvo feodo de Morteyne.' The count's predecessor at Berkhamstead, 'Edmar Atule,' had held but one Buckinghamshire manor, namely Bledlow, which, however, was by far the largest of those that the count was holding here in 1086.

The Earl of Chester's lands call for no special notice, but those of Walter Giffard, which follow them in the record, constitute the most important fief in the county. Extending over five columns of the record, and assessed in all at as nearly as possible three hundred hides, his lands may be reckoned from that standpoint as representing between a sixth and a seventh of the whole county. The great fief of Walter, who was himself a Domesday Commissioner, extended over ten counties, and on it there had been enfeoffed before 1166 nearly a hundred knights. But its head was in Buckinghamshire, where Domesday mentions his park at Long Crendon, and of which county he became earl a few years, probably, after the date of the Survey. Owing to there having been a succession of Walter Giffards, it has never been quite possible to distinguish one from the other, but the Domesday baron was probably the son of the Walter who fought at the Conquest. The

¹ *Arch. Journ.* iv. 249.

² *Feudal Aids*, i. 107, 132-3.

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most important of his under-tenants in this county was Hugh de Bolbec, whose heir and namesake held of the fief, eighty years later, twenty knight's fees. As the founder of the house of Giffard was Osbern de Bolbec, Hugh may well have been a relative of his lord; he was himself a tenant-in-chief, not only here but in Oxfordshire and Huntingdonshire, his lands being afterwards represented by a Buckinghamshire barony of ten knight's fees.¹ Swaffham Bulbeck, which he held in Cambridgeshire under Walter Giffard, preserves the name which he brought with him from the source of a Norman 'beck,'² and which his heirs, the Earls of Oxford, adopted long afterwards as a title for their eldest sons.

The next important baron on our list is William Peverel, the founder of the Peverels 'of Nottingham,' whose great fief was forfeited by Henry II. at his accession and became thenceforth known as the Honour of Peverel of Nottingham. Subsequent surveys of this Honour enable us to trace the fate of William's Buckinghamshire manors.³ Different was the fate of the wide estates of William son of Ansculf de Picquigny ('Pinchengi'), to which three columns are devoted. The son of a former sheriff of the county, and lord of that extensive fief which lay in twelve counties and had Dudley Castle for its head, William was succeeded by the Paynells, who left their mark upon the county in the name of Newport Pagnel, which one of his manors derived from them, and in the existence of Tickford Priory, which they founded as a cell of Marmoutier. Nor was the fief broken up until the death of John de Someri, the Paynells' heir, in the fourteenth century.

The occurrence among the Buckinghamshire tenants-in-chief of Robert de 'Todeni,' lord of Belvoir, is chiefly due to his succession, here as in other counties, to a great English thegn, Osulf son of Frane. Of greater importance is the fief which follows, that of Robert de 'Oilgi.' Although in the present department of the 'Calvados' there are no fewer than four Ouillys from which he might have been named, the fact that Domesday records the important manor of Masworth⁴ to have been held of him by Ralf Basset, while Thurleigh (Beds) was held of him by Richard Basset, would suggest that Ouilly-le-Basset, to the west of Falaise, was the spot from which he came. His fief has to be considered in conjunction with two others in this county, those, namely, of Roger d'Ivry and of Miles Crispin. For a curious tradition of sworn brotherhood⁵ between Robert and Roger is so far supported by Domesday that it points to a connexion between them. In this county we find them entered as holding Stowe jointly under the Bishop of Bayeux, and they had both succeeded, in some of their manors, Azor the son of Toti. In Oxfordshire they held at Arncot jointly under the abbot of Abingdon, at Noke also, in my opinion, under William, Earl of Hereford, and were joint founders of St. George's chapel within Oxford Castle. But

¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 316.

² The 'Bec' or 'Bolbec' is a stream which runs from Bolbec and joins the Seine near its mouth.

³ See, for instance, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 536, 584-5; *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 258, 261.

⁴ *Alias* Marsworth. ⁵ Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 460.

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the devolution of their lands differed ; for those of Roger, from their subsequent lords, came to be known as the Honour of St. Valery, while Robert's became united with those of Miles Crispin in what was called the Honour of Wallingford.¹

As this Honour represented two such considerable fiefs, its descent is of some importance for the feudal history of the county. The accepted version is that which is found in a return of the time of John, which professes to trace that descent from Harold's days.² According to this version Robert d'Ouilly married the daughter of Wigod of Wallingford, who held great estates both before and after the Conquest, and had by her a daughter Maud, who brought the whole inheritance to her two husbands, Miles Crispin and Brian Fitz Count, in succession. It is certain that Brian held the Honour in right of his wife, who is found described as Maud 'de Walengeford'³ and also as Maud 'de Oylli';⁴ but it is strange, on chronological grounds, that Maud's successive husbands should have been living respectively under William I. and under Stephen. It is also strange that Domesday shows us Miles Crispin already in possession of portions of Wigod's lands even in the lifetime of Robert d'Ouilly,⁵ who ought to have been holding the whole of them. In Buckinghamshire he had obtained two of Wigod's manors and one which had been held by Ordwig, a 'man' of Wigod, while Robert is not mentioned once as succeeding to Wigod.⁶ Iver, however, which Robert had obtained by exchange, is spoken of as 'of his wife's fee.' If we seek a common predecessor for Robert and Miles, we find him, in this county, not in Wigod, but in Brihtric, a thegn of Queen Edith. Robert had succeeded him at Wycombe and Masworth,⁷ and Miles at Waddesdon, Wingrave and another manor,⁸ while Miles had also obtained the lands of several of his men. Another English predecessor of Miles here and in Gloucestershire was the thegn Haminc.

Except for Amersham, Geoffrey de Mandeville owed his fief, in this as in other counties, to his well-recognized succession to Ansgar 'the staller,' while Bondig, another 'staller,' here disguised as 'Boding the constable,' was succeeded, as elsewhere, in his two manors by that Derbyshire magnate, Henry de Ferrers. The Buckinghamshire fief which lingered the longest in the heirs of its Domesday holder was that of Walter, son of Other, which was held for some centuries by his descendants the family of Windsor. Walter the Fleming, a Bedfordshire baron, was succeeded in his fief for many generations by his descendants the Wahulls, but in this county he had but a trifling holding.

¹ For instance Iver, the first manor on Robert's fief in the record, is returned two centuries later as held 'de honore Walingfordie' (*Feudal Aids*, i. 76).

² *Testa de Nevill*, p. 115. This return, though found under Berkshire, is of value for the devolution of some Buckinghamshire lordships, such as Wycombe and Iver.

³ *Ancient Charters* (Pipe Roll Society), p. 43.

⁴ *Bracton's Note Book* (ed. Maitland), iii. 535.

⁵ Compare Mr. Freeman's Appendix on 'Wigod of Wallingford and Robert of Oily' in *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv.

⁶ In Oxfordshire Miles had succeeded Wigod in three manors and Robert in one only.

⁷ *Alias* Marsworth.

⁸ He is also found as a predecessor of Miles in cos. Beds and Oxon.

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Other Bedfordshire barons, Hugh de Beauchamp and Nigel de Albini, had here outlying estates, while the Wiltshire sheriff, Edward of Salisbury, had secured the three manors of 'Wulwene' of Creslow, who, though described as 'a man of King Edward,' was an English lady whom he had succeeded in one Middlesex, two Wiltshire, and two Dorset manors.

The names of the Buckinghamshire barons remind us that the Conquest was not the work of the duke and his Normans alone. From Flanders on the east to Brittany on the west William's recruiting ground had stretched. The former was represented in this county by Gilbert of Ghent (de Gand), Walter the Fleming, and Winemar the Fleming, the latter by William and Ralf de Fougères ('Felgeres'), Maino the Breton, Gozelin the Breton, Hervey, bearer of one of the favourite Breton names, and Hascoit Musard. Of these by far the largest landowner was Maino the Breton, whose barony subsequently owed the service of fifteen knights and had Wolverton for its head.¹ But Hanslope, although the only holding of Winemar in this county, is of interest as the head of his little barony,² of which the rest lay in Northamptonshire.

Another barony of which the head was here, though it extended into four adjoining counties, was that of Gilo, brother of Ansculf (de Picquigny) the late sheriff. We find it represented in 1166 by that of Gilbert de Pinkeni, which was of fifteen knight's fees, and on which Gilo de 'Pinkeny,' a namesake of the Domesday baron, was a tenant.³ Of the other holdings the most interesting, perhaps, is that of Farnham Royal, the solitary manor of Bertram de Verdon, for his heirs held it by a grand serjeanty which still inures at coronations.⁴

Some of the smaller men are of interest for their scattered possession. William the son of Constantius, for instance, had one manor in Buckinghamshire and one in Essex; William 'filius Manne' had single manors in Oxfordshire and Hampshire⁵ as well as in this county, besides being an under-tenant of William de Braose, in Sussex. William the chamberlain (of London), who was chiefly associated with Bedfordshire, had one manor here, two in Gloucestershire, and a vineyard in Middlesex, and seems to have been an under-tenant as well. 'Martin' was probably the bearer of that uncommon name who held four manors far away in Lincolnshire; but there is not even a common tenure by an English predecessor to account for his lands lying thus far apart.

It is difficult in this county, as it often is in Domesday, to distinguish the smaller barons, who held by military service, from the king's officers or 'serjeants.' We may, for instance, suspect that Hervey 'legatus'—who was, I suggest, an interpreter—belonged to the latter class, although he is entered immediately before an undoubted baron,

¹ Stoke Hammond owes its name to his descendent Hamon son of Meinfelin, who held this barony in 1166.

² *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 313.

³ *Ibid.* p. 317.

⁴ Wollaston, *Coronation Claims*, pp. 136-44.

⁵ He had there succeeded an Ælfric who was possibly his Buckinghamshire predecessor, King Edward's chamberlain; and it is added that he obtained the land with his wife.

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Hascoit Musard. But that suspicion becomes a certainty when we find him in Oxfordshire, where he held more land, treated as merely one of a group of king's officers. To that group is relegated also Richard 'Ingania,' a great forest officer, although his small Buckinghamshire manor is entered just before the great estates of a local baron.

Domesday, in accordance with its practice, deals with the lands of women, however high their station, after those that were held by barons. In Buckinghamshire even the two manors of the Conqueror's dead queen are relegated to this position, although it is more usual to find them, in consequence of her death, forming part of the king's land. As widow of Earl Waltheof, and herself of kin to the Conqueror, Countess Judith had great estates, but in this county her lands, though scattered, were not extensive. She had several Englishmen as under-tenants, two of whom, Thurkill and Morcar, held of her here.

After these great ladies and Ralf Talgebosc's widow, we descend to Ælfric the cook and to an interesting Englishman, 'Alsi,' of whom something must be said.

It was doubtless owing to the large interests of Edward's queen in this county that Wulfward White and Eadgifu ('Eddeva') his wife, who seem to have enjoyed her favour, had held a very considerable estate within it. The thick veil that usually prevents our distinguishing more than the names of the great English landowners is in their case somewhat lifted, and we are able to trace them in Domesday and to learn a little about them. But, to do this, we have to keep distant counties in view. In Somerset, for instance, Wulfward's lands formed, at the time of the Survey, no inconsiderable addition to the king's demesne. Wulfward, we learn from Somerset evidence, had lived almost to the time of Domesday, and as he has been found present at the courts, both of King William and of Queen Edith, he probably contrived to retain lands and royal favour. But all that his widow held in Somerset in 1086 was a pitifully small estate at Burnett. In nine other counties Wulfward had held lands, but of these Bucks is the only one in which the Survey adds to the knowledge we obtain in Somerset.

It is evident that in this county the lands of Wulfward and his wife were divided into three portions, of which one was obtained by the Bishop of Coutances, and one by Walter Giffard, while the third was allowed to pass to 'Alsi,' Wulfward's English son-in-law. Of 'Wermelle,' the first manor on the fief of the Bishop of Coutances, we read: 'Hoc manerium tenuit Eddeva uxor Wlwardi sub regina Eddid et vendere potuit.' Under Ludgershall, the next manor, this formula is cut down to 'Hoc manerium tenuit Eddeva de¹ regina Eddid et vendere potuit,' while under two other manors it is still further cut down by omission of the queen's name. Of these four manors, assessed at 28 hides, the widow was allowed to retain, as a tenant of the bishop, the 4 hides at Linford. On Walter Giffard's fief we find him succeeding

¹ This strongly supports the view that the words 'de' and 'sub' were in such cases used differently.

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her in two manors, which she held as 'Eddeda de regina Eddeva,' and as 'Eddeva uxor Vlwardi,' and also succeeding in one her husband 'Vlwardus homo Eddid reginæ,' the assessment of these three manors being $23\frac{1}{2}$ hides. Lastly, we find the above 'Alsi' holding three estates, all of which he seems to have received with Wulfward's daughter from Queen Edith. As these were assessed at 10 hides, we have now connected Wulfward and his wife with more than 60 hides in this county alone.¹

The only other Englishman who contrived to retain after the Conquest a good estate was Leofwine 'of Nuneham' (*de Neweham*), whose lands, in five places, were assessed at 16 hides, and for whose history we must turn to the cartulary of Abingdon Abbey. We there read that this Leofwine sold his inheritance at Nuneham (Courtenay), Oxfordshire, to the abbot of Abingdon,² the necessary leave for this transfer being obtained from the Bishop of Bayeux, then regent, as the king was absent in Normandy. William, according to the abbey's story, repudiated this transaction when Odo fell into disgrace, and, seizing the land, bestowed it on one of his followers. Of all this, however, Domesday tells us nothing; it merely records that Nuneham was held by Richard de Curci at the time of the Survey and had been held by 'Hacon.'

The group of thegns with whose lands the survey of the county closes calls for no special notice. Of their estates the only one of some value was that which had been Queen Edith's and which Godric 'cratel' had secured. A few of these Englishmen had retained the small holdings, which were theirs before the Conquest, fragments which enable us to grasp the wholesale spoliation of their countrymen. Others again retained them indeed, but only as oppressed tenants of a grasping Norman lord. Such was Æthelric who, at Marsh Gibbon, held his manor at farm, 'graviter et miserabiliter'; it is one of the most graphic touches that the Survey contains.

Domesday is somewhat careless of the names of those who were great landowners when Edward sat upon the throne, and even when they are rightly given, they do not tell us much. Here and there, however, we can identify a magnate either by his peculiar name or by some distinctive suffix. Borret, Borgret, or Burgered was a great Northamptonshire thegn, father of Eadwine, whose lands, here as elsewhere, were obtained by the Bishop of Coutances. 'Alnod' of Kent (*chentiscus*), as he is styled in Buckinghamshire—he was, in Northants, of 'Canterbury'—had preceded the Bishop of Bayeux at Chetwode and Tingewick, and was probably the Alnod 'cilt' who had preceded him at Westbury, for the 'Alnod' who had been so great a man in Kent and at Canterbury itself was 'Alnod cilt' (or 'cild'). Of Edmar 'atule'

¹ A curious entry under Buckingham itself records that the Bishop of Coutances had there three burgesses which 'Vlwardus filius (*sic*) Eddeva' had held. It is clear that this was Wulfward White, but whether 'filius Eddeva' is correct or an error of the Domesday scribe it is difficult to say.

² 'alius nobilium, Leowinus, quendam villam, Niweham, de suo patrimonio trans flumen Tamisix e regione monasterii Abbendonix sitam ipsi abbati, pretio accepto, distraxit' (*Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon* [Rolls Series] ii. 9). Nuneham lies almost opposite Abingdon on the Thames.

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of Berkhamstead, of Wigod of Wallingford, and of Wulfward 'White' and his wife I have already spoken.

The name of Wulfward 'White' reminds us that among those who had clearly held a large interest in the county was Edith the Confessor's queen. We know little or nothing of how she came by her lands, but the extent of those possessed by her brothers in this district suggests that some of them at least may have been her father Godwine's. She had, as the text will show, a number of 'men' in the county, but these, as well as her own estates, were divided, presumably at her death (1075), among several tenants-in-chief. The Bishop of Bayeux succeeded her at Hughenden and Marlow, the Bishop of Coutances, Robert d'Ouilly, Geoffrey de Mandeville, Walter, and 'Godric Cratel' at other places, but her largest manor was bestowed on Ælfric the cook. The total assessment of her manors was over 80 hides, 10 of which at Wycombe were held of her by 'Brictric.' This Brihtric—the name is variously spelt in the record—was a thegn of some importance who had 'men' of his own in the county, and some at least of whose lands were divided between Robert d'Ouilly and Milo Crispin.¹

One more former holder of land in the county may be mentioned. This was Fin the Dane, whose land at Cheddington was divided between Robert d'Ouilly and Suerting. His occurrence is of interest because this outlying estate was far removed from his lands in Essex and Suffolk, which had passed to Richard de Clare. In that district he seems to have retained them for a time after the Conquest, and his wife was still holding two Essex manors at the time of the Survey.²

The Buckinghamshire portion of the Survey brings prominently before us the very difficult question of the change of tenure at the Conquest. It is the tendency of Domesday to assimilate in form the conditions prevailing in England before and after the Conquest; and one of the signs of that tendency is the use of the same word (*homo*) for the 'man' of the Norman lord and of his English predecessor. The impression is thus conveyed that the former's compact 'fief' resembled what was relatively the loose *congeries* of rights that the great thegn had held. Yet, even while it conveys this impression, the record itself enables us to correct it by the facts which it contains. We should, at first sight, be led to believe that, before as after the Conquest, the county was parcelled out between great lords and their 'men,' of whom the latter held the manors which were not retained in demesne. But the vital difference is this: the 'fief' which the Normans introduced was an absolutely integral whole; whether its manors were held in demesne or by tenants of the lord they all passed together; but the bond which united the 'man' of the English thegn to his lord did not involve the passing of their lands as an indivisible whole.

An excellent case in point is afforded in this county by the devolution of the lands and 'men' of Ælfric son of Goding. Judging from the number of his men his influence was great, but it was local; outside

¹ See p. 214 above.

² *V. C. H. Essex*, i. 348-9.

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Buckinghamshire we cannot recognize him as holding any manor but that of Woburn, just across the Bedfordshire border, which had passed with the rest of his lands to Walter Giffard. But in this county we find him occurring as Walter's predecessor at Chilton, Easington, Dorton, Pollicot, Akeley, Moreton, Beachampton, Bourton, Hillesden, Woolstone, Linford. Of the manors, however, which had here been held by 'men' of Ælfric, Walter only obtained one which had been Wulfric's, one which had been Tofig's, two which had been Oswi's, and one other. But the Count of Mortain, at six places, obtained the lands of Ælfric's 'men,' Milo Crispin did so at Bradwell, Countess Judith succeeded to two of his thegns at Clifton, and Suerting was given an estate which his 'man' Gonni had held. From this it will be seen that the lands of his men did not of necessity pass with his own.

One of the prominent features in the survey of this county is the use of the term housecarl ('huscarle'). On the housecarls of the English kings some learning has been expended, but the actual meaning of the term at the time of the Norman Conquest remains by no means clear. Mr. Freeman, who devoted an appendix to the subject, held that they were 'a standing army,' and were described, in Harold's days, as 'stipendiarii et mercenarii.' On the other hand he knew that charters show them to have been at times grantees of land. In Domesday itself there are passages which seem to treat them as mercenary troops,¹ but when we examine the names of the Buckinghamshire 'housecarls,' we are struck by the fact that they are landowners, 'thegns' with substantial estates, and that those, moreover, who compiled Domesday drew no distinction between the 'housecarl' and the thegn. Of the seven men in this county whom it styles housecarls of King Edward, Burchard is, in two successive entries, styled 'huscarle regis E' and 'teignus regis E,' while under Buckingham itself he is Burchard 'of Shenley' ('de Senelai'). Now, as his lands went to Earl Hugh of Chester, and as his name is a rare one, we cannot hesitate to see in him that Burchard whose lands in Suffolk were obtained by Earl Hugh, and who had in that county several men commended to him. Here then we have a considerable land owner described in one entry, and in one only, as a housecarl.

Another considerable landowner whose name meets us several times in the county is Azor 'filius Toti,' who is described in one entry as a 'man' of Queen Edith and in one other as a 'housecarl.' Azor, in addition to his own manors, had several 'men' in Buckinghamshire, which shows him to have been of consequence. Again Ulf, whose lands here, as in Gloucestershire and Cambridgeshire, had been obtained by Robert de 'Todeni,' is here styled a housecarl, but in Cambridgeshire is a 'thegn of King Edward.' 'Tori' or 'Thori,' who, in this county, is twice described as a housecarl of King Edward, is almost certainly identical with the man of that name who appears elsewhere within its borders as a 'man' or 'thegn' of that king. 'Aldene,' who had pre-

¹ They are even equated with 'soldarii' in the Dorset portion of the survey.

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ceded Winemar at three places in Northamptonshire, is his predecessor in his one Buckinghamshire manor as 'Aldene the housecarl.' The other two housecarls mentioned are Golnil and Alli. We thus see that it is only the accident of a man being sometimes styled a housecarl in the Buckinghamshire portion of the Survey that enables us to distinguish him as such; and we are consequently led to infer that there may have been other landowners who were, as a matter of fact, housecarls, although they are not so described. As there is nothing to distinguish these housecarls from the rest of the men so styled, a new light, perhaps, is thrown on the status of the whole body.¹

It is only from incidental notices that we can recover in Domesday the names of sheriffs. That Ansculf de Picquigny, father of William the Domesday baron, had acted as sheriff of Bucks one such notice tells us;² but it is only conjecture, though highly probable, that Ralf Taillebois, who had filled the office in the adjoining counties of Herts and Beds, had occupied it also here. So far as the tenure of land is concerned, his widow Azelina held but one manor at the Survey; if Ralf, therefore, was connected with the county, it was in an official capacity. Now of two holdings towards the end of the Survey—half a hide which Leofwine had held and one hide which had been held by three men³—we read that they had been added to the king's manor of Wendover, to which they had not belonged before the Conquest; and it is expressly stated of the first that this had been done by 'Ralf.'⁴ In Bedfordshire a whole string of entries charges Ralf Taillebois with precisely similar action,⁵ and by comparing those in the two counties we can better understand its character.

A sheriff who 'farmed' the Crown manors could wrongfully increase his gains by two opposite devices; he could either, as at Wendover and in Bedfordshire, seize on small holdings and add them to the king's manors—thus increasing their revenue without increasing his payment to the Crown for them,⁶ or he could filch portions of the Crown demesne for the benefit of himself or of his friends. This would seem to have been done in Buckinghamshire by Godric, an English

¹ Mr. Ragg suggests that there were differences of tenure; that sometimes the same man held in one case as 'man,' in another as 'thegn,' and in a third as 'housecarl'; and that this saves us from the alternative of supposing that practically in such instances houscarl=thegn=man in these Domesday entries.

² See p. 213 above and 225 and 256 below.

³ See p. 276 below.

⁴ 'Hanc terram apposuit Radulfus in Wandoure, sed non fuit ibi T.R.E.' . . . 'modo sunt in firma regis in Wandoure, ubi non fuerunt T.R.E.' These passages should be compared with the statement under Wendover itself that 'in hoc manerio sunt ii sochemanni; unam hidam et dimidiam tenent; non jacuerunt ibi T.R.E.'; for the amount of land is the same, though its tenants are differently stated.

⁵ 'quas Radulfus talliebosc apposuit in Lestone, ubi non adjacebant T.R.E.' . . . 'Radulfus vero Taillebosc in manerio Houstone eam apposuit.' . . . 'Hanc apposuit Radulfus talliebosc in Loitone manerio regis.'

⁶ This appears to be the explanation of the Bedfordshire entries on fo. 218b:—'Has vi terras apposuit Radulfus Talgebosc in ministerio regis quando vicecomes fuit, non enim fuerunt ibi T.R.E. . . . Hanc terram apposuit Radulfus in ministerio regis, ubi non fuit T.R.E.' etc., etc. Similarly, in Berkshire, to the south, Robert (d'Ouilly) had annexed the tiny holdings of two Englishwomen to the royal manors of Wantage and Sutton:—'Robertus tenet in firma de Wanetinz, sed nunquam ibi pertinuit.' . . . 'Robertus tenet in firma de Sudton, sed ibi non pertinuit' (fo. 57).

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sheriff, who is charged with making use of half a hide, to give it as payment to the woman who taught his daughter embroidery,¹ though perhaps only for the term of his shrievalty. In Berkshire, of which also he was sheriff, there is much fuller testimony against him,² and Henry de Ferrers, who obtained his lands, is alleged to hold among them parcels of Crown demesne.³ His history, however, belongs more especially to that county. In Hertfordshire Ilbert, a Norman sheriff, seems to be charged with such an alienation of land.⁴

To the tenure by Ralf Taillebois of the office of sheriff we have probably obscure allusions in the exchange of half Risborough for Ellesborough 'contra Radulfum Targebosch,'⁵ and in his erection of a mill on Bertram de Verdon's land at Farnham Royal.

Although Buckingham occupies in the Survey the remarkable and separate position to which Professor Maitland has drawn attention as distinctive of county towns, its quasi-rural character is strongly marked. Indeed, it is surveyed in the same way as the purely rural manors of the king, save that, in the place of the usual villeins, twenty-six 'burgesses' precede the bordars and the serfs, and that its church is entered as that of the 'borough.' But the list of burgesses and their lords which follows this survey is similar to that which meets us in other capitals of shires. As the total of these burgesses is twenty-seven—one of whom had passed to the king with Earl Aubrey's land—we are left in doubt as to whether or not they represent the above 'twenty-six burgesses.' Probably, however, the latter dwelt on the king's land and should, therefore, be reckoned separately. With its usual disregard for uniformity Domesday sometimes gives us the value of these burghal holdings under the town itself, and sometimes under the manors to which they were deemed appurtenant. The former course is adopted here, and the double payments recorded should be carefully observed. From twenty-three of the burgesses the king received, in unequal amounts, sixty-six pence, while twenty-six were worth to their lords thirty-one shillings in all. But the amounts varied, in proportion doubtless with the value of their houses, from the twenty-six pence received by Earl Hugh and the Bishop of Coutances to the sevenpence which was all that a burgesse paid to Maino the Breton or Hugh de Bolbec.

Apart from the houses in the county town held by the lords of Buckinghamshire manors, it is noteworthy that at Oxford there was one house, worth thirty pence, belonging to (Princes) Risborough, and two, worth only four pence, that belonged to Twyford.⁶ Both these manors were near the Oxfordshire border, but the only relative entry in their own county is the mention of a burgesse at Oxford, appurtenant

¹ 'habuit ipsa dimidiam hidam quam Godricus vicecomes ei concessit, quamdiu vicecomes esset, ut illa doceret filiam ejus Aurifrisium operari.'

² 'dimidia hida fuit de firma regis, sed tempore Godrici vicecomitis fuit foris missa. Hoc attestatur tota scira' (fo. 57b).

³ Ibid. passim, and fo. 60b. : 'accepit ipse Godricus de firma regis unam virgatam terræ.'

⁴ 'Quam terram dederat Ilbertus cuidam suo militi dum esset vicecomes' (fo. 133).

⁵ See p. 209 above.

⁶ Domesday Book, fo. 154.

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to Risborough, who paid two shillings, which is probably only another illustration of the occasional discrepancies in Domesday. The total amount which Edward the Confessor had received from Buckingham, even with Bourton, was only ten pounds a year, as against the twenty-five pounds which Aylesbury or Wendover brought him, which implies that it was but a small place. Aylesbury, the meeting place of many roads, produced, at the time of the Survey, no less than ten pounds from its toll alone ; but, as there is no mention of burgesses, it can hardly yet have been a place of trade. On the other hand, burgesses occur at Newport (Pagnel), a manor of William Fitz Ansculf, a manor of which the name, in spite of its rural character, implies a market of some kind.

The ploughland, the meadow, the woodland, and the mill, these were the chief sources of wealth. With wearisome iteration the text records the number of ploughlands in the manor, the ploughteams, each of eight oxen, that were actually at work upon them, the peasants and the lord's serfs, the meadows down by the streams that afforded hay for the oxen, the watermill at which the peasants were compelled to have their corn ground, and the number of swine for which the woodland was reckoned to provide mast.

Here and there an exceptional phrase or some peculiar payment deserves notice. The render, for instance, of ploughshares as rent in kind occurs at a few places ; at Bledlow, Burnham, Chesham, and Aston Clinton we find them rendered from the woodland, and at Wing from the pasture. The payment in such cases appears to represent the renting of surplus areas, as at Aylesbury, where twenty shillings were received 'de remanenti.' From the woodland at Caldecot was received twenty-eight pence, from that at Tyringham twenty-six pence, on a nameless manor sixteen pence, and from that at Missenden four 'ores,' that is to say, sixty-four pence. The 'ore,' or silver ounce of sixteen pence, occurs several times in this county ; and it was here as elsewhere a common unit in the rent of mills ; those at Denham, at Chalfont, and Aston Clinton were each of them worth five 'ores,' and that of another manor five 'ores' and four pence. Bledlow mill produced the exceptional render of twenty-four (horse)loads of malt.

The rent of a mill was sometimes paid in part in eels from the millpool. Eels were thus received from the mills at Winchendon (80), Olney (200), Lavendon¹ (250), Haversham (75), and Stanton (50). An exceptional entry under Iver speaks of four fisheries producing '1,500 eels and fish on Fridays for the use of the reeve of the vill' ; as a rule the eel appears as the only product of the 'fishery,' that is of the weir composed of basket-work traps. The course of the Thames is marked by entries of such 'fisheries.' They begin with Wraysbury, a manor which possessed 'four fisheries in the Thames,' bringing in twenty-six shillings and eight pence ; above it were Datchet, producing from its two fisheries 2,000 eels, Upton (by Slough), and Eton, at each of which a fishery produced 1,000. Then came Dorney with 500, Taplow with

¹ This was only the moiety of a mill.

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1,000, Hitcham with 500, Wooburn with its 300, the two Marlows, producing respectively 1,000 and 500, and finally Medmenham and Hambleton with 1,000 each. The only productive 'fishery' away from the Thames was at West Wycombe, where 1,000 eels were obtained; but, in addition to those procured from mills, 100 are entered as obtained at Shabbington, and 125 at Clifton Reynes, the 'stick' of 25 being the unit for eels. Lastly, a fishstew is mentioned at Caversfield, an outlying portion of the county in Oxfordshire.

At Long Crendon Walter Giffard had already 'a park for beasts of the chase,' and at Oakley, some five miles away, the woodland, we read, would feed two hundred swine, did it not lie in 'the King's park.' Oakley, which was sometimes distinguished as 'in Bernwod,' lay in Bernwood Forest and adjoined Brill, a hunting seat of our early kings, from which several of their charters are dated. The issues of the forest are entered under Brill in Domesday as £12 'arsas et pensatas.' That hawking was important as well as hunting, is brought home to us by the entry of a falcons' eyry at Chalfont St. Peter.

Horses are rarely mentioned in Domesday, but we read that at High Wycombe there was meadow sufficient for 'the horses of the court' as well as for the ploughteams.¹ At Dorney on the Thames there was meadow 'for the horses' as well as for the three ploughteams; at Wraysbury, where we should expect extensive meadows, there was meadow for only five of the seventeen teams employed, but there was also enough to provide hay for the lord's 'beasts' (*animalia*). On the archbishop's manor of 'Nedreham' (in Haddenham and Cuddington) an exceptional entry records that it produced eight days' ferm of hay for him. At this point perhaps one may mention the (horse)loads of salt which the king's manor of Princes Risborough was entitled to receive from a salter at Droitwich. The only vineyard entered in the county was a small one at Iver.

Having now dealt with the dues, payments, and sources of profit that deserve special notice, we may glance at the few but interesting entries that relate to parish churches. Those on the Crown manors were usually well endowed, and appear in the Survey as held in plurality by favourites of the king. The chief of such pluralists was Reinbald, a favourite of Edward as of William, but in this county he only held a hide at Boveney, which belonged to the church of the Crown manor of Cookham on the Berkshire bank of the Thames, a church which had a large glebe in its own county, and which King Edward had given him. It was the local bishop, Remi of Lincoln, late of Dorchester (Oxon), who held the chief endowments. His was the church of Aylesbury, with its great appurtenant manor of Stoke Mandeville, and with its valuable right to church scot from the whole area of 'the eight hundreds round about Aylesbury,' an ancient due of which we read in the Domes-

¹ This implies extensive meadows, for though the Domesday entry is unusual in form, it involves meadow for thirty plough-teams (240 oxen) as well as for the lord's horses. But so extensive was the river frontage that the manor had no fewer than six mills.

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day Survey of Worcestershire.¹ His also was the church of Buckingham, which held a good estate there, and to which Gawcott also was appurtenant. On the Archbishop of Canterbury's manor of 'Nedreham' Gilbert the priest is mentioned as holding the church and tithe with a large glebe assessed at 3 hides. A small glebe of half a virgate, lying in Hardmead, is mentioned as belonging to the church of St. Firmin of (North) Crawley.

Of institutional and legal antiquities a few illustrations may be noted. The distinct mention of castle guard in the case of Drayton Parslow, whence two knights, we read, were due towards the ward of Windsor, is probably unique in Domesday, though later evidence shows us the baronies of Picquigny ('Pinkeny') and Windsor in this county charged with that service.² The development of subinfeudation is seen at Crafton (in Wing) where Robert de Nouers held of the Bishop of Lisieux, who held of the Bishop of Bayeux. At Gayhurst he held of the former, who held *sine medio* of the Crown. The difficulties thus created receive curious illustration in the case of 'Bricstoch,' where 'Turstin' is entered as holding a hide under Walter Giffard. This Turstin proves to have been Turstin Fitz Rou, under whose fief the entry is repeated, the land being there said to be held by Rainald of Turstin, who holds it of the king; but this latter entry is deleted. It enables us, however, to place side by side the versions in the two entries with this interesting result:—

Hanc terram tenuit Alwen quædam
femina sub Siwardo et vendere potuit
(fo. 147).

Hanc terram tenuit Aluene quædam
femina Siwardi et potuit dare cui voluit
(fo. 151).

Here again we are reminded of that singular passion for variation which led the Domesday scribe to express by different formulas the text he had before him.

The same passion for variation is perhaps accountable for the fact that in some Buckinghamshire entries we have extremely full details of the previous holders of land, while in others a bald statement is deemed sufficient. That the Domesday scribe did occasionally omit such details is shown by collating his text for Cambridgeshire with the full returns from the Hundreds, of which we possess transcripts. At times he preserved the gist of the details, while skilfully reducing their bulk; but at others he simply ignored them. At Wratworth, for instance, he simply wrote: 'Hanc terram tenuerunt vi sochemanni et cui voluerunt terram suam vendere potuerunt' (fo. 193b); and at Whitwell, in one case: 'Hanc terram iii sochemanni tenuerunt et cui voluerunt vendere potuerunt' (fo. 193b); while in another, after writing 'Hanc terram tenuerunt viii sochemanni,' he copied out in full the details concerning them (fo. 198). We are justified, I think, by this evidence, in holding that the strange variations presented in the Buckingham portion were

¹ *V. C. H. Worc.* i, 251.

² 'Warda debita castro de Windesores' (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 716).

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merely due to caprice. For instance, at Woughton-on-the-Green, after the words, 'Hoc manerium tenuerunt viii teigni,' we have full details of their holdings and their seven different lords; at Moulsoe, after the same words, the names and holdings of the eight Englishmen are given in full; but at Chicheley, where 'nine thegns' had held a manor of $3\frac{3}{4}$ hides, we are given no information at all as to their names or holdings. The most important entry of the kind is one that is mentioned by Professor Maitland,¹ where (at Lavendon) we read:—

Hoc manerium tenuerunt viii teigni, et unus eorum, Alli homo regis Edwardi, senior aliorum fuit.

This is supposed to imply that 'Alli' represented the whole group in the eyes of the Crown.

'Inland,' that is the portion of a manor which was exempt from 'geld,' is scarcely mentioned in this county. Indeed, its name is not found, but the five 'carucatæ terræ' at Hanslope in demesne, over and above its 5 hides, were undoubtedly 'inland'; and so, perhaps, were the four 'carucatæ terræ' in demesne at Newport Pagnel, and the three in demesne at Turweston.

Of legal terms, as we might expect in the troublous age of the Conquest, disseisin is not wanting; at Bradwell, Ansculf, when sheriff, had 'disseised' the holder of 3 virgates; at Drayton (Parslow) the Bishop of Coutances had 'disseised' Ralf 'Passaquam' and given the land to a follower of his own. Instances of exchange occur on the lands of the Bishop of Coutances and of William Fitz Ansculf,² and we also read that Robert d'Ouilly had obtained Iver in exchange for Padbury. A curious entry under Clifton (Reynes) charges the Norman undertenants with having taken possession of some land without the king's knowledge.³ The (mort)gage (*vadium*) of land occurs at Simpson.

The names of classes in this county are those usually met with, but there is mention at Caldecot of two vavassors, and at High Wycombe of four 'boors' (*huri*).

The last subject we have to consider is that of the Domesday Hundreds, eighteen in number. These are now represented by six, each of which comprises three of the old Hundreds. A table will make the arrangement clear:—

<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> 'Stanes' 'Elesberie' 'Riseberg' 'Stoches' 'Burneham' 'Dustenberg' 'Ticheshale' 'Essedene' 'Votesdone' </div> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> The three Hundreds of Aylesbury </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> 'Coteslai' 'Erlai' 'Mursalai' 'Stodfald' 'Rovelai' 'Lamva' 'Sigelai' 'Bonestou' 'Molesoveslau' </div> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> Cottesloe Hundred Buckingham Hundred Newport Hundred </div> </div>
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> 'Stoches' 'Burneham' 'Dustenberg' 'Ticheshale' 'Essedene' 'Votesdone' </div> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> The Chiltern Hundreds </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> 'Coteslai' 'Erlai' 'Mursalai' 'Stodfald' 'Rovelai' 'Lamva' 'Sigelai' 'Bonestou' 'Molesoveslau' </div> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> Cottesloe Hundred Buckingham Hundred Newport Hundred </div> </div>
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> 'Stoches' 'Burneham' 'Dustenberg' 'Ticheshale' 'Essedene' 'Votesdone' </div> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> Ashendon Hundred </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> 'Coteslai' 'Erlai' 'Mursalai' 'Stodfald' 'Rovelai' 'Lamva' 'Sigelai' 'Bonestou' 'Molesoveslau' </div> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> Cottesloe Hundred Buckingham Hundred Newport Hundred </div> </div>

¹ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 145.

² See pp. 240, 241, 254, below. On the Bishop's exchange of Bleadon, Somerset, for lands in Beds and Bucks, see *V. C. H. Beds* i. 196.

³ 'iii virgatas . . . habent occupatas et celatas super regem, ut homines de hundred dicunt.'

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

The order in which the Domesday Hundreds is given above is that in which they appear to have stood on the original returns¹ for the county. These returns were made at the Survey, Hundred by Hundred and vill by vill, and from them the compilers of Domesday Book extracted the constituents of each fief and arranged them under the name of the baron who held it.

The ascertainment of the sequence of Hundreds is often of importance for identifying doubtful manors where the scribe has omitted the name of the Hundred to which they belong. It is therefore satisfactory to find that Mr. Ragg and Mr. Morley Davies,² who examined it independently, have arrived at the same conclusions. Mr. Davies, whose map is here reproduced, suggests, in his valuable paper, that 'the grouping in threes was already established at the time of Domesday Book,' and considers that this view is supported by the relative position of the groups.³ So far back as 1887, at the Domesday Commemoration, the late Canon Isaac Taylor drew attention to this grouping of the Buckinghamshire Hundreds, and compared it with the similar grouping in the East Riding of Yorkshire, where eighteen Domesday Hundreds may be roughly said, according to him, to have been rearranged, by Edwardian times, in six groups, each of which contained three of them, five of which were styled Wapentakes, while the sixth consisted of Liberties; and he suggested that this grouping might be connected with the *naviplotio* or provision of one ship from three Hundreds.⁴ The evidence, however, of such grouping of Hundreds for this purpose is very slight.⁵

The Domesday Hundreds retained their names unchanged for a long period, but the grouping system had been introduced even before their disuse. For in 1316 the 'Nomina Hundredorum' shows us the two co-existent,⁶ though in 1346 the Domesday names alone are given.⁷

In studying the Domesday Survey we have to be always on the watch for the appearance under one county of a place belonging to another. The accounts of some manors seem to have gone astray, but in other cases the apparent discrepancy is accounted for by the fact of a manor which lay geographically in one county belonging territorially to another. Such 'islands,' or detached portions of counties, usually retained to our own time the same peculiar position that they are found occupying in Domesday. Caversfield, for

¹ 'The ancient Hundreds of Buckinghamshire,' by Morley Davies, in *The Home Counties Magazine* vi. 134-44.

² Mr. Ragg has elaborately tabulated the Hundreds for the purpose of the History, and has kindly allowed me the use of his tables. He considers that it is possible to establish not only the sequence of the Hundreds, but even that of the vills within each Hundred. The discovery of the latter has enabled him to identify some doubtful manors.

³ *Home Counties Magazine*, vi. p. 136.

⁴ See his paper on 'Wapentakes and Hundreds' in *Domesday Studies*, pp. 72-6.

⁵ For the triple Hundred of Oswaldslow, Worcestershire, see Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 268.

⁶ *Feudal Aids*, i. 107-8, where each group is styled 'The three hundreds of . . .'

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 116 *et seq.*



MAP OF THE ANCIENT HUNDREDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, ACCORDING TO DOMESDAY BOOK.

Scale 8 miles to the inch.

This map is based upon the index-map to the original six-inch Ordnance Survey map of Bucks.

REFERENCES.

- A Astwood and North Crawley, not named in Bucks D.B.
- B Lillingstone Lovell, a detached part of Oxon (at least in modern times).
- C Ternitone (Thornton) and Becentone (Beachampton), forming a detached part of Rovelai.
- D Buckingham with Bourton, extra-hundredal.
- E Cavrefelle (Caversfield), a detached part of Rovelai and of the shire.
- F A detached part of Ticheshale.
- G Brvnhelle (Brill, here assumed to include Boarstall), apparently extra-hundredal.
- H Eie (Kingsey and Towersey), Estone (Aston Sandford), and Waldruge (Waldridge), forming a detached part of Ticheshale.
- J Liberty of Moreton, a detached part of Desborough (at least in modern times).
- K Draitone (Drayton Beauchamp, here assumed to include Hawridge and Cholesbury), a detached part of Erlai.
- L Lee, not named in D.B., unless it be Ledes, in which case it is a detached part of Dustenberg.
- M A detached part of Oxon (at least in modern times).
- N Penn, not named in D.B.
- O Coleshill, a detached part of Herts (at least in modern times).
- P Seer Green, a detached part of Farnham Royal (in modern times), and therefore possibly of Stoches hundred.

Note.—The area of Burnham Hundred that is partially enclosed by areas N, O and P should also have been marked off by dotted lines in such a way as to divide the hundred into two completely detached parts, this area being that of Beaconsfield which is not named in Domesday Book.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

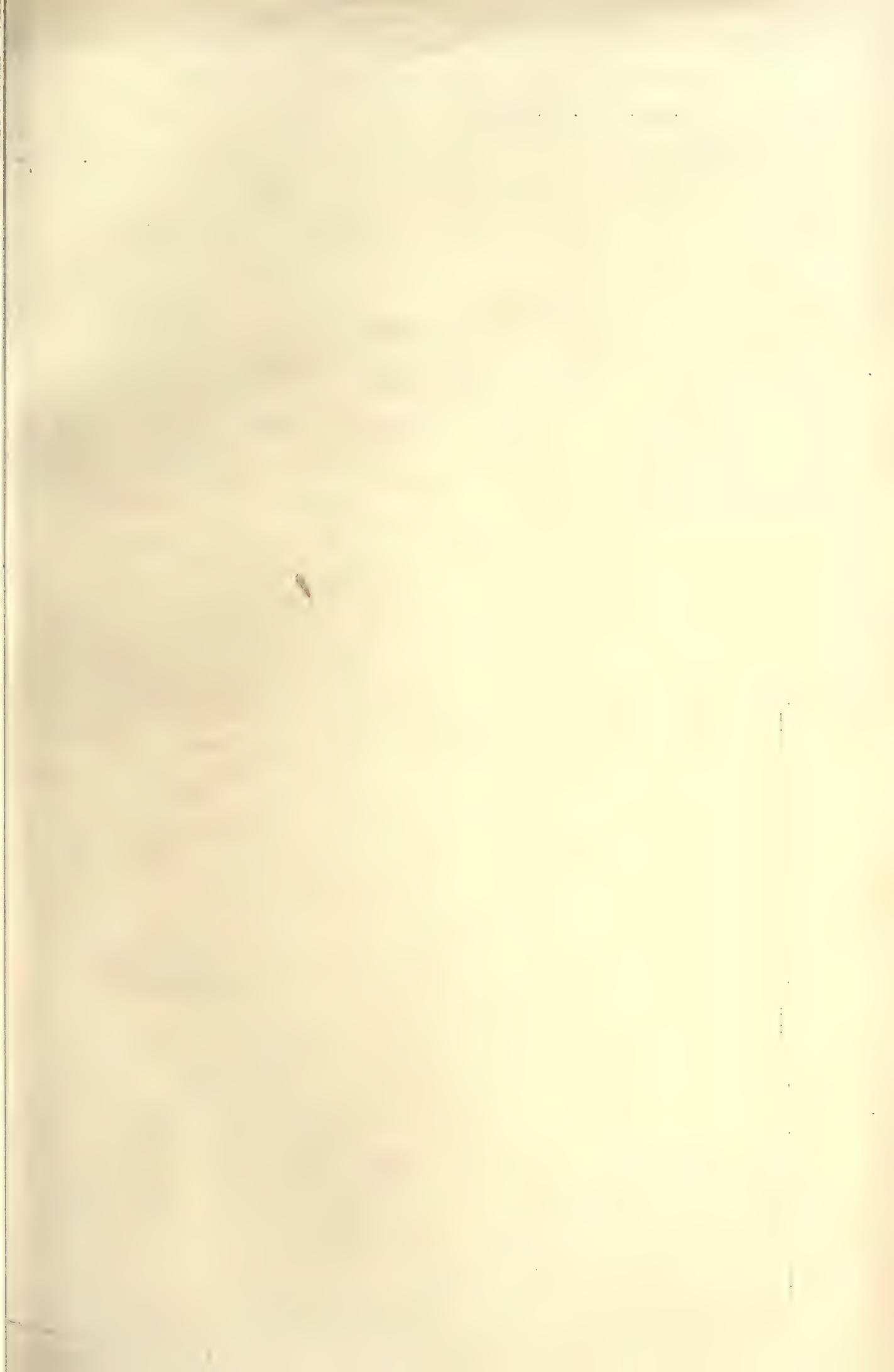
instance, in Oxfordshire, was an outlying portion of Buckinghamshire, under which county it is surveyed.¹ More remarkable is the case of Lillingstone, a 10-hide vill, which occupies a corner of Buckinghamshire, projecting into Northamptonshire. Five of its hides, now represented by Lillingstone Dayrell, are duly surveyed in our county, but the other five, which now constitute Lillingston Lovell, were surveyed under Oxfordshire, to which county they continued to belong. About half way between Lillingstone and the Oxfordshire border was another 'island' of that county, namely Boycot; and yet a third, Ackhamstead, lay in the south of the county.

Apart from this, we have to remember that places on the border of a county are sometimes surveyed in Domesday partly under one county and partly under another. Ibstone, for instance, which is now in Oxfordshire, but which lies just on the border, appears in Domesday as a vill assessed at 4 hides, Hervey holding the whole of it. Of these hides 2 are entered under Buckinghamshire as 'Hibestanes,' and the other two under Oxfordshire, one as 'Ypestan' and the other as 'Ebestan.' On the Bedfordshire border Edlesborough, itself in Buckinghamshire, has 20 of its 30 hides surveyed in that county, while the rest are entered under Bedfordshire. What is true of counties is true also of Hundreds; Mr. Ragg observes, as the result of tabulating Domesday Hundreds, that 'vills could be divided by the boundaries of Hundreds or counties as they appear in Domesday, not always into sections which contained commensurable numbers of hides and as in the case of Senelai [7+5] with but partial regard to separation into portions which take note of 5.' He consequently holds that 'the hidation as it occurs in Domesday is a reminiscence of a more ancient state of things than counties and Hundreds, at least as therein given.'

Mr. Morley Davies, in his study on the ancient Hundreds of the county, has similarly pointed out that, in Domesday, Hundreds, like counties, have their detached portions, and that their boundaries, like those of counties, occasionally intersect a vill, or, as he prefers to describe it, divide two townships of the same name.² These features, of course, are in no way peculiar to Buckinghamshire, but they are of singular interest to those who seek to explore our earlier history and to trace the building up of all but the oldest counties from probably pre-existent Hundreds and of Hundreds, possibly, from vills. Whether the Hundred or the vill (or township) was the older unit, or whether they are equal in antiquity, we can hardly say at present; but the map of England—that great palimpsest, as Professor Maitland has well termed it—still bears the impress of our earliest national developments, and its patient study may yet provide an answer to the riddles of the past.

¹ It was only transferred from Bucks to Oxon by 6 & 7 Victoria, cap. 61.

² *The Home Counties Magazine*, vi. 140-1.



MEDE

EDEFORDSCIRE

Edinberge
vingehov
CELESTORNE

HERFORDSCIRE

R. Mestreham
R. Milsbourne
R. Celfunde
R. Celfunde

MIDELSEXE

Daneham
Stoches
Ferneham
Evraneham
OPETONE
Ettone
Ditone
Dacota
Hortune
Wirecesberie

NOTES TO DOMESDAY MAP

(Compiled by F. W. RAGG, M.A., with notes by J. HORACE ROUND, M.A.)

IN this map those manors in which the king had an interest are given in red capital letters, those of the Bishop of Bayeux in small red type, and those of Walter Gifard in black capitals. In the case of manors in which both the king, or bishop, and Walter Gifard had an interest, the names are printed in red but underlined in black. The boundaries of the Hundreds cannot be shown, but their Domesday names will be found on the map together with reference letters. Though the name of a manor or of a Hundred is often given in more than one form by the survey, only one of these can be here shown. The modern river names have been given for the convenience of the reader.

The relative sparseness of names in the district of the Chiltern Hills, in which long lingered great heaths and commons, should be observed on the map.

LIST OF THE HUNDREDS.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| A Bonestov | K Votesdone |
| B Sigelai | L Esse(n)dene |
| C Moleslov, Moslai, Moisselai | M Tichesele |
| D Rovelai | N Stanes |
| E Stodfald, Stofald | O Elesberie |
| F Lammva | P Riseberge |
| G Mursalai, Murselai | Q Dustenberge |
| H Coteslai, Cotesshale | R Burneham |
| I Erlai | S Stoches |

The positions of the vills which gave their names to the Hundreds of Coteslai and Erlai are indicated on the map by crosses, although they are not mentioned in Domesday.

When, through the omission of the heading, a vill seems to be placed in the wrong Hundred, the letter denoting that Hundred is added in parentheses.

NOTE

The reader should bear in mind throughout that the date of the Domesday Survey is 1086; that 'the time of King Edward' ('T.R.E.'), to which it refers, normally means the date of his death (January 5, 1066); and that the intermediate date, which is usually entered as 'when received,' is that at which the estate passed into the hands of the new holder or was confirmed by the Conqueror to the old one. These values, which are possibly approximate, were sometimes identical at two of the periods, and sometimes at all three; in the latter case the formula 'valuit semper' is employed.

The Domesday 'hide' was a unit of assessment divided into four quarters called 'virgates,' each of which was reckoned to contain 30 acres, but these were merely fiscal, not areal measures. 'Demesne' is used in two senses: manors held 'in demesne' were those which the tenant-in-chief (who held directly of the Crown) retained in his own hands, instead of enfeoffing under-tenants therein; but when the 'demesne' of a manor is spoken of, the term denotes that portion which the holder (whether a tenant-in-chief or only an under-tenant) worked as a home farm with the help of labour due from the peasants who held the rest of the manor from him. Of the peasantry the three main classes are styled, in descending order, villeins, bordars, and serfs; the serfs were specially connected with the lord's portion of the manor; the phrase 'villeins with bordars' is merely a variant of 'villeins and bordars.' The essential element of the plough ('caruca') was its team of oxen, always reckoned in Domesday as eight in number; their importance is indicated in this county by the entry of the water-meadows that supplied them with hay.

Buckinghamshire is one of the counties in which the letter 'M,' denoting 'Manerium' (manor), is found prefixed to entries. The double numbering of the fiefs is due to an error of the scribe, who has omitted to number, in the text, that of the Bishop of Lincoln, which has thrown out the numbering of all those that follow. Another error of the scribe is his writing, here as under Berkshire, 'Molebec' for 'Bolebec' in one instance, and conversely 'Berlaue' for 'Merlaue' (Marlow), which points to an easy confusion of the two letters.

The text has been prepared by Mr. Ragg and revised by Mr. Round, who has also added the footnotes which bear his initials.

BOCHINGHAMSCIRE

fo. 143

BOCHINGHEHAM with BORTONE¹ [Buckingham with Bourton] was assessed (*se defendebat*) at 1 hide T.R.E., and is assessed at the same now (*et modo similiter facit*). There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and (the) villeins have $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and there could be $2\frac{1}{2}$ more. There are 26 burgesses and 11 bordars and 2 serfs. There is 1 mill worth (*de*) 14 shillings. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams); pasture for the live stock (*pecuniam*) of the vill. In all (*In totis valentiis*) it used to pay T.R.E. 10 pounds by tale. It now pays 16 pounds of blanch (*albo*) silver.

Bishop Remigius holds the church of this borough, and land for 4 ploughs which belongs to it. There are 4 ploughs and 3 villeins and 3 bordars and 10 cottars and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings; meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), wood (*nemus*) for the fences. It is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This church Bishop Wlwi² held of King E[dward].

In this borough the Bishop of Coutances has 3 burgesses whom Wlward son (*filius*³) of Eddeva held. These pay 6 shillings and 6 pence yearly, and to the king 11 pence.

Earl Hugh has 1 burgess who was a man of Burcard of Senelai⁴ [Shenley]. He pays 26 pence yearly and to the king 5 pence.

Robert de Olgi has 1 burgess who was a man of Azor son of Toti. He pays 16 pence, and to the king 5 pence.

Roger de Ivri has 4 burgesses who were men of the same Azor. These pay 7 shillings and 6 pence, and to the king 13 pence.

Hugh de Bolebec has 4 burgesses who were men of Alric. These pay 28 pence, and to the king 12 pence.

Manno the Breton (*Brito*) has 4 burgesses who were men of Eddeva wife of Syred. These pay 29 pence. They owe no dues to the king.

Hascoi Musart has 1 burgess who was a man of Azor son of Toti.⁵ He pays 16 pence, and to the king 2 pence.

Ernulf de Hesding has 1 burgess who was Wilaf's (man). He pays 2 shillings yearly, and to the king 3 pence.

William de Castellon has of the Bishop of Bayeux's fee 2 burgesses who were men of Earl Leofwine (*Lewini*). These pay 16 pence, and to the king now nothing, but T.R.E. they paid 3 pence.

¹ 'cum Bortone' is interlined.

² Wulfwig, Bishop of Lincoln (J.H.R.)

³ See Introduction, p. 217, note 1.

⁴ 'of Senelai' interlined.

⁵ 'son of Toti' interlined.

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

One burgess of Earl Aubrey's fee pays to the king 2 pence.

Lewin of Neweham [Nuneham Courtenay, Oxon] has 5 burgesses, and he had them T.R.E. These pay him 4 shillings yearly, and to the king 12 pence.

[NAMES OF HOLDERS OF LANDS]

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>I KING WILLIAM</p> <p>II The Archbishop of Canterbury</p> <p>III The Bishop of Winchester</p> <p>IIII The Bishop of Lincoln</p> <p>v The Bishop of Bayeux</p> <p>VI The Bishop of Coutances</p> <p>VII The Bishop of Lisieux</p> <p>VIII The abbot of Westminster</p> <p>IX The abbot of St. Albans</p> <p>X The abbess of Barking</p> <p>XI The canons of Oxford</p> <p>XII Rainbald the priest</p> <p>XIII The Count of Mortain</p> <p>XIIII Earl Hugh of Chester</p> <p>XV Walter Gifard</p> <p>XVI William de Warenne</p> <p>XVII William Pevrel</p> <p>XVIII William son of Ansculf</p> <p>XIX Robert de Todeni</p> <p>XX Robert de Oilgi</p> <p>XXI Robert Gernon</p> <p>XXII Geoffrey de Manneville</p> <p>XXIII Gilbert de Gand</p> <p>XXIIII Miles Crispin</p> <p>XXV Edward de Sarisberie</p> <p>XXVI Hugh de Beauchamp</p> <p>XXVII Hugh de Bolebech</p> <p>XXVIII Henry de Ferrariis</p> <p>XXIX Walter de Vernon</p> | <p>XXX Walter son of Other</p> <p>XXXI Walter the Fleming</p> <p>XXXII William de Felgeres</p> <p>XXXIII William the chamberlain</p> <p>XXXIIII William son of Constantine</p> <p>XXXV William son of Magnus</p> <p>XXXVI Turstin son of Rolf</p> <p>XXXVII Turstin Mantel</p> <p>XXXVIII Ralf de Felgeres</p> <p>XL Bertran de Verdun</p> <p>XLI Nigel de Albin</p> <p>XLII Nigel de Bereville</p> <p>XLIII Roger de Iveri</p> <p>XLIIII Richard Ingania</p> <p>XLV Manno the Breton</p> <p>XLVI Gozelin the Breton</p> <p>XLVII Urse de Berseres</p> <p>XLVIII Winemar (the Fleming)</p> <p>XLIX Martin</p> <p>L Hervey Legatus</p> <p>LI Hascoit Musart</p> <p>LII Gunfrey de Cioches</p> <p>LIII Gilo brother of Ansculf</p> <p>LIIII Queen Mathildis</p> <p>LV Countess Judith</p> <p>LVI Azelina wife of (Ralf) Tailgebosch</p> <p>LVII Thegns and almsmen of the king</p> |
|--|--|

I. THE KING'S LAND

EILESBERIA [Aylesbury], a demesne manor of the king, is and was assessed, T.R.E. and after (*se defendit semper*) at 16 hides. There is land for 16 ploughs. On the demesne are 2. There 20 villeins with 14 bordars have 10 ploughs and there could be 4 more. There are 2 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 23 shillings. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 8

plough (teams); and from what there is besides (*de remanenti*) (come) 20 shillings.¹ In all (*totis valentiis*) it pays 56 pounds assayed (*arsas*) and weighed out, and from the toll 10 pounds by tale. T.R.E. it used to pay 25 pounds by tale.

¹ i.e. besides supplying provender for the 8 plough teams the meadow land pays 20 shillings of dues or rent.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

In this manor was and is 1 sokeman holding 1 virgate of land, which he could assign (*dare*) or sell to whom he wished, and yet he always does service to the king's sheriff. The church of this manor the Bishop of Lincoln holds.

fo. 143b

M. WENDOVRE [Wendover] is and was assessed T.R.E. and after (*se defendit semper*) at 24 hides. There is land for 26 ploughs. On the demesne are 3. There 26 villeins with 6 bordars have 17 ploughs and there could be 6 more. There are 2 mills worth (*de*) 10 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams); and from what there is besides (*de remanenti*) (come) 20 shillings.¹ There is woodland (to feed) 2,000 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it pays yearly 38 pounds assayed (*arsas*) and weighed out. T.R.E. it used to pay 25 pounds by tale. In this manor are 2 sokemen holding 1½ hides. They did not belong to it (*non jacuerunt ibi*) T.R.E.

M. RISEBERGE [(Princes) Risborough] was Earl² Harold's vill. It is and was assessed T.R.E. and after (*se defendit semper*) at 30 hides. There is land for 24 ploughs. In the demesne are 20 hides, and there are 4 ploughs on it. There 30 villeins with 12 bordars have 20 ploughs. There are 3 serfs and 2 mills worth (*de*) 14 shillings and 8 pence. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 7 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 1,000 swine. In all it pays yearly 47 pounds of blanch (*albo*) silver all but 16 pence. T.R.E. it used to pay 10 pounds by tale. To this manor belongs and belonged (*jacet et jacuit*) a certain burgess of Oxeneford [Oxford] paying 2 shillings. There is besides a salt worker of Wieg [Droitwich] who renders [] loads³ (*summas*) of salt. And in the same manor was and is a certain sokeman holding 3 virgates. He could indeed (*quidem*) sell (his land), but yet he has done service to the sheriff.

M. SUENEBORNE [Swanbourne] was Earl⁴ Harold's vill. It is assessed at 4½ hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides and 3 virgates, and there is 1 plough and there could be another. There 3 villeins have 1½ ploughs and there could be as many more. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). Altogether it pays yearly 30 shillings of blanch (*albo*) silver. T.R.E. (it paid) 30 shillings by tale.

¹ See preceding note.

² 'Earl' interlined.

³ The number is not mentioned.

⁴ 'Earl' interlined.

M. OPETONE [Upton⁵] was Earl⁶ Harold's vill. It is assessed at 18 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 2½ hides, and there are 2 ploughs on it. There 19 villeins with 5 bordars have 15 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 4 shillings. From fisheries (come) 1,000 eels. Meadow is there sufficient for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine. Altogether it pays yearly 21 pounds assayed (*arsas*) and weighed out. T.R.E. it used to pay 15 pounds by tale.

M. BRUNHELLE [Brill] was King Edward's manor. It is and was assessed T.R.E. and after (*se defendit semper*) at 20 hides. There is land for 25 ploughs. On the demesne are 3. There 19 villeins with 13 bordars have 17 ploughs and there could be 5 more. There are 2 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, meadow sufficient for 20 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 200 swine. Altogether it pays yearly 38 pounds of blanch (*albo*) silver, and for the forest⁷ 12 pounds assayed (*arsas*) and weighed out. T.R.E. it used to pay 18 pounds by tale.

IN STOFALD HUNDRET⁸

M. BECHESDENE [Biddlesden] King William holds. Earl⁹ Aubrey¹⁰ had it of him. There are 4 hides and 1 virgate. There is land for 8 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides, and there is 1 plough on it, and there could be 2 more. There 4 villeins and 5 bordars have 2 ploughs and there could be 3 more. There are 4 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 28 pence, meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team) and woodland (to feed) 200 swine. It is worth 30 shillings; when received 4 pounds; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor was held by Azor son of Tored, a thegn of King Edward.

II. THE LAND OF ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC¹¹

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET¹²

M. Archbishop Lanfranc holds NEDREHAM¹³ []. It is assessed at 40 hides. There is land for 30 ploughs. In the demesne are 18 hides,

⁵ Near Slough.

⁶ 'Earl' interlined.

⁷ See Introduction, p. 223.

⁸ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

⁹ 'Earl' interlined.

¹⁰ His lands had reverted to the Crown at the time of Domesday (J.H.R.)

¹¹ Of Canterbury.

¹² Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

¹³ Probably Cuddington and Haddenham. See Introduction, p. 211.

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

and on it are 6 ploughs. There 40 villeins with 16 bordars have 14 ploughs and there could be 10 more. There are 15 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 20 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams), pasture for the live stock (*pecuniam*) and for the 'farm' of the archbishop 8 days' hay (*per viii^{te} dies fenum*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 40 pounds. When received 20 pounds; T.R.E. 40 pounds. Of this land Gilbert the priest holds of the archbishop 3 hides and 1 church with its tithes; there is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 1 villein and 3 bordars; it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 60 shillings. This manor Earl Tosti(g) held.

M. The archbishop himself holds HALTONE [Halton]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. In the demesne are 2½ hides, and on it are 2 ploughs. There 10 villeins with 15 bordars have 5 ploughs. There is 1 mill worth (*de*) 15 shillings; meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine and (worth) 2 shillings (besides). In all (*In totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 8 pounds. This manor Earl Leofwine (*Lewinus*) held.

IN RISEBERG [RISBOROUGH] HUNDRET¹

M. The archbishop himself holds RISEBERGE [(Monks) Risborough]. It is assessed at 30 hides. There is land for 14 ploughs. In the demesne are 16 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs. There 32 villeins with 8 bordars have 12 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 300 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 16 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 16 pounds. This manor Asgar the staller held of Christ Church, Canterbury, but with the condition that (*ita quod*) he could not alienate it from that church, T.R.E.

III. THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER²

M. Walchelin Bishop of Winchester holds WICUMBE [(West) Wycombe]. It is assessed at 19 hides. There is land for 23 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs. There 27 villeins with 8 bordars have 19 ploughs. There are 7 serfs, and 3 mills worth (*de*) 20 shillings, and 1 fishery of 1,000 eels, meadow (sufficient) for 7 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 1,000 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 15 pounds; when

¹ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

² The Hundred is not noted. It should be Dustenberge [Desborough] (F.W.R.)

received 10 pounds; T.R.E. 12 pounds. This manor was and is for the support (*de victu*) of the monks of the church at Winchester. Stigand held it T.R.E.

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET³

M. The Bishop of Winchester himself holds EVINGHEHOU [Ivinghoe]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 25 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs and there could be a fourth. There 28 villeins with 4 bordars have 20 ploughs, and there could be 1 more. There are 6 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 600 swine and (worth) 10 shillings (besides). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 18 pounds; when received 10 pounds; T.R.E. 15 pounds. This manor belonged and belongs to (*jacuit et jacet in*) the demesne of the church of St. Peter of Winchester.

[III.] THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN

IN ELESBERIE [AYLESBURY] HUNDRET⁴

M. Remigius Bishop of Lincoln holds STOCHEs [Stoke (Mandeville)]. It is assessed at 8 hides. There is land for 21 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 6 ploughs. There 20 villeins with 4 bordars have 15 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, woodland (to feed) 30 swine, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). This manor belongs to (*jacet ad*) the church of Elesberie [Aylesbury]. There are 18 bordars who pay 20 shillings yearly. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 20 pounds; when received 12 pounds; T.R.E. 18 pounds. This manor with the church Bishop Wlwi⁵ held T.R.E. From the 8 Hundreds which lie round (*in circuitu*) Elesberie [Aylesbury] each sokeman having 1 hide or more renders (*redd'*) 1 load of grain (*summam annonæ*) to this church. Besides this also 1 acre of grain (*annonæ*) or 4 pence used to be contributed by each sokeman to this church T.R.E., but after the coming of King William this payment was not made.

fo. 144

M. Walter holds BOCHELAND [Buckland] of Bishop Remigius. It is assessed at 10 hides.

³ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. Yardley which gave its name to the Hundred is now represented by Yardley Farm in Pitstone parish (F.W.R.)

⁴ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁵ Wulfwig, Bishop of Lincoln (J.H.R.)

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 14 villeins with 6 bordars have 6 ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 300 swine. In all it is worth 8 pounds; when received 3 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor Godric brother of Bishop Wlwi held; he could not assign (*dare*) or sell (it) but by his leave.

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

The same Walter holds of the same bishop half a hide.¹ There is land for half a plough. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 5 shillings. This land Leuric, a man of Earl Harold, held and could sell.

IN DUSTENBERGE [DESBOROUGH²] HUNDRET

M. Walter himself holds of the same bishop WABORNE [Wooburn]. It is assessed at 8½ hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 12 villeins with 13 bordars have 10 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and 8 mills worth (*de*) 104 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams) and for the horses. From a fishery (come) 300 eels; woodland is there (to feed) 200 swine and (worth) 7 shillings and 4 pence (besides). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 15 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 12 pounds. This manor Earl Harold held.

In LEDE [Lude³] Walter holds of the same bishop 1½ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. One and a half are there, and there could be half a plough more. There are 2 villeins with 1 bordar, 1 serf, and 3 mills worth (*de*) 14 shillings. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 30 shillings. Leuric, a man of Earl Harold, held this manor and could sell it.

IN ROVELAI HUNDRET⁴

The bishop himself holds CHAUESCOTE [Gawcott] which belongs (*jacet in*) to the church of Bochingeham [Buckingham]. There is 1 hide. There is land for 1½ ploughs, and these are there with 2 bordars and 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for a half plough (team). It is and was worth 30 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This land Bishop Wlwi held.

¹ The place is not named in the MS.

² Desborough which gives its name to the Hundred is in West Wycombe.

³ *Alias* Lyde, a farm in Wooburn.

⁴ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

[V] III. THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF BAYEUX

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET⁵

M. The Bishop of Bayeux holds in STANES [Stone] 7 hides. Helto⁶ holds of him. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 1 villein with 15 bordars have 1 plough and there could be 2 more. There are 7 serfs. Meadow is there for ⁷ plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor 2 brothers held: one a man of Ulf, the other a man of Eddeva. They could assign (*dare*) or sell (it) to whom they wished.

M. The same Helto⁶ holds of the same bishop DANITONE [Dinton]. It is assessed at 15 hides. There is land for 13 ploughs. On the demesne are 3, and 35 villeins with 7 bordars have 10 ploughs. There are 8 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 13 plough (teams) and 1 mill worth (*de*) 4 shillings. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 15 pounds; and it was worth that from T.R.E. (*semper*). This manor Avelin, a thegn of King Edward, held.

In HERDEWELLE [Hartwell] Helto⁶ holds of the bishop 3 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs, and they are there with 1 villein and 7 bordars and 1 mill worth (*de*) 8 shillings. In all it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 50 shillings. This land three sokemen held: one, a man of Archbishop S(tigand), (held) half a hide⁹; another, a man of Earl Leofwine (*Lewini*), (held) 2 hides⁹; the third, a man of Avelin, held half a hide.⁸ They could sell or assign (*dare*) (their land).

In the same vill Robert holds of the bishop 1 hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. One is there, and there could be another. One villein is there and 4 serfs. It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This land Avelin, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

M. Roger holds WESTON [Weston (Turville)] of the bishop. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 17 ploughs. On the demesne are 3 and there could be a

⁵ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁶ He was probably steward (*dapifer*) to the bishop, from whom he held Swanscombe in Kent (J.H.R.)

⁷ No number is given in the MS.

⁸ 'Half a hide' interlined.

⁹ '2 hides' interlined.

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fourth. There 12 villeins have 12 ploughs and there could be one more. There are 12 serfs, and 4 mills worth (*de*) 33 shillings and 4 pence, meadow (sufficient) for 10 plough (teams) and (worth) 6 shillings (besides), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 15 pounds; when received 8 pounds; T.R.E. 15 pounds.

Of the land of this manor Earl¹ Leofwine (*Lewinus*) held 9½ hides, and Godric the sheriff² 3½ hides as 1 manor, and 2 men of the same Godric 3½ hides, and 1 man of Earl Tosti 2 hides, and 2 men of Earl Leofwine (*Lewini*) 1½ hides.³ All could sell (their land). Of these hides one is held by the Bishop of Lisieux of the Bishop of Bayeux; there is land for 1 plough, but the plough is not there; it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 5 shillings. Those men⁴ whom Roger holds in Weston did not belong to Earl Leofwine (*Lewino*) T.R.E.

M. The same (*ipse*) Roger holds BEGRAVE [Bedgrove].⁵ It is assessed at 2 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 5 villeins with 5 bordars have 2 ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is worth 30 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Suen, a man of Alwin Varus, held and could sell.

In BORTONE [Bierton] the same Roger holds of the bishop 1 hide and 3 virgates. There is land for 1½ ploughs, and these are there with 3 bordars. It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 50 shillings. This land 2 sokemen held: one a man of Alwin Varus, the other a man of Earl Leofwine (*Lewini*). They could sell (their land).

IN RISBERGE [RISBOROUGH] HUNDRET⁶

In HORSEDENE [Horsenden] Roger holds of the bishop half a hide. There is land for half a plough, and this is there with 1 bordar. It is and was worth 3 shillings; T.R.E. 5 shillings. This land a man of Earl⁷ Leofwine (*Lewini*) held and could sell.

In the same vill Robert holds of the bishop

¹ 'Earl' interlined.

² 'the sheriff' interlined.

³ The sum of these items is exactly 20 hides (J.H.R.)

⁴ MS. 'hos ho'es.'

⁵ *Alias* Bedgrave, a farm in Weston Turville.

⁶ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁷ 'Earl' interlined.

half a hide. There is land for half a plough, but the plough is not there. It is and was worth 2 shillings; T.R.E. 5 shillings. This land Goduin, a man of Earl⁷ Leofwine, (*Lewini*) held and could sell.

IN BERNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

M. In CELFUNDE [Chalfont (St. Peter)] Roger holds of the bishop 4 hides and 3 virgates. There is land for 15 ploughs. On the demesne is one; and 14 villeins with 4 bordars have 14 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 6 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 600 swine, and a hawk's eyry (*area*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 110 shillings; when received 60 shillings; T.R.E. 110 shillings. This manor Earl⁷ Leofwine (*Lewinus*) held.

In ELMODESHAM [Amersham] Roger holds of the bishop half a hide. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 3 bordars and 1 mill worth (*de*) 4 shillings and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). This land is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land Alwin, a man of Queen Eddid, held and could sell.

In CESTREHAM [Chesham] Roger holds half a hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1 plough; and 1 villein with 2 bordars have 1 plough. There is woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings.

In CESTREHAM [Chesham] the Bishop of Bayeux himself holds 1½ hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide, and on it is 1 plough; and 2 villeins with 3 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 3 shillings and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 60 shillings. This manor 2 sokemen held: one a man of Earl⁷ Leofwine (*Lewini*), the other a man of Earl⁷ Harold. They could sell (their land).

M. Gilbert Bishop of Lisieux holds of the Bishop of Bayeux DILEHERST [Tyler's (Green)]⁸. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 2, and there could be a third. There 14 villeins with 1 bordar have 6 ploughs and

⁸ In Penn (F.W.R.) It occurs as Tyghelhurst in 1316 (*Feudal Aids*, i. 48). This became Tilehurst and, by corruption, Tyler's (J.H.R.)

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there could be a seventh. One serf is there, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 3 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 300 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 6 pounds; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Earl Leofwine (*Lewinus*) held in demesne.

M. Roger holds of the bishop THAPESLAU [Taplow]. It is assessed at 8 hides and 1 virgate. There is land for 16 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 18 villeins with 4 bordars have 15 ploughs. There are 2 serfs. From fisheries (come) 1,000 eels. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 700 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 8 pounds; when received 60 shillings; T.R.E. 9 pounds. This manor Asgot, a man of Earl¹ Harold, held, and there 1 man of Archbishop S(tigand) had 1 hide and could sell it.

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IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH]² HUNDRET

M. William son of Oger³ holds of the bishop HUCHEDENE [Hughenden]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 15 villeins with 3 bordars have 8 ploughs. There are 5 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 600 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 10 pounds; when received 6 pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Queen Eddid held.

In WICUMBE [Wycombe] Roger holds of the bishop half a hide. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 bordar. It is and was worth 7 shillings; T.R.E. 10 shillings. This land a man of Archbishop S(tigand) held; he could not sell or assign (*dare*) it away from (*extra*) Wicumbe, (the archbishop's) (*suum*) manor, as the Hundred (court) testifies.⁴

In BERLAUE [(?)Little] Marlow] Tedald holds of the bishop 5 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In the demesne are 1½ hides, and on it are 1½ ploughs. There 6 villeins with

¹ 'Earl' interlined.

² For Desborough see note above under Bishop of Lincoln's land.

³ He was a tenant of the bishop also in Kent, where his holdings included a religious house in Dover itself (J.H.R.)

⁴ Compare the precisely similar Wycombe entry on p. 243 below. The words 'manerium suum' must mean Stigand's, and West Wycombe is entered above as having been held by Stigand, though he must have obtained it as Bishop of Winchester (J.H.R.)

4 bordars have 2½ ploughs. There is 1 serf, and there is a mill worth (*de*) 20 shillings. From fisheries (come) 500 eels. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 7 pounds; when received 4 pounds and as much T.R.E. This manor Queen⁵ Eddid held.

In SANTESDONE [Saunderton] Roger holds of the bishop 5 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 13 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and 1 mill, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), and woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor a man of Earl⁶ Leofwine (*Lewini*) held and could sell.

In HANECHEDENE [? Which (Bottom)]⁷ Tædald' held (*tenuit*) of the bishop 3 hides. Now it is (assigned to) the king's ferm (*nunc est ad firmam regis*). There is land for 7 ploughs. In the demesne is half a hide, and on it are 2 ploughs. There 6 villeins with 3 bordars⁸ and 5 serfs have 5 ploughs. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. Of this manor Fridebert, a man of Earl⁹ Leofwine (*Lewini*), held 2½ hides, and Alric Gangemere and his sister half a hide which T.R.E. was unjustly taken from them.

IN TICHESELA HUNDRET¹⁰

In WADRUGE [Waldrige¹¹] Helto¹² holds of the bishop 2 hides and 1 virgate. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 2 villeins have 1 plough. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This land 2 sokemen held: one a man of Avelin, the other a man of Alveva, sister of Earl¹³ Harold.¹⁴ They could sell (their land).

In IMERE [Ilmer] Robert holds of the bishop 4 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 8 villeins with

⁵ 'Queen' interlined.

⁶ 'Earl' interlined.

⁷ In High Wycombe and Little Marlow.

⁸ *Cum iii bord'* is interlined.

⁹ 'Earl' interlined.

¹⁰ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

¹¹ In Dinton.

¹² See p. 234, note 6, above.

¹³ 'Earl' interlined.

¹⁴ This is believed to be the only mention of this Ælfgifu, sister of Harold and daughter of Godwine (J.H.R.)

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1 bordar have 3 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). It is worth 4 pounds; when received 100 shillings; and as much T.R.E. This manor Goduin, a man of Earl¹ Leofwine (*Lewini*), held and could sell.

The same Robert holds of the bishop ESTONE [Aston (Sandford)] as 2 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 7 villeins have 3 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). It is worth 4 pounds; when received 100 shillings; and as much T.R.E. This manor Avelin, a thegn of King Edward, held.

IN ESSEDENE [ASHENDON] HUNDRET.²

In BICHEDONE [Beachendon³] 2 Englishmen hold of the bishop 1 virgate. There is land []⁴. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 5 shillings. They themselves held it T.R.E.; one was a man of Brictric, and the other a man of Azor. They could sell (their land).

IN VOTESDONE [WADDESON⁵] HUNDRET.

In MERSTONE [(? North) Marston] Robert holds 1 hide of the bishop. There is land for 1 plough and it is there, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land a man of Azor son of Toti held and could sell.

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET.⁶

In WADONE [Whaddon in Slapton] Roger holds 3 virgates of the bishop. There is land for half a plough and it is there with 1 villein. Meadow is there (sufficient) for half a plough (team). It is and was worth 5 shillings; T.R.E. 10 shillings. This land a man held and could sell.

IN MURSALAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET.⁷

M. Turstin de Giron⁸ holds of the bishop DODINTONE [Dunton]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 2, and there could be a third.

¹ 'Earl' interlined.

² Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

³ *Alias* Bichendon, a farm in Waddesdon.

⁴ Omission in MS.

⁵ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

⁶ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233 above, under Bishop of Winchester's land.

⁷ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

⁸ He held of the bishop in Kent also as Turstin de 'Girunde' (J.H.R.)

There 6 bordars have 3 ploughs, and there could be 2 more. There are 4 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams). In all it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 100 shillings. This manor Earl Leofwine (*Lewinus*) held.

In DRATONE [Drayton (Parslow)] Roger holds of the bishop 3 virgates. There is land for 3 ploughs, and these are there with 2 villeins and 3 bordars. There is meadow for []⁹ plough (teams). It is and was worth 25 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This land 2 brothers held, men of Alward Cilt,¹⁰ and they could sell it.

IN STODFALD HUNDRET¹¹

In WESTBERIE [Westbury] Roger holds of the bishop 2½ hides as 1 manor. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 8 villeins with 3 bordars have 5 ploughs. There is 1 serf, meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 250 swine. It is worth 3 pounds; when received 50 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor was held by Alnod Cilt,¹² a thegn of King Edward.

The bishop himself holds CELDESTANE [Shalstone], 5 hides, as 1 manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 4 villeins with 1 bordar have 2 ploughs, and there could be a third. There are 3 serfs, and woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is worth 30 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor 2 thegns held as 2 manors, Godric 3 hides and Wila¹³ 2 hides.¹⁴ They could sell (their land) to whom they wished.

Robert (de) Olgi and Roger (de) Ivri¹⁵ hold of the bishop STOU [Stowe]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne is 1, and there could be 2 more. There 3 bordars have half a plough and there could be 1½ ploughs more. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is worth 40 shillings; it was waste when received; T.R.E. it was worth 60 shillings. This manor Turgis, a man of Balduin son of Herluin, held and could sell.

⁹ No number is given in the MS.

¹⁰ 'Cilt' is interlined.

¹¹ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

¹² 'Cilt' is interlined.

¹³ Latinised as 'Wilaus' (J.H.R.)

¹⁴ '3 hides' and '2 hides' are interlined.

¹⁵ 'Olgi' and 'Ivri' are interlined.

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Turstin holds of the bishop FOXESCOTE [Foxcott¹]. It is assessed at 6 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 1 villein with 2 bordars have 2 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 3 pounds. This manor Leit, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

Gilbert Maminot holds of the bishop LECHAMSTEDE [Leckhampstead]. It is assessed at 18 (hides). There is land for 12 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and there could be a fourth. There 18 villeins with 6 bordars have 4 ploughs, and there could be other 4. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 12 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 400 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Earl Leofwine (*Lewinus*) held.

IN ROVELAI HUNDRET²

Ernulf de Hesding³ holds of the bishop in LEDINGBERGE [Lenborough]⁴ 7 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 1 villein with 6 bordars have 1 plough, and there could be 2 more. There are 3 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). From woodland (come) 4 shillings yearly. It is and was worth 60 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor Wilaf, a man of Earl⁵ Leofwine (*Lewinus*), held and could sell.

Ansgot de Ros⁶ holds of the bishop PRESTONE [Preston (Bissett)]. It is assessed at 15 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 11 villeins with 7 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 6 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 32 pence, meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine. It is worth 100 shillings; when received 4 pounds; T.R.E. the same amount. This manor Wilaf, a man of Earl Lewin, held and could sell.

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Robert de Tham [Thame⁷] holds of the

¹ *Alias* Foscott.

² Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

³ He, who derived his name from Hesdin in Picardy, held of the bishop in Kent also (J.H.R.)

⁴ In Buckingham. ⁵ 'Earl' interlined.

⁶ He derived his name from Rots in the present Department of the Calvados and probably held of the bishop in Kent, as did Anshetil and Geoffrey de Ros (J.H.R.)

⁷ Evidently the Robert who was the chief holder under the Bishop of Lincoln at Thame (Oxon), where he had 10 hides in 1086 (J.H.R.)

bishop CETODE [Chetwode]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 7 villeins with 2 bordars have 2½ ploughs, and there could be half a plough (more). There are 6 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 30 pence, meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is worth 60 shillings; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Alnod Chentisc,⁸ a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

Ernulf de Hesding³ holds of the bishop BERTONE [Barton (Hartshorn)]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 (ploughs). There 3 bordars have 1 plough, and there could be 2 ploughs (more). There are 4 serfs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for three plough (teams). From pasture (come) 30 shillings; there is woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 14 pounds; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Wilaf, a thegn of Earl⁹ Lewin, held and could sell.

Ilbert de Lacei¹⁰ holds of the bishop TEDINWICHE [Tingewick]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 3 villeins with 2 bordars have 4 ploughs, and there could be a fifth. There are 10 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 4 shillings, and from other rents (*redditis*) of the vill come 20 shillings. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams); woodland (to feed) 800 swine. In all it is worth 10 pounds; when received 6 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor Alnod,⁸ a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN LAMMVA HUNDRET¹¹

The Bishop of Bayeux himself holds 3 hides and 3 virgates.¹² There is land for 3 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides, and there is half a plough on it, and there could be 1½ ploughs (more). There 2 villeins with 1 bordar have half a plough. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is worth 20 shillings; when received 13 shillings and 4 pence; T.R.E. 40 shillings.

Robert de Romanel¹³ holds of the bishop in

⁸ See Introduction, p. 217.

⁹ 'Earl' interlined.

¹⁰ A feudal tenant of the bishop in Normandy, who held of him largely in England also (J.H.R.)

¹¹ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

¹² The name of the place is not given.

¹³ So named from Romney in Kent, in which county he held largely of the bishop (J.H.R.)

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EDINTONE [Addington] 6 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 8 villeins with 2 bordars have 3 ploughs and there could be a fourth. There are 4 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). It is and was worth 60 shillings; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Goduin, a man of Earl¹ Leofwine (*Lewini*), held and could sell.

IN BONESTOU HUNDRET²

In LATESBERIE [Lathbury]³ the Bishop of Lisieux holds of the Bishop of Bayeux 1 hide all but 5 feet. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 3 villeins and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Siric, a man of Earl Leofwine (*Lewini*), held and could sell.

GATEHERST [Gayhurst] the Bishop of Lisieux holds of the Bishop of Bayeux, and Robert de Nowers (holds) of him. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and 10 villeins have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 13 shillings and 4 pence, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 4 score swine. In all it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Siric, a man of Earl⁴ Leofwine (*Lewini*), held and could sell.

⁵ In BRICHELLA [(? Little) Brickhill] Turstin holds of the bishop 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, but there is no plough there and only 3 villeins (*sed non est ibi caruca nisi 3 villani*) with 2 bordars. It is and was worth 14 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This manor Alwin, a man of Estan, held. He could not assign (*dare*) or sell it so as to alienate it from (*extra*) Bricelle [Brickhill], Estan's manor.⁶

[VI.] V. THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF COUTANCES

IN TICHESSELE HUNDRET⁷

The Bishop of Coutances holds WERMELLE [Worminghall] and Robert holds of him. It is and was assessed T.R.E. and after (*se defendit semper*) at 5 hides. There is land for

¹ 'Earl' interlined.

² Now part of Newport Hundred.

³ Near Newport Pagnel.

⁴ 'Earl' interlined.

⁵ The Hundred is not noted. It should be Moleslou [Mulshoe] (F.W.R.)

⁶ This is a manorial puzzle, for we do not find any manor at Brickhill which had been held by 'Estan' (J.H.R.)

⁷ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 16 villeins with 6 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine. It is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Eddeva wife of Wlward held under Queen Eddid and could sell.

IN ESSEDENE [ASHENDON] HUNDRET⁷

The bishop himself holds LOTEGARSER [Ludgershall]. It is assessed at 9 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In the demesne are 4 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs and there could be a third. There 13 villeins with 4 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 5 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 40 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Eddeva held of Queen Eddid and could sell.

Two knights (*militēs*) hold of the bishop OLVONGE [Oving]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. On the demesne are 4, and there could be a fifth. There 18 villeins have 3 ploughs, and there could be a fourth. There are 8 bordars, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 10 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Edwin, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN VOTESDON [WADDESON] HUNDRET⁷

In MERSTONE [(? North) Marston] Rannulf holds under the bishop 1 virgate. There is land for half a plough, and there are 2 oxen⁸ there. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 pence. This land Levric, a man of Edduin, held and could sell.

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET⁹

In STIVELAI [Stewkley] William holds 3½ hides as 1 manor. There is land for 9 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs. There 10 villeins with 10 bordars have 6½ ploughs and there could be half a plough more. There are 5 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 4 pounds. This manor Wlward cild, a thegn of King Edward, held.

IN SIGELAI HUNDRET¹⁰

The bishop himself holds SEVINESTONE [Simpson] as 8 hides and 3 virgates, (and) as 1

⁸ i.e. a quarter of a plough-team.

⁹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

¹⁰ Now part of Newport Hundred.

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manor, of William Bonvaslet¹ in pledge (*vadium*). There is land for 8 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs. There 13 villeins with 2 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 6 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 6 pounds; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Queen Edid held and could sell.

The bishop himself holds ETONE [(Water) Eaton].² It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 18 ploughs. On the demesne are 4 (ploughs); and 35 villeins with 6 bordars have 14 ploughs. There are 12 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 20 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 12 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 12 pounds; when received 8 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. Eddeva held this manor and could sell it to whom she wished.

IN BONESTOU HUNDRET³

LINFORDE [Linford] Eddeva holds of the bishop. It is assessed at 4 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 6 villeins have 2 ploughs. (And there is) a mill worth (*de*) 8 shillings and 8 pence, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 40 swine. It is and was worth 40 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor the same Eddeva held T.R.E.

In LATEBERIE [Lathbury]⁴ William holds of the bishop 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 6 villeins with 6 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is worth 4 pounds; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Edduin son of Borgret, a thegn of King Edward, held.

In TELINGHAM [Tyringham] Anschitil holds of the bishop 2½ hides and 3 quarters (*partes*) of 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 3 villeins with 6 bordars have fo. 145b 1 plough. There are 4 serfs. In all it is worth 50 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This land

was received in exchange (*est de excambio*) for Bledone [Bleadon].⁵ This manor 2 thegns held. One, a man of Earl Waltheof (*Wallef*), had 2 hides and half a virgate as one manor; and the other held 3 quarters (*partes*) of 1 virgate. And they could sell (their land).

In STOCHEs [Stoke (Goldington)] a certain Englishman holds of the bishop 1 hide and 1 virgate. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 4 bordars. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), and woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is worth 20 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land 2 thegns held as two manors. Each held 2½ virgates⁶ and could sell (his land).

M. In WESTONE [Weston (Underwood)] the bishop holds 7½ hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide, and on it is 1 plough; and 4 villeins with 3 bordars have 6 ploughs, and with these are 7 sokemen and a certain Frenchman. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 7 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 200 swine. It is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor 10 thegns held, men of Burgret, and they could sell (their land), and there 1 man of Alric had 3 virgates and could sell (them).

M. The bishop himself holds OLNEY [Olney].⁷ It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and there are 3 ploughs on it. There 24 villeins with 5 bordars have 7 ploughs. There are 5 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 40 shillings and 200 eels, meadow (sufficient) for 10 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 400 swine. In all it is worth 12 pounds; when received 7 pounds; T.R.E. 12 pounds. This manor Borret held, and there 1 sokeman, his man, had 1½ virgates and could sell them.

M. In LAWENDENE [Lavendon] the bishop holds 2 hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 4 villeins with 3 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is worth 40 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor a man of Borret held and could sell.

¹ A tenant-in-chief in Warwickshire and Leicestershire (J.H.R.)

² In Bletchley.

³ Now part of Newport Hundred.

⁴ Near Newport Pagnel.

⁵ In Somerset. See Introduction.

⁶ Here, if required, we have the equation, 4 virgates = 1 hide.

⁷ This became the head of the bishop's fief here (J.H.R.)

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In the same vill William holds of the bishop 4 hides and 2 thirds (*partes*) of 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and 7 villeins with 6 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, and 1 mill and a moiety (of a mill) worth (*de*) 27 shillings and 250 eels, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 60 swine. It is worth 60 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor 8 thegns held. One of these Alli, a man of King Edward, was senior over the others (*senior aliorum*). All could sell their land.

In the same vill Anschitil holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 2 thirds (*partes*) of 1 virgate of the bishop. There is land for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and these are there, and meadow for the like number (*similiter*). There is woodland (to feed) 12 swine. It is worth 20 shillings; when received 5 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Borgeret and Ulvric his man held and could sell.

In the same vill 3 sokemen hold 1 hide of the bishop, and 1 virgate. There is land for 1 plough. Half a plough is there and there could be half a plough more. There are 1 villein with 2 bordars, meadow (sufficient) for 4 oxen, woodland (to feed) 8 swine. It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land 2 thegns held, Borret and Ulvric a man of Deus.¹ They could sell (their land).

IN MOLESOUESLAU HUNDRET ²

In CLYSTONE [Clifton (Reynes)] Morcar holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides of the bishop. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 6 villeins and 4 bordars. There is 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), and 1 mill. In all it is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Alli, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell. This land was received in exchange (*est de excambio*) for Bledone (Bleadon),³ as the bishop's men say.

In the same vill Turbert holds of the bishop

¹ *bo' d'?* in MS. The reading is very doubtful (J.H.R.)

² Now part of Newport Hundred. The name of this Hundred is variously spelt, occurring also as Moleslou, Moisselai, Moselai, Mosleie, Moslei and Moslai. It is liable to be confused with Muselai, which is one form of Mursalai (Mursley); the name Molesoueslau, etc., is represented by the modern Moulsoe (F.W.R.)

³ In Somerset. See Introduction.

1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 villein and 3 bordars. There is 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 20 swine. It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Wlwin, a man of Deus,⁴ held and could sell.

M. The bishop himself holds SERINTONE [Sherington]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 11 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 4 ploughs. There 22 villeins with 6 bordars have 6 ploughs and there could be a seventh. There are 8 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 26 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all it is worth 10 pounds; when received 7 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. Of this manor Edwin son of Borret held 6 hides as one manor and Alwin his man 1 hide as one manor, and Osulf, a man of King Edward, had 3 hides as one manor. These two could assign (*dare*) and sell their land.

In AMBRETON [Emberton] two thegns hold of the bishop 3 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs, and (these) are there. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. There are 2 villeins and 2 bordars. It is and was worth 40 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. The same men held it who now hold it. One of these, Godric, had 4 hides; the other, Ulvric, 2 hides as one manor; and they could sell (their land).

[VII.] VI. THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF LISIEUX

IN COTESLAU [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET ⁵

The Bishop of Lisieux holds in CROUSTONE [Croftone]⁶ $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides. Robert de Nowers holds them of him as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2, and there could be a third; and 4 villeins with 4 bordars have 2 ploughs. It is and was worth 60 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor Blacheman, a man of Earl Tosti(g), held. He could not sell (the land) without his leave.

IN MOSLEI [MULSHOE] HUNDRET ⁷

In BRICHELLE [Brickhill] Robert holds of

⁴ See note 1 above.

⁵ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. Cottesloe which gave its name to the Hundred is in Wing.

⁶ *Alias* Crafton. In Wing.

⁷ Now part of Newport Hundred. For the name of the Hundred see note 2 above.

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the bishop 5 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 7 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. There is 1 serf, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 150 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 4 pounds. This manor Blacheman, a man of Earl Tosti(g), held and could sell.

[VIII.] VII. THE LAND OF ST. PETER OF WESTMINSTER

IN STOCHES [STOKE] HUNDRET

M. The abbot of St. Peter of Westminster holds DANEHAM [Denham]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and there are 2 ploughs on it. There 15 villeins with 3 bordars have 7 ploughs, and there could be 3 more. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 12 plough (teams). There are 2 mills worth (*de*) 7 shillings, and 3 fisheries producing 3 shillings yearly. There is woodland (to feed) 300 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 7 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor Ulstan the thegn¹ gave to St. Peter of Westminster and thereto it belonged (*ibi jacuit*) in demesne² on the day on which King Edward was living and died.

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

M. The abbot himself holds in ESBURNEHAM [East Burnham] 8 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In the demesne are 4 hides, and 1 plough is on it; and 6 villeins with 1 bordar have 5 ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 100 shillings and 28 pence; when received the same amount; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor 3 thegns held T.R.E. and could sell, and yet these three paid yearly 5 'ores'³ by custom to the church (*monasterium*) of Stanes [? Staines]. One of these, Ulvric, had 3 hides and 3 virgates; the second, a man of Edric of Merlaue⁴ [Marlow], had 3 hides and 1 virgate; the third 1 hide; he was a man of Seulf.

[IX.] VIII. THE LAND OF ST. ALBAN[S]

IN VOTESDON [WADDESDON] HUNDRET⁵

The abbot of St. Alban(s) holds GRENEBERGA [Grandborough]. It is assessed at 5

¹ The MS. has '*steign*'.

² 'In demesne' interlined.

³ The 'ore' was an ounce of silver, and represented 16 pence. See Introduction.

⁴ 'of Merlaue' interlined.

⁵ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides, and there are 2 ploughs on it; and 7 villeins with 4 bordars have 7 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 100 shillings; when received 4 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne (*jacuit et jacet in dominio*) of the church of St. Alban(s).

IN COTESLAI [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET⁶

M. The abbot himself holds ESTONE [Aston (Abbots)]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In the demesne are 6 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs and there could be 2 more. There 7 villeins with 12 bordars have 6 ploughs. There is 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is worth 10 pounds; when received 6 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne (*jacuit et jacet in dominio*) of the church of St. Alban(s).

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IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET⁷

M. The abbot himself holds WENESLAI [Winslow]. It is assessed at 15 hides. There is land for 19 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs and there could be a fourth. There 17 villeins and (*cum*) 5 bordars have 15 ploughs. There are 3 serfs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 19 plough (teams). From woodland comes 10 shillings yearly. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 11 pounds and 13 shillings and 4 pence. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne (*jacuit et jacet in dominio*) of the church of St. Alban.

[X.] IX. THE LAND OF THE CHURCH OF BARKING

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁸

The abbes of Berchinges [Barking] holds SLAPETONE [Slapton]. It is assessed at 6 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide, and on it are 2 ploughs, and 18 villeins with 4 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 4 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit*

⁶ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see note above under land of Bishop of Lisieux.

⁷ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

⁸ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see note above under Bishop of Winchester's land.

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semper) 6 pounds. This manor belonged and belongs to (*jacuit et jacet in*) the church of Berchings (Barking).

[XI.] X. THE LAND OF THE CANONS OF OXFORD

IN ESSEDEN [ASHENDON] HUNDRET¹

The canons of Oxeneford [Oxford] hold of the king WITCHENDE [(Over) Winchendon]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In the demesne are 1½ hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 18 villeins with 1 bordar have 7 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne (*jacuit et jacet in dominio*) of the church of the canons of Oxeneford [Oxford].

[XII.] XI. THE LAND OF REINBALD THE PRIEST

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

Rainbald the priest holds of the king 1 hide in BOVENLÆ [Boveney] which belongs to (*jacet in*) the church of Cocheham [Cookham²]. There is land for 1 plough, and (this) is there with 1 villein. There is meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. The same man (*Istemet*) held it in almain (*in elemosina*) of King Edward.

[XIII.] XII. THE LAND OF THE COUNT OF MORTAIN³

IN STANES [STONE⁴] HUNDRET

The Count of Mortain holds in MISSEDENE [(?Little) Missenden] 1 hide, and Wigot holds of him. There is land for 1½ ploughs. There is 1 plough and there could be (also) half a plough. There are 4 bordars, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This land was held by Alwin, a man of Syred son of Sybi, and he could sell it.

IN RISEBERG [RISBOROUGH] HUNDRET⁴

In HORSEDENE [Horsenden] Ralf holds of the count 6 hides and 3 virgates. There is

¹ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

² In Berks.

³ The count's tenants in this county, Ralf, Alan, Alvred (his butler) and Humfrey were probably his great tenants of those names in the adjoining county of Northants (J.H.R.)

⁴ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 7 villeins with 1 bordar have 3 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and 1 mill of no value (*nil reddens*), and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 50 shillings; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor 3 sokemen held; two of these, men of Earl Harold, had 2 hides, and the third, a man of Ingold, had 4 hides and 3 virgates; all could sell (their land).

M. The count himself holds BLEDELAI [Bledlow]. It is assessed at 30 hides. There is land for 18 ploughs. In the demesne are 16 hides, and on it are 4 ploughs; and 32 villeins with 3 bordars have 14 ploughs. There are 8 serfs, and 1 mill yielding 24 loads⁵ of malt (*summas brasii*), woodland (to feed) 1,000 swine and producing in rents a sufficient supply of shares for the ploughs (*et de redditu silvæ ferræ carrucis sufficienter*).⁶ Meadow is there (sufficient) for 18 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 22 pounds; when received 12 pounds; T.R.E. 20 pounds. This manor Edmer Atule,⁷ a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

In ELMODESHAM [Amersham] Almar holds of the count half a hide. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 1 villein and 1 bordar. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 20 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land Siward, a man of Aldeva, held and could sell.

IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH⁸] HUNDRET

In WICUMBE [Wycombe] William holds of the count half a hide. There is land for half a plough, and this is there with 1 bordar. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land 1 sokeman held, a man of S(tigand) the archbishop. He could not assign (*dare*) or sell so as to alienate it from the manor (*extra manerium*) of Wicumbe,⁹ 'on the day on which King Edward was living and died,' as the Hundred (court) testifies.

IN TICHESELE [] HUNDRET¹⁰

In IFORDE [Ickford] the monks of Greisten [Grestain¹¹] hold 6 hides of the count. There is

⁵ Horse-loads.

⁶ See Introduction, p. 222.

⁷ Ibid. p. 212.

⁸ For Desborough see p. 234, under Bishop of Lincoln's land.

⁹ West Wycombe (see p. 236, note 4, above).

(J.H.R.)

¹⁰ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

¹¹ In the Department of Eure, Normandy.

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land for 6 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs and there could be 2 others. There 3 villeins and (*cum*) 10 bordars have 2 ploughs. Meadow is there sufficient for 6 plough (teams). It is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Ulf, a man of Earl Harold, held and could sell.

IN COTESLAI [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET¹

M. The count himself holds WITEHUNGE [Wing]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 40 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide and on it are 4 ploughs. There 51 villeins with 20 bordars have 21 ploughs, and there could be 15 more ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 25 plough (teams). For (*de*) the pasture (are) rendered shares (*ferra*) for 5 ploughs.² In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 31 pounds; when received a like sum; T.R.E. 32 pounds. This manor Edward cilt,³ a man of Earl⁴ Harold, held and could sell.

In CROUSTONE [Croftone]⁵ the monks of St. Nicholas hold 2½ hides of the count. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 8 villeins have 2 ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). It is and was worth 4 pounds; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Edward cilt held and could sell.

In WITHUNGRAVE [Wingrave] Alan holds 1½ hides of the count. There is land for 1 plough. One is there, and there could be half a plough (more). There are 1 villein and 1 bordar, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land Ordmar, a man of Brictric, held and could sell.

In HELPESTORP [Elstrop⁶] Rannulf holds of the count 3 virgates. There is land for 1 plough, and (this) is there with 2 bordars. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land Lewin, a man of Godric, held and could sell.

In HARDUICH [Hardwick] Almær holds of the count 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs,

¹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 242, note 5, under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

² See Introduction, p. 222.

³ 'cilt' interlined. ⁴ 'Earl' interlined.

⁵ Alias Crafton, in Wing.

⁶ Alias Helsthorpe, in Wingrave.

and (these) are there with 2 villeins and 1 bordar. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This land Saward, a man of Earl Harold, held and could sell.

In BRICSTOCH [Burstow⁷] Alan holds of the count 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 3 villeins with 1 bordar have 1 plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is worth 30 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This land 3 thegns held; of these one was a man of Earl⁸ Lewin, the second a man of Goduin cilt⁹ abbot of Westminster, the third a man of Alverad of Withunga [Wing]; and all these could sell their land.

In the same vill Almær holds 1 virgate of the count, and there are 2 villeins. It is and was worth 5 shillings. This land Siward, a man of Earl¹⁰ Harold, held and could sell.

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET¹¹

In DRAITONE [Drayton (Beauchamp)] William son of Nigel holds 1½ hides. There is land for 1 plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 25 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land a widow held of Brictric and could sell.

In the same vill Lepsi holds of the count 1½ hides and 2 thirds (*partes*) of a virgate. There is land for 1 plough. There are 2 villeins and 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team) and woodland (to feed) 25 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land Wiga, a man of King Edward, held and could sell.

In PINCELESTORNE [Pitstone¹²] Ralf holds of the count 3 hides and 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there

⁷ In Aston Abbots (F.W.R.) This identification is proved by the occurrence of a holding here afterwards (as 'Bridelesthon') 'de honore de Mortuyn' (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 246), and its subsequent appearance as part 'parvi feodi de Mortein' at 'Bridesthorpe' (*Feudal Aids*, i. 78) (J.H.R.)

⁸ 'Earl' interlined.

⁹ 'cilt' interlined.

¹⁰ 'Earl' interlined.

¹¹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233, under Bishop of Winchester's land.

¹² Formerly 'Pychelesthorne' or Piglesthorn (J.H.R.)

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with 1 bordar. There is woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is worth 20 shillings; when received 5 shillings; T.R.E. 25 shillings. This land Alved of Elesberie [Aylesbury] held and could sell.

In the same vill Bernard holds of the count 3 hides and 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 1 plough. Half a plough is there and there could be (another) half a plough. There are 2 bordars and woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land 2 men of the abbot of St. Albans held and could sell.

In the same vill Fulcold¹ holds of the count 1 hide and 1 virgate. There is land for 4 oxen (to plough), and these are there; woodland is there (to feed) 10 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land Gladuin, a man of the abbot of St. Albans, held and could sell.

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From the manor of PINCELESTORNE [Pitstone] Turgis, the count's man, took away 6 hides which the count himself holds unjustly in his demesne.²

In ESTONE [(Ivinghoe) Aston] Ralf holds of the count 3 virgates. There is land for half a plough, and this is there with 1 villein. It is and was worth 5 shillings; T.R.E. 10 shillings. This land Goduin, a priest of Archbishop S(tigand), held and could sell.

In CETEDONE [Cheddington] Ralf holds of the count 1 hide and 1 virgate. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 1 bordar. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land 3 men of Archbishop S(tigand) held and could sell.

In the same vill Rannulf holds of the count half a hide. There is land for half a plough, and this is there with 1 villein. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land Leving a man of the abbot of St. Albans held and could sell.

In HORTONE [Horton] Alestan holds of the count 1 virgate. There is land for 2

oxen (to plough). It is and was worth 2 shillings; T.R.E. 3 shillings. This land Bruman, a man of Archbishop S(tigand), held and could sell.

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET³

In SUENEBERNE [Swanbourne] Ralf and Almar hold 5 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. One is there, and there could be 4 (more). There are 2 villeins, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). This land is worth 40 shillings; when received 6 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. Of this manor Brixtuin, a thegn of King Edward, held 4½ hides, and Almar, a man of Earl⁴ Harold, 1½ hides. They could sell (their land).

In SCELDENE [Selden⁵] Ralf holds of the count 3 hides and half a virgate as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs, and (these) are there with 3 villeins and 2 bordars. There is meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is and was worth 30 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor 4 thegns held. Of these one was a man of Alwin, the second a man of Alwin of Neuham, the third a man of Alward, the fourth a man of Azor. All these could sell (their land).

In MUSELAI [Mursley] Alverad holds of the count 1 hide. There is land for half a plough. It is and was worth 7 shillings; T.R.E. 10 shillings. This land Eduin, a man of Azor, held and could sell.

IN STOFALD HUNDRET⁶

In BETESDENE [Biddlesden] the same count holds 3 virgates. There is land for 1 plough, but it has been laid waste. This land Alric, a man of Alwin son of Goding, held and could sell.

IN ROVELAI HUNDRET⁶

In ILESDONE [Hillesden] Rannulf holds of the count 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and (this) is there with 3 bordars. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 10 swine. It is worth 30 shillings; when received 12 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This land Lewin, a man of Alric son of Goding, held and could sell.

IN LAMMVE HUNDRET⁶

In MERSA [Marsh (Gibbon)] the monks of Grestein [Grestain] hold 11 hides of the

¹ This was probably the Fulcold who held of the count in Hertfordshire, not far from Pitstone (J.H.R.)

² This is a mysterious entry (J.H.R.)

³ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

⁴ 'Earl' interlined.

⁵ *Alias* Salden, in Mursley.

⁶ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

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count. There is land for 13 ploughs. In the demesne are 4 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs. There 17 villeins with 3 bordars have 10 ploughs. There are 8 serfs. In all it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 8 pounds. This manor Ulf son of Borgerete held and could sell, and a man of Bondi the staller had there half a hide and could sell it.

IN SIGELAI HUNDRET ¹

In CALDECOTE [Caldecot] Alvered holds 4 hides and 1 virgate of the count as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 1½ ploughs, and there could be half a plough more. There are 2 vavassors paying 32 shillings and 6 pence, and 1 villein and 5 bordars with 2 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and a mill worth (*de*) 5 'ores'² and 4 pence. Meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 24 swine and (paying) 28 pence of dues (*de consuetudinibus*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 4 pounds. This manor 4 thegns held T.R.E. and they could sell and assign it (*dare*) to whom they wished.

In ULCHETONE [Woughton-on-the-Green] Ralf holds of the count 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne is 1, and there could be another. There 3 villeins with 6 bordars have 1 plough and there could be another. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams). In all it is worth 3 pounds; when received 4 pounds; T.R.E. 3 pounds. This manor 8 thegns held. Of these, four, men of Alvic Varu,³ had half a hide, and one, a man of Alric son of Godin, 1 hide and half a virgate, and one, a man of Ulward son of Eddeva, 1 hide and 1 virgate, and one, a man of Lewin son of Estan; half a hide, and one, a man of Baldwin, half a hide, and one, a man of Morcar, half a hide, and one, a man of Sewolt, 1 virgate. All these could sell (their land).

In LOCHINTONE [Loughton] Walter holds of the count half a hide. There is land for half a plough, and this is there with 1 villein. This land is worth 20 shillings; when received 5 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Elmær, a man of Alvic son of Goding, held and could sell.

¹ Now part of Newport Hundred.

² i.e. five ounces of silver containing sixteen pence each (J.H.R.)

³ 'Varu' interlined.

In LINFORDE [Linford⁴] Rannulf holds of the count 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 4 villeins and 3 bordars and 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This land was held by 2 men of Alric son of Goding. They could sell their land.

IN BONESTOU HUNDRET ⁵

In WESTONE [Weston (Underwood)] Ivo holds of the count 1 hide and two thirds (*partes*) of 1 virgate. There is land for 1 plough. There are 2 oxen⁶ with 2 bordars, meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 20 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land 3 thegns held. Of these 2, men of Burgeret, had 3 virgates and two thirds (*partes*) of 1 virgate; the third a man of Alric son of Goding, had 1 virgate. They could sell (their land).

In LAWENDENE [Lavendon] Humfrey holds of the count 2½ hides as one manor. There is land for 2½ ploughs. In the demesne are 1½ hides, and on it is 1 plough; and 3 villeins with 5 bordars have 1½ ploughs. There are 2 serfs and one mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings and 50 eels, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 40 swine. It is worth 40 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor a man of Alric son of Goding held and could sell.

IN MOLESLOU [MULSHOE] HUNDRET ⁷

In WAVENDONE [Wavendon] Ralf holds of the count 2 hides as one manor. There is land for 2½ ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 2 villeins with 3 bordars have 1 plough and there could be half a plough (more). There is 1 serf, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 15 swine. It is worth 20 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Golnil, a housecarl of King Edward, held and could sell.

In the same (vill), Walter holds of the count 2 hides as one manor. There is land

⁴ This is distinguished as Great Linford in *Feudal Aids* (J.H.R.)

⁵ Now part of Newport Hundred.

⁶ i.e. a quarter of a plough-team.

⁷ Now part of Newport Hundred. For the name of the Hundred see note under the land of the Bishop of Coutances.

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for 2½ ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 2 villeins with 3 bordars have 1 plough, and there could be half a plough more. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 15 swine. It is worth 20 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Brictuin, a man of Earl¹ Harold, held and could sell.

In the same vill Humfrey holds of the count 3 virgates. There is land for 1 plough. One bordar is there and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 5 shillings; T.R.E. 10 shillings. This land Chentis, a man of Levenot son of Osmund, held and could sell.

[XIV.] XIII. THE LAND OF EARL HUGH

IN COTESLAI [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET²

M. Earl Hugh holds MENTEMORE [Mentmore]. Robert holds it of him. It is assessed at 18 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 4 ploughs; and 18 villeins have 6 ploughs. There are 3 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 12 pounds; when received 10 pounds; T.R.E. 14 pounds. This manor Eddeva the Fair held.

IN SIGELAI HUNDRET³

Hugh holds of the earl SENELAI [(Great) Shenley⁴]. It is assessed at 2 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 3 ploughs; and 5 villeins with 6 serfs have 5 ploughs, and there could be 2 more. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Burcard, a housecarl of King Edward, held and could sell.

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In SENELAI [Shenley] Hugh holds of Earl Hugh 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs, and there are there 4 ploughs, and could be a fifth. There are 8 villeins, meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 50 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 3 pounds;

¹ 'Earl' interlined.

² Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 241, note 5, under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

³ Now part of Newport Hundred.

⁴ Great Shenley is found as 'de honore Cestrie' in *Feudal Aids*, i. 82 (J.H.R.)

T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor Burchard, a thegn of King Edward, held.

IN MOISSELAÏ [MULSHOE] HUNDRET⁵

William holds BRICHELLA [(Great) Brickhill]. It is assessed at 9 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. On the demesne are 4 ploughs; and 16 villeins with 6 bordars have 6 ploughs. There are 6 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 30 shillings and meadow (sufficient) for 10 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all it is worth 9 pounds; when received 7 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor Earl Tosti held.

[XV.] XIII. THE LAND OF WALTER GIFARD

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET⁶

Walter Gifard holds in HERDEWELLE [Hartwell] 2 hides, and Hugh de Molebec⁷ holds them of him. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 4 villeins and 3 bordars. There are 4 serfs. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 30 shillings. This land 2 men of Sired held and could sell, and they now hold it.

M. Hugh himself⁸ holds of Walter CHENEBELLA [(Great) Kimble]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 11½ ploughs. On the demesne are 2, and there could be a third. There 22 villeins with 8 bordars have 8½ ploughs. There are 6 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 11 plough (teams), and wood for (making) fences. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 pounds. This manor Sired, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

M. Turstin son of Rolf holds of Walter MISSEDENE [Missenden]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 9 villeins with 1 bordar have 6 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 500 swine, and from rent (*de reddita*) of woodland come 4 'ores'⁹ yearly. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 4 pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Sired son of Alveva, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

⁵ Now part of Newport Hundred. For the name of the Hundred see p. 241, note 2, under the land of the Bishop of Coutances.

⁶ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁷ Error for Bolebec in the MS.

⁸ i.e. the same Hugh (J.H.R.)

⁹ See p. 246 note 2.

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IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH¹] HUNDRET

M. Herbrand holds of Walter FALELIE [Fawley]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 14 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and 13 villeins with 1 bordar have 12 ploughs. There are 5 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all it is worth 6 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Earl Tosti held.

IN TICHESHELE HUNDRET²

M. Walter himself holds CREDENDONE [(Long) Crendon]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 25 ploughs. In the demesne are 10 hides, and on it are 5 ploughs; and 52 villeins with 10 bordars have 20 ploughs. There are 10 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 18 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 10 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 100 swine, and an enclosure (*parcus*) for beasts of the chase (*bestiarum silvaticarum*) is there. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 20 pounds; when received and T.R.E. 15 pounds. This manor Seric son of Alveva held.

M. Hugh holds of Walter EDDINGRAVE [Addingrove.³] It is assessed at 3½ hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 2 villeins with 7 bordars have 3 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). In all it is worth 60 shillings; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor Ulward, a man of Queen Eddid, held and could sell.

M. Walter himself holds CILTONE [Chilton]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 4 hides, and on it are 4 ploughs; and 10 villeins with 4 bordars have 6 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all it is worth 7 pounds; when received 8 pounds; and as much T.R.E. This manor was held by Alric son of Goding, a thegn of King Edward.

M. Roger holds of Walter HESINTONE [Easington]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 5 villeins have 2. There are 2 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E.

¹ For Desborough see p. 234, note 2, under the land of the Bishop of Lincoln.

² Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

³ In Oakley.

and after (*valuit semper*) 60 shillings. This manor Alric son of Goding held and could sell.

M. Walter himself holds DORTONE [Dorton]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. In the demesne are 2½ hides, and on it are 3 ploughs. There 12 villeins with 6 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 100 shillings. This manor Alric, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN ESSEDEN [ASHENDON] HUNDRET⁴

M. Walter himself holds POLICOTE [Pollicot.⁵] It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. Two knights (*milites*) hold it of Walter. On the demesne are 4 ploughs; and 13 villeins with 1 bordar have 4 ploughs. There are 4 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. Alric son of Goding held 5 hides of this manor, and 3 brothers held 5 hides, and could sell (their land) to whom they wished.

M. In ASSEDONE [Ashendon] Richard holds of Walter 8 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 4 villeins with 4 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 3 pounds; when received 4 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor 3 brothers held and could sell to whom they wished.

M. In CERLESLEI [Chearsley] Ernulf and Geoffrey hold of Walter 8½ hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 4 ploughs; and 6 villeins with 2 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). It is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor 6 thegns held and could sell to whom they wished.

M. Walter himself holds WICHENDONE [(Nether) Winchendon]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 11 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 23 villeins with 8 bordars have 8 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 7 plough (teams) and 1 mill worth (*de*) 20 shil-

⁴ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

⁵ In Ashendon.

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lings and 4 score eels. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 12 pounds. This manor Eddeda held of Queen Eddeva.

M. Ralf holds of Walter OLTONE¹ [Wotton (Underwood)]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 10 villeins with 13 bordars have 7 ploughs. There are 5 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 200 swine. In all it is and was worth 7 pounds; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Eddeva wife of Ulward held and could sell.

IN COTESLAI [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET²

Two Englishmen hold of Walter in this hundred 1 virgate.³ There is land for half a plough, and there is meadow (sufficient) for half a plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 3½ shillings. These same men held it T.R.E. and could sell.

M. Hugh de Bolebec holds of Walter WICHERCE [Whitchurch]. It is assessed at 8 hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. On the demesne are 3 ploughs, and there could be 2 (more). There 14 villeins with 2 bordars have 7 ploughs. There are 8 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). In all it is and was worth 8 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor 2 brothers, thegns of King Edward, held as 2 manors and could sell.

In LITECOTA [Littlecote⁴] Robert holds of Walter 2½ hides as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and 2 villeins with 3 bordars have 1 plough. There are 3 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). This land is and was worth 40 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Wiga, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In BRICHSTOCH [Burston⁵] Turstin holds of Walter 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 2 bordars and 1 serf. There is meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is worth 20 shillings;

when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land was held by Alwen, a certain woman, under Siward, and she could sell (her land).

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁶

Ralf holds of Walter in PINCENESTORNE [Pitstone⁷] 5½ hides as one manor. There is land for 2 ploughs and these are there with 3 villeins and 3 bordars and 1 serf. There is woodland (to feed) 40 swine. It is worth 40 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Toroi, a man of Earl⁸ Lewin, held and could sell.

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET⁹

William holds of Walter in SOENEBERNO [Swanbourne] 7 hides and 3 virgates as one manor. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 7 villeins with 5 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). In all it is and was worth 4 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor 2 thegns held—

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Alward 5 hides all but 1 virgate,¹⁰ and Alwi his man 2 hides and 3 virgates.¹⁰ They held them as two manors and could sell (them).

M. Walter himself holds HEREWORDE [(Great) Horwood]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 4 ploughs; and 8 villeins with 10 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 9 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 7 pounds. This manor Alward cilt, a thegn of King Edward, held.

Walter de Bec holds of Walter SINCLEBERIA [Singleborough].¹¹ It is assessed at 6 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 3 ploughs; and 4 villeins with 4 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 40 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 4 pounds. This manor Edward cilt, a thegn of King Edward, held.

¹ Probably scribal error for Ottone.

² Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 241, note 5, under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

³ The place is not named.

⁴ In Stewkley.

⁵ In Aston Abbots. See p. 244, note 7.

⁶ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233, note 3, under the land of the Bishop of Winchester.

⁷ See p. 244, note 12. ⁸ 'Earl' interlined.

⁹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

¹⁰ The amount of the holdings is interlined.

¹¹ In Great Horwood.

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M. Walter himself holds WADONE [Whaddon]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 5 ploughs; and 14 villeins with 9 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 10 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 10 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 8 pounds. This manor Edward cilt, a thegn of King Edward, held.

M. In MUSELAI [Mursley] William holds of Walter 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 2 villeins with 5 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 3 pounds.

¹ In LANPORT [Lampport²] Berner holds of Walter 3½ hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne is 1, and there could be another. There 2 villeins with 2 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor Suen Suert, a man of Earl³ Eduin, held and could sell.

Robert holds of Walter ACHELEI [Akeley]. It is assessed at 3 hides. There is land for 4⁴ ploughs. On the demesne are 4 oxen⁵ and there could be 2 ploughs (more). There 2 villeins with 4 bordars have 2½ ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team) and woodland (to feed) 806 swine.⁶ In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 40 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Alric son of Goding held and could sell.

M. Hugh holds of Walter LELINCHESTANE [Lillingstone (Dayrell)]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 1½, and there could be half a plough more. There 6 villeins with 5 bordars have 2 ploughs, and there could be a third. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 1,200

swine. It is worth 60⁷ shillings; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 50 shillings. This manor Syric, a man of Queen Eddid, held and could sell.

In MORTONE [(Maids) Moreton] Turstin holds of Walter 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs, and there are 1½ there, and there could be half a plough more. There are 2 villeins and 4 bordars, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is worth 30 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This manor Ulvic, a man of Alric son of Goding held, and could sell.

In the same vill the same Torstin holds of Walter 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2, and there could be other 2. There are 1 villein with 3 bordars, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams). It is worth 4 pounds; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. Two hides of this manor Alric son of Goding held as one manor, and Ederic, a man of Asgar the staller,⁸ 1½ hides as one manor, and Saward, a man of Azor son of Toti, held half a hide. They could assign (*dare*) and sell (their land).

In LECHAMESTEDE [Leckhampstead] Hugh holds of Walter 2 hides. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 villein and 2 bordars and 1 serf. There is 1 mill worth (*de*) 20 pence, meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), and woodland (to feed) 50 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 30 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This manor was held by Swartin, a man of Asgar the staller. He could not sell or assign (*dare*) his land but by his leave.

IN ROVELAI HUNDRET⁹

In BECENTONE [Beachampton] Hugh holds of Walter 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 5 villeins with 9 bordars have 3 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 4 pounds; when received 30 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds and 10 shillings. This manor Alric, a man and thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

The same Hugh holds BURTON¹⁰ [Bourton]

¹ The marginal note of the Hundred is here wanting in the MS. It should be Stodfalt (F.W.R.)

² In Stowe.

³ 'Earl' interlined.

⁴ Apparently this is an error for 5.

⁵ i.e. half a plough team.

⁶ 'Octingentis porcis et vi.'

⁷ The MS. has 40 corrected to 60.

⁸ 'the staller' interlined.

⁹ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

¹⁰ In Buckingham.

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

of Walter. It is assessed at 1 hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 2 villeins with 2 bordars have 1 plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth 30 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This manor Alric, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In EDINGEBERGE¹ [Lenborough] Ralf holds of Walter 3 hides as one manor. There is land for 2 ploughs. One is there, and there could be another. There are 2 bordars, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is worth 30 shillings; when received 60 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Towi, a man of Alric son of Goding, held and could sell.

In ULESDONE [Hillesden] Hugh holds of Walter 18 hides as one manor. There is land for 14 ploughs. On the demesne are 4; and 17 villeins with 9 bordars have 10 ploughs. There are 7 serfs and 1 mill worth (*de*) 4 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 14 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 6 pounds; when received 8 pounds; and as much T.R.E. This manor Alric, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

Ralf holds of Walter ACHECOTE [Edgcott]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 10 villeins with 9 bordars have 6 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 100 shillings. This manor 4 thegns held. One of these, Alwin, had 2½ hides as one manor, the second, Edwin, 1 hide and 1 virgate as one manor, and Almar half a hide, and Thori, a housecarl of King Edward, 3 virgates. All could sell their land.

In WLSIESTONE² [(Little) Woolstone] Ralf holds of Walter 3½ hides as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 4 villeins have 1 plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), and a mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings. It is worth 40 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Edward, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

¹ Probably scribal error for 'Ledingeberge,' which was the old form of the name.

² The name of the Hundred is here omitted; it should be 'Sigelai' (F.W.R.)

In ULSIESTONE [(Great) Woolstone] the monks of St. Pierre de la Couture (*culturæ*)³ hold of Walter 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 8 villeins with 1 bordar have 3 ploughs. There is a mill worth (*de*) 6 shillings and 4 pence. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is and was worth 3 pounds; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor Alric son of Goding held and could sell.

M. Walter himself holds NEUTONE [Newton (Longville⁴)]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In the demesne are 4 hides, and on it are 4 ploughs; and 20 villeins with 8 bordars have 8 ploughs. There are 11 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 12 pounds; when received 10 pounds; and as much T.R.E. This manor Edward cilt⁵ held.

In LOCHINTONE [Loughton] Ivo holds of Walter 4½ hides. There is land for 4½ ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 5 villeins with 2 bordars have 1 plough and there could be another plough and a half. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams). It is worth 60 shillings; when received 30 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor 5 thegns held and could sell.

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In BRADEWELLE [Bradwell] Walter Achet holds of Walter Gifard 1½ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1, and there could be another. There are 1 bordar, 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is worth 20 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This land Alviet, a man of Queen Eddid, held and could sell.

M. In LINFORDE [Linford] Hugh holds of Walter 2 hides and 1½ virgates as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 16 villeins with 2 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 4 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams). It is worth 3 pounds; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor Alric son of Goding held and could sell.

³ At Le Mans (J.H.R.)

⁴ So called from the priory of St. Faith at Walter's Norman lordship of Longueville, which was subsequently endowed with lands here. (J.H.R.)

⁵ 'cilt' interlined.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

IN BONESTOU HUNDRET¹

M. The same Hugh holds of Walter RAVENSTON [Ravenstone]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 10 villeins with 6 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 25 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 300 swine. It is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Lewin, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In LAWEDENE [Lavendon] Ralf holds of Walter 2 hides and 1 virgate and the fourth part of 1 virgate. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 5 villeins with 8 bordars have 1 plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is worth 25 shillings; (was worth) when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This land a man of Bishop Wlwi² held and could sell.

IN MOSLAI [MULSHOE] HUNDRET³

M. In HORELMEDE [Hardmead] Hugh holds of Walter 2½ hides as 1 manor. There is land for 2½ ploughs, and they are there with 4 villeins and 2 bordars. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor a man of Alric⁴ son of Godin held and could sell.

M. Richard holds of Walter MOLESHOU [Moulsoe]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 7 villeins with 9 bordars have 6 ploughs. There is 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all it is worth 6 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor 8 thegns held and could sell; one of these, Alwin, held 2 hides as 1 manor; another, Ulf, a man of Asgar the staller, 2 hides as 1 manor; and Algar, a man of Edward cilt,⁵ 1½ hides as 1 manor; Elsi 1 hide; Turchil 1 hide; Lodi 1 hide; Osulf 1 hide; Elric half a hide.

M. In BROSTONE [Broughton⁶] Hugh holds

¹ Now part of Newport Hundred.

² Wulfwig, Bishop of Lincoln (J.H.R.)

³ Now part of Newport Hundred. For the name of the Hundred see p. 241, note 2, under the land of the Bishop of Coutances.

⁴ 'F. Godin' is interlined.

⁵ Interlined. ⁶ Near Moulsoe.

of Walter 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne is 1 plough; and 8 villeins with 5 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 2 serfs and 1 mill on the demesne. There is meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is and was worth 60 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor Oswi, a man of Alric son of Goding, held and could sell.

In MIDELTONE [Milton (Keynes)] Hugh holds of Walter half a hide. There is land for 1 plough, but it is not there. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is worth 4 shillings; T.R.E. 10 shillings. This land Oswi, a man of Alric, held and could sell.

M. In BRICHILLE [(Bow) Brickhill] Ralf holds of Walter 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2, and 8 villeins with 2 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 2 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). It is worth 60 shillings; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 100 shillings. Of this land Goduin, a man of Bishop Wlwi,⁷ held 2 hides as 1 manor, Godbold 1 hide, Alric 1 hide, Ordric 1 hide; all these could sell their land.

M. In the same vill Robert holds of Walter 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 9 villeins with 5 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 100 shillings. Of this land Goduin, a man of Bishop Wlwi,⁷ held 2 hides as 1 manor, and 5 other thegns held the other land, that is to say 2 hides, and they could sell (their land).

[XVI.] XV. THE LAND OF WILLIAM DE WARRENNE

IN ELESBERIE [AYLESBURY] HUNDRET⁸

William de Warenne holds BROSTONE [Broughton⁹]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides and on it are 2 ploughs; and 13 villeins with 5 bordars have 6 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all

⁷ Wulfwig, Bishop of Lincoln (J.H.R.)

⁸ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁹ Near Aylesbury.

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(*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 8 pounds ; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor Edward, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN ROVELAI HUNDRET ¹

M. Brienz holds of William CAVREFELLE [Caversfield]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 3 ; and 12 villeins with 9 bordars have 5 ploughs. There is a fish-stew (*vivarium piscium*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 100 shillings. This manor Edward, a man of Earl Tosti, held and could sell.

[XVII.] XVI. THE LAND OF WILLIAM PEVREL

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET ²

M. William Pevrel holds HERDEWELLE [Hartwell], 6 hides and 3 virgates. Tehel holds (it) of him. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 3 ; and 16 villeins with 4 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 100 shillings ; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Alwin, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In UPETONE [Upton ³] Robert holds of William 3½ hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ; and 8 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 60 shillings. This manor Alwin, a man of Queen Eddid, held and could sell.

IN ESSEDENE [ASHENDON] HUNDRET ⁴

M. Payn holds of William TOCHINGEWICHE [Tetchwick ⁵] as 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1 ; and 3 villeins have 2 ploughs. There is 1 serf, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. This land is worth 30 shillings ; when received 20 shillings ; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This manor Alwin, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In SIDONE [Shipton (Lee) ⁶] William holds 1 hide. There is land for half a plough, and

¹ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

² Now part of Newport Hundred.

³ In Dinton.

⁴ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

⁵ In Ludgershall. ⁶ In Quainton.

it is there with 1 villein. It is and was worth 5 shillings. This land Alwin, a thegn of King Edward, held.

IN VOTESDONE [WADDESODN] HUNDRET ⁷

M. William himself holds CLAINDONE [(Middle) Claydon]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs ; and 16 villeins with 2 bordars have 5 ploughs, and there could be 2 more. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 150 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 10 pounds ; when received 12 pounds ; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor Alwin, a thegn of King Edward, held.

M. William himself holds HOC SAGA [Hogshaw]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 3½ ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides and on it are 2 ploughs ; and 6 villeins with 2 bordars have 1½ ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 40 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 60 shillings. This manor Alwin, a thegn of King Edward, held.

M. Ralf holds in CLAINDONE [(East) Claydon] of William 3 hides and 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1 ; and 4 villeins have another, and there could be a third. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), wood for (making) fences. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor Alwin, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell. Of this land a certain man of his held 1 virgate and could (not) ⁸ sell it without (*preter*) his permission.

M. Ambrose holds of William EDESTOCHA [Adstock]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne are 3 ; and 5 villeins with 2 bordars have 3 ploughs, and there could be a fourth. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 7 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 100 shillings ; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Gethe wife of Earl ⁹ Ralf ¹⁰ held and could sell.

IN BONESTOU HUNDRET ¹¹

M. William himself holds HAVRESHAM [Haversham]. It is assessed at 10 hides.

⁷ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

⁸ *non* is possibly omitted in the MS.

⁹ Interlined.

¹⁰ Ralf, Earl of Hereford (J.H.R.)

¹¹ Now part of Newport Hundred.

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There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are (¹) hides, and on it are 1½ ploughs, and there could be another and a half. There 16 villeins with 8 bordars have 7 ploughs. There are 5 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 8 shillings and 75 eels, meadow (sufficient) for 9 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 300 swine. It is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Countess Gueth ² held.

M. Drogo holds of William STOCHES [Stoke (Goldington)] 3 hides and 3 virgates as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 5 villeins with 4 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 4 pounds. This manor Countess Gueth ³ held.

[XVIII.] XVII. THE LAND OF WILLIAM SON OF ANSCULF

fo. 14^B

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET ⁴

William son of Ansculf holds in this hundred half a hide, ⁵ and a certain Englishman (holds it) of him. There is land for half a plough, and this is there with 1 bordar. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land Lewin brother of Alsi held and could sell.

IN ELESBERIE [AYLESBURY] HUNDRET ⁴

M. Ralf holds of William in ESENBERGE [Ellesborough] 13½ hides. There is land for 11 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 17 villeins with 3 bordars have 9 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 105 swine. In all it is and was worth 8 pounds; T.R.E. 9 pounds. This manor Earl Harold held, and this same manor Ansculf de Pinchengi got in exchange for half Risenberga [Risbury] against (*contra*) Ralf Talgebosch, by order of King William. ⁶

In the same vill Otbert holds of William 1½ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs, and there are 2 oxen with 1 villein. It is and was worth 5 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Balduin, a man of Archbishop Stig(and), held and could sell.

M. The same Otbert holds of William HA[M]DENA[M] ⁷ [Hampden (Great and Little)]. It is assessed at 3 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 4 villeins have 3 ploughs. There are 2 serfs; and woodland (to feed) 500 swine. As rent for the woodland (are received) shares for 2 ploughs (*de reddita silvæ ferræ ii carucis*). It is and was worth 4 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Balduin, a man of Archbishop Stig(and), held and could sell.

IN STOCHES [STOKE] HUNDRET

Walter holds of William DITONE [Ditton]. ⁸ It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 4 villeins have 2 ploughs. There are 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 16 swine. It is and was worth 30 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Sired, a man of Earl Harold, held and could sell.

M. The same Walter holds of William STOCHES [Stoke (Poges)]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 10 villeins with 3 bordars have 6 ploughs, and there could be 2 more. There are 4 serfs and 1 mill worth (*de*) 4 shillings, and woodland (to feed) 500 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 5 pounds; when received 3 pounds; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Siret, a man of Earl ⁹ Harold, held and could sell. One hide of this land a certain sokeman, a man of Tubi, held and could sell.

IN VOTESDONE [WADDESDON] HUNDRET ¹⁰

M. In MERSTONE [(North) Marston ¹¹] Rannulf holds of William 6½ hides as one manor. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 8 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs, and there could be a fourth. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). In all it is worth 100 shillings; when received 60 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. Of this manor Leuric, a man of Earl ⁹ Edwin, held 5 hides as 1 manor; another man had 1 hide and 1 virgate of King Edward's soke; and Bricuin, a man of Earl Tosti, had 1 virgate. All these could sell (their land).

⁷ The text reads 'Ha'dena', with contractions signifying 'm' or 'n' (J.H.R.)

⁸ In Stoke Poges. ⁹ Interlined.

¹⁰ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

¹¹ This identification is proved by *Feudal Aids*, i. 84. 'Rogerus de Somery tenet residuum ejusdem ville (Northmerstone).' Roger was William's heir (J.H.R.)

¹ The number is omitted in the MS.

² The 'Gethe' of the preceding entry (J.H.R.)

³ See preceding note.

⁴ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁵ The place is not named in the MS.

⁶ See Introduction, p. 209.

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In the same vill Bernard holds of William 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 1 bordar. It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Alwi, a man of Brictric, who was of the king's soke, held and could sell.

In HOHESTONE [Hoggeston] Payn holds of William 8 hides and 2½ virgates. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 12 villeins with 7 bordars have 8 ploughs. There are 5 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 10 plough (teams). In all it is and was worth 7 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. Of this manor Almer held 7 hides as 1 manor; he was a man of Bundi the staller. And a man of the abbes of Berchinges [Barking] had 1 hide; and a man of Eddeva the Fair held 2½ virgates; and all these could sell (their land).

IN COTESLAI [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET¹

In SOLEBERIE [Soulbury] Payn holds of William 5½ hides and the third part of a virgate. There is land for 17 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 14 villeins with 5 bordars have 9 ploughs, and there could be 5 ploughs more. There are 3 serfs and 1 mill worth (*de*) 16 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). In all it is and was worth 7 pounds; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor 11 sokemen held and could sell.

In HOLENDONE [Hollingdon²] Payn holds of William 3½ virgates. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 3 villeins. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land 4 sokemen held; of these, 3 men of Brictric had 2½ virgates, the fourth, a man of Wiga, had 1 virgate; these could all sell their land.

In LITCOTE [Littlecot³] Payn holds of William 1½ hides. There is land for 1½ ploughs. One plough is there with 1 bordar and there could be half a plough (besides). Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is worth 20 shillings; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This land 2 men of Brictric held and could sell.

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁴

In CETEDENE [Cheddington] Suertin holds

¹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 035, note 5, under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

² In Soulbury. ³ In Stewkley.

⁴ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233, note 3, under Bishop of Winchester's land.

of William half a hide. There is land for 2 oxen⁵ (to plough). It is and was worth 5 shillings; T.R.E. 10 shillings. This land Leuing, a man of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET⁶

In SUENERIE [Swanbourne] Payn holds of William 1 virgate. There is land for 2 oxen⁵ (to plough). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 2 shillings. This land Oswi, a man of Brictric, held and could sell.

IN LAMVA⁷ HUNDRET⁸

Balduin holds of William 'at ferm' 2 hides. There is land for 1½ ploughs, and these are there with 1 villein and 1 bordar. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). In all it is and was worth 26 shillings. The same man held it T.R.E. and could sell it.

In MERSE [Marsh (Gibbon)] Ailric holds of William 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 5 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 70 shillings. The same man held it T.R.E., but he now holds it 'at ferm' of William in heaviness and misery (*graviter et miserabiliter*).

IN SIGELAI HUNDRET⁹

M. William himself holds NEUPORT [Newport (Pagnet)]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In the demesne are 4 carucates of land, and on it are 4 ploughs; and 5 villeins have 5 ploughs. The burgesses have 6½ ploughs, and of other men outside the 5 hides¹⁰ (there are) those who cultivate (*laborantes*). . . . There are 9 serfs and 2 mills worth (*de*) 40 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for all the plough (teams) and (worth) 10 shillings (besides); woodland (to feed) 300 swine and (worth) 2 shillings (besides). And, in addition, 4 shillings come from men who dwell in the woodland. And in all other rents paid yearly it renders 116 shillings and 4 pence. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 20 pounds; T.R.E. 24

⁵ i.e. a quarter of a plough-team.

⁶ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

⁷ The 'm' in this instance is not doubled.

⁸ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

⁹ Now part of Newport Hundred.

¹⁰ The MS. seems here defective. The text runs '*aliorumque hominum extra v bidas laborantes.*'

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pounds. This manor Ulf, a thegn of King Edward, held.

In CALDECOTE [Caldecot] William holds 3 hides and 1 virgate. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and there could be another. There is 1 villein and 1 mill worth (*de*) 8 shillings; and a certain knight (*miles*) has there half a hide with half a plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor 2 men of Ulf held and could sell.

In ULSIESTONE [(Little)Woolstone] William holds 1½ hides. There is land for 1½ ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 1 villein has half a plough. There are 2 serfs. It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This land Ulf, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In BRADEWELLE [Bradwell] William holds 3 virgates. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 1 villein and 2 bordars and 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land Alward, a man of Goding, held and could sell. Of this land Ansculf, when he was sheriff, dispossessed (*desaisivit*) William de Celsi,¹ unjustly, as the men of the Hundred say, and without authority (*liberatore*) of the king or of any one (else).

In LINFORDE [Linford] Robert holds of William 1 virgate. There is land for 2 oxen² (to plough), and there is 1 villein. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 2 shillings. This land Grimbold, man of Bisi, held and could sell.

In TEDLINGHAM [Tyringham] Acard holds of William 7 hides and 1 virgate and the fourth part of 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 9 villeins with 6 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 6 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine and (yielding) 26 pence from small dues (*de minutis consuetudinibus*). In all it is worth 6 pounds; when received 8 pounds;

fo. 149
and the same T.R.E. This manor 5 thegns held; one of these, Herold, had 3 hides as 1 manor, and Goduin, a priest, half a hide, Estan

¹ This may have been Cholsey, Berks (J.H.R.)

² i.e. a quarter of a plough-team.

2 hides as 1 manor, Godric, a man of Herold, 1 virgate, and Alveva wife of Herold 1½ hides as 1 manor; these all could sell (their land) to whom they wished.

IN MOSLEIE [MULSHOE] HUNDRET³

Wibert holds of William 4 hides as 1 manor.⁴ There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 7 villeins with 6 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 1 serf, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 20 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 150 swine and (yielding) 16 pence (besides). It is and was worth 40 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor 2 thegns, Herald and Alwi, held and could sell.

In CICELAI [Chicheley] Balduin holds of William 3 hides as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1, and 5 villeins with 4 bordars have 2 ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. The same man held it⁵ T.R.E. and could sell it.

In the same (vill), Andrew holds of William 3 hides as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 7 villeins with 4 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor Edestan, a man of Alnod Chentis,⁶ held and could sell.

In the same (vill), Payn holds of William 3 hides and 3 virgates as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 5 villeins with 6 bordars have 3 ploughs. There is meadow (sufficient) for (the) plough (teams). It is worth 60 shillings; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor 9 thegns held and could sell without leave of their lords.

³ Now part of Newport Hundred. For the name of the Hundred see p. 241, note 2, under the land of the Bishop of Coutances.

⁴ The other places in this Hundred, besides Chicheley, at which land was held of William's successor at the time of Kirby's Quest (1284-6) were Emberton and Great and Little Crawley (*Feudal Aids*, i. 82, 83). The above entry probably relates to the Crawleys (J.H.R.)

⁵ i.e. Baldwin held it himself (J.H.R.)

⁶ Chentis probably = chentisc, 'the Kentish man.'

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

M. William himself holds TICHEFORDE [Tickford¹]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 carucates of land besides the 5 hides, and there are on it 2 ploughs. There 6 villeins with 4 serfs have 6 ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. There 5 sokemen pay 27 shillings. It is worth 100 shillings; when received 6 pounds; and as much T.R.E. This manor Ulf, a thegn of King Edward, held, and there were 5 thegns who held 3½ virgates of this land and could sell (their land) to whom they wished.

In HEROULMEDE [Hardmead] Hervey holds 1 hide all but half a virgate, as one manor, of William. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 2 villeins and 2 bordars and 1 serf. Woodland is there (to feed) 24 swine. It is and was worth 12 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Goduin, a man of Ulf, held and could sell.

In the same (vill), Payn holds of William half a virgate. There is land for 2 oxen² (to plough), and these are there, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 oxen, and woodland (to feed) 5 swine. It is and was worth 2 shillings; T.R.E. 2 ().³ This land Godric, a man of Oswi, held and could sell.

In the same (vill), Balduin holds 1 hide of William as one manor. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 3 villeins. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 1 mark of silver.⁴ This manor 3 brothers held; one of these was a man of Tochi, and 2 were men of Balduin. They could sell (their land). Of this land half a virgate belongs to (*jacet in*) the church (*monasterio*) of St. Firmin of Crauelai [(North) Crawley] and it belonged to it T.R.E.

In MIDUELTONE [Milton (Keynes)] Otbert holds of William 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough. There are 1 villein and 5 bordars and 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is worth 5 shillings; when received 20 shillings; and as much T.R.E. This land Sawold, a man of Wlward cilt,⁵ held and could sell.

¹ Tickford is subsequently found in the Hundred of 'Sigelai' (J.H.R.)

² i.e. a quarter of a plough-team.

³ The MS. has 1.

⁴ i.e. thirteen shillings and fourpence.

⁵ Interlined.

[XIX.] XVIII. THE LAND OF ROBERT DE TODENI

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET⁶

Robert de Todeni holds 7 hides in STANES [Stone] and Gilbert holds of him. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 7 villeins with 11 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 4 serfs; and 1 sokeman pays 15 shillings yearly. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 100 shillings. This manor Ulf, a housecarl of King Edward, held.

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁷

M. In CETENDONE [Cheddington] Gilbert holds of Robert 5½ hides as one manor. There is land for 3½ ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and there could be another. There 6 villeins have 1½ ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth 60 shillings; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Osulf son of Frane, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN MOSLAI [MULSHOE] HUNDRET⁸

M. In CLISTONE⁹ [Clifton (Reynes)] William de Boscroard and his brother hold of Robert 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 6 villeins with 7 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 400 swine. In all it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Osulf, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell. In this vill of Clistone Suert and Turbert held 3 virgates which William and Roger have taken possession of and hold concealed, to the king's hurt (*habent occupatas et celatas super regem*), as the men of the Hundred (court) assert. Of the 4 abovementioned hides Alric, a man of Osulf, held 1 virgate and could sell (it) to whom he wished.

[XX.] XIX. THE LAND OF ROBERT DE OILGI

IN STOCHES [STOKE] HUNDRET

M. Robert de Olgi holds EVREHAM [Iver]. It is assessed at 17 hides. There is land for 30 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides, and

⁶ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁷ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233 under Bishop of Winchester's land.

⁸ Now part of Newport Hundred. For the name of the Hundred see p. 241 under the land of the Bishop of Coutances.

⁹ 's' for 'f' in MS. apparently.

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on it are 4 ploughs, and 32 villeins have 26 ploughs. Of these villeins 5 have 6 hides. There are 6 bordars and 4 serfs and 3 mills worth (*de*) 44 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 30 plough (teams). From 4 fisheries come 1,500 eels and fish for Fridays for the use of the reeve of the vill (*prepositi villæ*). There is woodland (to feed) 800 swine, and there are 2 arpend¹ of vineyard (*arpendi vineæ*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 22 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 12 pounds. This manor Tochi, a thegn of King Edward, held, and there were there 3 sokemen; of these, one, a man of Tochi, held 3 virgates, but he could not sell except by his leave; another, a man of Queen Eddid, (held) 2½ hides; the third, a man of Seulf, had 2½ hides; these two could assign (*dare*) or sell (their land) to whom they wished, and they did not belong to this manor. This manor Robert got from Clarenbold de Maresc in exchange (*excambiavit pro*) for Pateberic [Padbury²], and it is (part) of his wife's fee.

IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH³] HUNDRET

M. Robert himself holds WICUMBE [(High) Wycombe] belonging to (*de*) his wife's fee. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 30 ploughs. In the demesne are 4 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs. There 40 villeins with 8 bordars have 27 ploughs. There are 8 serfs and 4 boors (*huri*), and 6 mills worth (*de*) 75 shillings yearly, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams) and for the horses of the court (*curia*) and the villeins' plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 500 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 26 pounds; when received 10 pounds; T.R.E. 12 pounds. This manor Brictric held of Queen Eddid.

IN TICHELSELE HUNDRET⁴

Robert son of Walter holds of Robert ACHELEI [Oakley]. It is assessed at 5 hides and 3 virgates. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 9 villeins with 7 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, woodland (that would feed) 200 swine, except that it is the king's preserve in which it lies (*nisi esset parcus regis in quo jacet*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 7⁵ pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. These 5 hides and 3

¹ There is some doubt as to the extent of the arpent (J.H.R.)

² For Padbury see p. 270 below.

³ For Desborough see p. 234, note 2, under the land of the Bishop of Lincoln.

⁴ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

⁵ This number is doubtful in the MS. The official edition reads 6 (J.H.R.)

virgates are 8 hides. Of these, Alwid the maid held 2 hides which she could assign (*dare*) or sell to whom she wished. And of the demesne 'ferm' (*dominica firma*) of King Edward she had half a hide which Godric the sheriff granted her (to hold) as long as he was sheriff, on condition of her teaching his daughter embroidery work. This land Robert son of Walter holds now according to the testimony of (*testante*) the Hundred (court).

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁶

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Ralf Basset holds of Robert MISSEVORDE [Masworth].⁷ It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. On the demesne are 4; and 22 villeins have 5 ploughs. There are 8 serfs, and 3 mills worth (*de*) 15 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 800 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 pounds. This manor Brictric, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In CETENDONE [Cheddington] Ralf holds of Robert 1½ hides. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 2 bordars. There is meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land Fin the Dane⁸ held and could sell.

IN STOFALD HUNDRET⁹

In CELDESTONE [Shalstone] Robert holds of Robert 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and 4 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and woodland (to feed) 50 swine. This land is worth 40 shillings; when received 30 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Azor son of Toti held and could sell.

M. Turstin holds of Robert STRADFORD [(Water) Stratford]. It is assessed at 8 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 10 villeins with 5 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 8 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). It is worth 7 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Azor son of Toti held and could sell.

⁶ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233, note 3, under the land of the Bishop of Winchester. ⁷ *Alias* Marsworth.

⁸ 'Dane' is interlined.

⁹ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

[XXI.] XX. THE LAND OF ROBERT GERNON

IN STOCHES [STOKE] HUNDRET

M. Robert Gernon holds WIRECESBERIE¹ [Wraysbury²]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 25 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 32 villeins with 18 bordars have 15 ploughs, and there could be 8 ploughs more. There are 7 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 40 [³] yearly, meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams) and hay for the beasts of the court (*curiæ*), woodland (to feed) 500 swine, and 4 fisheries in the Thames (*in Tamesia*) worth (*de*) 27 shillings all but 4 pence. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 20 pounds; T.R.E. 22 pounds. This manor Edmund, a thegn of King Edward, held.

[XXII.] XXI. THE LAND OF GEOFFREY DE MANNEVILLE

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

M. Geoffrey de Manneville holds ELNODESHAM [Amersham]. It is assessed at 7½ hides. There is land for 16 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 14 villeins with 4 bordars have 9 ploughs. There could be 4 more. There are 7 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 16 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 400 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 9 pounds; T.R.E. 16 pounds. This manor Queen⁴ Eddid held.

IN TICHESELE HUNDRET⁵

In WALDRUGE [Waldridge] Suerting holds of Geoffrey half a hide. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 15 shillings. This land Dodinz, a man of Asgar the staller, held and could sell.

IN VOTESDONR [WADDES DON] HUNDRET⁶

In CLAINDONE [(East) Claydon⁶] Geoffrey holds 7 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 4 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. Meadow is there

(sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 40 swine. In all it is worth 4 pounds; when received 3 pounds; T.R.E. 5 pounds. This manor Suen, a man of Asgar the staller, held. He could not assign (*dare*) or sell it without his leave.

M. Geoffrey himself holds QUERENDONE [Quarrendon]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 4 hides, and on it are 4 ploughs; and 20 villeins with 8 bordars have 8 ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 10 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 300 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 8 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Suen, a man of Asgar the staller, held. He could not sell it without his leave.

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁷

M. In ESTONE [(Ivinghoe) Aston] Germund⁸ holds of Geoffrey 4 hides and 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 3½ ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and 1 villein with 4 serfs have 1½ ploughs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is and was worth 50 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Asgar the staller held in demesne.

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET⁹

Geoffrey himself holds in SUENEBERIE [Swanbourne] 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide, and on it is 1 plough; and 3 villeins with 2 bordars have 1 plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 30 shillings. This manor Suen, a man of Asgar the staller, held. He could not sell it without his leave.

IN STOFALD HUNDRET¹⁰

M. In LECHAMSTEDE [Leckhampstead] Osbert holds of Geoffrey 3 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and [¹¹] villeins have 1½ ploughs and there could be half a plough more. Woodland is there (to feed) 150 swine. It is worth 30 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This manor Suarting, a man of Asgar, held. He could not sell it without his leave.

¹ Probably a scribal error for 'Wiretesberie.'

² *Alias* Wyrardisbury.

³ ? shillings: the word is omitted in the MS.

⁴ Interlined.

⁵ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

⁶ Strictly in Claydon St. Botolph, where *Testa de Neville* (p. 245) shows ½ fee held of the Earl of Hereford (J.H.R.)

⁷ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233, note 3, under the land of the Bishop of Winchester.

⁸ This was Germund de St. Ouen (J.H.R.)

⁹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

¹⁰ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

¹¹ The number is omitted in the MS.

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IN LAMMVA HUNDRET¹

William de Cahainges holds of Geoffrey 3½ hides² as one manor. There is land for 3½ ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 3 villeins and 1 bordar have 2 ploughs, and there could be half a plough (more). There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor Ulf, a man of Asgar the staller, held and could sell. Of the same land Alwi held half a hide. He was a man of Alwin Varus³ and could sell (it).

[XXIII.] XXII. THE LAND OF GILBERT DE GAND

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁴

M. Gilbert de Gand holds EDDINBERGE [Edlesborough]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 14 ploughs. In the demesne are 10 hides, and on it are 4 ploughs; and 26 villeins with 4 bordars have 10 ploughs. There are 10 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 15 shillings and 4 pence, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 400 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 13 pounds; T.R.E. 14 pounds. This manor Ulf, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In HORTONE [Horton⁵] Swarting holds of Gilbert 3 virgates. There is land for half a plough, and (a) plough is there. This land is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 6 shillings and 8 pence. This land a certain man of Ulf held. He could not assign (*dare*) or sell except by his consent.

XXIV. THE LAND OF MILES CRISPIN

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET⁶

Miles Crispin holds in OPETONE [Upton⁷] 1½ hides, and Alric holds of him. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 villein and 2 bordars. There are 2 serfs. It is

¹ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

² The place is not named in the MS.

³ Interlined.

⁴ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233, note 3, under the land of the Bishop of Winchester.

⁵ Is in several parishes, chiefly in Slapton, Cheddington and Ivinghoe.

⁶ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁷ In Dinton.

and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. The same thegn (*Istemet tegnus*⁸) held it T.R.E.

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

M. Ralf holds of Miles DORNEI [Dorney]. It is assessed at 3 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 5 villeins with 4 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams) and for the horses, and 1 fishery of 500 eels, and woodland (to feed) 150 swine. It is worth 30 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Aldred, a man of Earl⁹ Morcar, held and could sell.

Ralf and Roger hold of Miles HUCHEHAM [Hitcham]. It is assessed at 6 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 8 villeins have 4 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for the plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. From ^{fo. 150} a fishery (come) 500 eels. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 4 pounds; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Haming, a thegn of King Edward,¹⁰ held and could sell.

IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH¹¹] HUNDRET

IN MERLAUE [Marlow] Ralf and Roger hold of Miles 8½ hides and half a virgate. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 14 villeins with 6 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine and (worth) 12 pence (besides). It is and was worth 60 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This land Haming, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In SANTESDUNE [Saunderton] Osbert holds of Miles 5 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 13 villeins with 5 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 8 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Alric, a man of Earl⁹ Harold, held and could sell.

⁸ i.e. Ælfric (*Alicus*). The name was a common one in Bucks (J.H.R.)

⁹ Interlined.

¹⁰ Miles had succeeded the same man (as 'Haminic') at Cherrington, Glouc. (J.H.R.)

¹¹ For Desborough see p. 234, note 2, under the land of the Bishop of Lincoln.

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In ESTONE [? Aston (Sandford)] 2 men hold of Miles half a hide. There is land for half a plough, and this is there with 2 villeins. There is meadow (sufficient) for half a plough (team). It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 15 shillings. This land Ulvric and Coleman, men of Brictric, held and could sell.

IN TICHESELE HUNDRET¹

M. Miles himself holds SOBINTONE [Shabington]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 12 villeins with 7 bordars have 7 ploughs. There are 6 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). From a fishery (come) 100 eels. There is woodland (to feed) 100 swine. This manor is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 pounds. Wigot of Walingeford [Walingford] held it.

In IFORDE [Ickford] Richard holds of Miles 4 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 6 villeins have 3 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 3 pounds; when received 4 pounds; and the same T.R.E.

IN ESSEDEN [ASHENDON] HUNDRET¹

In ASSEDUNE [Ashendon] Wichin' holds of Miles 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 3 bordars. There is meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 30 shillings. The same man held it T.R.E. and could sell (it).

In CERDESLAI [Chearsley] Richard holds of Miles 1½ hides. There is land for 1 plough and this is there with 1 villein and 1 bordar. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 22 shillings. This land Alden, a man of Earl² Harold, held and could sell.

In SORTELAI [] 2 men hold of Miles 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 1 villein and 1 bordar. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land 2 thegns, men of Brictric, held and could sell.

¹ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

² Interlined.

M. In CHENTONE [Quainton] Miles holds 7½ hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 21 villeins with 6 bordars have 6 ploughs. There are 6 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine.³ In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 7 pounds; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Wigot of Walingeford [Wallingford] held.

Two men hold of Miles BICHEDONE [Beachington, or Beachendon⁴] as 2 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs, and these are there with 2 villeins and 3 bordars. There is meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 25 shillings. The same men (*Istimet*) held it T.R.E.—one a man of Brictric, the other a man of Azor—and could sell (it).

IN VOTESDONE [WADDES DON] HUNDRET¹

M. Miles himself holds VOTESDONE [Waddesdon]. It is assessed at 27 hides. There is land for 28 ploughs. In the demesne are 10 hides, and on it are 8 ploughs; and 50 villeins with 10 bordars have 20 ploughs. There are 17 serfs and 1 mill worth (*de*) 12 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 28 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 150 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 30 pounds; when received 16 pounds; T.R.E. 30 pounds. This manor Brictric, a man of Queen⁵ Eddid, held.

In CLAUDONE [(East) Claydon⁶] 2 Englishmen hold of Miles 2 hides. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 3 bordars. There is meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. The same men held it T.R.E. They were men of Hamington. They could sell (their land).

In CLAUDONE [(East) Claydon] Geoffrey holds of Miles 7 hides and 3 virgates as 1 manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 4 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all it is worth 4 pounds; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds.

IN MERSTONE [(North?) Marston⁷] Seric

³ From 'meadow' to the end of the sentence is repeated in the MS.

⁴ In Waddesdon. ⁵ Interlined.

⁶ Land was held in East Claydon of the Honour of Wallingford (*Feudal Aids*, i. 85, 93) (J.H.R.)

⁷ Land was held of the Honour of Wallingford both in North Marston and in Fleet Marston (*ibid.* p. 84) (J.H.R.)

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holds of Miles 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 1 bordar. There is meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. The same man held it T.R.E.; he was a man of Brictric and could sell (it).

IN COTESHALE [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET ¹

In SOLEBERIE [Soulbury] Roger holds of Miles 1 hide and 1½ virgates. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 2 villeins have another and there could be a third. There is meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land Almar, a man of Brictric, held. He could not sell it except by his consent.

In HOLENDONE [Hollingdon] ² Nigel holds of Miles 1 virgate. There is land for half a plough, and this is there with 1 villein. It is and was worth 3 shillings; T.R.E. 4 shillings. He who held this land could not assign (*dare*) or sell it T.R.E.

In WITHUNGRAVE [Wingrave] Nigel holds of Miles 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. There 7 villeins with 2 bordars have 2½ ploughs and there could be as many (more). There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). It is worth 40 shillings; when received 100 shillings; and as much T.R.E. This manor Brictric, a man of Queen Eddid, held and could sell.

In the same vill Turstin the priest holds of Miles half a hide. There is land for half a plough. There is 1 villein, and meadow (sufficient) for half a plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land Lemar, a man of Brictric, held and could sell.

In the same vill Almar holds of Miles 2 hides as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 7 villeins have 2 ploughs. There is meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor Almar, a man of Brictric, held and could sell.

In LITECOTE [Littlecote] ³ Robert holds of Miles 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 1 villein and meadow

¹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 241, note 5, under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

² In Soulbury. ³ In Stewkley.

(sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is worth 15 shillings; when received 5 shillings; T.R.E. 25 shillings. This land, Herch, a man of Brictric, held and could sell.

In HARDUICH [Hardwick] William holds of Miles 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 2 bordars. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is worth 20 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Osulf held and could sell.

In BRICSTOCH [Burston⁴] William holds of Miles 3 virgates. There is land for 1 plough. There are 3 villeins and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 15 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Osulf, a man of Brictric, held and could sell.

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET ⁵

M. In PINCELESTORNE [Pitstone] Roger holds of Miles 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 3 villeins with 1 bordar have half a plough and there could be half a plough (more). There is woodland to (feed) 40 swine. It is worth 30 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Lepsi, a man of Brictric, held and could sell.

In the same vill Suerting holds of Miles 2 hides. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 bordar and 2 serfs. Woodland is there (to feed) 25 swine. It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Lepsi, a man of Brictric, held and could sell.

In HORTONE [Horton⁶] Suerting holds of Miles 1 hide. There is land for a half plough.

fo. 150b
The plough is there, with 1 villein and 2 serfs and meadow sufficient for half a plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 13 shillings and 4 pence. Lepsi, a man of Brictric, held it and could sell.

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET ⁷

In STIVELAI [Stewkley] Nigel holds of

⁴ In Aston Abbots. Land there was held of the Honour of Wallingford (J.H.R.)

⁵ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233, note 3, under the land of the Bishop of Winchester.

⁶ Is in several parishes, chiefly Slapton, Chedington and Ivinghoe.

⁷ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

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Miles $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides as 1 manor. There is land for 9 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and there could be 2 (more). There 9 villeins with 2 bordars have $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and there could be $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs more. There is meadow (sufficient) for 9 plough (teams). It is and was worth 4 pounds. This manor Brictric, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN LAMMVA HUNDRET¹

In EDDINTONE [Addington] Eddulf holds half a hide. There is land for half a plough and this is there. It is worth 10 shillings; when received 5 shillings; T.R.E. 10 shillings. This land Lewi, a man of Edwi, held and could sell.

IN SIGELAI HUNDRET²

In BROEWELLE [Bradwell] William holds of Miles 2 hides and 3 virgates. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and 5 villeins there could have 1 plough. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is worth 40 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor 2 thegns, Sibi and Goduin, men of Alric son of Goding, held and could sell.

M. Ralf holds STANTONE [Stanton (Barry)³] of Miles. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for $5\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 7 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs, and there could be half a plough more. There are 4 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings and 8 pence and 50 eels, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 6 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Bisi, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN MOSLAI⁴ HUNDRET

Almar de Odon holds 1 hide of Miles.⁵ There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 3 villeins and 2 bordars. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land Ordwi, a man of Wigot of Walingeford [Wallingford], held and could sell.

¹ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

² Now part of Newport Hundred.

³ *Alias* Stantonbury.

⁴ Probably Mulsoe Hundred.

⁵ The place is not named in the MS.

[XXV.] XXIII. THE LAND OF EDWARD OF SARISBERIE [SALISBURY]

IN ELESBERIE [AYLESBURY] HUNDRET⁶

M. Edward of Sarisberie [Salisbury] holds ESTONE [Aston (Clinton)].⁷ It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 17 ploughs. In the demesne are 9 hides and 1 virgate, and on it are 6 ploughs; and 28 villeins with 4 bordars have 11 ploughs, and there could be a twelfth. There are 13 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 5 'ores' of silver,⁸ meadow (sufficient) for 17 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 300 swine, and (supplying) shares for the ploughs of the demesne (*et ferra carucis dominicis*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 18 pounds; when received 10 pounds; T.R.E. 20 pounds. This manor Wlwen, a 'man'⁹ of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN VOTESDUNE [WADDES DON] HUNDRET¹⁰

Rannulf holds of Edward 1 hide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates.¹¹ There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 villein and 1 bordar and 4 serfs. There is meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Almar held of Wlwene of Cresselai [Creslow] and could sell.

The same Rannulf holds CRESSELA [Creslow]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 4, and 6 villeins with 1 bordar have 2 ploughs. There are 5 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 100 shillings; when received 4 pounds; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Wlwen, a certain woman, held T.R.E. and could sell.

[XXVI.] XXV. THE LAND OF HUGH DE BEAUCHAMP

IN CORTESHALA [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET¹²

Hugh de Beauchamp holds LINCELADA [Linslade]. It is assessed at 15 hides. There is land for 16 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs and there

⁶ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁷ It is afterwards found in the hands of his descendant Ela, Countess of Warwick (J.H.R.)

⁸ The 'ore' or ounce of silver was sixteen pence (J.H.R.)

⁹ Wlwen is a woman's name.

¹⁰ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

¹¹ The place is not named in the MS.

¹² Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 241, note 5, under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

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could be 3 more. There 22 villeins with 6 bordars have 11 ploughs. There are 5 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 20 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). In all it is worth 10 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor Alwin, a man of Queen Eddid, held and could sell.

In SOLEBERIE [Soulbury] Hugh holds 2 thirds (*partes*) of 1 virgate. There is land for 4 oxen¹ (to plough). It is and was worth 3 shillings; T.R.E. 4 shillings. This land Dot, man of Deus (*homo dei*), held and could sell to whom he wished.

IN BONESTOU HUNDRET²

In LATEBERIE [Lathbury] William de Orenge holds 4 hides of Hugh as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 4 villeins with 4 bordars have 1 plough. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. It is worth 4 pounds; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor 2 thegns, Leuric and Olviet, held as 2 manors and could sell.

[XXVII.] XXVI. THE LAND OF HUGH DE BOLEBECH

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET³

Hugh de Bolebech holds in MISSEDENE [Missenden] half a hide and Ulviet holds of him.⁴ There is land for 1 plough and this is there with 1 bordar. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. The same man (*Istemet*⁵) held it T.R.E. He was a man of Bishop Wlwi⁶ and could sell (it).

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

In ELMODESHAM [Amersham] Ulviet holds of Hugh half a hide. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 2 villeins and 3 bordars. There is 1 mill worth (*de*) 5 shillings, and woodland (to feed) 20 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. The same man (*Istemet*) held it T.R.E. and could sell (it).

Hugh himself holds in CESTREHAM [Chesham] 8½ hides. There is land for 16 ploughs.

¹ i.e. half a plough-team.

² Now part of Newport Hundred.

³ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁴ 'Of him' is interlined. ⁵ i.e. Ulviet.

⁶ Wulfwig, Bishop of Lincoln (J.H.R.)

In the demesne are 1½ hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 16 villeins with 6 bordars have 12 ploughs and there could be 2 more. There are 6 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 16 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 800 swine and (supplying) shares for the ploughs (*et ferrum carucis*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 10 pounds all but 3 shillings; T.R.E. 12 pounds. This manor Brictric, a man of Queen Eddid, held, and there 2 sokemen held 4 hides; they were men of Brictric and could sell (them).

IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH]⁷ HUNDRET

M. Hugh himself holds MEDEMEHAM [Medmenham]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 4 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 10 villeins with 8 bordars have 8 ploughs. There are 4 serfs. From a fishery (come) 1,000 eels. Meadow is there (sufficient) for all the plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. In all it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Wlstan, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell to whom he wished.

Hugh himself holds BROCH [? Brook (End)]⁸ as 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 villein and 2 bordars. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land Odo held. He was a man of Brictric and could sell (it).

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁹

In CETEDONE [Cheddington] Hugh holds half a hide, but it has been laid waste. This land Ulwin of Wadone [? Weedon] held and could sell.

In WADONE [Whaddon in Slapton] Hugh holds¹⁰ 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 1 villein. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land 2 men of Brictric held and could sell.

IN SIGELAI¹¹ HUNDRET

M. Hugh himself holds CALVRETONE [Calverton]. It is assessed at 10 hides.

⁷ For Desborough see p. 234, note 2, under the land of the Bishop of Lincoln.

⁸ ? a lost name in or near Grove (J.H.R.)

⁹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233, note 3, under the land of the Bishop of Winchester.

¹⁰ 'ten[et]' is repeated in the MS.

¹¹ Now part of Newport Hundred.

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There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 18 villeins with 8 bordars have 7¹ ploughs and there could be a ninth. There are 9 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 13 shillings and 4 pence, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 10 pounds; T.R.E. 12 pounds. This manor Bisi, a thegn of King Edward, held; and there a man of Queen Eddid had 2 hides as one manor and could sell (them).

M. In LINFORDE [Linford] Hugh holds 2 hides and 1½ virgates as one manor. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 5 villeins with 2 bordars have 1 plough. There is meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor 3 thegns held and could assign and sell.

In HERULFMEDE [Hardmead] Hugh holds half a virgate. There is land for 2 oxen² (to plough), meadow (sufficient) for 2 oxen, woodland (to feed) 5 swine. It is and was worth 2 shillings. This land Ulgrim, a man of Earl³ Lewin, held and could sell.

In WAWENDONE [Wavendon] Ansel holds of Hugh 3 hides less 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. There are 4

fo. 151
oxen⁴ there with 2 villeins and 3 bordars, and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is and was worth 40 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This land Suen, a man of Earl³ Harold, held and could sell.

[XXVIII.] XXVII. THE LAND OF HENRY DE FEIRERES

IN ESSEDENE [ASHENDON⁵] HUNDRET

M. Henry de Ferreres holds GRENNEDONE [Grendon (Underwood)]. It is assessed at 2 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 12 villeins with 2 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 500 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Boding the 'constable' (*constabularius*) held T.R.E. and could sell.

¹ So the MS. reads, probably by error for 8.

² i.e. a quarter of a plough-team (J.H.R.)

³ Interlined.

⁴ i.e. half a plough-team (J.H.R.)

⁵ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

M. In SIBDONE [Shipton (Lee)⁶] Henry holds 7 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs and there could be other 2. There 4 villeins with 1 bordar have 2 ploughs and there could be a third. There is 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 60 shillings; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Boding the 'constable' (*constabularius*) held T.R.E.

[XXIX.] XXVIII. THE LAND OF WALTER DE VERNON

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET⁷

Walter de Vernon holds in HERDEWELLE [Hartwell] half a hide. There is land for half a plough, but (the) plough is not there. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land Turgot, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

In BERLAUE⁸ [Marlow] Walter holds 6 hides and 1½ virgates. There is land for 6 ploughs. In the demesne are 3½ hides and on it are 2 ploughs; and 8 villeins with 6 bordars have 2½ ploughs, and there could be 1½ ploughs more. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This land Godric a man of Asgar the staller held and could sell.

IN VOTESDONE [WADDESON] HUNDRET⁹

M. Walter himself holds MERSTONE [(Fleet) Marston]. It is assessed at 3 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide, and on it is 1 plough, and there could be another. There 6 villeins with 5 bordars have 3 ploughs, and there could be a fourth. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is worth 40 shillings; when received 100 shillings; and as much T.R.E. This manor Turgot, a man of Earl¹⁰ Lewin, held and could sell.

[XXX.] XXXIX.¹¹ THE LAND OF WALTER SON OF OTHER

IN STOCHES [STOKE] HUNDRET

M. Walter son of Other holds HORTUNE¹² [Horton]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There

⁶ In Quainton.

⁷ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁸ A scribal error for 'Merlaue.'

⁹ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

¹⁰ Interlined. ¹¹ So the MS. for xxix.

¹² In the MS. 'Stoches' is written here but underlined for deletion, and 'Hortune' interlineated.

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is land for 9 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 15 villeins with 5 bordars have 6 ploughs, and there could be a seventh. There are 4 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 20 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 6 pounds; when received 50 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Eldred, a man of Archbishop Stig(and), held and could sell.

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

M. Walter himself holds ETTONE [Eton]. It is assessed at 12 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 15 villeins with 4 bordars have 6 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 20 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 200 swine. From fisheries come 1,000 eels. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 6 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Queen Eddid held.

M. Walter himself holds BURNEHAM [Burnham]. It is assessed at 18 hides. There is land for 15 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 28 villeins with 7 bordars have 12 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow sufficient for 3 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 600 swine and supplying shares for the ploughs (*ferrum carucis*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 10 pounds; when received 6 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor Elmar, a thegn of King Edward, held.

IN MOSELAI¹ HUNDRET

Ralf holds of Walter 4 hides as 1 manor.² There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 9 villeins with 7 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all it is worth 60 shillings; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor³ Oswi, a man of Alric, held and could sell.

[XXXI.] XXX. THE LAND OF WALTER THE FLEMING

IN MOSELAI⁴ HUNDRET

Walter the Fleming holds 1 hide and 1

¹ Probably Mulshoe Hundred (F.W.R.)

² The place is not named in the MS.

³ This was certainly at Hardmead in Moulsoe Hundred, where a fee was held of Richard de Windsor in 1284-6 (*Feudal Aids*, i. 82), as it had been earlier (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 244) of William de Windsor (J.H.R.)

⁴ Probably Mulshoe Hundred (F.W.R.)

virgate as one manor⁵ and Fulcuin holds of him. There is land for 1 plough. There is 1 villein. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is worth 10 shillings; when received 20 shillings; and as much T.R.E. This land Sueninc, a man of Earl⁶ Harold, held and could sell.

[XXXII.] XXXI. THE LAND OF WILLIAM DE FELGERES

IN STODFALT HUNDRET⁷

William de Felgeres holds TURVESTONE [Turweston]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. Besides these 5 hides there are 3 carucates of land in the demesne and there is 1 plough on these and there could be 2 more; and 6 villeins with 4 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 7 shillings and 6 pence. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 4 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Wenesi, the chamberlain of King Edward, held and could sell.

[XXXIII.] XXXII. THE LAND OF WILLIAM THE CHAMBERLAIN

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET⁸

William the chamberlain holds 2 hides in HERDEWELLE [Hartwell] and Robert holds of him. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 2 villeins with 4 bordars have 1 plough. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 30 shillings. This land Wlmar, a priest of King Edward, held and could sell.

XXXIII. THE LAND OF WILLIAM SON OF CONSTANTINE

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET⁸

William son of Constantine holds in SUDCOTE [? Southcote in Stone]⁹ 1 virgate of land and 6 acres, and Suetin holds of him. There is land for a half plough. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 6 shillings. This land Ulvric, a man of Archbishop Stigand, held and could sell.

⁵ It appears from *Testa de Nevill*, p. 244, and *Feudal Aids*, i. 83, that this was at Bow Brickhill, where a quarter of a fee was held of Walter's heirs, the Wahulls (J.H.R.)

⁶ Interlined.

⁷ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

⁸ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁹ Southcote in Stone. The name is now lost, but continued to the sixteenth century (cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xviii. 490).

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[XXXV.] XXXIII. THE LAND OF WILLIAM SON OF MANNE

IN ESSEDENE [ASHENDON] HUNDRET¹

William son of Manne holds in LOTE-GARSER [Ludgershall] 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. In the demesne are 1 hide and 1 virgate, and on it is 1 plough; and 3 villeins have 1 plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This manor Alvrice the chamberlain of King Edward held and could sell.

[XXXVI.] XXXV. THE LAND OF TURSTIN SON OF ROLF

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET²

Turstin son of Rolf holds CHENE BELLE PARVA [Little Kimble] and Albert holds of him. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 and there could be other 2. There 10 villeins with 1 bordar have 3 ploughs and there could be 3 others. There are 2 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 16 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 10 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Brictric, a thegn of King Edward, held.

IN COTESLAI [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET³

M. In HARDVIC [Hardwick] Turstin holds 19 hides. There is land for 19 ploughs. In the demesne are 9½ hides, and on it are 3 ploughs and there could be a fourth. There 24 villeins with 4 bordars have 14½ ploughs, and there could be another half a plough. There are 8 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 10 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 15 pounds; when received 10 pounds; T.R.E. 16 pounds. This manor Saxi a thegn of King Edward held.

(An entry about Bricstoch follows, crossed out and also marked ⊕.⁴)

fo. 151b

[XXXVII.] XXXVI. THE LAND OF TUR[S]TIN MANTEL

IN STANES [STONE] HUNDRET⁵

Turstin Mantel holds half a hide in MISSE-DENE [(Little) Missenden⁶]. There is land for

¹ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

² Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

³ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 241, note 5, under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

⁴ This is a duplicate of the entry under Walter Giffard's fief. See Introduction, p. 224 (J.H.R.).

⁵ This is proved to be in Little Missenden by

2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 2 villeins with 1 bordar have 1 plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This land Seric a man of Sired held and could sell.

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

In ELMODESHAM [Amersham] Turstin holds half a hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. There is 1 plough and there could be another. There are 2 villeins with 1 bordar, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is and was worth 13 shillings and 4 pence; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Turchil, a man of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN CESTREHAM [Chesham] Turstin holds half a hide. There is land for 1 plough, but it has been laid waste. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 5 shillings. This land Epy, a man of Brictric, held and could sell.

[XXXVIII.] XXXVII. THE LAND OF RALF DE FELGERES

IN LAMMVA HUNDRET⁶

M. Ralf de Felgeres holds TVEVERDE [Twyford]. It is assessed at 17 hides. There is land for 18 ploughs. In the demesne are 6 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs and there could be 2 more. There 15 villeins with 10 bordars have 11 ploughs and there could be 2 more. There are 9 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 10 pounds; when received 8 pounds; T.R.E. 12 pounds. This manor Countess⁷ Goda held,⁸ and there a certain man of Earl⁹ Harold had 3 hides as one manor and could sell.

M. Ralf himself holds CREDENDONE [Charnodon⁹]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 18 villeins with 11 bordars have 8 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 2

long subsequent entries of the Mantel serjeanty there in *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 256, 257, and *Feudal Aids*, i. 85 (J.H.R.).

⁶ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

⁷ Interlined.

⁸ He had succeeded her as "Goda comitissa" in a Surrey manor, and as "Goda" in both his Devon ones. She was probably King Edward's sister, but there seems to be some confusion in Domesday between her and Godwine's wife (J.H.R.).

⁹ In Twyford.

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plough (teams). In all it is and was worth 8 pounds; T.R.E. 9 pounds. This manor Eingar, a man of Earl Harold,¹ held and could sell.

[XXXIX.] XXXVIII. THE LAND OF BERTRAN DE VERDUN

IN STOCHE [STOKE] HUNDRET

M. Bertran de Verdun holds FERNEHAM [Farnham (Royal)]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 5 villeins with 3 bordars have 4 ploughs and there could be 2 more. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 600 swine. In all it is worth 100 shillings; when received 4 pounds; and the same T.R.E. This manor Countess Goda held.² Half a hide of this manor Geoffrey de Manneville holds in Elmodesham [Amersham] of which he dispossessed (*desaisivit*) the aforesaid Bertran whilst he was over sea in the service of the king, according to the testimony of the Hundred court; and Ralf Tailgebosc set up (*fecit*) on Bertran's land a mill which was not there T.R.E., as the Hundred (court) testifies.

[XL.] XXXIX. THE LAND OF NIGEL DE ALBINGI

IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH]³ HUNDRET

M. Nigel de Albingi holds TILLEBERIE [Turville].⁴ It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 11 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 13 villeins with 1 bordar have 7 ploughs and there could be an eighth. There is woodland (to feed) 20 swine. In all it is worth 7 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 7 pounds. This manor Turbert a man of Earl¹ Algar held and could sell.

IN TICHESELE HUNDRET⁵

M. In EIE [Kingsey and Towersey] Nigel (de) Wast¹ holds of Nigel 9 hides and 1 virgate. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 10 villeins have 4 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for

¹ Interlined.

² See p. 267, note 8.

³ For Desborough see p. 234, note 2, under the land of the Bishop of Lincoln.

⁴ Formerly 'Tirefelde.' It is proved by feudal evidence to have belonged to Nigel de Albingi's barony, of which Cainhoe, Beds, was the head (J.H.R.).

⁵ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

7 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 7 pounds; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor 7 thegns, men of King Edward, held and could sell.

[XLI.] XL. THE LAND OF NIGEL DE BEREVILE

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET⁶

Nigel de Bervile holds in DRAINTONE [Drayton (Parslow)] 2 hides and 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne is 1 and there could be 2 more. There 8 villeins with 2 bordars have 4½ ploughs and there could be another half a plough. There are 3 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams). It is worth 40 shillings; when received 100 shillings, and the same T.R.E.⁷ This manor Lewin de Neuham [Nuneham (Courtenay)] held of the king, and afterwards, T.R.W., Ralf Passaquam⁸ held it of the same Lewin and found 2 men with hauberks (*loricatos*) for the guard of (*in custodia de*) Windesores [Windsor]. This Ralf the Bishop of Coutances dispossessed (*desaisivit*) and put the above-mentioned Nigel into possession.

[XLII.] XLI. THE LAND OF ROGER DE IVERI

IN TICHESELE HUNDRET⁹

Roger de Iveri holds LESA [¹⁰] and Picot holds of him. It is assessed at 2 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 4 villeins with 2 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 200 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 40 shillings; when received 30 shillings; T.R.E. 50 shillings. This manor Azor son of Toti, a man of Queen Eddid, held and could sell.

⁶ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

⁷ The MS. has T.R.R.

⁸ He held Holcutt, Beds, of William Spech (fo. 214b) (J.H.R.).

⁹ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

¹⁰ This place appears in *Testa de Nevill*, p. 245, as 'Esses' and as held by John de Esses 'de feodo de Bekelec' of Earl Richard. This 'Bekelec' was Beckley, Oxon, two or three miles from the Bucks border (at about the part where 'Lesa' would be), which Domesday shows held by Roger d'Ivri. It is found subsequently as 'Esses' (*Feudal Aids*, i. 84) and as 'Esshe' held with 'Merlake' by Nigel de Asshe (*ibid.* p. 114) (J.H.R.).

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IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY]¹ HUNDRET

In WESTBERIE [Westbury (by Shenley)²] Payn holds of Roger 2½ hides as one manor. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne are 2½ ploughs; and 8 villeins with 2 bordars have 4½ ploughs. There is 1 serf, and there are 2 mills worth (*de*) 18 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 250 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 60 shillings; when received 50 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Alwin brother of Bishop Wlwi³ held and could sell.

In DODEFORDE⁴ [Dodford⁵] Haimard holds of Roger 2 hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. There is 1, and there could be 3 more. There are 4 bordars and 1 serf, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 200 swine. In all it is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This manor Lewin a man of Burgered held and could assign (*dare*) and sell.

M. Fulco holds of Roger RADECLIVE [Radcliffe]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 6 villeins with 4 bordars have 3 ploughs and there could be 2 more. There are 3 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 5 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams). In all it is worth 100 shillings; when received 4 pounds; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Azor son of Toti held and could sell.

IN ROVELAI HUNDRET⁶

In BECHENTONE [Beachampton] Lewin holds of Roger 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 2 villeins. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land Levric a man of Azor held and could sell.

M. Godfrey holds of Roger TERNITONE

¹ This should be Stodfalt (F.W.R.).

² The Westbury in Mursley Hundred was held as Westbury 'in Senle' by Thomas fitz Eustace in 1284-6 (*Feudal Aids*, i. 82), and it seems to be his holding which is subsequently entered as 'Little Shenley.' But it is the other Westbury to which feudal descent points as having been held by Roger. The Hundredal heading however must be deemed decisive (J.H.R.).

³ Wulfwig, Bishop of Lincoln (J.H.R.).

⁴ The name of the Hundred is here omitted. It should be Stodfalt (F.W.R.).

⁵ In Stowe.

⁶ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

[Thornton]. It is assessed at 8 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 3, and there could be a fourth. There 12 villeins with 5 bordars have 5 ploughs and there could be a sixth. There are 3 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 'ores,'⁷ and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Azor son of Toti held and could sell.

Fulco holds of Roger HASELEIE []⁸ as 1 hide. There is land for 1½ ploughs. There is there 1 plough and there could be a half plough (more). There are 1 bordar and 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 1½ plough (teams). It is and was worth 30 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Thori, a man of King Edward, held and could sell.

[XLIII.] XLII. THE LAND OF RICHARD INGANIA

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET⁹

Richard Ingania holds in SENELAI [Shenley¹⁰] 2½ hides as one manor. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 8 villeins and 2 serfs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor Wlward, a thegn of King Edward, held.

[XLIV.] XLIII. THE LAND OF MANNO THE BRETON

IN ELESBERIE [AYLESBURY] HUNDRET¹¹

M. Maigno the Breton holds in ESENBERGA [Ellesborough] 14½ hides. There is land for 11 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 8 villeins with 10 bordars have 8 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 6 pounds; when received 4 pounds; T.R.E. 10 pounds. This manor Levenot, a man of King Edward, held.

⁷ The 'ore' was the ounce of sixteenpence (J.H.R.).

⁸ This place appears in a return *temp.* Hen. III. as 'Haseleya,' at which a third of a knight's fee was held of Earl Richard (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 244). As it appears in that return between Tingewick and Lenborough (west of Buckingham) it must have been thereabouts (J.H.R.).

⁹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

¹⁰ Brook End.

¹¹ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

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IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

In CELFUNTE [Chalfont (St. Giles)]¹ Maigno holds 4 hides and 3 virgates. There is land for 15 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide, and on it

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are 3 ploughs; and 13 villeins and 8 bordars have 12 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and 3 mills, one paying 5 'ores' and two others paying nothing, meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 600 swine, and in the same wood is a falcon eyry (*Area accipitris*). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 6 pounds and 10 shillings; when received 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds and 10 shillings. This manor Tovi, a thegn of King Edward, held, and there Alward his man had half a hide and could sell (it).

In ESTONE [Aston (Sandford)]² Odo holds of Maigno 4½ hides. There is land for 4½ ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 3 villeins with 4 bordars have 1½ ploughs. There are 6 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). In all it is worth 100 shillings; when received 4 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Sotinz, a man of Earl Tosti, held and could sell.

IN COTESLAI [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET³

In HELPESTROPE [Elstrop]⁴ Helgot holds of Maigno 4 hides and 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and 2 villeins (are there) with 1 plough. There are 2 serfs and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is worth 40 shillings; when received 20 shillings; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor 4 thegns held; one was a man of Earl⁵ Lewin, another a man of Wlwen, the third a man of Lewin of Mentemore [Mentmore], the fourth a man of Brictric; all could sell (their land).

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁶

In DRAITONE [Drayton (Beauchamp)] Helgot holds of Maigno 6 hides and 3 virgates as

¹ This identification is established by *Testa de Nevill*, p. 248 (J.H.R.).

² This identification is established by *Testa de Nevill*, p. 248, and *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1272-9, p. 350. The Hundredal heading must have been omitted, for Aston was in 'Tichessele' (*Feudal Aids*, i. 84), not in 'Burnham' Hundred (J.H.R.).

³ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 241 under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

⁴ *Ahas* Elsthorpe, in Wingrave.

⁵ Interlined.

⁶ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233, note 3, under the land of the Bishop of Winchester.

one manor, and 3 acres.⁷ There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 13 villeins have 3 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine. In all it is and was worth 4 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Alvrice, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

IN STODFALD HUNDRET⁸

In LANDPORT [Lamport] Girard holds of Maigno 2½ hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 1 villein with 3 bordars have 1 plough and there could be another. There is 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 40 swine. In all it is worth 30 shillings; when received 16 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This land Rawen a man of Bishop Wlwi⁹ held and could sell.

IN LAMVA HUNDRET⁸

In TORNEBERGE [Thornborough] Berner holds of Maigno 14 hides and 1 virgate as one manor. There is land for 11 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 14 villeins with 8 bordars have 8 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 20 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 8 pounds; when received 6 pounds; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Thori, a thegn of King Edward, held.

M. Maigno himself holds PATEBERIE [Padbury]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 14 ploughs. On the demesne are 3 and there could be a fourth. There 15 villeins with 6 bordars have 8 ploughs and there could be 3 more. There are 8 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 15 shillings, and woodland (to feed) 30 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 12 pounds; when received 7 pounds; T.R.E. 12 pounds.

IN SIGELAI HUNDRET¹⁰

M. Maigno himself holds STOCHES [Stoke (Hammond)]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In the demesne are 3 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 12 villeins with 4 bordars have 6 ploughs and there could be a seventh. There are 6 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 8 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 6 plough (teams). In all (*totis*

⁷ 'Pro une M[anerio] et tres acras' (*sic*). The three last words must be transposed (J.H.R.).

⁸ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

⁹ Wulfwig, Bishop of Lincoln.

¹⁰ Now part of Newport Hundred.

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valentiis) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 pounds. This manor 8 thegns held; one of these held 6 hides less half a virgate as one manor, and he and all the other 7 could sell their land to whom they wished.

In LOCHINTONE [Loughton] 2 knights (*milites*) hold of Maigno 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 6 villeins with 2 bordars have $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and there could be a half plough (more). There is 1 serf. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 3 pounds; T.R.E. 4 pounds. This manor Alvrice, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

M. Maigno himself holds WLVERINTONE [Wolverton¹]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 20 ploughs. In the demesne are 9 hides, and on it are 5 ploughs; and 32 villeins with 8 bordars have 10 ploughs and there could be 5 more. There are 10 serfs, and 2 mills worth (*de*) 32 shillings and 8 pence, and meadow (sufficient) for 9 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 20 pounds; when received 15 pounds; T.R.E. 20 pounds. This manor 3 thegns held; one of these, Goduin, a man of Earl² Harold, had 10 hides, another, Tori, a housecarl of King Edward, had $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and the third, Alvrice, a man of Queen Eddid, $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides. These all could sell (their land) to whom they wished.

[XLV.] XLIII. THE LAND OF GOZELIN THE BRETON

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

M. Gozelin the Breton holds in ELMODESHAM [Amersham] half a hide. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 5 bordars and 1 mill worth (*de*) 4 shillings. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land Alvrice, a man of Godric the sheriff, held and could sell.

IN COTESLAI [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET³

In SOLEBERIE [Soulbury] Gozelin holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and the third part of 1 virgate as one

¹ This was the head of his barony (J.H.R.).

² Interlined.

³ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe, see p. 241, note 5, under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. In the demesne is half a hide, and on it is 1 plough; and 4 villeins with 2 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 16 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor Alwin, a man of Eddeva the Fair, held and could sell.

M. Gozelin himself holds COBLINCOTE [Cublington]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In the demesne are 6 hides, and on it are 4 ploughs; and 8 villeins with 8 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 5 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams). In all it is worth 6 pounds; when received 3 pounds; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor two men of King Edward held as 2 manors—Goduin 2 hides and Torchil 8 hides—and could sell (their land).

In LANGRAVE [Grove⁴] Robert holds of Gozelin $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 2 villeins have another plough. It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 27 shillings. This manor two brothers held and could sell.

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET⁵

Ralf holds of Gozelin $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides.⁶ There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 villein and 2 bordars, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 15 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Alwin, a man of Eddeva the Fair, held and could sell.

XLV. THE LAND OF URSE DE BERSERS

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET⁷

Urse de Berseres holds in SENELAI [Shenley] $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides as one manor. There is land for 2 ploughs. In the demesne are $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and on it is 1 plough; and the villeins have 1 plough. There is woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth 30 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Morcar, a man of Earl⁸ Harold, held and could sell.

⁴ Now attached to Wing as a rectory, and as such held with the vicarage of Wing.

⁵ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley, see p. 233, note 3, under the land of the Bishop of Winchester.

⁶ The place is not given in the MS.

⁷ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

⁸ Interlined.

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[XLVII.] XLVI. THE LAND OF WINEMAR THE FLEMING

IN BONESTOV HUNDRET¹

M. Winemar holds HAMMESCLE [Hanslope]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 26 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and, besides these, 5 carucates of land, and on it are 2 ploughs and there could be 4 more. There 36 villeins with 11 bordars have 18 ploughs and there could be 2 more. There are 8 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 12 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 11 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 1,000 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 24 pounds; when received 20 pounds; T.R.E. 24 pounds. This manor Aldene, a housecarl of King Edward, held and could sell.

[XLVIII.] XLVII. MARTIN'S LAND

IN SIGELAI HUNDRET¹

Martin holds in ULCHETONE [Woughton on the Green] 5½ hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are fo. 152b 1½, and there could be half a plough more. There 6 villeins with 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. There is meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). There are 4 serfs. In all it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Azor son of Toti, a thegn of King Edward, held, and another thegn, his man, held 1 hide and could sell (it).

[XLIX.] XLVIII. HERVEY'S LAND

IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH] HUNDRET

Hervey the legate² (*legatus*) holds in HIBESTANES [Ibstone³] 2 hides of the king. There is land for 5 ploughs. In the demesne is half a hide, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 7 villeins have 2 ploughs and there could be a third. There is 1 smith, and there are 4 serfs, and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 4 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Tovi, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

¹ Now part of Newport Hundred.

² There is reason to believe from a case in Somerset, where the Exon text can be compared with Domesday Book, that 'legatus' is used by the scribe in the sense of 'interpreter' (J.H.R.).

³ He also held the Oxfordshire half of Ibstone (2 hides) and Bix Brand, near it, in that county (J.H.R.).

[L.] XLIX. THE LAND OF HASCOIT MUSARD⁴

Haiscoit Musard holds in CHENTONE [Quainton] 2½ hides as one manor, and Eudo holds of him. There is land for 4 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and 4 villeins with 3 bordars have 1 plough and there could be another. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 50 shillings. This manor Azor son of Toti, a housecarl of King Edward, held and could sell.

[LI.] L. THE LAND OF GUNFRID DE CIOCHES

IN COTESHALA [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET⁵

Gunfrid de Cioches holds in WITUNGRAVE [Wingrave] 6 hides as one manor, and Wibald holds of him. There is land for 5 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 8 villeins and (*cum*) 3 bordars have 2 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 6 pounds. This manor Suen, a thegn of King Edward, held and could sell.

[LII.] LI. THE LAND OF GILO BROTHER OF ANSCULF

IN STOCHES [STOKE] HUNDRET

Gilo brother of Ansculf holds DACETA [Datchet] as 13½ hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and 1 plough is on it and there could be 4 (more). There 16 villeins with 6 bordars have 7 ploughs. There are 3 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 5 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 300 swine, and 2 fisheries (worth) 2,000 eels. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth 6 pounds; T.R.E. 12 pounds. Six hides and 3 virgates of this manor Seulf, a man of Earl⁶ Lewin, held as 1 manor, and Siward his brother, a man of Earl⁶ Harold, 6 hides and 3 virgates; these could sell (their land).

⁴ The marginal note naming the Hundred is apparently omitted. It probably should be Essendene [Ashendon] (F.W.R.).

⁵ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe, see p. 241, note 5, under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

⁶ Interlined.

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IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

In BOVENIE [Boveney] Girard holds of Gilo 3 hides. There is land for 2½ ploughs. Half a plough is there and there could be 2 ploughs (more). Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 60 swine. It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Siward, a man of Earl¹ Harold, held and could sell.

IN TICESHLE HUNDRET²

Alvered of Tame [Thame³] holds of Gilo 1 hide and 3 virgates.⁴ There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 2 villeins and 1 serf. There is meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). It is worth 30 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Seulf, a man of Earl¹ Ralf, held and could sell.

[LIII.] LII. QUEEN MATILDA'S LAND

IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH⁵] HUNDRET

M. Queen Matilda held (*ten'*) MERLAUE [Marlow]. It is assessed at 15 hides. There is land for 26 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 35 villeins with 23 bordars have 24 ploughs. There is 1 serf, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 20 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 26 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 1,000 swine, and from 1 fishery (come) 1,000 eels. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 25 pounds; when received 10 pounds; and as much T.R.E. This manor Earl Algar held.

M. The queen herself held (*ten'*) HANBLE-DENE [Hambleden]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 30 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 (hides), and on it are 3 ploughs; and 50 villeins with 9 bordars have 27 ploughs. There are 9 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 20 shillings, and from a fishery (come) 1,000 eels; meadow is there (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 700 swine. In all (*In totis redditionibus*) it pays yearly 35 pounds; and by tale when the queen was living (it paid) 15 pounds; T.R.E. 16 pounds. This manor Earl Algar held.

¹ Interlined.

² Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

³ He held at Thame (Oxon) under the Bishop of Lincoln (J.H.R.).

⁴ The place is not given in the MS.

⁵ For Desborough see p. 234 under the land of the Bishop of Lincoln.

[LIV.] LIII. COUNTESS JUDITH'S LAND

IN COTESLAU [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET⁶

The Countess Judith holds in HOLEDENE [Hollingdon]⁷ 1 hide and 3½ virgates. Torchil holds of her. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 1 villein with 3 bordars have 1 plough. It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. The same man held it T.R.E. and could sell (it).

IN BONESTOU HUNDRET⁸

In WESTONE [Weston (Underwood)] Anschitil holds of the Countess Judith 3 virgates. There is land for half a plough, and it is there. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 4 oxen;⁹ woodland (to feed) 20 swine. It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Ulvic a man of Earl¹⁰ Wallef held and could sell.

In LAVENDENE [Lavendon] Roger holds of the countess 2 hides and 1 virgate and the fourth part of 1 virgate. There is land for 2 ploughs. On the demesne is 1; and 3 villeins with 2 bordars have 1 plough. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 30 swine. It is worth 30 shillings; when received 10 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Humman a man of Alli held and could sell.

In the same vill Gilbert de Blossville holds of the countess 2 hides and 1 virgate. There is land for 3 ploughs but they are not there, and only 4 bordars (*sed non sunt ibi nisi iiii bordarii*). Meadow is there (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 20 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This manor Alli, a housecarl of King Edward, held and could sell.

In the same vill Ralf holds of the countess 1 hide. There is land for 1½ ploughs. There are 1 villein and 3 bordars, meadow (sufficient) for 1½ plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 15 swine. It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This manor Turbert, a man of the Countess Goda, held and could sell.

⁶ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 241 under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

⁷ In Soulbury.

⁸ Now part of Newport Hundred.

⁹ i.e. half a plough team. ¹⁰ Interlined.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

IN MOSLAI [MULSHOE] HUNDRET¹

In CLIFSTONE [Clifton (Reynes)] Roger of Olnei [Olney] holds 1 hide and half a virgate. There is land for 1 plough, but it is not there. There are 2 bordars, meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), and woodland (to feed) 10 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land 2 thegns, men of Alric son of Goding, held and could sell.

In the same (vill) Nigel holds of the countess 1½ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 2 villeins and 4 bordars. There is 1 serf, and a moiety of a mill (*dim' molin'*) worth (*de*) 11 shillings, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 20 swine. From a fishery (come) 125 eels. It is and was worth 30 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This manor Alvic, a man of Bishop Wlwi,² held and could sell.

In AMBRITONE [Emberton] Roger holds of the countess 3 hides as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne are 2; and 6 villeins with 3 bordars have 1 plough. There is meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams) and woodland (to feed) 60 swine. It is worth 60 shillings; when received 40 shillings; T.R.E. 60 shillings. This manor Alric man of Bishop³ Wlwi² held.

In HERULFMEDE [Hardmead] Morcar holds 1 hide and 1 virgate of the countess. There is land for 1 plough, and this is there with 3 villeins and 1 bordar. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. The same man held it T.R.E. and could sell it without the permission (*licentia*) of his lord.

In BROSTONE [Broughton⁴] Morcar holds of the countess 1 hide as one manor. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 villein and 1 bordar. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. The same man held it T.R.E. and could sell (it).

¹ Now part of Newport Hundred. For the name of the Hundred see p. 241 under the land of the Bishop of Coutances.

² Wulfwig, Bishop of Lincoln.

³ Interlined.

⁴ Near Moulsoe.

⁵ The heading does not occur in the MS.

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[LV.] LIIII. [THE LAND OF AZELINA TAILGEBOSCH⁵]

IN COTESHALE [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET⁶

Azelina wife⁷ of Ralf Tailgebosch holds of the king half a hide in SOLEBERIE [Soulbury]. There is land for 1 plough and it is there. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. Two Englishmen hold it, and they held it T.R.E.

[LVI.] LV. [THE KING'S THEGNS

IN LAMMVA HUNDRET⁸

M. Alric the cook holds of the king CLAINDONE [(Steeple) Claydon]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 24 ploughs. In the demesne are 5 hides, and on it are 5 ploughs; and 50 villeins with 3 bordars have 19 ploughs. There are 7 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. In all (*totis valentiis*) it is worth 16 pounds; when received 11 pounds; and as much T.R.E. This manor Queen Eddid held.

[LVII.] LVI. ALSI'S LAND

IN BURNEHAM [BURNHAM] HUNDRET

M. Alsi⁹ holds of the king in CESTREHAM [Chesham] 4 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In the demesne are 1½ hides, and on it are 2 ploughs, and 10 villeins with 5 bordars have 7 ploughs. There are 6 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 800 swine, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 6 shillings and 8 pence. It is and was worth 4 pounds; T.R.E. 100 shillings. This manor Queen Eddid held and gave to the same Alsi after the coming of King William.

IN ESSEDENE [ASHENDON] HUNDRET¹⁰

In SORTELAI [] Alsi holds 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 6 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 5 villeins with 4 bordars have 3 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed)

⁶ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 241 under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.

⁷ i.e. late wife.

⁸ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

⁹ See Introduction, p. 216.

¹⁰ Now part of Ashendon Hundred.

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400 swine. In all (*in totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 3 pounds. This manor Wlward a man of Queen Eddid held T.R.E., and she gave it to this Alsi with Wlward's daughter.¹

In SIBDONE [Shipton (Lee)²] Alsi holds 2 hides of the king. There is land for 1 plough. Half a plough is there and there could be (another) half. Meadow is there (sufficient) or 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. And this land (also) he received (*sumpsit*) with his wife.¹

[LVIII.] LVII. THE LAND OF LEWIN OF NEWEHAM

IN MUSELAI [MURSLEY] HUNDRET³

Lewin of Neuham [Nuncham (Courtenay)⁴], holds of the king in SCELDENE [Salden⁵] 2 hides and 3½ virgates as one manor. There is land for 3 ploughs. On the demesne is 1 plough; and 6 villeins with 3 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is and was worth 30 shillings; when received 40 shillings.⁶ This manor the same man (*istemet*) held T.R.E. and could sell.

In MUSELAI [Mursley] Lewin holds 4 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. On it are 2 and there could be a third. There are 4 villeins with 2 bordars, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 30 shillings. This manor the same man (*istemet*) held T.R.E. and could sell.

IN STODFALD HUNDRET⁷

In MORTONE [(Maids) Moreton] Lewin holds 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 hides. There is half a plough on it and there could be 1½ ploughs (more). There 3 villeins with 2 bordars have 1½ ploughs and there could be half a plough (more). There are 5 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 10 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams). In all (*totis valentiis*) it is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 40 shillings. This manor the same man (*istemet*) held T.R.E. and could sell.

¹ See Introduction, p. 217.

² In Quainton.

³ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred.

⁴ Co. Oxon.

⁵ *Alias* Selden.

⁶ Apparently in this case 'when received' = T.R.E. (F.W.R.).

⁷ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

IN ROVELAI HUNDRET⁸

In BECHENTONE [Beachampton] Lewin holds 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. In the demesne is 1 hide, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 5 villeins with 6 bordars have 2 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). It is and was worth 40 shillings; T.R.E. 50 shillings. This manor the same Lewin held T.R.E. and could sell.

IN MOSLAI [MULSHOE] HUNDRET⁹

In WAVENDONE [Wavendon] Goduin the priest¹⁰ holds of Lewin 1 virgate. There is land for 4 oxen¹¹ to (plough). There are 3 bordars, and meadow (sufficient) for 4 oxen.¹¹ It is and was worth 2 shillings; T.R.E. 5 shillings. The same man (*istemet*) held it T.R.E. and could sell (it).

IN STODFALD HUNDRET⁸

A certain bandyleg (*loripes*) holds in almoim (*elemosina*) of the king EVRESEL [Evershaw¹²] as 1 hide. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 2 villeins. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. The same man (*istemet*) held it T.R.E.

IN STODFALD HUNDRET

Hugh son of Gozer holds in DODEFORDE [Dodford¹³] of the king 2 hides in almoim (*elemosina*). There is land for 4 ploughs. One is there and there could be 3 (more). There are 3 bordars, meadow (sufficient) for 4 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 200 swine. It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. This land 2 thegns held, Ravai and Ulward, and could sell.

IN MOSLAI [MULSHOE] HUNDRET¹⁴

Lewin Chava holds of the king 1 hide in WAVENDONE [Wavendon]. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 3 villeins and 5 bordars. There is 1 serf, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), and woodland (to feed) 50 swine. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. This land the same Lewin, bailiff (*prefectus*) of the king, held and could sell.

⁸ Now part of Buckingham Hundred.

⁹ Now part of Newport Hundred.

¹⁰ Interlined.

¹¹ i.e. half a plough team.

¹² In Biddlesden.

¹³ In Stowe.

¹⁴ Now part of Newport Hundred.

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IN SIGELAI HUNDRET¹

Lewin Oaura² holds of the king 1 hide and 1 virgate in SIWINESTONE³ [Simpson]. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 2 villeins and 2 bordars. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. The same man held it T.R.E. and could sell.

IN ELESBERIE [AYLESBURY] HUNDRET⁴

Lewin holds of the king half a hide in WANDENE [Wendover Dean]. There is land for 1 plough. Half a plough is there and there could be (another) half. There is 1 bordar. Woodland is there (to feed) 30 swine and yielding 10 shillings (besides). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 10 shillings. The same man (*Istemet*) held it T.R.E. and could sell (it). This land Ralf⁵ attached to (*apposuit in*) Wandovre [Wendover] but it did not belong to it (*non fuit ibi*) T.R.E.

In WANDOVRE [Wendover] 3 men hold 1 hide of the king. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 bordar. It is and was worth 20 shillings; T.R.E. 40 shillings. The same men (*Istimet*) held it T.R.E. and could sell (it). Now they are in the 'ferm' of the king (*in firma regis*) in Wandovre [Wendover] in which (*ubi*) they were not T.R.E.⁶

IN BONESTOU HUNDRET¹

Chetel holds of the king half a hide in LAWEDENE [Lavendon]. There is land for half a plough, and it is there with 1 bordar. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team), woodland (to feed) 10 swine. It is and was worth 7 shillings; T.R.E. 10 shillings. The same man (*Istemet*) held it T.R.E. and could sell (it).

IN MOSLAI [MULSHOE] HUNDRET⁷

Godric Cratel holds of the king 8½ hides as one manor in MIDDELSTONE [Milton (Keynes)].

¹ Now part of Newport Hundred.

² Interlined.

³ The Record Commission's edition reads this name as 'Suiuinestone' (J.H.R.).

⁴ Now part of Aylesbury Hundred.

⁵ This must be Ralf Tallgebosc. See Introduction, p. 220 (J.H.R.).

⁶ See Introduction.

⁷ Now part of Newport Hundred. For the name of the Hundred see p. 241 under the land of the Bishop of Coutances.

There is land for 10 ploughs. On the demesne are 2½, and there could be (another) half a plough. There 18 villeins with 6 bordars have 8 ploughs. There are 6 serfs, and 1 mill worth (*de*) 6 shillings and 8 pence, and meadow (sufficient) for 8 plough (teams). In all it is and was worth 100 shillings; T.R.E. 8 pounds. This manor Queen Eddid held.

IN RISBERG [RISBOROUGH] HUNDRET

Harding holds of the king 1½ hides in HORSEDUNE [Horsenden]. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 2 bordars. It is and was worth 10 shillings; T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Ulvured⁸ held and could sell.

IN DUSTENBERG [DESBOROUGH⁹] HUNDRET

Suarting and Herding hold of the king BRADEHAM [Bradenham] as 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 2 villeins. It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. Two brothers, men of King Edward, held it and could sell (it).

IN ERLAI [YARDLEY] HUNDRET¹⁰

In CETENDONE [Cheddington] Suerting holds of the king 2 hides and 1 virgate. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 villein and 2 serfs. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. Fin the Dane held it and could sell (it).

IN SIGELAI HUNDRET¹¹

In CALDECOTE [Caldecot] Suerting holds 2½ hides. There is land for 1¹² plough. One is there and there could be another. In the demesne are 1½ hides. There are 2 bordars, and meadow (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 20 shillings. This land Gonni a man of Alvrice son of Goding held and could sell.

⁸ The name could also be read as 'Vlwred' (J.H.R.).

⁹ For Desborough see p. 234 under the land of the Bishop of Lincoln.

¹⁰ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Yardley see p. 233 under the land of the Bishop of Winchester.

¹¹ Now part of Newport Hundred.

¹² This is probably an error in the MS. for 2.

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IN COTESHALE [COTTESLOE] HUNDRET¹

In SOLEBERIE [Soulbury] Goduin the bedell² holds of the king half a hide. There is land

¹ Now part of Cottesloe Hundred. For Cottesloe see p. 241 under the land of the Bishop of Lisieux.
² Interlined.

for 1 plough, and it is there with 1 bordar. Meadow is there (sufficient) for 1 plough (team). It is and was worth T.R.E. and after (*valuit semper*) 7½ shillings. Alric Bolest held it T.R.E. And he who now holds it says this: 'that after the coming of King William it was forfeit.'



ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

THE beginnings of the Church in Buckinghamshire are almost as difficult to trace as they were found to be in the neighbouring county of Bedford, mainly because there was no local chronicler and the political conditions of the county were of a most unsettled kind until after the end of the tenth century. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present county of Buckingham the Britons of the Midlands made their last stand against the invading Saxons, when in the year 570 'the royal town of Æglesburh' fell into the hands of Kenwulf, and Celtic Christianity shared the fate of Celtic independence¹; again in the eighth century the conquests of Offa added Buckinghamshire to the Mercian kingdom²; and later on, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the county was ravaged at least four times by the Danes.³

There seems, however, to be little doubt that the final conversion of Buckinghamshire to Christianity was accomplished by monks connected with the mission of St. Birinus at Dorchester, while it was still a part of the West Saxon kingdom.⁴ Nothing, however, is certainly known of the details of this conversion. There are legends connecting some of the royal saints of the seventh century with this county: the infant Saint Rumwald, represented as a grandson of Penda, is said to have made arrangements for his own burial at Buckingham⁵; and St. Osyth was by some accounts born at Quarrendon, and translated for a short time to Aylesbury in the tenth century when her monastery in Essex was ravaged by the Danes.⁶ But none of this can be called history. Nothing which has even an approximate claim to the title can be found until after the county had become a part of Mercia. The same somewhat doubtful charter,⁷ which recounts the gifts of Offa to St. Alban's

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* (Rolls Series), ii. 17.

² After the battle of Bensington in 777; *ibid.* ii. 45; and Florence of Worcester, *Chron.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), i. 59.

³ In 914, 917, 1010 and 1016; Florence of Worcester (Engl. Hist. Soc.), i. 122, 125, 163, 172.

⁴ Bright, *Early English Church History*, 148.

⁵ John of Tynemouth, *Nova Legenda Angliæ* (ed. Horstman), ii. 349-50.

⁶ Leland, *Itin.* viii. 41-4, from a life of St. Osyth written by Aubrey de Vere, a canon of her house in the fourteenth century.

⁷ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* clxi.

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Abbey, includes among them 'the wood called Horuudu' and three manses at 'Scelfdune'¹; and certainly Little Horwood as well as Winslow were always traditionally reckoned amongst the earliest endowments of the abbey. Another (and equally doubtful) charter of somewhat later date assigns to the same house 10 manses at Turville³ (Thyrefeld) of the gift of Egfrid the son of Offa.

Of the foundation of the church at Buckingham and the still more important church at Aylesbury, there is no clear account; but it seems probable that they were two of the oldest churches in the county. Buckingham, being of sufficient importance to give its name to the shire somewhere in the ninth century, would probably be provided with a church at any rate from that time; and it is possible, if the conjecture of Mr. Morley Davies in his recent paper on the Buckinghamshire Hundreds is correct, that there was a church in Aylesbury earlier still.⁴ From the first, indeed, the church at Aylesbury tended to become the chief ecclesiastical centre of the county. It seems strange that Buckingham, as the county town, should never have had more than one parish and one church; still stranger that its one church should be dependent originally as a mere chapelry upon King's Sutton in Northamptonshire.⁵ On the other hand, it is clear from the Domesday Survey that Aylesbury not only possessed valuable lands, but received from an early date contributions of grain from the sokemen of eight surrounding hundreds.

It is difficult even to guess at the number of churches which may have existed in Buckinghamshire before the Conquest. Only two are named in Domesday besides those above mentioned—the church of Haddenham and the minster of St. Firmin at (North) Crawley. There is a Saxon church still standing at Wing, which Professor Baldwin Brown assigns to the tenth century,⁶ and the name of Whitchurch speaks for itself. There were probably many more of which no trace or record remains.

The sees of Canterbury, Winchester and Dorchester, were endowed with lands in Buckinghamshire before the Conquest, and Barking Abbey, as well as St. Alban's, had property in this county.⁷ There is an interesting series of charters referring to the manor of Monks' Risborough, which seems to have been bestowed at an early date upon the

¹ This may refer to Salden next Mursley (Sceldene in Domesday), as one of the boundaries given is Swanbourne: the abbots of St. Alban's had a great deal of property in this neighbourhood in the thirteenth century—see *Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Albani*, i. 425; also *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 337–8.

² Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* clxxiii. Both gifts are named in Cott. MS. Nero D. vii. ff. 4, 4d.

³ The church of Turville had been the property of St. Alban's for some time in 1276. *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Series), i. 430–1.

⁴ *Home Counties Magazine*, vol. vi. No. 22, p. 136. The suggestion rests upon the mention of men from eight hundreds 'in circuitu de Elesberie' (see Domesday translation) contributing to the church. This would seem to include the hundred of Tring in Herts, and to point to an association of hundreds earlier than the shire divisions.

⁵ It is expressly called a *chapel* to King's Sutton at the ordination of the vicarage in 1445. It is not easy now to explain the connection, which was evidently very early, and based traditionally on the legend of St. Rumwald, born at Sutton and buried at Buckingham.

⁶ Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, ii. 73.

⁷ See Domesday translation.

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cathedral of Canterbury, and remained a part of its endowment until the Reformation. The first of these,¹ dated 995, is a confirmation by King Ethelred II. of a grant of this manor to Æscwig, bishop of Dorchester, and states that it had been conveyed to the latter by Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, for “90 ‘librae’ of pure silver and 200 ‘man-cusae’ of purest gold,” wherewith to buy off the Danes—presumably in 991.² But Æscwig himself in the next charter, dated the same year, speaks as if the money had been only a loan, and the land security for payment; he now restores it of his own accord.³ The subsequent charters of Ethelred and Edward the Confessor⁴ are merely confirmations of this manor to Christchurch, Canterbury. A will of Archbishop Ælfric⁵ speaks of property at Willen and Burnham; but of this nothing further is known. It seems probable, from the dating of a few charters,⁶ that the archbishops had a residence at Monks’ Risborough early in the eleventh century: but there is no evidence that they founded a monastery there as a cell to Christchurch.

The entries relating to Church property in the Domesday Survey are not very extensive, and may here be briefly summarized. The manors are named as belonging to the see of Canterbury: that of Monks’ Risborough, already alluded to, 30 hides in extent and worth £16; that of “Nedreham” (Haddenham and Cuddington), 40 hides in extent, worth £40; and Halton, only 5 hides, worth £8. The manor of ‘Nedreham’ changed hands only a few years after the Survey was made: it was granted by William Rufus, at the request of Lanfranc, to Bishop Gundulf of Rochester, in compensation for the expenses he had incurred in fortifying Rochester Castle for the King.⁷

Two manors belonged to the see of Winchester: West Wycombe, 19 hides, worth £15; and Ivinghoe, 20 hides, worth £18. These had both belonged to the Church in King Edward’s day, and continued to do so for some time after.

The lands of the bishop of Lincoln are the most interesting of the series. We know from the Conqueror’s foundation charter⁸ that the new Cathedral was endowed with the churches of Buckingham and Aylesbury and the manor of Wooburn: of these the two churches at any rate were part of the endowment of the old see of Dorchester, and so was the manor of Buckland. These churches and manors with two small holdings in Burnham and ‘Lede’ (only two hides of land taken together, worth 35s.) brought the value of the bishop’s land in this

¹ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* dclxxxix.

² W. Hunt, *History of the English Church*, i. 381.

³ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* dcxc.

⁴ *Ibid.* dccxv. and dcccxcvi. The name given is ‘Hrisebeorgam’—or ‘Hrysebyrgan’—‘be Cilter-nesefese,’ which can scarcely refer to any place but Monks’ Risborough.

⁵ Naming ‘Wyllan, Burnan, and Risenbeorgas.’ *Ibid.* dccxvi.

⁶ One of Æthelnoth and another of Eadsige, both referring to property at Halton, are dated at Risborough. *Ibid.* mcccxxi. and mcccxxxvi.

⁷ The original charter of William Rufus still exists (Campbell ch. vii. 1). See also William of Malmesbury, *De Gest. Pont.* (Rolls Series), 137.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (3) 1270.

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county up to £46 5s. The largest item in this revenue was the church of Aylesbury, which was endowed with the manor of Stoke Mandeville, 8 hides, and worth £20; the church of Buckingham had only the small hamlet of Gawcott, 1 hide, worth 30s. The manor of Wooburn, 8½ hides, worth £15, was part of Harold's forfeited property; the bishops of Lincoln kept it until the Reformation and had a palace there.

The abbey of Westminster held two manors—Denham, 10 hides, worth £7, the gift of a thegn in King Edward's day; and 8 hides in East Burnham, worth 100s. 28d.

The abbot of St. Alban's had three manors: Grandborough, 5 hides, worth 100s.; Winslow, 15 hides, worth £11 13s. 4d.; and Aston Abbots, 10 hides, worth £6. Nothing is said about Little Horwood, which was reckoned a century or so later amongst the earliest gifts to the abbey.

The abbess of Barking held the manor of Slapton, 6 hides, worth £6, from this time till the dissolution of the religious houses.

The canons of St. Frideswide held at this time only the manor of Upper Winchendon, 10 hides, worth £6; this also was under the same tenure till the dissolution.

This completes the tale of church lands held *in capite*; but several of the greater feudal tenants had already endowed foreign monasteries with portions of their lands. So the monks of St. Nicholas, Angers, had already 2½ hides in Crofton, worth £4, which afterwards formed a part of the endowment of the priory of Wing. The monks of Grestain held 6 hides in Ickford, worth £6, and 11 hides in Marsh Gibbon, worth £8. The monks of St. Peter, de la Couture, held 5 hides in Woolstone, worth £3, under Walter Giffard. But it seems that up till the time of the Survey there was no religious house actually founded within the county.¹

Immediately after the Conquest began the work of church building and re-building all over the country; and it is possible in the twelfth century to reckon numbers with a fair degree of accuracy. There are, indeed, about forty churches and chapels in Buckinghamshire which even now bear traces of the Norman period²: but there is larger evidence than this. The monastic chartularies, the Lincoln Episcopal Registers, and the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV., supplementing one another, give us a total of 183 parish churches existing before the thirteenth century, with a very large number of parochial chapels appendant. It is noteworthy that neither at this nor at any time before the nineteenth century did any of the larger towns of Buckinghamshire possess more than one parish church. Aylesbury had, indeed, four important dependent chapels, and the vicarage of these was severed from that of the mother church in 1294³; but Buckingham, Amersham, High Wycombe, and Newport Pagnel had only one church apiece. The two churches of

¹ The Domesday survey alludes to the *minster* of 'Stanes' and the *minster* of St. Firmin at Crawley; but Mr. Round is of opinion that the word is used here, as elsewhere, only in reference to a parish church.

² See *Records of Bucks*, viii. 221-233.

³ Linc. Episc. Reg. Inst. Sutton 118d. Both vicarages, however, were under the same rector.

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Saunderton were united in the fifteenth century,¹ and the two churches of Chesham seem only to have endured until the Reformation because they were under different patrons.

More than one half of the churches in this county were appropriated to religious houses before the Taxation of 1291.²

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Chedworth, 147.

² Within the county :—

To Tickford : Newport Pagnel with the chapel of Little Linford, Chicheley, Sherrington, Bradwell, Willen, Astwood ; and for a short time Tyringham, Broughton, a moiety of North Crawley, and Petsoc.

To Missenden : Great Missenden, Chalfont St. Peter, Great Kimble, Caversfield and Lee Chapel.

To Nutley : Hillesden, Chilton with Dorton Chapel, Long Crendon with the chapels of Chearsley and Lower Winchendon, Princes' Risborough, and Ashendon.

To Bradwell : Wolverton, Padbury, and for a short time Chalfont St. Giles.

To Luffield : Thornborough, Beachampton, Water Stratford and Evershaw chapel.

To Lavendon : Lavendon and Lathbury.

To Ravenstone : Ravenstone.

To Snelshall : Tattenhoe chapel.

To Biddlesden : Biddlesden.

To Medmenham : Medmenham.

To Newton Longville : Newton Longville, Whaddon, Great Horwood and Akeley.

To Wing : Wing.

To Marlow : Hedsor.

To Burnham : Burnham with Boveney chapel.

To Chetwode : Chetwode and Barton Hartshorn.

To monasteries outside the county :—

To St. Alban's : Winslow, Grandborough, Little Horwood, Aston Abbots, Turville, Wingrave, Little Kimble, Datchet, and until about 1160 Fingest.

To Osney : Stowe, Steeple Claydon, and Stone.

To St. Frideswide : Worminghall, Upper Winchendon, and Oakley with its chapels.

To St. Thomas, Southwark : Wendover, Stoke Poges, and Wexham chapel.

To Godstow : Dinton and High Wycombe.

To Woburn : Swanbourne and half Chesham.

To Merton : Taplow, Upton, Hitcham and Hardmead.

To Leicester : Adstock, half Chesham, and Latimer chapel.

To Caldwell : Marsworth and Broughton.

To Kenilworth : Hughenden and Stewkley.

To Harrold : Cold Brayfield.

To St. Mary de Pré, Northampton : Filgrave.

To Combwill : Little Brickhill, and Little Woolstone.

To La Couture (Le Mans) : Great Woolstone.

To Goring : Stantonbury.

To Elstow : Westbury.

To Wallingford : Shobbington.

To Studley : Illmer.

To St. Bartholomew's, London : Mentmore.

To Bardney : Edlesborough.

To Dunstable : North Marston.

To Malvern : Pitchcott for a short time.

To St. Peter's, Gloucester : Wyrardisbury with the chapel of Langley Marish.

To St. Oswald's, Nostell : Cheddington.

To Sandwell : Ellesborough.

To Grestain : Bledlow and Marsh Gibbon.

To Tewkesbury : Great Marlow.

To Walden : Amersham till 1290.

To Chaucombe : Penn.

To Nuneaton : Mursley.

To Bicester : Little Missenden.

To Barking : Slapton.

To Westminster : Turweston and Denham.

To Mount St. Katherine (Rouen) : Tingewick.

To Bentley : Wotton Underwood.

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The first point of interest in connexion with these is the ordination of vicarages. The *Liber Antiquus* of Bishop Hugh of Wells names forty-five vicarages¹ in this archdeaconry, already ordained; but it is most probable that some of these (described as 'ex dudum ordinatae') were arranged before his time, though their actual date cannot be fixed. There is, indeed, a charter² of Bishop Robert de Chesney, confirming to the monastery of Tickford a large number of churches, and containing also the provision that the monks should 'choose and present to the bishop vicars,' to whom they should secure a vicarage therein. As this charter is witnessed by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, it must be earlier than the year 1154, and it is interesting as showing an effort to assign proper portions for the vicars even before the Lateran Council of 1179, from which they are usually dated.³

The portions assigned in this archdeaconry are of the usual value, comprising the lesser tithes, and the ordinary offerings made at the altars of the church, amounting altogether, in most cases, to about £5 a year: this, with addition of a 'competent manse,' seems to have been enough for a single man to live upon until the Great Pestilence brought such changes in the value of property. The portions of the vicars of Newport Pagnel and Great Missenden differ slightly from the rest, as their churches were closely connected with the monasteries to which they were appropriated. There was, indeed, in both cases a manse outside the monastery; but the vicars were to take their meals in the refectory with the monks, and only to have a small stipend (20s. annually) out of the altarage to provide them with clothes and other necessaries: a clerk and a horse were also to be furnished by the monks.⁴

During the episcopates of Grossetête, Gravesend and Sutton, a few more vicarages were ordained,⁵ though they cannot all be accurately

To Winchester: West Wycombe and Ivinghoe.

To Chicksand: Linslade.

To Rochester: Haddenham with the chapels of Kingsy and Cuddington.

The Hospitallers had the churches of Hogshaw, Ludgershall, Oving, Addington, Cholesbury, Creslow and Quainton; and the Templars Radnage.

A few of these changed hands later: they will be noted as they occur. Others were appropriated after the *Taxatio*. The reference for all these is generally to the Lincoln Episcopal Registers: except the St. Alban's churches, which are dealt with in the *Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Albani* (Rolls Series).

¹ Lavenden, Cold Brayfield, Filgrave, Astwood, Little Brickhill, Wolverton, Chicheley, Great Woolstone, Willen, Bradwell, Stantonbury, Newport Pagnel, Stowe, Caversfield, Westbury, Thornborough, Hillesden, Steeple Claydon, Wotton Underwood, Worminghall, Hogshaw, Upper Winchendon, Long Crendon, Chilton, Ashendon, Shobbington, Illmer, Wendover, Great Kimble, Haddenham, Great Missenden, Dinton, Hedsor, High Wycombe, Turville, Medmenham, Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham Leicester and Chesham Woburn, Upton, Stoke Poges, Wing, Marsworth, Mentmore and Whaddon. The monasteries to which they belonged have been already given.

² Round, *Calendar of Documents relating to France*, p. 444, No. 1231.

³ Stephens, *History of the English Church*, ii. 294.

⁴ *Liber Antiquus* (ed. A. Gibbons), 12-19.

⁵ Under Grossetête the vicarage of Medmenham was ordained anew (Linc. Epis. Reg., Rolls of Grossetête, 1239); under Gravesend, Swanbourne (Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend, 1255); Burnham (Ibid. 1266); Little Missenden (Ibid. 1267); Stewkley (Ibid. 1271); Padbury (Ibid. 1274). Stone is called a vicarage in 1271 in the Gravesend Roll, and Barton Hartshorn was ordained 'under Bishop Richard' (Ibid. Inst. Sutton, 99d). A vicarage was ordained for the prebendal church of Aylesbury in 1271, and for its four chapels taken together in 1294 (Ibid. Inst. Sutton 118d). Linslade was already a vicarage under Bishop Sutton (Ibid. Memo. Sutton 223); and so also was Penn.

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dated. There are also one or two instances found amongst the institutions of vicars appointed for a short time by the rectors of churches under secular patronage¹; but only Hanslope seems to have had a permanent vicarage ordained under the rector.²

The numerous suits in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries between the monastic impropiators and the children or successors of their benefactors are dry enough reading, but they should be of some interest not only to the historian but to the student of human nature. The county of Buckingham has its full share of these records. It would be rash and partial to suppose that in all these cases the laymen were the aggressors and the monks in the right; but when it became necessary to bring out charters and show the original claim, the monks had generally the advantage. The advowsons of Wendover,³ Chesham Leicester,⁴ Mentmore,⁵ Illmer,⁶ Filgrave,⁷ Mursley,⁸ Wyrardisbury,⁹ Great Woolstone,¹⁰ were certainly claimed during the thirteenth century by laymen who could not prove their rights; on the other hand, the abbots of Wooburn and Tewkesbury had to renounce their claims to the churches of Bow Brickhill¹¹ and Great Marlow.¹²

The abbots of St. Alban's also had a good deal of trouble in connexion with their churches in Buckinghamshire, especially Turville. First of all they had a suit with the Morteyns about the advowson of this church; but it ended happily in 1276 by a full recognition of the abbot's right.¹³ In 1277, however, Archbishop Kilwardby held a special inquiry in the church of High Wycombe as to the title by which so many churches were held 'in proprios usus' by the monks of St. Alban's, and again Turville was called in question as well as Wingrave. The abbot answered by sending his proctors to appear before the archbishop at Whitchurch; but they could not get a satisfactory hearing from him, and were even excommunicated. The matter was settled finally at a friendly meeting between the archbishop and the abbot.¹⁴ There were

¹ E.g. Pitstone, Drayton and Beaconsfield.

² Ibid. Rolls of Grossetête, A° 17 (dorse).

³ Cur. Regis R. 55 (13 John), n. 5.

⁴ Ibid. R. 59 (15 John), n. 15d. The same abbot had also to vindicate his claim to the chapel of St. Leonard dependent on the parish church. *Feet of F.* (Rec. Com.), p. 253.

⁵ Ibid. 201, 236.

⁶ Ibid. 14 Henry III. No. 2.

⁷ Ibid. 14 Henry III. no. 6.

⁸ Ibid. 22 Henry III. no. 6.

⁹ This case is one of greater interest. The church had been originally given to Gloucester Abbey by Robert Gernun; the Munfitchets who succeeded him laid claim to the advowson, and intruded a clerk into the church. David, archdeacon of Buckingham (1145-1171), at a public synod at Aylesbury restored the churches to Gloucester Abbey; but an appeal to Pope Alexander III. was necessary before the matter was finally settled. See *Hist. Mon. S. Petri Glouc.* (Rolls Series), 164-74.

¹⁰ Round, *Calendar of Documents relating to France*, p. 366, No. 1041.

¹¹ *Feet of F.* 19 Henry III. No. 4.

¹² Ibid. 32 Henry III. No. 20.

¹³ *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Series), i. 430-1. The marginal identification of 'Tyrefeud' with Therfield, Herts, is obviously a mistake. Turville appears as Tyrefeud in the *Taxatio* and elsewhere, and the scene of all the disputes related above is plainly Bucks.

¹⁴ There was a protest first against the excommunication of the proctors on the ground of the 'privilegia' of Popes Celestine II., Clement III., and Lucius III., which provided that no archbishop, bishop or other prelate should excommunicate any monk of St. Alban's, and if they did it should be void. But the matter was really settled when the archbishop visited St. Alban's, and was received by the abbot with a mingled courtesy and firmness which appears to have disarmed him completely. Ibid. i. 432-4.

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disputes also in 1279 about Datchet¹ and Little Kimble.² A year or so later, when Oliver Sutton became bishop of Lincoln, there was more trouble about Turville, because no proctor was sent to represent the church at the synod held at Aylesbury; and the bishop ordered the sequestration of the fruits in consequence. The sequestration was only removed after an appeal to the Court of Arches.³

The parochial chapels of this period seem to deserve a special notice, though they were probably not more numerous in Buckinghamshire than in other parts of the country. It is most likely that nearly all good sized hamlets had their own chapels, dependent on the parish church, and served thence by chaplains either daily or three times a week, according to the value of the endowment.⁴ At a time when frequent assistance at mass was considered to be a part of the ordinary Christian duty of all men, secular or religious, gentle or simple, the badness of the roads and the floods of winter would have been a serious hindrance both to the lord of the manor and his tenants, unless these chapels had been provided. Occasionally, as time went on, they were further endowed, and became either free chapels or parish churches; if they were not re-endowed, they usually became unable to support a chaplain in the fourteenth century after the Great Pestilence.

The principal ones in this county were :—

In the parish of Oakley : Brill, Boarstall and Edingrave⁵; in the parish of Haddenham : Cuddington and Kingsey⁶; in the parish of Aylesbury : Bierton, Buckland, Stoke Mandeville and Quarrendon⁷; in the parish of Chesham : Hundridge,⁸ Chesham Bois⁹ and Latimer¹⁰;

¹ *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Series), i. 440-2.

² *Ibid.* 447.

³ A rather interesting point of jurisdiction came up in connexion with the sequestration. It was carried out by John de Clare, vicar and dean of Wycombe, by the bishop's orders, in spite of warnings from the abbot of Waltham, acting in defence of St. Alban's. In consequence of this, the abbot of Waltham, through the vicars of Winslow and Little Horwood, declared John to be excommunicate. But the official of the archdeacon of Buckingham replied by ordering the vicars of Hughenden, Medmenham and Penn to announce publicly in the church of High Wycombe that this sentence was null: inasmuch as a dean could not be excommunicated by persons who had no jurisdiction, ordinary or delegate, over him. And therefore he impleaded those two vicars. *Ibid.* 457.

⁴ There is a Roll among the Lincoln Registers containing a list of parish churches and chapels in the county of Leicester, made out in preparation for the *Taxatio* of 1291, and showing which chapels had resident chaplains and which were served only on certain days in the week: three times was certainly the average, though a few were served only once or twice. The chapels are very numerous, and many churches have two, three or four. The duties of a visiting chaplain are given in Cur. Reg. R. 2 John 24, n. 26. See *V.C.H. Beds*, i. 318-9.

⁵ All three mentioned in the twelfth century at the first endowment of St. Frideswide's Abbey, Edingrave, is last mentioned in the fourteenth century during the time of Bishop Burghersh. Kennet, *Parochial Antiquities* (ed. 1818), i. 536.

⁶ Both in existence in the time of Bishop Hugh of Wells.

⁷ All mentioned in Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton 118d. Stoke Mandeville has a doorway of the Norman period.

⁸ In existence before the reign of John, Cur. Reg. R. 2 John 24, n. 26. It still stands, and has one window in the perpendicular style, so it was probably used at any rate till the fourteenth century. *Records of Bucks*, i. 126.

⁹ First mentioned in *Feet of F.* (Rec. Com.), 4 John, p. 253, and had then been standing some time.

¹⁰ *Records of Bucks*, vi. 37, where the history of the chapel is fully dealt with. It may be mentioned here that there is no sort of doubt that the original dedication of this chapel was to St. James; it occurs several times in the Lincoln Registers, as it afterwards became a free chapel.

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in the parish of Long Crendon : Chearsley and Lower Winchendon ¹ ; in the parish of Chilton : Dorton ² ; in the parish of Newport Pagnel : Little Linford ³ ; in the parish of Eton : Wexham ⁴ ; in the parish of Datchet : Fulmer ⁵ ; in the parish of Stewkley : Litcote ⁶ ; in the parish of Radclive : St. Michael's Radclive ⁷ ; in the parish of Biddlesden : St. Margaret's Biddlesden ⁸ ; in the parish of North Crawley : Little Crawley ⁹ ; in the parish of Eton : Cippenham ¹⁰ ; in the parish of Weston Turville : Lee and Brondes ¹¹ ; in the parish of Mursley : Salden ¹² ; in the parish of Hanslope : Castle Thorpe ¹³ ; and in the parish of Aston Clinton : St. Leonard's, Aston. ¹⁴

St. Werburga's Chapel or Hermitage at Brill, ¹⁵ the Chapel of SS. Stephen and Laurence at Chetwode, ¹⁶ and the Chapels of Tattenhoe, ¹⁷ Hedgerley, ¹⁸ Petsoe ¹⁹ and Okeney ²⁰ were free or independent as far back as they can be traced. This makes a total of thirty-three certainly in existence before 1291 ; but this probably falls far short of the full number, ²¹ and some of those which are first mentioned in the fourteenth century may have been built and used much earlier.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were an age of strange contrasts ; of extraordinary generosity and reverence towards the Church, and of equally extraordinary violence and irreverence. There are a great many instances of personal violence towards the clergy and sacri-

¹ Both in the foundation charter of Nutley Abbey.

² *Ibid.*

³ In the charter granted to Tickford Priory about 1154. Round, *Cal. of Documents relating to France*, p. 444.

⁴ Earliest mention, Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend, 1271.

⁵ Mentioned in the *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), p. 33.

⁶ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 350 (7 Edw. I.) ; Harl. MS. ff. 338-342d ; latest mention, 1481.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend, 1276. Last institution, *Ibid.* Inst. Burghersh, 338 (1329).

⁸ Harl. MS. 4714, f. 43 ; mentioned in a charter certainly of the thirteenth century.

⁹ Mentioned in the foundation charter of Tickford Priory.

¹⁰ Mentioned in the foundation charter of Burnham Abbey, 1266.

¹¹ First mentioned in the foundation charter of Missenden Abbey, 1133.

¹² In existence before 1258 [Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend, A° 1, and *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Series), i. 425] : last institution, 1354 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 258).

¹³ Mentioned 1258 (*Ibid.* Rolls of Grossetête, A° 17) at the ordination of Hanslope vicarage.

¹⁴ Founded 1242 (*Ibid.* Rolls of Grossetête, A° 8) as a private chapel.

¹⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), 3 Edw. I., i. 37.

¹⁶ In existence from 1243 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grossetête, A° 8) till 1360 (*Ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 270d). This chapel, as well as that of St. Werburga, is called a hermitage ; but it is also distinctly stated in one entry that it was only so called because it was in a lonely place. Both chapels were served by the canons of Chetwode : and one of them was still standing and reckoned amongst the property of Nutley Abbey at the dissolution. *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 233.

¹⁷ First mentioned in a charter granted to Lavendon Abbey by Hugh of Wells, 1215. *Liber Antiquus* (ed. Gibbons), 76.

¹⁸ First mentioned Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend, A° 7.

¹⁹ First mentioned in a charter granted to Tickford Priory about 1154. Round, *Cal. of Documents relating to France*, p. 444.

²⁰ First mentioned Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grossetête, A° 12. Petsoe and Okeney are sometimes called churches, but much more often free chapels.

²¹ Only the institutions to free chapels, or chantries connected with them, are found in the Lincoln Registers : so that those dependent on parish churches are only mentioned incidentally. There are probably a good many of which no record whatever remains. In a series of papers, which were never finished, on the 'Desecrated Churches of Bucks,' published in *Records of Bucks*, the Rev. W. Hastings Kelke said he had found traces of as many as sixty—but then he was reckoning not only these, but some founded later, as well as some parish churches now lost, and a great many private chapels.

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legious intrusion into churches at the end of the thirteenth century. The same bishop (Oliver Sutton) who in one year (1292) sent out through the archdeacon of Buckingham his blessing on all who should assist the friars preaching the Crusade in that county,¹ had to excommunicate a little later those men who had assaulted and robbed the rector of Oakley in his own manse,² and another party of marauders who entered the church of Wingrave by night, broke down the altars and images of the Saints, and beat the clerks and laymen who opposed them.³ There are instances also in this county of another form of activity with which mediaeval bishops are not usually credited, namely, the repression of superstitious and unauthorized devotions. St. Hugh is said to have waged war against the old popular well-worship which lingered on in the less civilized parts of the country, at High Wycombe and other places.⁴ The same superstition, under a Christian disguise, was censured in the thirteenth century by Oliver Sutton. In 1299 he wrote to the archdeacon of Buckingham that he had heard how pilgrimages were being made to a well in a field at Linslade, where it was pretended that miracles were wrought; the vicar, who had encouraged these practices for the sake of the offerings they brought to his church, was to be cited to appear at once before his bishop.⁵ A little while before this, a mandate had been sent to the Dean of Newport Pagnel to forbid the 'superstitious vanities' which drew people to the church of North Crawley, on pain of excommunication.⁶

We do not know what attitude was taken by the bishop towards a certain rector in Buckinghamshire who afterwards became very widely known in England, and was even venerated as a saint—the famous 'Master John Schorne,' rector of North Marston from about 1290 to 1314.⁷ Very little indeed is known of his actual career; he is said to have been rector of Monks' Risborough before he came to North Marston, and it seems probable that he acted for a short time as official to the Italian archdeacon of Buckingham, Percival de Lavannia.⁸ It was certainly at North Marston that he gained his reputation for sanctity; it was there that he struck his staff into the ground, and produced a well which until quite recently was called by his name; and the register

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 56d.

² The excommunication took solemn form: the official of Buckingham and the dean of Waddesdon were to go with the rectors and vicars of all the neighbouring parishes, vested in albs and preceded by the banner of the Holy Cross, to Oakley church, and pronounce the sentence. Ibid. 217d.

³ Ibid. 221. Compare *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), 4 Edw. I., i. 41. "William de Poleye hated Thomas Curteys, chaplain of Great Brickhill, and imprisoned him at Snelleston until he should pay 12 marks ransom."

⁴ *Vita magna S. Hugonis* (Rolls Series), 348.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 223 (1299).

⁶ Ibid. 203d (1298).

⁷ On the authority of Browne Willis only. There are no institutions to Monks' Risborough in the Lincoln Registers, owing to its complete appropriation to the monks of Canterbury: and the institution to North Marston cannot be traced—possibly it may have been in the missing Roll of Sutton for Bucks Archdeaconry, which would supply the gap between 1280–90.

⁸ *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Series), i. 443. 'Master John Schorne, then official of Master Percival, archdeacon of Bucks,' is mentioned without comment under the year 1280, and may of course refer to another person of the same name.

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of Bishop Dalderby records his death there in March 1314.¹ It is impossible now to say what was the origin of the legend that he once 'conjured the devil into a boot'; and yet a great part of his fame rests upon this curious exploit, and in every extant representation of him he stands with a boot in one hand, from which the fiend emerges, while his other hand gives the blessing which prevents the escape of his captive. He was never formally canonized; but a shrine was erected over his tomb, and his fame spread rapidly all over the midlands.² It seems well to anticipate a little at this point and to complete this notice of him by adding that his shrine was afterwards removed to St. George's Chapel at Windsor,³ when the church of North Marston was transferred to the patronage of the dean and canons there⁴; but an image was set up in its place, and was the object of constant pilgrimage (being 'moch sowght for the agow,' as Foxe⁵ and Dr. London⁶ testified) until the Reformation.

It was during the lifetime of Master John Schorne, namely in 1291, that the 'Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.' was compiled—a record of great interest for this county and all England, as it gives a fairly complete account of the value of church property, spiritual and temporal, at this time. In the archdeaconry of Buckingham, divided into eight rural deaneries, are given the names of 170 churches,⁷ and the total value of the property of the Church is placed at £2,338 8s. 8d. in spiritualities and £602 8s. in temporalities.⁸ As in the case of other archdeaconries, these figures are found to be somewhat inaccurate. Eighteen churches are altogether omitted, and no account is taken of the priories of Chetwode and Ivinghoe. There were few benefices of

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 188. His will, of which a copy is preserved in Lansd. MS. 762, f. 2, is dated 1313: though it appears to be 1413, the extra *c*, seen through a magnifying glass, seems to have been put in afterwards over an initial stroke which oddly enough is also very clear and marked between *m* and *c* in the Lincoln Register. It is of some interest, as it is not quite in conventional form: he bequeathes what is God's to God (his soul); what is the earth's to the earth (his body); and his goods of this world partly to his 'orators,' and partly to be borne by the hands of the poor to heaven, that he might find them there again.

² Three churches in Norfolk (Cawston, Suffield and Gateley) and one in Suffolk (Sudbury) contain representations of Sir John Schorne—the first three on the rood screen; and five different pewter pilgrim tokens brought away from his shrine still exist in a private collection. Bishop Latimer alluded to him as an object of popular pilgrimage, coupled with Our Lady of Walsingham, in one of his sermons: so does Bishop Bale in his *Image of Both Churches*. See a paper in *Records of Bucks*, iii. 354–369.

³ Lipscomb, i. 343, on the authority of Browne Willis, says the shrine was removed in 1478, a bull having been obtained from Pope Sixtus V.; and this is confirmed by items in the accounts of Bishop Beauchamp, then dean of Windsor, dated 1481–2, 'for the enclosing of the chapel of Master John Shorn.' Browne Willis, however, further stated that the canons of Windsor, not finding the offerings so profitable as they had expected, sent the shrine back, but this is not supported by the accounts of St. George's Chapel, which in 1490–1 contain reference to the 'chapel of Master Shorn,' and in 1533–4 to the offerings made to his shrine. Moreover Dr. London only found an image in North Marston church. (The references to the accounts of St. George's Chapel were kindly supplied by Mr. St. John Hope.)

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Rotherham, 1–7. It had previously belonged to Dunstable Priory.

⁵ *Acts and Monuments*, iv. 243.

⁶ Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 218.

⁷ The missing names are Cholesbury, Biddlesden, Foscott, Horsenden, Hedsor, Bradenham, Cold Brayfield, Dunton, Grove, Hogshaw, Hawridge, Illmer, Chetwode, Barton Hartshorn, Winslow, Grandborough, Little Horwood, Aston Abbots; while the chapels of Tattenhoe and Evershaw are reckoned as parish churches.

⁸ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 34, 48.

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great value connected with this county, if we except the two prebends of Aylesbury, worth £133 6s. 8d., and Sutton-cum-Buckingham, worth £173 6s. 8d. : of the rest, only one-third amounted to more than £10 in the year and among these only twenty-eight to £20 or more, while Hanslope stands in solitary eminence at £40. The greater number averaged about £7, and eight were under £5 a year.¹

The archdeaconry had had a separate existence since the time of Bishop Rémy ; but little is known of the early archdeacons except their names. Henry of Huntingdon² could remember five : Alured, the first ; Gilbert, distinguished as a graceful writer both in prose and verse ; Roger, who afterwards became bishop of Chester ; Richard, and David, brother of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln. David's name is frequently found in the monastic chartularies, witnessing deeds and confirming grants of churches during the long vacancy of the see of Lincoln which followed the death of Robert de Chesney. Matthew de Stratton held the office of archdeacon for a long time, nearly fifty years, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, together with the prebend of Sutton-cum-Buckingham : he was engaged in more than one suit about the benefices which he held, and seems once to have wounded the feelings of Bishop Grossetête by refusing to accept his arbitration.³ A chantry endowed by him in the chapel of St. John Baptist at Buckingham was still called by his name at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI.⁴ The chronicler of Osney Priory says that he governed the archdeaconry in a strenuous and praiseworthy manner.⁵ Happening to die at Rome, he was succeeded by a series of foreigners by papal provision : Percy de Lavannia,⁶ who was archdeacon for nearly thirty years but scarcely ever in England ; Boniface de Saluzzo, a young Italian nobleman, who while he was only subdeacon and under twenty years of age had been dispensed to hold a papal chaplaincy, a canonry of Lincoln and the rectories of four churches⁷ ; George de Saluzzo, whose movements were so little known in England that even the king, his kinsman, in 1322 believed him to be dead and collated somebody else to his archdeaconry⁸ ; and Anibaldus, papal nuncio and bishop of Tusculum, who was archdeacon not only of Buckingham but of Nottingham until his death in 1351, holding also canonries and prebends of Lincoln, Chichester and York, the rectories of Maidstone and East

¹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* 32-4.

² *Letter de Contemptu Mundi* in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 696.

³ He was nine years occupied with a suit against John de Vercelli, canon of Lincoln, about the church of Buckingham, which the latter claimed as belonging to his prebend ; it was finally adjudged to the archdeacon. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i. 158, 181, 221. Then he had a suit with the archdeacon of Bedford about the church of Edlesborough, on which occasion Bishop Grossetête wrote to him. *Letters of Grossetête* (Rolls Series), 103.

⁴ Chantry Cert. 4, No. 9 ; Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 28.

⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Series), iv. 225.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 247 (a description of his farming of his prebends to the Dean and Chapter).

⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i. 568-71. There are two indults to him to serve his archdeaconry by deputy. *Ibid.* i. 613, and ii. 55.

⁸ Close 16 Edw. II. m. 24.

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Grinstead, as well as other benefices out of England.¹ It may be that the officials who did the work of these archdeacons were quite conscientious and efficient, even as the vicars who supplied the places of absentee rectors often proved to be faithful and devoted pastors; but at the best it must have been an unsatisfactory state of affairs.

The Great Pestilence fell heavily upon all the Midland counties, and Buckinghamshire had to bear its full share of the burden of sorrow and suffering it brought with it. In the month of May 1349 the Episcopal Registers record four deaths amongst the clergy of the archdeaconry: the numbers increase steadily through the summer months and rise to a total of seventy-seven in the year.² Some of these may have died from other causes than the plague; on the other hand, some names may well have been omitted in the distress and difficulty of the time; so that the number of actual victims of the pestilence cannot be exactly given. The accounts given by Matthew Paris and others lead us to suppose that the religious houses suffered severely at this time; the prior of Bradwell and Luffield and the prioress of Ankerwyke in this county died during the summer of 1349, and we may well believe that some of their subjects perished with them, though it is impossible to say how many.

As the violence of the pestilence abated, the first outward signs were seen of that great religious upheaval which, beginning from Oxford under the leadership of Wiclif, spread gradually along the northern shores of the Lower Thames, and produced indeed its most lasting as well as its most immediate effects in the Eastern Midlands. It is very improbable that Wiclif himself had any personal influence in Buckinghamshire while he was rector of Ludgershall, from 1368 to 1374.³ His connexion with this county belongs to the earlier part of his career, when he did not disdain to be reckoned amongst absentee rectors, nor yet to seek and obtain a papal dispensation to hold his church in plurality with an expected canonry and prebend of Lincoln, and the prebend of Aust in Westbury.⁴ He exchanged Ludgershall for Lutterworth in 1374, while he was still at Oxford, and may never have been in Buckinghamshire at all. But the opinions rightly and wrongly connected with his name clung with peculiar pertinacity to this part of England, as will be seen in the course of its history.

A member of a well known Buckinghamshire family, Sir John Cheyne, was in 1397 condemned to suffer the death of a traitor with Sir John Oldcastle, the Lollard chief, but at this time they were both pardoned at the intercession of the Lords, and their sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment.⁵ That branch of the Cheyne family which was settled at Chesham Bois⁶ was associated with the Lollards

¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii. 379, 384; iii. 362, 419, etc. He received at least four dispensations to visit his archdeaconries by deputy.

² *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell*, 235-245.

³ *Fascicula Zizaniorum* (Rolls Series), Introd. xxxviii.

⁴ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv. 193.

⁵ *English Chronicle* (Camden Soc.), 11.

⁶ See *Records of Bucks*, vi. 297.

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for some time after this, and it is evident that they aimed at presenting to the livings in their gift priests of the same school of thought. Thus we find Thomas Drayton, rector of Drayton Beauchamp, in a list of exceptions to the general pardon issued to Lollards in the Tower of London in March 1414, as well as Thomas Cheyne, younger son of Roger Cheyne¹; John Agret, parson of Latimer, is mentioned in another list of twenty-four pardons of the same year, as well as three tradesmen of Little Missenden and High Wycombe.² A few months later twelve more pardons include the names of two Buckinghamshire men, from Amersham and High Wycombe,³ who, like those just mentioned, had been arrested at the great gathering of Lollards in St. Giles' Fields in January 1414. Some of their friends were less fortunate: there is a notice on the Patent Roll of this year of the execution of three men from Amersham and one from Little Missenden, whose widows were to receive some allowance from the King's bounty.⁴ It is of some interest to note the names of these towns: Amersham, High Wycombe, Chesham, and Little Missenden were gathering places a century later for those holding heretical views, and for some of their lineal descendants later still.

With the exception of the Cheynes and the priests above mentioned, most of the Buckinghamshire Lollards of this period seem to have been tradesmen. Two more priests, however, were summoned before the Convocation of 1428 on a charge of heresy, and were induced to abjure their errors. Robert, rector of Hedgerley, was found to be unsound in his views as to the Holy Eucharist, though he denied all the other points brought against him: he finally abjured before his own diocesan.⁵ Richard Monk, vicar of Chesham, who had already been convented before the bishop of Lincoln on the same charge, now abjured, and promised on the holy gospels that he would preach no more heresy⁶; but there is reason to believe that he did not keep this promise.

Meanwhile, in spite of the undercurrent of Lollard sympathies, the ordinary course of church life went on as usual. In the fourteenth century here, as elsewhere, monastic churches were rebuilt and beautified,⁷ chapels were erected where they were not needed, chantries were endowed and vicarages ordained. Four churches were appropriated to religious houses during the fourteenth century,⁸ four more in the fifteenth, and two even in the sixteenth century.⁹ Others, still continuing appropriate, changed hands. Thus Edlesborough passed from

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, ix. 120.

² *Ibid.* iv. 276.

³ *Ibid.* p. 100.

⁴ Pat. 1 Henry V. pt. 5, m. 24.

⁵ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 493-4.

⁶ *Ibid.* 498-500.

⁷ The multiplication of indulgences during the fourteenth century is very closely connected with the rebuilding of so many churches.

⁸ Pitstone with Nettleden chapel to Ashridge; Dorney to Burnham; Iver to Windsor; and Moulsoe to Goring.

⁹ Little Marlow to the priory of Little Marlow; Soulbury and Whitchurch to Woburn; East Claydon to Bisham. Great Marlow was restored to Tewkesbury in 1494, and West Wycombe granted to Bisham as late as 1520 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Atwater, 66d).

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Bardney Abbey to the London Charterhouse.¹ Ivinghoe was granted by the bishop of Winchester to the monastery of Ashridge²; Bledlow, which had belonged to the monks of Grestain and passed from them to the king, was appropriated in 1413 to the College of St. Stephen, Westminster.³ Three churches in this county were granted by King Edward III. to his new foundation in connexion with St. George's Chapel, Windsor; Datchet,⁴ which had been given to him in 1341 by St. Alban's Abbey⁵; Wyrardisbury with the chapel of Langley Marish,⁶ which had come to him from Gloucester Abbey⁷; and Iver. The canons of Windsor also obtained the church of North Marston by exchange, from the canons of Dunstable.⁸ All the churches newly appropriated during these two centuries had vicarages ordained at the same time⁹; the Bishop's own church at Wooburn had a perpetual vicar's portion assigned for the first time in 1337,¹⁰ but the vicarage of the prebendal church of Buckingham was not ordained till 1445.¹¹

A few parochial chapels for the use of hamlets remote from the parish church were built during the fourteenth century; but some which are mentioned for the first time in the records of this period may well have been in existence earlier. Thus the chapel of Aston in Ivinghoe, re-endowed in 1340, had certainly been standing for some time; the chapel of Dagnall in Edlesborough was probably at first a memorial chapel,¹² built by Henry Spigurnel at the end of the thirteenth century; the chapels of Ditton in Stoke Poges, Fulmer in Datchet, Weston Underwood in Olney, all mentioned early in the fourteenth century, were probably built some time before¹³: it is uncertain whether the chapel of Colnbrook was built or re-built in 1345,¹⁴ and there is the

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Buckingham, i. 418d.

² Ibid. Memo. Fleming, 217d (1420).

³ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 457.

⁴ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 242-3.

⁵ *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Series), iii. 119. It was granted that the monks might be quit of a pension of 100 marks, due to the king for waiving his privilege of demanding a benefice for one of his clerks at the creation of every new abbot.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 241.

⁷ *Hist. Mon. S. Petri. Glouc.* (Rolls Series), i. 65.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Rotherham, 1-7.

⁹ Pitstone in 1381, Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Buckingham, 224; Dorney before 1337, *ibid.* Inst. Burghersh, 355; Soulbury, *ibid.* Memo. Smith, 103d; Whitchurch before 1417, *ibid.* Inst. Repingdon, 472d; Little Marlow in 1403, quoted *ibid.* Memo. Longland, 189; East Claydon in 1422, *ibid.* Inst. Fleming, 153. Olney was granted to the monastery of Syon in 1502, and Hanslope to Newark College in 1523. Moulsoe never had a vicarage: that of North Marston was ordained in 1335 before the exchange, *ibid.* Inst. Burghersh, 347; that of Great Marlow in 1494, *ibid.* Memo. Smith, 65. The references for Datchet, Iver, Wyrardisbury, Bledlow, Ivinghoe are given above, the vicarage being ordained at the appropriation.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 351.

¹¹ Brown Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 76-7, gives the deed *in extenso*; the church is still described as a chapel to King's Sutton.

¹² Henry Spigurnel received a license for an oratory in his house at Dagnall in 1297 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 167d); in 1326 a chantry was ordained at his expense in 'the chapel of Dagnall' (elsewhere called the chantry in the manor of Dagnall, *ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 148d), so that it seems probable that instead of a mere oratory he built a chapel to serve for the hamlet as well as his own household. It was still used for the whole hamlet in 1547.

¹³ A chantry was endowed in Ditton Chapel in 1338; Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Burghersh, 351d-353. Fulmer is mentioned in 1349, *ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 237; Weston Underwood in 1368, *ibid.* Memo. Bek, 62; all implied to have been in existence some time.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Inst. Bek, 140.

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same doubt about the chapel of the Holy Trinity, Blessed Mary and All Souls in the churchyard of High Wycombe, re-endowed in 1358.¹ A great many private or manorial chapels existed at this time; but they have not the same interest as the parochial chapels, being mainly for the convenience of single households.

Most of the chantries were founded during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; only two in Buckinghamshire can be proved to be of an earlier date, and it is doubtful whether the name, as we understand it, can be applied to these earlier foundations at all. They were indeed called 'cantariae'; but our English 'chantry' is usually associated, at least in the popular mind, with a service intended primarily for the benefit of the faithful departed. There is, however, a clear instance to the contrary even as late as 1340, in the application made for the foundation of a chantry in the chapel of Aston in Ivinghoe. It was explained to the bishop that the chapel had no proper endowment, and that it was feared that divine service, there performed for the benefit of the hamlet generally, would have to cease: whereupon Ralf Halliwell had undertaken to found a chantry in it, for the sake of his own soul, and the souls of his father and mother.² Even in the last year of Henry VIII. the Commissioners reported of this charity that it was 'right necessary,' and served for the needs of 240 'houselling people,' who could not get to the parish church in winter time. The chantries in the chapels of Colnbrook and Dagnall were probably both founded for similar purposes, and others which were attached to parish churches, as at Newport Pagnel, Hanslope, and Olney, furnished the parish priest with an assistant whose services were much valued. Others again, such as those attached to the churches of Buckingham and Thornton, left provision for free schools, or for the relief of the poor. Besides these, there are of course some of which the main purpose really was to secure a regular commemoration of the founder's soul, like the three chantries founded by Sir John Molyns (who had perhaps some reason to be anxious about his prospects in the other world), and those in the church of Edlesborough, founded by John Crakhall (or Crachely), archdeacon of Bedford, and Thomas Butler.³

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 269. It is said to have been rebuilt in an article by Mr. St. John Hope in *Records of Bucks*, viii. 135. See also Parker, *History of Wycombe*, p. 131, and *Hist. MSS. Com.* v. 556.

² In the agreement made between the abbot of Biddlesden and Hugh de Dunsterre in 1266 (Harl. MS. 4714, f. 340), a chaplain was appointed 'to serve the chantry of the chapel' of St. Giles, Litcote; and his duty was explained afterwards to be the same as that of any ordinary chaplain. It is also worth noting that the list of ornaments of the chapel of St. Giles, Litcote, just mentioned, includes nothing that suggests requiem services. It seems probable that in these early 'chantries' the founder was merely commemorated at the offertory on definite occasions.

³ The following list includes all the chantries above-mentioned and others besides, though it does not pretend to be complete. The chantry in the chapel of St. John Baptist, Buckingham, founded by Matthew Stratton, archdeacon of Bucks, 1268, Chantry Certificate 4, No. 9. In the chapel of St. Giles, Litcote, by Hugh de Dunsterre, 1266 (Harl. MS. 4714, f. 340). In the chapel of the manor of Liscombe, by Sir Robert Lovet, 1304 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 178). In the church of Edlesborough, by John de Crakhall, 1318, (*ibid.* 276d). In the church of Hanslope, by Thurstan Keswyck, 1321 (*ibid.* Burghersh, 326). In the chapel of Dagnall, by Henry Spigurnel, 1326 (*ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 148d). Three chantries by Sir John de Molyns in 1338; one in Ditton chapel, one in the church

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Gilds were founded in this county at High Wycombe, Buckingham, Aylesbury, Fenny Stratford, Burnham, Olney, and Stony Stratford¹; there were probably others of which no record is preserved. None of these were of great importance, and little is known of them except what is given in the Chantry certificates. From these it appears that they had as their object the relief of the poor and the maintenance of one or two chaplains to pray for the brethren living and dead. At Fenny Stratford and in Stony Stratford (St. Mary Magdalene) the brotherhood entirely maintained a chapel for the benefit of the hamlet in which it was built; the gild at High Wycombe appears in the same way to have partly maintained the chapel of St. Mary called the 'charnell,' which stood in the churchyard.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries two parochial chapels, at Hedgerley and Wexham, became independent parish churches²: four others, at Chesham Bois,³ Weston Underwood,⁴ Boarstall⁵ and Chearsley,⁶ by acquiring the right of burial became very nearly free of subjection to their mother churches—sometimes, as in the case of Weston Underwood, only after a long struggle with the rector.⁷ Within the same period, the shifting or decrease of population made it necessary to unite the two churches of Great and Little Loughton⁸; and somewhat later those of St. Mary and St. Nicholas at Saunderton⁹; the parish church

of Stoke Poges, one at the altar of St. Katherine in Burnham Abbey Church; maintained by the gift of the manor of Sylveston, Northants. (ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 351d-353). In the chapel of Aston, Ivinghoe, by Ralf Halliwell, 1340 (ibid. Inst. Bek, 147). In the church of Edlesborough by Thomas Butler, 1342 (ibid. Inst. Bek, 148d). In the chapel of Colnbrook, by Thomas Purchaceour, 1345 (ibid. Inst. Bek, 140, and Memo. Bek, 77). In the church of Thornton, by John de Chastillon, 1356 (ibid. Memo. Gynwell, 62). In the chapel in the churchyard of High Wycombe, by John Talworth, 1358 (ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 269). In the church of Chalfont St. Peter, by William Whappelode, 1449 (ibid. Memo. Smith, 240). The Chantry Certificates also mention—The Dorney chantry, founded by an ancestor of Lord Windsor. The Bower Chantry in the church of High Wycombe, founded by an abbess of Godstow. The Barton chantry in the church of Buckingham. (His will quoted by Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 54-7, is dated 1431). Two chantries in the church of Thornton, Barton's Chantry and Our Lady's Chantry. The Burgess Chantry in the church of Newport Pagnel, founded in the fourteenth century certainly before 1387 (Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 123). The Earl of Warwick Chantry, in the churchyard of Olney. None of these are dated: it is very probable that they mostly belong to the fifteenth century. The two chantries in Edlesborough church were united in 1372 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Buckingham, i. 427d-428).

¹ These are all found in Chantry Certificates 4 and 5, except High Wycombe and Olney. Particulars of the gild at High Wycombe are given in *Records of Bucks*, viii. 136, in a paper already referred to. The brotherhood priest had to commemorate the brethren living and departed every day at the offertory: if he forgot to do so three days in the month, he was to forfeit 4d. of his wages. The fraternity of St. Christopher and St. George at Olney is mentioned in a will dated 1535. (Add. MS. 5839, f. 157.)

² Hedgerley is called a parish church from 1414, and Wexham from 1413 onwards (Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Repingdon, 452d, 456); previous to that they had been a long time called free chapels in the institutions.

³ Chesham Bois is sometimes called a parish church in the registers from 1368 (Ibid. Inst. Buckingham, i. 413, etc.), but in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* it is called a chapel.

⁴ Ibid. Memo. Buckingham, 205 (1380).

⁵ Ibid. Memo. Repingdon, 169d-170 (1417).

⁶ Ibid. Memo. Chedworth, 31 (1458-9).

⁷ There was a dispute going on from 1368 to 1380 between the parishioners of Weston Underwood and the rector of Olney, as to the payment of the chaplain: both rector and parishioners appealed to the Pope, and the matter was finally decided by a papal bull, granting all the sacraments and right of burial to the chapel. Ibid. Memo. Buckingham, 62 and 205; *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv. 75.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Repingdon, 441 (1409).

⁹ Ibid. Inst. Chedworth, 147.

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of Chetwode also fell into disuse and decay after it was made a chapel to the priory church at the appropriation in 1391.¹

A dispute in connexion with the church of Chesham in 1454 brings out an interesting point of mediaeval church custom. In days when travelling and social intercourse between different parts of the country were much less frequent than now, it would have been easy for simple village folk to lose sight of the greater unity of the Catholic Church, and the interdependence of its members; and amongst the various customs devised to meet this difficulty was the solemn procession made every year to the mother church of the diocese somewhere about the feast of Pentecost. Like many other good things, this custom had its abuses: there were unseemly disputes for precedence between the men of different parishes even when they were gathered with their crosses and banners outside the cathedral; and complaints were made of the difficulties of the journey. By the fifteenth century it had become usual for the parishioners of small parishes remote from the cathedral to make their yearly procession to some larger church in their own neighbourhood, more easy of access than the *matrix ecclesia*. So the parishioners of Chesham had been accustomed for some time to go to Amersham on the Monday in Whitsun week; but even here there had been difficulties, leading to armed encounters between the two parishes, in which the men of Chesham had been worsted. They therefore sent in a petition to the bishop to allow them to make their procession around their own church in future, summoning the inhabitants of the hamlets of Chesham Bois and Latimer to join them. The petition was granted,² on condition that they paid 16*d.* annually for the fabric of Lincoln Cathedral.

It has been shown already that the teaching of the Lollards had taken root in Buckinghamshire at the beginning of the fourteenth century; but it was not until the episcopate of Bishop Chedworth (1452-1472) that its extent was seriously realized and steps taken to prevent its further spread. It appears from the Episcopal Registers that nearly all the cases of heresy which were tried before the bishop at this time came from the county of Buckingham, with a few from Thame and Henley and other places in the same district, that is to say, the valley of the Lower Thames. As at a later date, the bishop's manor house at Wooburn, and the parish church of High Wycombe, were usually chosen for the holding of these trials.³ The heretics of this period are of much interest, as they form a connecting link between the earlier Lollards and certain reformers of a later day. It seemed at first, in the time of Wiclif, as if there were some prospect of the spread of Lollard doctrines amongst the clergy and the upper classes; but as the fifteenth century wore on, those accused of heresy were found almost exclusively in the lower classes, among weavers, coopers, smiths and

¹ Lincs. Epis. Reg. Memo. Buckingham, 371.

² Ibid. Memo. Chedworth, 18*d.*

³ Ibid. Memo. Chedworth, 57-63.

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other craftsmen ; while their teachers were mostly laymen like themselves, with no commission from the church, who wandered from place to place and mingled their teaching with the exercise of their ordinary trade. A few of the Buckinghamshire heretics of 1464 confessed to having learned their views from the rector of Chesham Bois—a former rector in all probability, as he was not brought to trial at this time ; possibly even the same Richard Monk who abjured in 1428. But more of them had been instructed by one John Wyllis, who was examined before the bishop at Wooburn on 13 August 1462.¹ This man had originally been a weaver of Bristol, and a disciple of a certain William Smith, burned after trial before the bishop of Worcester. Wyllis himself had taught in Bristol and London as well as in Lincoln diocese, and had already abjured, by his own confession, before the bishop of London. His condemnation therefore as a relapsed heretic was inevitable ; but it is noteworthy that after his excommunication, when all hope was past, he again, it is stated, abjured his errors, and received absolution from the church that he might ‘die a good Christian.’ There are no signs at this time of anything like the formation of regular congregations such as Foxe speaks of as existing thirty or forty years later. It is well known indeed that the term ‘Lollard’ or ‘heretic’ was applied loosely to a great many people who agreed more in what they denied than in what they affirmed, and even here had often very little in common. The heresy of this period, like the Lollardy from which it was descended, was rather destructive than constructive ; it was in fact mainly revolt against ecclesiastical authority. Those who were examined before the bishop in 1464 confessed chiefly to a series of wild and self-contradictory criticisms of the Church, the sacraments, and the clergy. ‘Bishops should go on foot, clothed in white, preaching to the people.’ It was better to baptize children in a river or pond than in a church. It was enough for a man and woman to consent to live together ; the blessing of a priest could do them no good. Priests who are sinners cannot and ought not to preach. Singing, bell-ringing and the use of organs were to be blamed, not praised. Nearly all agreed in condemning all veneration of images or relics : most not only denied Transubstantiation but the Real Presence. One, a blacksmith of Henley, examined with the men of Wycombe, used language about the pope, the king, the sacraments, worthy of Bishop Bale² ; he said baptism was only a token and a sign, and that he could make as good a sacrament as the priest ; and yet confessed that he had been wont to undertake the cure of children suffering from the ‘chynkow’ by means of charms, involving the repetition of a great many *paters* and *aves*. Of greater interest is a list of English books, presumably of a heretical nature,

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Chedworth, 57-63. All the details which follow are from the same source.

² He said that the pilgrims to Canterbury went to offer their souls to the devil : the Blessed Sacrament was a great devil of hell and a synagogue : the pope a ‘grete best and a devyll of hell and a synagoge’ : the king and all that maintain the church shall go to the devil.

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which one John Baron of Amersham confessed that he had in his possession : for it includes 'the second book of the Canterbury tales.'¹

It was in 1464, two years after the burning of Wyllis, that most of the examinations of heretics took place. Richard Benett of High Wycombe was the first to abjure his errors. On 4 June of this year in the parish church of High Wycombe seven men of the same town and one from Princes Risborough abjured ; on the next day another purged himself of the accusation of heresy by the oath of twenty fellow-townsmen. On 12 September, before the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter, in the same place, five men of Amersham and three of High Wycombe made their recantation ; on 1 October eleven more from High Wycombe,² Turville, Great Marlow and Hughenden did the same, while one from Hambleden managed to purge himself, though 'vehementer suspicatus'. All of these were required to do penance by bearing faggots and wax candles in the parish church of High Wycombe and in the market place of Aylesbury.

Unfortunately the methods of the bishops at this time seem to have been, like those of the heretics, more negative than positive ; and the care they took to bring the erring to recantation and penance was not accompanied (so far as it is at present possible to judge) by any earnest effort to establish the faithful and confirm the wavering by a better and more intelligent teaching of the Catholic faith. The results were just what might have been foreseen. During the episcopate of Bishop Smith (1495-1514) there was found in Buckinghamshire a 'godly and great company' of men and women who, though they were for the most part still in external communion with the Church, had lost faith in some of her most distinctive doctrines. What their actual numbers were we can only gather from the testimony of Foxe, as there is no allusion to the matter in the Memoranda of Bishop Smith's register, and it is evident that Foxe's sources of information were not in this case of a very reliable kind. He assures us that one man, William Tylsworth, was burned at Amersham in 1506, and that sixty other persons carried the faggot at the same time, amongst whom was Tylsworth's daughter, who was compelled to lay a faggot on her own father's fire. This he knew from the testimony of an old man and woman still living in his day, the latter indeed more than a hundred years of age. He also asserts, though not so positively, that one 'father Roberts' (elsewhere called 'Dr. Cosin,' as being a teacher of the congregation), a miller of Missenden, suffered death at Buckingham about the same time, and that over twenty bore faggots at his burning. At Amersham again, about two years later, two men were burned in one fire and three others branded in the cheek, while about thirty more bore faggots. He adds that of the three who were branded one was afterwards burned, another

¹ Also *The Life of Our Lady, The Life of Adam and Eve, The Mirror of Sinners, The Book of the play of St. Dionyse, The Mirror of Matrimony.*

² One of these, Robert Spicer of Wycombe, may have been of kin to Richard Spicer of Wycombe, pardoned in 1414.

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was so cruelly handled in the bishop's prison that he could never again go upright, and the third was alive in his own day and told the tale. Somewhere about the same time Thomas Chace, of Amersham, was imprisoned in the bishop's 'Little Ease' at Wooburn, where a man could neither stand nor lie, and a woman who had something to do with the care of the prison testified that he was secretly strangled there and buried in a wood.¹ This is the substance of Foxe's account.² It is impossible to criticize it in detail, as there is no other record with which to compare or test it. We may also note his account³ ('gathered from Thomas Kirby, of Stratford-Langthorn') of Thomas Man, burned at Smithfield in 1518, an itinerant lay preacher, who had taught, chiefly at Amersham, for twenty-three years, and boasted that he had 'turned seven hundred people to his religion.' This man, with three others already noted (Tylsworth, Cosin, and Chace) were the chief instructors of the Buckinghamshire congregation. There can, indeed, be no reasonable doubt that the heretics of this county were very numerous, and that the year 1506 was afterwards known in the neighbourhood as the year of the 'great abjuration'; it is also not improbable that they did form something like a regular congregation, with private meetings for religious exercises. But it is also quite obvious that they were in no true sense the spiritual ancestry of the reformed Church, but, like the Lollards who went before them, and some of the sectaries who succeeded them in this same district, were among those who were inclined to dispute the necessity of having any visible Church at all. Their teachers, by Foxe's own account, were unlettered laymen, and their teachings were all based upon the exercise of 'private judgment' carried to its most extreme conclusions.⁴

It is not surprising to find, in the records of the general visitation of the diocese ordered by Bishop Atwater in 1519, a very unsatisfactory account of the state of this archdeaconry. The history of Buckinghamshire is, indeed, from the point of view of the Church, a melancholy one, both during this century and the next. There could scarcely have been any part of the country where the churches were so forlorn and ill-kept: various reasons may be given for this, but the facts are beyond doubt, and may in a great measure account for the prevalence of heretical opinion. Pluralist as he was, Bishop Atwater yet found leisure to realize the needs of the diocese of Lincoln, and set himself to reform both the churches and the religious houses which were committed to his care, and the records of his visitation are unusually full and complete. An account is given of 150 churches in the arch-

¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv. 213.

² Ibid. 123-125. ³ Ibid. 213.

⁴ Ibid. 214-243. The speeches reported by Foxe himself show this unmistakably: e.g. Cosin had taught a woman not to make offerings to the church at her recovery of health—'it was enough to hold up her hands to God'; and another had been told she might as well drink on Sunday before mass as any other day; others would sit before the Blessed Sacrament and make no sign of reverence; another said in Christ's time there were no priests; with other remarks of a like nature recalling the entries in Chedworth's register of 1464. This view of the heretics of the period has no pretence to originality: it is substantially that set forth by Gairdner in volume iv. of the *History of the English Church*.

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deaconry of Buckingham,¹ and of these only twenty-two are returned 'Omnia bene.' Of the remainder about fifteen were in need of repair in walls, porch or bell-tower, that is to say, by default of the parishioners; while twice as many needed repair to the chancel, showing neglect on the part of the rector. Quite thirty of the rectors were non-resident, and their rectory-houses consequently in ruins; about half a dozen had not sufficient books or vestments. The font was often not properly covered; but the most conspicuous neglect was shown in the careless keeping of the churchyards, 45 of which were insufficiently enclosed, and constantly desecrated by cattle which came in to pasture there.² Cases of immorality reported among the people were not very numerous, but seven among the incumbents of churches were accused of having women of doubtful character to keep house for them.³ In four or five cases it was complained that people talked and gossiped in church during the time of divine service. It seems to have been a case of 'as with the people, so with the priest.' The churches appropriate to religious houses were not at this time any better served than those under lay patronage: of several of these it was reported that there was no distribution of alms to the poor, and the abbey of Nutley in this county was sadly conspicuous for its neglect of the churches under its care, Ashendon and Chetwode being in a ruinous condition, Hillesden and Dorton devoid of chaplains altogether.⁴ A few specially bad cases may be given in detail. The church of Ellesborough, appropriate to Sandwell Priory, was altogether in decay, so that the divine offices, when said at all, were said in a ruin. The rectory house was quite fallen down, owing to the non-residence of the rector, who neither served the church himself nor provided any honest vicar to take his place, so that for the most part there were no services at all. And the prior of Sandwell, while he allowed this state of things to go on, drew every year 10 marks from the parish and exacted four quarters of wheat besides. At Marsworth, appropriate to Caldwell Priory, both chancel and church were in decay; there was no distribution of alms to the poor; the vicar was very old and had women in his house. At Hardwick the rector was 'not peaceful but litigious'; he had struck one of his parishioners and torn his clothes, and drawn his sword upon another; he was not regular in reciting the evening offices and allowed his chancel and rectory to remain in a ruinous condition. At Hawridge the rector was non-resident, and left his cure to be served by a most unfit person, who thought more of sport than of the duties of his office⁵—he lived out of his parish, at Chesham, and even in the Holy Week sometimes said the whole office

¹ The following account from the original returns of the Visitations of Bishop Atwater in the Alnwick Tower at Lincoln.

² In two cases they were deliberately sent in; once by a rector, once by the farmer of a rectory.

³ It is only fair to explain that though the phrase used is sometimes *feminam* (or *mulierem*) *suspectam*, in other cases it is simply stated 'the rector has a woman in his house'; by which perhaps no reproach may be intended; for in two other instances it is said that the rector has *his sister* living with him, as if even that were an unusual circumstance.

⁴ The chapels of Brill and Boarstall, appropriate to St. Frideswide, were also destitute of chaplains.

⁵ He is described as *lusor ad pilam pedalem in camisia sua*, and as playing at other games besides.

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of the day, including compline, early in the morning to suit his own convenience, so that the parishioners could not attend. At Worminghall, appropriate to the monastery of St. Frideswide, the chancel and vicarage house were ruinous; the vicar was accused of immorality, of not celebrating the divine offices at the accustomed times, of deliberately pasturing his own cattle in the churchyard, of allowing the sacred vestments of the church to be damaged, and of carrying off for his own use the candles offered by the parishioners before the images in the church.¹

It is a doleful catalogue; but the visitation is of great interest, showing not only how much reform was needed, but what real efforts after reform were actually being made within the church quite early in the sixteenth century. It is also a point of interest that these particular efforts were by no means without effect. Some bad cases were dealt with at once; it is noted even in the course of the report that the chaplain of Hawridge was suspended by the bishop, and the rector ordered to reside; and in a similar visitation of Bishop Longland's by far the greater number of those churches which had been in an unsatisfactory state in 1519 were returned in 1530 'Omnia bene.'²

Bishop Longland has a most unenviable reputation as a persecutor of the righteous; but it has only been lately realized that his dealings with heretics formed only a part of the general energetic work of reform which he carried out through the diocese of Lincoln. Of his personal character, of the use he made of his great opportunity as confessor to the king, nothing need be said here; but there is abundance of testimony, both from his letters among the State Papers and his own episcopal records, that he was really diligent in the supervision of his vast diocese, and that often under the pressure of ill-health as well as affairs of state. He plainly realized that if a permanent reform was to be effected it was not enough to extirpate heresy: the whole level of church life must be raised, beginning with the clergy and the religious.

On 20 October, 1521, a proclamation was issued by King Henry VIII. requiring mayors, sheriffs and other officials to assist the new bishop of Lincoln in dealing with the large numbers of heretics known to exist in his diocese³; and it was again found that special attention must be directed to the county of Buckingham. Inquiry would naturally be made concerning those who had recanted in 1506; and it was found indeed that some of them had relapsed or grown lax in performing penances then imposed upon them. There was another 'great abjuration,' the numbers of those who recanted amounting to about fifty; the penances imposed being much the same as those commonly assigned

¹ Some of the complaints, though not so grave, are of interest for their allusion to the customs of the time: e.g. at Wendover 'the vicar ought to provide his parishioners with an annual dinner at Easter and has not done so for two years'; at Great Missenden the vicar failed to provide a parish clerk to lead the singing, so that the divine service, instead of being sung, had to be said *submissa voce*.

² This report is contained in the same portfolio as Atwater's. The same points are brought forward—non-residence of rectors, chancels and churches out of repair, cemeteries not enclosed; but in very few cases.

³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 698.

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to other serious offences, namely, pilgrimage to various local or more distant shrines, or a term of residence in some religious house—except that in most cases the delinquents were required to wear a faggot embroidered on the sleeve for life. Foxe also asserts that as many as six persons, five men and one woman, were burned at this time.¹

It is most unfortunate that we have no means at present of checking the numbers or other details given by Foxe for the year 1521, and can therefore only give his account as it stands. The persons he names are, as before, all from the lower classes, with the exception of the vicar of Little Missenden and a priest of Horton-by-Colnbrook: he includes also a canon from the abbey of Missenden. The places they come from are very numerous, and show how the new doctrines had spread through the southern part of the county. Amersham was conspicuous as before, while Great Marlow, West Wycombe, High Wycombe, Chesham, Denham, Hughenden, Chalvey, Wooburn, Beaconsfield, Iver, Dorney also appear on the list. Again, under the year 1530, he names four persons brought to trial from Princes Risborough, and a little later ten more, from West Wycombe, Coleshill and Chesham.

The case of Thomas Harding given by Foxe is a typical one. Harding had abjured in 1506 at Amersham, where he was then living, and had been put to penance, which he continued to perform for about ten years. In 1521 he was found guilty of intercourse with other heretics and condemned to wear the faggot on his sleeve.² In 1532 he was brought before Bishop Longland at the Old Temple, London (not at Wooburn, as Foxe says³), described as Thomas Harding of Chesham, late of Amersham, a relapsed heretic. This was on 6 April; and on 29 May he was again examined in the parish church of Chesham before John Rayne, the bishop's vicar-general, the abbot of Thame, and the rector of Ashridge, with the result that he was, under the existing law of the church, excommunicated and handed over to the secular arm to be burned.⁴ The bishop's register, from which these dates are taken, gives however one detail which Foxe omits, namely, that Harding, after his condemnation, asked and received absolution from the Church for his errors, to the great joy of his judges.⁵

¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv. 220–244.

² *Ibid.* 580.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Longland, 160, 169.

⁵ His recantation appears to have been sincere, for at that moment it could only profit his soul—he was a relapsed heretic, and for such there was no mercy—his repentance only securing for him the consolations which the Church offers to the dying. The recantation may serve to explain the words which Rowland Messenger, vicar of High Wycombe, is said to have spoken after the execution to the bystanders, 'Good people, when ye come home, do not say that you have been at the burning of a heretic, but of a good Christian man.' There is no need to suppose that he spoke oracles, as it were against his own will: the words were quite natural and appropriate to the occasion. The case of Thomas Harding has been noticed by Dr. Gairdner, *History of the English Church*, iv. 132. The absence from the Memoranda of the details of 1521, for which Foxe carefully gives pages of reference to the 'bishop's register' (that is to say, for the recantations; the burnings he seems to give by hearsay), has been noticed already in the *Journal of the Associated Architectural and Archaeological Societies*, xv. 169–70, and also personally tested by the present writer. The only cases which occur in the register are that of Thomas Harding and ten others arrested in 1530, whose names however are not the same as those assigned by Foxe to that year (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Longland, 112d). The Memoranda of Bishop Longland is in good condition, with no appearance of leaves torn or missing; and the details given by Foxe most certainly are not

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In spite, however, of the undercurrent of heresy and the low standard of life and duty amongst the clergy in the county, there is evidence enough that the shrines of the saints and other centres of popular devotion were still frequented by worshippers. It was one of the special objects of the gild at Buckingham to do honour to the relics of St. Rumwald,¹ whose shrine stood in the parish church, with a lamp burning before it night and day²: and another favourite place of pilgrimage was the monastery of Ashridge, where a phial was treasured, containing a few drops of what was believed to be the Precious Blood—obtained at the same time and from the same source as the more famous relic at Hailes.³ We hear of the rood of Wendover,⁴ and of images of Our Lady at Missenden,⁵ at Bradwell,⁶ at High Wycombe,⁷ to which frequent resort was made. The little chapel of Blessed Mary at Caversham, just over the border in Oxfordshire, but served by canons of Nutley Abbey in this county, was quite a storehouse of relics, for there might be seen the holy halter wherewith Judas was hanged (perhaps we may be permitted to wonder how it could ever convey a blessing to any one), the dagger that killed King Henry VI., the knife that slew King Edward the Martyr so many centuries before, and the image of ‘an aungell with oon wyng that browght to Caversham the spere hedde that percyd our Saviour is syde upon the crosse’; besides an image of our Lady plated with silver, draped, after the manner of the time, with costly robes. Dr. London, who may in this respect be looked upon as an unprejudiced witness, testifies that there was great pilgrimage to this chapel, and that even during the few hours of his stay there came in more than a dozen people bringing offerings. From the same source we hear of the pilgrimage made to the image of Sir John Schorne in North Marston church, where he stood ‘blessing a bote, whereunto they do say he conveyd the devill.’ Lights, shrouds, crutches and images of wax hung about these shrines, just as they may be seen in continental churches of to-day.⁸

It is probable that only the more celebrated (and more valuable) of the images were removed by London; he only spoke of removing the ‘botyd ymage’ from North Marston and of having ‘thoroughly

in it. It is not necessary to suppose that he compiled them merely on hearsay evidence, and added the page-references to give them a greater air of accuracy. It is far more probable that he used the word ‘register’ in a looser sense than we do, and may have been referring to an Administration Act Book of Longland’s for the year 1521. There is such a book extant, for the year 1544, to which allusion will be made later; and in it delinquents are named successively, with their places of residence, their pleas, and their penances in very similar form to the accounts of the heresy trials in *Acts and Monuments*, iv. 220–240. There are also in existence some visitation reports of Bishop Longland’s of great importance, to which no allusion is made in the Memoranda: so that the fact that the latter book contains no account of heresy trials in 1521 is no proof that such trials did not take place.

¹ Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 63 (from the Patent Roll of 28 Henry VI.).

² *Ibid.* 84. John Barton, who founded the chantry called by his name in 1431, left money in his will for a lamp to burn before St. Rumwald night and day.

³ See account of the monastery of Ashridge.

⁴ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv. 580.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 225.

⁶ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 2217.

⁷ For the chapel and image of Blessed Mary at Wycombe see a paper by W. H. St. John Hope in *Records of Bucks*, viii. 104–145.

⁸ Wright, *Dissolution of Monasteries*, 221, 223, 225.

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defaced' the chapel of Caversham; others disappeared at the dissolution of the monasteries where they were kept; but the general order for the removal of all images whatsoever was not issued till the second year of King Edward the Sixth.¹

The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 is another landmark in the history of the Church. Most of the changes it records in Buckinghamshire since 1291 (e.g. the loss and gain of a few parish churches and chapels) have been noticed as they occurred.² The stipends of the lesser clergy were still very small for the most part; more than sixty benefices were of less than £10 value, more than fifty were between £10 and £15; while the average stipend of a curate or chantry priest seems to have been £5 or £6.

It does not appear that there was any special disturbance in this county on account of the Supremacy Act or the fall of the monasteries. In February 1538 one Thomas Bright of Boarstall was executed for high treason at Aylesbury for words spoken against the king³; and in the same year a priest, Sir John Man of Westbury, was accused of 'knavish sayings' and 'lewd living'⁴; both these cases may be connected with the troubles of the time, but they are not matters of much consequence. So also in this county, at Bockmore near Medmenham, dangerous words were spoken by Lord Montague and his chaplain, John Colyns, about the dissolution of the monasteries and the king's conduct generally; but they were said privately and could have made no stir in the neighbourhood, though they were thought sufficient evidence to support a charge of verbal treason. The vicar of Medmenham, to whom Colyns entrusted some of his papers, with instructions to burn them if he were apprehended, may not even have known what was in the coffer, and his sympathy with the cause of the Pole family was not enough to bring him under suspicion.⁵

One more case of heresy, not mentioned by Foxe, was brought before the bishop in the parish church of Little Missenden in November 1535—a tailor called Ralph Clerk, who denied the Real Presence. He was accused of having spoken profane and heretical words after a sermon in which the bishop had been setting forth reasons to prove the ordinary doctrine of the Church as to the Blessed Sacrament⁶; and this

¹ Gairdner, *History of the English Church*, iv. 108.

² The chapel of Owlswick in Princes Risborough, mentioned in the inventories of 1552 (Exch. Q. R. Church Goods 1 $\frac{1}{4}$), and still in use in 1629 (*S.P.*, Dom. Chas. I. ccvi. 1), is not mentioned in the Valor (though it must have been in existence in 1534), and the date of its erection has not yet been traced. 'A chapel builded by Mr. Bulstrode' is also mentioned as part of the property of Wyrardisbury church in 1552, in the inventory then taken; this also is not named in the Valor. Perhaps it is the same as the 'Hedgerley Bulstrode Chapel' named in the Visitation of 1637 (*S.P.*, Dom. Chas. I. ccclxix. 59).

³ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (1) 306, 333, 358.

⁴ *Ibid.* 194.

⁵ *Ibid.* xiii. (2) 771, 830, 875, 979. It would appear that one of the Cheyneys of Chesham Bois was at this time unfavourable to the new learning, as one of his tenants wrote to complain to Cromwell that he had been evicted for reading the New Testament and other books set forth by the king's authority. *Ibid.* (1) 253. The complaint was not noticed, and may of course have been without proper foundation.

⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* Longland, 199. His talk recalls that of many of Foxe's martyrs. The bishop had said 'Pray for me, and I will pray for you.' Clerk said to a friend standing by, 'The devil

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event seems to show that Longland was still trying to check the spread of heresy by definite teaching. An Act Book of his dated 1544,¹ though a mere fragment, is of great interest, as it shows the working of the later legislation of the reign of Henry VIII., and in particular the effects of the 'Bishop's Book' and 'King's Book' of 1536 and 1544—those last efforts to secure a reformation of life and practice amongst clergy and people without change of doctrine. It may be worth while to give some details from this book, as original records of these few years are not common.

It appears that in 1544 an inquiry was made or at least begun in the diocese of Lincoln, with the intention of finding out whether the clergy really were instructing their people in accordance with the royal injunctions of 1536, and on the lines laid down by the 'Institution of a Christian Man' issued a year later. In the archdeaconry of Buckingham, the curate of Horton was excommunicated for neglect of his cure, in that he had not registered the names of children brought to him for baptism, nor yet explained to his parishioners the Creed, Our Father and Hail Mary. His rectory-house was noticed to be in great ruin. After confession of his fault and promise of amendment, he was absolved.² The rector of Leckhampstead, the vicar of Dorney and the curate of Wyrardisbury were similarly dealt with, for similar reasons. The vicar of Upton, being called to account, confessed that he had not taught his flock 'the book of the Articles of Convocation' and did not even know what was in it; but as he had made some efforts to instruct his parishioners in the Creed and the Ten Commandments he was dismissed with a warning. The rector of Farnham Royal had failed to read the royal injunctions, though he had done the rest of his duty.

In the same book there are a few cases of church discipline enforced upon the laity, some for moral offences, and some for acts which very nearly brought them under the charge of heresy. A tailor of Colnbrook, examined in the parochial chapel, confessed that he had eaten fish,³ and caused others to do the like, on one of the Ember days, 'against the laudable custom of the Church of England'; that he had read the English Bible belonging to Horton church, for the edification of himself and others, in such a loud voice that the curate, after vainly trying to get him to be quieter, had sent him about his business⁴; and that he had in his possession certain evil and corrupt books. He was

pray for him, for I will not. . . . He saith that the sacrament of the altar is the flesh and blood of God and it is not so; it is but wine. . . . Look now upon my book, and I will shew thee the very truth.'

¹ In one of the portfolios of 'Visitations of Monasteries' in the Alnwick Tower at Lincoln.

² He said he had declared the articles of our faith and ten commandments three years running; but not this year. He did summon certain servants sixteen years of age, who could not say the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Commandments in their mother tongue, and made them promise to learn these. He did examine in the faith those who came to him in confession. But he had not read the 'King's Book' for a year.

³ 'viz. flounders and a little barbill': almost as incorrect, of course, upon an Ember Day as flesh meat.

⁴ After the first remonstrance 'the curate, who was then in making holy water, bade him go about such things as he had to do.'

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publicly excommunicated, and absolved after penance. One of his friends was dismissed with a warning.¹

What effect this course of procedure might have had if steadily continued for some years it is impossible to say; for the king's death early in 1547 let loose upon the country reformers of a very different type. For the first important measure of the new reign, viz., the suppression of the chantries, Henry VIII. was however entirely responsible. It was not without good reason that fears had been expressed at the time of the dissolution of monasteries that the king would not stop there; that his heavy hand would fall next upon the parish churches.² The suppression of the chantries, colleges, gilds and hospitals was ostensibly a part of the effort to correct popular notions as to the state of the faithful departed, and to check superstitious practices connected with these ideas; but it had really quite another effect. This may best be seen by a simple summary of the results of the Act in one county. In Buckinghamshire it disendowed and destroyed only three chapels which had clearly no other use except to perpetuate chantries in the later and narrower sense of the word: at Eythrope, Ditton and Buckingham.³ But with these it swept away four others⁴ which were strictly parochial, and served for the devotion of good-sized hamlets, where even the able-bodied inhabitants could seldom in winter get to the parish church; and it also deprived eleven⁵ churches of an assistant priest whose services had cost the incumbent nothing, as well as of the plate and ornaments assigned to the use of the particular altar where the chantry was endowed; while almost every parish in the county lost some small endowment for lamps and obits, bequeathed by those who could not afford to found a perpetual chantry.

The commissioners who furnished materials for the first certificate

¹ James Barkeley, examined at the same time, confessed that on that Ember Day (Wednesday after Pentecost) he was at Harmesworth at the court there kept: that he first dined there at the church houses then went home and began a dinner of 'butterde peases,' and in the midst of it was invited to go and partake of Allen's flounders, which he did. The fact that he was only *warned*, after this bold breach of custom, shows the difference of treatment in a case where there was no suspicion of heresy.

² See *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (2) 986 (Confession of John Colyns), and records of the Lincolnshire rising.

³ The chapel at Eythrope, founded by the will of Sir Roger Dynham, was said by the Commissioners to be 'of no great necessity except for the household of Sir Robert Dormer.' For the subsequent history of this chapel, see *Records of Bucks*, vii. 258-261. The chantry at Ditton founded by Sir John Colyns was 'abused,' by the non-residence of the incumbent; the Matthew Stratton Chantry in the chapel of St. John Baptist, Buckingham, had probably not been served since the dissolution of the Hospital of St. Thomas Acon, London, to which it belonged (Chantry Cert. 4, Nos. 2, 5, 9).

⁴ At Colnbrook, where a priest said divine service every Sunday and festival for the hamlet, and performed other ministrations in time of need (*Ibid.* No. 1); Dagnall, which did 'great ease to the most part of the said parish (Edlesborough) because many dwell four miles from the church, and do resort to the chapel of Dagnall to hear their divine service' (*Ibid.* No. 6); Aston in Ivinghoe, where there was 'daily resort of many people who could not come to their parish church in winter,' and so was 'right necessary'; Fenny Stratford, where the gild maintained two priests, who ministered to a village of 220 people (*Ibid.* No. 13).

⁵ Stoke Poges, Dorney, High Wycombe, Edlesborough, Chalfont St. Peter, Buckingham, Thornton, Newport Pagnel, Hanslope, Aylesbury, Olney. The chantries at High Wycombe and Olney were attached to chapels in the churchyard, but it is expressly stated that the chantry priests helped the vicar: and one of the chaplains at High Wycombe said a mass at 10 o'clock 'for the easement of people of the town and labourers by the way.' *Ibid.* Nos. 4, 15.

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testified to the usefulness and even necessity of the chantry priests in all the chapels except Ditton, Eythrope and Buckingham, and in ten out of the eleven churches; while the second certificate, drawn up in the first year of Edward VI., notices in three or four cases that the priests were 'of honest understanding' or 'well learned,' and has nothing worse to say of any except that he was non-resident. The two hospitals of Newport Pagnel and High Wycombe were however no longer serving their original purpose. Three or four chantries involved distributions of alms to the poor, but only two, Ivinghoe Aston and Thornton, had schools attached.¹ The school at Thornton was re-endowed in July 1548 with the same stipend as before for the schoolmaster²; and this was the only compensation which the county then received for its losses at this time or earlier. Later on, a hospital was founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1597 at Buckingham, probably out of the revenues of church lands³; and the hospital of Newport Pagnel was rebuilt and re-endowed by James I. and his queen.⁴ It is only fair to add that the chantry priests usually received pensions; and the inquiry set on foot by Queen Mary in the first year of her reign does not seem to suggest that these were not regularly paid, but only that they were scanty and insufficient.⁵

The second year of King Edward VI. saw the removal of all remaining images from the parish churches; but it is probable that at this time the parishioners were allowed to make what profit they could out of the gold and other valuable materials with which the images were decked; it was not confiscated to the king's use.⁶ Some extant churchwardens' accounts⁷ of this period show the changes that took place year by year and the expenses connected with them; new books to buy, and workmen to pay for the removing of the roods, the taking down of altars, the setting up of tables, and the 'white liming' of church walls. Last came the order for the confiscation of the vestments and of nearly all the remaining ornaments of the churches. The inventories of Church Goods for the county of Buckingham are very numerous⁸; they show us the ornaments existing in nearly a hundred churches at the end of the reign of Edward VI. The lists vary considerably; they show most churches still in possession of the Eucharistic

¹ All these statements may be verified by reference to Chantry Certificates 4 and 5.

² P.R.O. Augm. Office, *Documents relating to Schools*, No. 8.

³ Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 86.

⁴ T. P. Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 220, where the charter of the new foundation is given in full.

⁵ See Exch. Mins. Accts., Bdle. 76, No. 26.

⁶ The Churchwardens' Book at Wing has under the year 1549 the item, 'Received for the gilt of the images, 4s.'

⁷ There is a particularly good specimen of a Churchwardens' book, extending from 1527 to 1723, at Wing; it was recently deposited for a short time at the British Museum for the use of this History, by the courtesy of the present vicar, the Rev. F. C. Tatham. There are also fragments of the accounts of Burnham Church at this time, printed in *Records of Bucks*, v. 117-9; of Amersham Church, *Ibid.* vii. 44-47; and a series of inventories connected with High Wycombe Church which throw light on the same period, *Ibid.* viii. 104-145.

⁸ Exch. Q. R. Inventories of Church Goods, 6 Edward VI. Nos. 13-38.

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vestments prescribed until 1552 by the Book of Common Prayer, and that quite a majority still had a cross, candlesticks and censers. Amongst those which were richest may be named the parish churches of Buckingham, High Wycombe, Chalfont St. Peter, Chesham, Horton, Upton, Langley, Cheddington, Drayton Beauchamp, Whitchurch, Wing, Linslade, Great Missenden; whilst Mursley, Great Horwood, Hoggeston, Ivinghoe, Bradenham and Drayton Parslow were among the poorest. Some few relics there were of earlier days—Lenten veils, canopy cloths for the pyx, candlesticks with many branches or a stand for the rood light; but it is astonishing to see how rapid had been the disappearance of ornaments only recently laid aside—the pyx, the pax, the holy water stoup.¹ Some sales are noticed, as at Buckingham, North Marston and Hambleden; but it is to be feared that some of the disused church ornaments had passed into the hands of those who had no legal right to them.

No general conclusions can be safely drawn from these lists as to the common custom of the two or three years preceding. The impression produced by reading them is that there had been great diversity of use, and a state of things not unlike the time when there were no judges in Israel. At the two extremes may be placed the churches of Hitcham and Edlesborough: both of these have well-preserved inventories, and the order of the items is worth noting in both. At Hitcham the list is severely simple:

Imprimis, two Bibles
Item, one chalice of silver with the paten
Item, two surplices.

There is absolutely nothing else. At Edlesborough the first item is 'Imprimis a pyx of latten that the sacrament lieth in'; and then follows a complete list of all such things as had once been thought necessary in every church for the reverent celebration of the holy mysteries, including 'a canopy with three crosses of latten that hangeth on the sacrament.' It is clear then that in one case at least the Blessed Sacrament was suspended above the altar as in former days, and, we may surely assume, surrounded by a stately and appropriate ceremonial; while there were also churches (certainly two, Hoggeston and Hitcham) where the use of vestments had been abandoned even before the publication of the Second Prayer Book—they had in fact got rid of their vestments altogether, and had none to use.²

¹ There had been no actual order for the disuse of the pyx or pax, as there had been for the disuse of holy water (Gairdner, *History of the English Church*, iv. 254, 268); but the request of the rebels of Devonshire 'that the sacrament might be hung up as heretofore' in 1549, and the rarity of these ornaments in the inventories, show how generally they had been discarded.

² If we except clear cases like these, very little indeed can be certainly proved. It may be useful to point out that the inventories are merely lists of church goods still remaining in the custody of the churchwardens, with no indication except in a very few cases to show whether they were in use or not; and that therefore they do not help us much to discover how far the standard of ritual suggested by the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. found favour in the county. The only thing quite clear is that before 1552 there was a notable absence of uniformity, and considerable exercise of private judgment in the inter-

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There is also extant another set of inventories for the Hundred of Buckingham, dated 6 May 1553, containing lists of the church goods delivered back again to each parish by the king's commissioners.¹ Here at any rate is no lack of uniformity: each church might have a chalice and paten, a table-cloth, and a surplice; perhaps two of each, but nothing further. Everything else had been sold for the king's use. It was no doubt a little trying to the feelings of churchwardens and parishioners when within a year they had again to provide at their own expense² most of the ornaments of which they had been so recently deprived.

There are but few records of the discontent or the joy which these changes must have aroused in many minds: only a sign here and there may be noticed. In November 1549 three men of Edlesborough were committed to the Fleet 'for assembling of companies to withstand payment of tithes,'³ which looks like an outbreak of the old Lollard spirit of the county: while on the other hand, in the same year, John Bisse of (High) Wycombe was released from the Fleet to make open and solemn declaration of his fault in having 'spoken and done inconveniently against the taking down of images abused' in his parish church.⁴ In 1550 the inhabitants of Great Marlow sent up a complaint to the Privy Council about 'certain wrongs that had been offered them'—possibly in connection with the alienation of church lands, as the matter was referred to the Court of Augmentations.⁵ In June 1553 a letter was sent by the Privy Council to the gentlemen of the county of Buckingham to recommend to them 'Mr. Knockes the preacher': it is probable that he found no lack of hearers. A month or so later the open preaching of Calvinism became dangerous.

At the beginning of the new reign we may notice again a few signs of the times. Fisher, parson of Amersham, was summoned before the Privy Council in August 1553 as a 'seditious preacher' on account of a sermon lately delivered⁷; at this date seditious preaching could scarcely imply anything else except some expression of dissatisfaction at the accession of Mary and the probable changes it involved. The vicar of Burnham was also summoned about the same time.⁸ In the parish church of Wing, however, the old order was restored with joyful alac-

pretation of rubrics. For instance, in the church of Edlesborough mentioned above the present tense shows the pyx still in use: at Chearsley the mention of one that 'honge' over the altar shows that it had lost its place of honour. Five churches were said to have candlesticks *on* the altar; at least eighteen had no candlesticks left at all; at Hambleton they had been sold with the pyx, censers and some old vestments, 'for reparation, for the relief of the poor, and the comfort of the parish.' At Buckingham too it is definitely stated that the censers had been sold: in thirty cases they were absent without explanation offered. The lists therefore do give some clear evidence of *disuse*: but of *use* they prove very little. No one who had really read the lists would suppose that everything named in them without comment was in use.

¹ Exch. Q. R. Church Goods (7 Edward VI.) 3^o.

² The Churchwardens' Accounts at Wing show that at the beginning of Mary's reign the candlesticks, vestments, etc., were purchased out of the ordinary funds of the parish (ff. 55-60).

³ *Acts of the Privy Council*, ii. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 147.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 461.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 283.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii. 321, 328.

⁸ *Ibid.* iii. 361.

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rity: Edward VI. did not die till 6 July, but on 30 July a mass book was bought, and on the same page of the Churchwardens' Accounts it is noted that two vestments were procured and new altar linen hallowed for use.¹ This prompt action was no doubt partly due to the influence of Sir William Dormer, to whom the advowson of the church belonged: he had been among the first in the county to proclaim Mary as queen.² There were probably others to whom the change was equally welcome: five churches at least in this county (Taplow, Little Missenden, Thornborough, Cublington, and Latimer) were still served by monks who had received livings by way of pension,³ and it was likely that they would favour the old way rather than the new; the vicar of Willen also was an old chantry priest.⁴ On the whole, however, it would be natural to expect that in this county the reconciliation with Rome was accepted rather of necessity than goodwill—the records of the following reign show that those principles which had once been popular only amongst the lower classes had made way amongst the gentry of the county during the time of Edward VI. There is, nevertheless, no record of persecution here or in any other part of the diocese of Lincoln; and the general visitation of Cardinal Pole in 1556 discovered none amongst clergy or laity who were persistently unwilling to conform.

This visitation, though it had as one object the discovery of heretics, was directed mainly to the securing of decency and order in the services of the church.⁵ In Buckinghamshire nine chancels were in great need of repair; in two cases (Mursley⁶ and Weston Turville⁷) by the default of the rector, who was ordered to do his duty as soon as possible; at Cuddington⁸ by the neglect of the dean and chapter of Rochester, at Datchet⁹ by default of the college of Windsor; the remaining five churches¹⁰ had just passed to the cardinal himself by the queen's gift, so

¹ Churchwardens' Accounts, f. 55.

² Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer* (Quarterly Series), 48. Sir William Dormer's mother was Jane Newdigate, sister of one of the Carthusian martyrs of 1535. His daughter Jane was in the service of Princess Mary, and married the Duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador: when she went to Spain in 1559, her house became a refuge for English Roman Catholics. See *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* ix. 43, xii. 63, cclxxxiv. 26.

³ P.R.O. Exch. Mins. Accts., Bundle 76, No. 26. Taplow was served by a canon of Merton, Little Missenden by a canon of Shrewsbury, Thornborough by a monk of Biddlesden, Cublington by a canon of Chicksand, and Latimer by a canon of Dunstable (the last of these was married). The Vicar of Kingsey, which is not now a part of Buckinghamshire, was a monk of Reading.

⁴ He had been cantarist of Newport Pagnel. The same record, dated 1553-4, shows twelve of the chantry or gild priests of this county still in receipt of small pensions varying from £3 to £6: it was as much as many of them had received before the Act of Suppression, but it no longer included a house or lodging, which made a very great difference. Only one of them, the chantry priest of Amersham, that ancient centre of heresy, had married—on £3 a year, and 'none other living!' The rector of Latimer chapel, a former canon of Dunstable, had also married. (Exch. Mins. Accts., Bundle 76, No. 26).

⁵ The questions to be put referred to the state of the fabric of churches, the number of heretics, the number of married clergy or religious, whether churches were properly supplied with roods, images and churchwardens, whether confessions and communions were made regularly, whether immorality and witchcraft were common, whether the clergy were faithful in doing their duty. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, iii. 411.

⁶ *Ibid.* 400.

⁷ *Ibid.* 398.

⁸ *Ibid.* 399.

⁹ *Ibid.* 397.

¹⁰ Bradwell, Olney, Ivinghoe, Swanbourne, Dorney: all originally belonging to religious houses (*ibid.* 397, 400). Swanbourne chancel had been out of repair in 1519, but not in 1530; Bradwell and Ivinghoe were in good repair in 1519, when so many churches were ruinous.

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that the responsibility for their state rested upon her immediate predecessors. At Newport Pagnel¹ the vicarage was vacant, and the church destitute of services ; no one could be found to serve the cure on account of its poverty. In a few places people were put to penance for various offences against order : at Wendover and Stowe for refusing to join in processions, at Stoke Poges for not coming to church, and at Great Marlow a butcher for keeping his shop open on Sundays ; cases of immorality were also reported and punished. Two of the clergy were reprimanded : the rector of Saunderton for non-residence, the vicar of Great Stewkley for giving the Blessed Sacrament to some of his parishioners who were unshriven, and for refusing to hear the confessions of others who came to him ; the former was ordered to reside from the next Michaelmas, the latter was imprisoned for a while and then made public satisfaction for his fault.²

The accession of Elizabeth brought changes yet again. The lately re-erected roods and images had to come down ; the stone altars were once more exchanged for wooden tables ; there were more new books to buy, none of those used either in the reign of Edward or of Mary exactly serving the necessities of the new régime. The archdeacon of Bucks³ seems to have been the only priest connected with this county who was deprived in 1559.

It is not easy to discover the popular feeling with regard to religion in any particular county during the early years of Elizabeth's reign ; we only know the expressed statements of a few notable persons here and there ; how far they were spokesmen for larger circles can only be inferred from evidence that comes in later—recusant lists, visitations of churches, events of the next century. It is a matter of history that during the second half of the sixteenth century there were three lines of action open to those in England who were in earnest about matters of religion. In the minds of some the only hope of saving the Catholic faith from the attacks of heretics was to hold fast the ideal of a visibly united Christendom under the primacy of the pope, who seemed to them indeed the rock on which the Church was built, the one point immoveable in a world of change. To another section there seemed a better hope in the principles set forth in the Book of Common Prayer : namely, the ideal of an independent national church, with a right to reform and govern itself, so long as it remained faithful to Apostolic tradition, and kept the Apostolic succession un-

¹ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, iii. 399.

² *Ibid.* 393-400.

³ Named R. Porter (Dr. Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy*, 262). The numbers ejected under Mary (if there were any) cannot be recovered for Lincoln diocese, as the registers are missing. Cole (Add. MS. 5840, f. 38) says that John Gale of Edlesborough (instituted 1550) was deprived in 1554, and his place taken by William Downham, formerly canon of Ashridge ; but does not name his authority (or rather the authority of Browne Willis, whose note he was reproducing). It may be noted that William Downham of Ashridge was Rector of Dachworth, Herts, in 1552, and married, so that it seems unlikely that he would be preferred by Mary to another living : while the inventory of Edlesborough in 1552, noticed above, does not suggest that the incumbent was one who would object to the Marian reaction. There may, however, have been circumstances unrecorded which would explain away both these difficulties.

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broken ; while the third section really aimed at a complete re-modelling of the Church, more or less on the lines followed in Geneva and Scotland. For some years all of these could and did worship together in the parish churches of England, and it was impossible to distinguish one from another, unless individuals by their own choice made themselves in some way conspicuous. After 1571 those who were of the first section were obliged to withdraw from the public services of the English Church, or to arrange some compromise between their duty to the pope and to the queen, which really satisfied neither and must have sorely wounded their own consciences. But the other two theories went on working themselves out side by side up to the outbreak of the Civil War, and it is not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that we can measure what strength they had in different parts of the country.

In the county of Buckingham, however, a few names may be reckoned among the advocates of reform on the most extreme principles almost from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. It is evident that during the time of Edward VI. and Mary those revolutionary ideas about Church government and Church doctrine which had once been popular only amongst the lower classes had gained adherents amongst the gentry of the county. The two Wentworths, Peter and Paul, well-known for their bold assertion of the liberties of Parliament, were both of them thorough-going Puritans. It was Peter Wentworth who was spokesman for the six members who presented themselves to Archbishop Parker in 1571 with a model for 'further reformation'¹; and when the archbishop ventured to suggest that such matters were more suited for the clergy to consider,² it was he who answered, 'No, by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were to make you popes. Make you popes who list—for we will make you none.' Whether we approve or disapprove this speech, there is no possibility of mistaking its tenor—to reformers of this type the witness of the primitive church was of little more value than that of the mediaeval ; everything was to be brought to the test of private judgment, and devout laymen in the sixteenth century with no theological training were as likely to interpret Holy Scripture correctly as all the Fathers of the Church. Peter Wentworth, however, did not carry the day at this time, and the Thirty-nine Articles suffered no further alteration ; but his brother Paul ten years later was more successful, though in a matter of less importance. In 1581 he brought in a motion for a public fast and daily preaching for the benefit of the House of Commons : 'the fast to be appointed for one certain day, the preaching to be every morning at seven of the clock before the

¹ D'Ewes *Journal*, 179 (Wednesday, 25 April, 1571) ; Strype, *Annals*, ii. 67.

² They had put aside the article concerning the Homilies and for the Consecration of Bishops on the ground that 'they were so occupied with other matters that they had no time to examine how they agreed with The Word of God.' The archbishop answered, 'Surely . . . you will refer yourselves wholly to us (the bishops) therein ?' Strype, *Annals*, ii. 67.

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House did sit'¹; and he carried it by 115 votes to 100, showing how strong was the Puritan element in Parliament already. Both Peter and Paul Wentworth gave information at different times against recusants who came under their notice.²

Of the more moderate reformers who really desired to keep the old forms of Church government there are no conspicuous examples in this county. It is indeed true that the great Hooker was for a year or so rector of Drayton Beauchamp, just after that ill-assorted marriage by which he 'was drawn from the tranquillity of his college, from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace and of sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest and a country parsonage.'³ But the county of Buckingham cannot claim much share in his glory; it is probable indeed that had he not obtained some other preferment his genius would have been unknown to history; the *Ecclesiastical Polity* could scarcely have been written in the short and uncertain intervals between the tending of sheep and the rocking of cradles.⁴

Of the third section, the recusants of Buckinghamshire, there is a fairly clear record, although they were not very numerous. On this difficult subject, to which modern historical methods have not yet been searchingly applied, it is impossible as yet to attempt a revision of popular notions; but a very short study of the records shows that such revision is very necessary. There is still, for instance, a rough distinction often drawn between two classes of Roman Catholics in England during the half century we are now considering; that is to say, between the loyal and high-minded, who held their convictions fast as a matter of conscience, and yet hated and disowned the thought of making their religion an excuse for plots against the queen and the State; and the disloyal, the dark conspirators, the secret assassins, who thought all means lawful if only they could secure the triumph of their cause. In the first class would be placed the majority of the recusant county gentry; in the second, nearly all the Jesuits and seminary priests. It will be found, however, that in practice this distinction is extremely difficult to maintain. As a matter of fact those who were never under any suspicion of treason, and those on whose lives a price was always set, were in close and familiar intercourse; so that either the loyal must have been much less loyal, or the traitors much less traitorous,

¹ 'That so beginning their proceedings with the service and worship of God, He might the better bless them in all their consultations and actions' (D'Ewes, *Journal*, 282; 21 January, 1581). This sounds very well: but it had been the custom of the House since the first year of the reign to begin the day's work with the Litany and other prayers (ibid. 47, 156), and these had been already said on the very day when Paul Wentworth brought forward this motion. He now wished a sermon added (of about an hour and a half, as the usual time for assembling was 8.30), under the curious theory, so prevalent at this time, that men honoured God more by listening to a sermon about Him than by offering their prayers and praises. The fast day, it may be added, was fixed for Sunday; an ordinance utterly opposed both to the theory and practice of Christian antiquity.

² S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxlvii. 47, and S. P. Dom. Jas. I. ii. 70.

³ Izaak Walton, *Life of Hooker* (ed. Keble), i. 24.

⁴ Ibid.

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than has been supposed. The records of this county bring out this point very clearly.

In 1577 it was reported by the justices of the peace in Buckinghamshire that there were none here that refused to come to church.¹ But in 1583 in a list of persons noted as 'harbourers of Papists and seminaries,'² are found four names belonging to this county, namely, Gifford of Steeple Claydon, Mercer of Middle Claydon, Dormer of Wing, and Peckham (the first two re-appear in the recusant Roll of 1594); to these is added in another list³ which follows the name of Browne⁴ of Boarstall. It was said of all these that they habitually entertained certain priests named, and also offered a refuge to any that might come their way. There is however no record of any proceedings instituted against these persons. About 1584 Mistress Isabel Hampden of Stoke Poges and her family withdrew from their parish church, and fell under the suspicion of Paul Wentworth of Burnham.⁵ In 1585 Sir Robert Dormer, as sheriff of Buckinghamshire, was ordered to draw up a list of recusants for his shire, that they might be compelled to pay their fines and provide horses for the queen's service⁶; and now twenty-two names were sent in, representing fifteen well-known families, the only one of interest outside this county being that of Thomas Throgmorton.⁷ It may be noticed that they do not include any of those suspected in 1583 except William Mercer of East Claydon. Ten of those reported at this time offered to pay certain sums varying from 10s. to £100, as composition for the enormous fines actually due by the law of the land.⁸ In 1587 John Gardiner of Grove Place, Bucks, was imprisoned in the Gatehouse for aiding and sheltering priests; his

¹ S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxviii. 9.

² Ibid. clxviii. 33.

³ Ibid. 34. The Dormer here mentioned is Sir Robert, afterwards Baron Dormer of Wing. Letters of Sir Francis Englefield to the Duchess of Feria in 1570 show plainly how Sir William Dormer in his old age was in danger of falling away from the Roman Catholic interest. He is said to be 'beset by heretics' (such as the Earl of Bedford), so that he breathes their spirit: 'the use of ill company and the lack of all good occasions of reviving a man's slow devotion to good things in time corrupts the very mind, affection and soul.' It was hoped at the same time that his son's marriage with a daughter of Lord Montague would make him 'a pillar to the family that shall succeed in that realm.' Ibid. xviii. 44, 45. This marriage did not however make Sir Robert an open recusant; but it kept him within the old circle, and he married all his children into Roman Catholic families.

⁴ The Brownes of Boarstall were probably related to Anthony Browne, Lord Montague.

⁵ S. P. Dom. Eliz. clxvii. 47.

⁶ Ibid. clxxxiii. 32.

⁷ The Throgmortons of Weston Underwood seem to have been another branch of the same family which was mixed up with so many of the suspicious correspondences of this reign. It was probably on account of this connection that they had now and later to pay much larger fines than other people, though not personally concerned, so far as can be yet discovered, in any conspiracy. The same Thomas Throgmorton who now paid £100 a year, had to pay £20 in 1607 instead of two-thirds of his estate. The best known of the other names are Mansfield of Taplow, Penn of Penn, Lee of Pitstone, Hampden of Stoke Poges, Butler and Belson of Brill.

⁸ Ibid. clxxxviii. 32. John Butler of Brill, offering £4 a year for his whole family, says that even this amount is almost beyond his power, since his Oxfordshire estates had been seized three years since by the sheriff on a writ of excommunication, and he had been forced to go and live in a cottage on an income of 40 marks a year at the uttermost. Austin Belson of Brill declared he had neither lands, goods nor cattle, and could not even provide a light horse. Avic Lee of Pitstone solved the difficulty by going to church and obtaining a certificate of conformity. Ibid. clxxxiii. 32. The real fine, £240, was beyond the total income of most of the ordinary county gentry; hence the necessity of these compositions.

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ultimate fate is uncertain.¹ In 1589 Thomas Belson of Brill, with his servant, was executed at Oxford for the same offence.² In 1594 there is another official list of sixteen persons (mostly women) from whom large fines were due for recusancy.³

There are also some instances in the history of this county of the suspicion with which such persons were regarded by some of their neighbours, and of the eagerness with which information against them was accepted and followed up.

In 1584 a search was instituted by Paul Wentworth in the house of Isabel Hampden of Stoke Poges, the gates being guarded all the time that no one might come in or go out; even a messenger who came from London during the day was arrested and searched. There still remains among the State Papers a pathetic list of innocent books, pictures and *objets de piété* carried off on this occasion,⁴ the only serious item being 'a copy of the pope's letter'—presumably one of those on the question of allegiance.

Again in 1586 the house of Sir Christopher Browne at Boarstall was suddenly entered by John Croke, justice of the peace, and others (early in the morning, so that the inhabitants might have no chance of a warning), and searched from attic to cellar, from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., the gates being guarded all the time.⁵ This was on the information of one 'Hugh Davies, minister, of Boarstall,' who had been recently at Oxford with George Browne, and had sometimes served as domestic chaplain to another member of the same family. The information laid by Davies led to the expectation of some treasonable correspondence,⁶ but nothing of this kind was found; a fact which raised in the mind of Master Croke a strong suspicion—not that it had never existed, but that it had all been destroyed! One *Agnus Dei*, and a

¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxcix. 4.

² Dr. F. G. Lee, *The Church under Queen Elizabeth*, 355.

³ P.R.O. *Recusant Roll* No. 1 (Bucks). The names of Gifford, Throgmorton, Belson, Butler, still appear. The sums due vary from £240 to £300.

⁴ S. P. Dom. Eliz. clxvii. 47 (26 Jan. 1584), e.g. a tablet of gold with a picture on it; a pair of beads; a picture of Christ; an instruction to sing mass; a book called *Officium beatae Mariae*, etc. These articles were of course contraband under the Act of 1571, which made them incur *praemunire* who possessed such things (Strype, *Annals*, ii. 69). *A Confutation of Master Jewel's Book* was doubtless dangerous: and even *A Testament of the new translation at Rheims* (the work of Gregory Martin, issued 1582, and the basis of the Douay version) might contain a perversion of the true gospel and so do a benighted papist more harm than good.

⁵ S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxcii. 52-54. They searched 'coffers, cupboards, closets, trunks, caskets and secret places,' breaking open all locked doors 'for lack of keys.'

⁶ Davies reported words of George Browne to the effect that if he were ever in such an affair as Babington's, he would manage it with better success. Further statements of Davies do not however add much to our respect for his evidence. He said that for two or three years past George Browne, his friend Robert Atkins, and a servant of theirs had been urging him to forsake the ministry of the Anglican Church and to go and be ordained at Rheims that he might come back to England and do much good, by reconciling people to the true faith. He had not consented to this, but yet had not liked altogether to refuse, because Browne had livings at his command, one of which he had hoped to obtain. This is the account which Davies gives of his own motives: and it seems not unnatural to wonder whether chagrin at the failure of his hopes from Browne had not led him to lay this information against one whose well-known views would make him specially liable to suspicion. It is also evident that Davies was familiar with the ordinary Roman arguments of that time—how the queen had the tenths, and therefore his was but a 'political and temporary,' or rather 'Machiavelous religion.'

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few images of alabaster and wood provided material for a bonfire ; of 'divers papistical books' the 'worst and most portable' were sent up to the Privy Council ; and there the matter apparently ended.

The increase of recusants from 1577 to 1586 was no doubt due to the activity of the Jesuits and seminary priests ; the names of half a dozen or so are mentioned as connected in different ways with this county.¹ It is worth noticing that some of those who bore the worst characters in the official reports were harboured and countenanced by gentlemen of undoubted loyalty, and sometimes retained by them for years as domestic chaplains. The Dormers of Wing were never suspected of any treason, and indeed contrived to keep themselves out of the recusant lists of this county all through the reign—probably by occasional conformity² ; but they had in their house as a resident chaplain a priest who had been associated with the Babington family,³ just as Lord Montague,⁴ another gentleman who never fell under suspicion, connected with the Dormers by a double marriage, harboured some traitors of the deepest dye, who were sought in vain for the prison and the gallows. Further than this, members of these very families, the Dormers and the Brownes, a Lee of Pitstone, and probably one of the Penns of Penn, were allowed to enter the Society of Jesus,⁵ their parents presumably knowing to what atrocities (if so it were) their vows would bind them, and the shameful death which they must face if they returned to England. These facts are capable indeed of a double inter-

¹ Seven are named in S. P. Dom. Eliz. clxviii. 33 as 'harboured' by gentlemen of this county in 1584. In a list of 1586 amongst those imprisoned in the Counter prison is one Davies, a 'notable corrupter,' who conducted Campion, Parsons and Edwards throughout England : he it was who 'corrupted' William Fytton, his mother-in-law (Isabel Hampden of Stoke), and all their family with divers others. He afterwards escaped (S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxcv. 72-74).

² This may have been easier for them to manage than for some people, as they had the advowson of the parish church of Wing. The names of all their children are entered in the parish register, every one marked with the sign of the cross, which does not occur in any other entries.

³ His name was Harris : according to the confession of another priest, Robert Gray, he had had much to do with Lady Babington. He had a chamber at Wing, from which he never came out, but the family visited him there. S. P. Dom. Eliz. ccxlv. 98, 138.

⁴ Lord Montague was one of the lords temporal who opposed the Act of Uniformity in 1559. Robert Gray, a priest imprisoned for the second time in 1593, was for some years his chaplain at Cowdray (perhaps he may have been in the house even during the queen's visit), and went with him to visit his son-in-law, Sir Robert Dormer, at Wing. A Jesuit, Fr. Curry, was often at Cowdray, and Alban Dolman (in Newgate in 1586, and called a 'notorious villayne' in S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxcv. 72-74), as well as others. Gray knew all the Jesuits and priests about London, Surrey and Bucks, and their haunts. This much is his own confession. His papers were said to contain recommendations to Catholics to dissemble and go to church and to Parliament, so as to destroy the laws. This however is only at second hand, on the evidence of Richard Topcliffe, the priest-finder.

⁵ Brother William Browne, who died a novice, was the son of a sister of Sir Robert Dormer, and a brother of Lord Montague. H. Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province*, ii. 429, 433. Brother John Dormer (ibid. i. 132) was probably a grandson of Sir Robert, son of his daughter Mrs. Huddleston. Brother Thomas Penn occurs in another list (ibid. i. 436). Father Roger Lee had the chief responsibility of converting Mary Moulsoe, the heiress of Gayhurst, in this county, and her husband Sir Everard Digby (ibid. i. 462). Father Anthony Greenaway of Leckhampstead was of humbler parentage (ibid. i. 466). The object of the Jesuits was, quite frankly, the conversion of England ; we may not think England wanted converting, but they were of a different opinion, and it must be owned that their convictions brought them little reward or consolation in this world. The other priests, so far as the evidence of this county goes, seem to have lived in considerable danger and discomfort mainly for the sake of ministering to their brethren and sisters in the faith. Foley's *Records of the English Province* has furnished a good many of the references given above ; but in the case of the State Papers they have all been personally verified.

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pretation ; but the solution of the problem does not properly come within the scope of a work like this.¹

There are but scanty accounts of the changes made in the outward appearance and in the services of the Church at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign ; it is, however, generally acknowledged that these were gradual, and that the vestments and other ornaments recovered during the reign of Mary were not laid aside at once. It is probable that except in remote parts of the country the altars were removed and tables substituted very soon : the Churchwardens' Account Book at Wing, where the Roman interest was strong, notes that the altars in that church were kept up beyond the appointed time, but that is only till 1561.² The rood had to be removed with the images in 1559³ ; but the rood loft did not come down till 1562.⁴ The reading pew and desk, an outward and visible sign that mattins had supplanted mass as the chief Sunday service, appeared in 1571⁵ ; but not till 1582 were the walls completely whitewashed and painted with texts after the approved fashion.⁶ Other churches would carry out the same changes more or less rapidly, according to the particular views of incumbents and patrons. Towards the end of the reign great unsightly pews, often placed in such position that the rarely used chancel was quite invisible from the body of the church, began to be erected everywhere.⁷

There is a report of the archdeaconry in 1584-5⁸ which gives an idea of the state of the churches at this time, and serves as a connecting link between the early part of this century and the next. Out of twenty-nine churches, in which some default or other is noticed, seven had the chancels in bad repair and four the walls or windows. In seven churches the rector was non-resident : in one of these no curate whatever was sent to supply his place, so that there were no services ; in two others there were only occasional services. At Weston Turville and Quainton there was no distribution of alms to the poor. At Drayton Parslow the rector was a 'common quarreller at the law' and a fre-

¹ It is only fair to mention that there are signs even in the history of this county of some confusion or distortion of the moral sense among English Roman Catholics at this time, whether due to the priests or no : e.g. Lady Hungerford writes to her sister the Duchess of Feria in 1602 asking her to receive a certain Mr. Butler, a 'reconciled Catholic,' who had (on great occasion, as he thought) committed a crime for which he was constrained to leave his country. S. P. Dom. Eliz. cclxxxiv. 26.

² On f. 64 a payment of 8*d.* is entered 'To the sumner to keep us from Lincoln for slackness of our altars.' Immediately after a table appears amongst the items bought.

³ On f. 61 after 'a Book for ministering of the Sacrament in English' comes 'Taking down of the rood,' both in 1559.

⁴ On f. 65 (1562) are items 'Taking down of our wod loft,' and 'Taking away the rubble of our altars and laying down the stone of the altar again.'

⁵ Ibid. f. 74.

⁶ Ibid. f. 85*d.* It is a great pity that so few of these Churchwardens' Books are preserved. They contain much interesting indirect evidence as to the ritual and services of the time. At Wing for instance from 1559 onwards there is no account of the mending of any vestment but the surplice ; and the frequent mention of the 'Midsomer communion' as well as those of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, makes it probable that there were only four celebrations in the year. There is evidence that the church was regularly repaired, and alms paid to the poor on All Souls' Day, through most of the reign of Elizabeth.

⁷ There is a plan of Chetwode Church 'temp. Elizabeth' printed from Browne Willis's MSS. in *Records of Bucks*, iii. 214, where three large pews stand between the altar and the choir.

⁸ Among the episcopal records in the Alnwick Tower at Lincoln.

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quenter of ale-houses ; at Ashendon a ' quarreller and unquiet man, not fit to serve any cure.' At Chesham the minister would not wear the surplice ; at Thornton there was no surplice to wear, nor even a cloth for the communion table. At Cheddington they had no sermons ; at Water Stratford it was complained that ' they lack their quarterly sermon,' showing what was the minimum requirement in this particular. At Edlesborough they had ' no table of commandments '—a decoration which had evidently already become necessary. Week-day services, and especially the reading of the Litany on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, seem to have been quite customary : only one or two omissions of these are noticed.

It seems that the churches of this county were generally poorly endowed at this time : several which had been completely appropriated by religious houses, and had no vicarage ordained, were left without any regular endowment.¹ It is noticed in the account of the four churches of this county which belonged to the diocese of London² that they were ' not able to maintain a preacher ' besides the vicar : the average income of a parish priest seems to have been still £5 to £10 a year.³

Four churches were lost to the county during this reign : Creslow and Filgrave, with the free chapels of Okeney and Petsoe. The last two, as well as Creslow, had become sinecures, owing to the shifting of the population. The church of Filgrave was still available for use in 1585, though the services had ceased through the neglect of the rector ; but it is probable that nothing was done to supply the need, for in 1636, when it was visited by delegates from the High Commission Court, there was no roof remaining, and trees were growing on the walls.⁴

This county was connected by one slight link with an important event at the beginning of the next century. The pilgrimage made to St. Winifred's well in Flintshire by several members of the families of Vaux and Digby, joined by Rookwood and others of his fellow-conspirators and conducted by Father Garnett, began and ended at Sir Everard Digby's house at Gayhurst about a month before the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.⁵ Robert Catesby had visited the same house about a year before. The details of the further development of the plot, and the flight of the conspirators, belong to the history of other counties. Something of suspicion, however, seems to have clung for a long time to the house at Gayhurst. Nearly twenty-five years later the foolish words of a boy, a mole-catcher's son who lived in the neighbour-

¹ Especially the churches which had once belonged to Nutley Abbey—Chetwode, Barton Harts-horn, Hillesden, Chearsley, Chilton, Dorton, as well as Biddlesden, Boarstall, Brill, Little Lynford—had still no endowment in 1652 at the time of the Surveys then taken.

² Winslow, Abbots Aston, Grandborough and Little Horwood.

³ See records of the archdeaconry of St. Albans, in the watch-loft of the abbey church.

⁴ The last institution to Creslow was in 1554 (Add. MS. 5840, f. 10) and to Petsoe in 1560 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bullingham, 19). Petsoe was returned as ' nec ecclesia nec populus ' in 1561 (Add. MS. 5839, f. 73d-74). Filgrave appears in the Visitation of 1585 mentioned above ; for its state in 1636 see S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cccxvi. 39.

⁵ Jardine, *True History of the Gunpowder Plot*, 180 and elsewhere.

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hood, were repeated and made the foundation of a story which spread all over the country-side—how Sir Kenelm Digby had sent his mother a great store of arms, which was now laid up in her house, and how there was to be a great rising of Papists in Gayhurst grounds as soon as the King and his army were well out of the way in Scotland.¹ It was Lady Digby herself who had the matter sifted to the bottom; but the story gives some idea of the impression made by the plot on the popular mind.

It was not, however, from the Papists² that the Church in Buckinghamshire had most to fear at this time. A visitation of the archdeaconry in 1612³ shows a very different source of danger. Nine⁴ churches were seriously out of repair, and in all but two⁵ of these cases it was by the default not of the priest but of the people. At Datchet many of the roof tiles were missing, and the rain came in; at Wavendon the seats were in decay, and the windows wanted glass in many places, so that 'starlings and other fowl' came in and defiled the church, while even the Bible was torn and defective; at Iver it rained even upon the communion table, and the pulpit was so ruinous that the steps to it were unsafe; at Chalfont St. Peter one side of the church was 'so broken that a hog may creep through.' In a few cases it was complained that the people were not provided with sermons: more often that the preachers were not licensed. At Chenies the rector refused to wear the surplice and administered the sacrament to seated communicants; at Great Marlow the vicar was said to be a man of evil life and a harbourer of recusants; he certainly had a difficult parish to deal with.⁶ A certain number of people were reported as refusing to come to church, or for working on Sabbaths and holy days.⁷ The four churches which were in the archdeaconry of St. Albans were in better condition, being under the supervision of the vicar of Winslow, a

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccxxxvii. 27-30, 42, 60; ccxxxviii. 33, 85. The story reads rather like the fable of the hen's feather. It seems to have arisen from the remark of an ostler that before the king returned there would be 'much hurly burly and many a fatherless child': which the boy repeated as 'Supposing men should go over their shoe tops in blood before Whitsuntide next?' with dark insinuations of things his father knew about Lady Digby; and this grew in a short time in the mouths of parsons and attorneys of Northamptonshire into an elaborate and connected story. The last stage of it is pitiful enough: for it ends with a petition from Richard Sawyer, mole catcher, and Robert Johnson, for release from the Fleet prison, where they seem to have been for some long time, on the ground that they were 'miserable poor men, in wonderful distress, with nothing to live by but their labours.' They had starved already unless they had been something relieved by poor men, themselves prisoners in the same room.

² There are instances just at this time of a new method of dealing with recusants. In 1608 and 1610 the king granted to courtiers and others 'the benefit of the recusancy' of the Mansfields of Taplow, Alice Penn, Austin Belson and others. There might be reason for compelling recusants to pay fines to the State: there could be no sort of excuse for thus making them a source of profit to their fellow-subjects. *Cal. of State Papers*, Jas. I. xxi. 48, liii., lvii.

³ Visitation Reports at Lincoln.

⁴ Horton, Langley Marish, Twyford, Simpson, Hanslope, as well as those mentioned above.

⁵ Hanslope and Iver; the latter served at this time by a man who could not prove his orders, and altogether in bad condition.

⁶ His accuser was himself accused of having 'married clandestine' and without the ring: he denied this but owned he had said, 'Thou art more fit to feed swine in the field than people in the church.' There were seven puritan and three Roman recusants in the parish, and it was full of complaints.

⁷ At Stony Stratford a woman was presented for a 'common scold,' and another for ringing a passing bell by way of a joke.

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strong churchman, who sent in yearly reports of their repair and general condition to the archdeacon.¹

One or two inventories of this time show the churches were very poorly furnished.² A vivid picture of their general appearance may be gathered from a visitation of 1636, of which an account will be given in its right place; and as there is no evidence of any sudden change, but only of a general declension, it is probable that they possessed very much the same furniture in 1600. The only articles of value seem to have been a silver 'communion cup' and cover: the flagon, if it existed, being very often of pewter.³

The state of things described in this visitation of 1612 serves to illustrate the sermons of a preacher of the day, Thomas Adams, who was vicar of Wingrave at about this time. He complains that the people 'grudged at every penny' they were taxed for at levies for church expenses (the justice of this charge is manifested by the gradual decay of the churches), and that they seemed to think it was enough to have bare walls and a cover to keep them from rain; 'aliquid ornatus is but superfluous, except it be a cushion and a wainscot seat for a gentleman's better ease,' while 'the greatest preparation usually against some solemn feast is but a little fresh straw under the feet; the ordinary allowance for hogs in the sty and horses in the stable.'⁴ In another place he complains of the unfaithfulness of the churchwardens, who were of course largely responsible for this neglect: 'drunkenness, uncleanness, swearing, profanation of the Sabbath go abroad all the year, and when the visitation comes they are locked up with an omnia bene.'⁵ A similar complaint was made a few years later by Dr. John Andrewes, vicar of Beaconsfield, in a letter to the chancellor of Lincoln, where he says that unless churchwardens and sworn men be severely proceeded against according to the canons for their 'wilful, common and execrable perjury,' there would never be any reformation of their misdemeanours. For they usually

¹ MS. Records of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans.

² There is one for Wing in the Churchwardens' Book, f. 115, comprising, besides books, only a silver cup and cover, two surplices, two 'communion carpets' and linen for the altar with a 'font cloth.' At Amersham in 1603 they had besides the communion cup a great pewter pot and a quart pot, a hearse cloth, a cloth for the pulpit, two carpets for the communion table, and two linen cloths, besides books, chest and small articles (*Records of Bucks*, vii. 50). At Winslow in 1638, when all was in good order, they had very little more than this. It is natural to wonder what had become of the ornaments which most churches possessed in 1558. They were probably nothing like so numerous or valuable at any time during Mary's reign as before 1552; yet there was never any official confiscation afterwards, and it is hard to account for their mysterious disappearance in the course of the century. The vestments might moulder away on the damp shelves of ill-kept sacristies, or be made up into 'communion carpets'—at Beachampton even in the eighteenth century there were two copes, of which one served as an altar—the other as a pulpit-cloth: but what had become of the crosses, the candlesticks, the censers? The same book at Wing which shows their existence in 1553-8 witnesses to their absence in 1600.

There are items in the Amersham Book just quoted which suggest the love-feasts of the primitive Church rather than the Holy Communion. In 1603 two or even three 'rundletts' of wine, each containing ten gallons, were ordered for the church on three different occasions (*Records of Bucks*, vii. 50).

³ In the visitation articles of 1635 for this archdeaconry it was appointed to be inquired whether each church had a flagon of 'pewter or better metal' (S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cccviii. 50). In the visitation report of 1637 it was stated that several churches had no flagon at all. *Ibid.* ccclxvi. 79, and ccclxix. 59.

⁴ Thomas Adams, *Sermons*, p. 627.

⁵ *Ibid.* 938.

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presented 'omnia bene' in his own parish, where he could testify that there was almost *nothing* in order.¹

The truth of the matter was that such men as Adams and Andrewes were distinctly in the minority in this county: not only their churchwardens and their congregations, but their brother clergy and the majority of the local gentry had embraced a wholly different religious ideal.² These latter had but one idea in coming to church, and that was to hear sermons. Thomas Adams, himself a notable preacher, complains 'not that our churches are auditories, but that they are not oratories'; and begs his audience to remember that 'all our preaching is to beget your praying, to instruct you to praise and worship God'; and that 'the end is ever held more noble than the means.' This testimony is of the more value as it comes from one who had no secret sympathies with Rome, who never loses an opportunity, indeed, of abusing the pope and his adherents with all the violence of epithet common in those days. John Andrewes had a good deal to say on the same subject. He was one of those who sympathized strongly with the efforts after a truer reform that were being made by the clergy who had been brought up in the school of Hooker, and were now led by Archbishop Laud: he had a clear idea and appreciation of the priestly office,⁴ and to him 'the best part of God's service' was not the sermon but the Holy Eucharist.⁵ But it is very evident that he stood very much alone, and that nearly all the clergy and gentry of his neighbourhood were against him.⁶ His efforts to revive the practice of catechizing in the afternoons, instead of giving another sermon, had been almost isolated: the vicar of Chalfont St. Peter, who wished to follow his example, was 'violently importuned' by his congregation to give them another preaching, and was 'so overawed by the justices and clergy of those parts' that he was fain to yield,

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxix. 36, and cclxxxvi. 86. The former letter is of great interest, explaining the state of Beaconsfield and that part of the county in detail, and the vain efforts of Andrewes to cope with his opponents as well as his own parishioners.

² As a trifling balance to all this it should be recorded that in 1610 a new church was built at Fulmer (where there had once been a chapel before the Reformation) by Sir Marmaduke Dayrell (*Records of Bucks*, ii. 85-91); and that the chapel at Tattenhoe was rebuilt in 1635 under the patronage of Thomas Stafford (*Cal. of State Papers Chas. I.* 1635, cccxvii. 76).

³ Adams goes on, 'I complain not that you come to sermons . . . but that you neglect public prayer, as if it were only God's part to bless you, and not yours to bless God'; and calls it 'an error of our times' that many were so transported with desire of hearing that they forgot the 'fervency of praying and praising God.'

⁴ He speaks of his 'good neighbour Mr. Foster' as 'learned in the canon law, a true son of the Church of England . . . no man can be of a more unblameable life, of a graver priest-like carriage, none more observant of the laws of the church' (S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccxci. 87). He is careful always to use the word *priest* where his puritan brethren spoke of *ministers*, adding once, when he had been quoting one of these, '*here are no priests.*' (Ibid. cclxxxvii. 31.)

⁵ In the last-mentioned letter he speaks of a man being arrested for debt 'within the Church, and when he was purposed to have received the Blessed Sacrament, and while the best part of God's service was in doing (viz. the celebration of the Holy Eucharist) . . . as he was going up to the high altar.' All these phrases mark him as belonging to the Laudian school.

⁶ The fewness of the clergy ejected during the Commonwealth in this county bears witness to this; the fact that the county declared finally for the Parliament tends the same way.

⁷ From a letter of Andrewes to Archbishop Laud, 13 June, 1636 (S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cccxxvi. 18). He says also that where catechizing was done the children were instructed usually in 'Perkins' Six Principles,' and not the Church catechism.

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while the vicar of High Wycombe, a notable puritan, openly proclaimed that they were 'lazy, unconscionable, ambitious ministers' who would not preach twice on a Sunday.¹ The habit of wandering from church to church for the sake of hearing sermons was alluded to in a letter of Dr. Farmery to Archbishop Laud as common in this county.²

As might be expected, the king's unfortunate 'Book of Sports' gave great offence in Buckinghamshire, and a large number of incumbents refused to read it from the pulpit³: three were even suspended for so doing,⁴ the most notable of these being Thomas Valentine of Chalfont St. Giles,⁵ afterwards a member of the Assembly of Divines.⁶ Some who did read it expressed their disapproval of it in other ways, as, for instance, by concluding with a prayer—'We beseech Thee, Good Lord, stand up and defend Thy sabbaths from profanation'⁷—and the like. The gentry insisted on holding musters in the churchyards (John Hampden and Sir Edmund Verney, who afterwards took opposite sides in the national quarrel, were both notable offenders in this respect); and if the clergy appealed against this, their patrons would 'storm like so many termagants.'⁸ Elections of parish officers were often held in the churches with much 'brabbling and jangling.'⁹ There was also a growing contempt for holy days, and terrible irreverence in church at divine service; not only did the majority refuse to bow at the holy name, but they usually sat through the whole service and sermon (sometimes with their hats on throughout), or even lay full length along their pews. It is easy to see how acts of this kind, proceeding in the case of some from conscientious scruples, would be imitated by many who neither cared for God nor regarded man. A justice of the peace, one of the very few who sympathized with the Laudian revival, remarked to

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cccxxvi. 18. Gerard Dobson was vicar, and continued during the Commonwealth.

² 'That sort of people that run from their own parishes after affected preachers are the most troublesome . . . especially in Buckingham and Bedfordshires, where they find great abettors.' S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxi. 82. There are instances given under the visitation of 1635, *ibid.* cxcvi. 6.

³ This we know from the Metropolitan Visitation of 1634, *ibid.* cclxxiv. 12; and Andrewes in his letter to Sir John Lambe said the book was read by very few incumbents in the deaneries of Burnham, Wycombe and Wendover; *ibid.* cclxxxvi. 86.

⁴ Gladman of Chesham, Worcester of Olney, Valentine of Chalfont St. Giles. Of the first case no details are given. The Vicar of Olney sent constables to stop the dancing in his parish after evensong, and then refused to read the Book of Sports. He was suspended 1 July, 1636; but after some shuffling read the book on 1 November. S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cccviii. 25 and cccxxxv. 19. This account is Sir John Lambe's.

⁵ He was suspended in 1635 first, and apparently gave in shortly after and let his curate read the book. In 1636 he fell again under suspicion, and in spite of attempts to bribe Sir John Lambe and a petition sent in by twenty-eight of his parishioners, was again suspended, and an act of sequestration was entered and executed against him later. In July 1638 he petitioned Archbishop Laud on the ground that he ought not to be freshly punished for the same offence. The matter was referred again to Sir John Lambe, who was requested by the archbishop to absolve Valentine temporarily until it was seen whether he seriously intended to amend. He was absolved 13 July. This account is mainly taken from Valentine's own petition, S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cccxcv. 37, 49; and also from *ibid.* cccxix. 62 (a letter to Sir John Lambe, endorsed '£5 bribe enclosed') cccxxxv. 19, etc. Bishop Williams' quarrel with Sir John Lambe further complicated this affair.

⁶ *Records of Bucks*, vi. 65.

⁷ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxxvi. 86 (Andrewes to Laud).

⁸ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. clxxiii. 4 (misplaced because carelessly dated 1624: see *Records of Bucks*, vii. 101).

⁹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxxix. 36.

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Dr. Andrewes just after the metropolitanical visitation of 1634 that no *gentleman*, and but very few others of lower rank, sat uncovered or kneeled at prayers.¹ There were disorders of other kinds: the curates of Biddlesden and Stone and the rector of Grove were censured at about the same time for abetting secret marriages—marrying people ‘in gloves and masks.’² It was not indeed without cause that Sir Nathanael Brent at the visitation above named, reported that ‘this corner of the diocese, being most distant, is much suspected of Puritanism.’³ John Andrewes had written just before to the chancellor of Lincoln, ‘Good sir, for the honour of God and the love to Jesus Christ, I beseech you to do your endeavour, that we all, both priests and people, may walk after one rule, and not every Jack to overrule the Church laws.’⁴ The ecclesiastical authorities certainly did their endeavour, at the metropolitanical visitation of 1634 and at others which followed during the next few years, but the mischief had gone too far. Much was hoped from the coming of Sir Nathanael Brent in August 1634; Sir Edmund Verney⁵ and John Hampden⁶ both made apology for their misdemeanours; but in the October following Andrewes complained that though ‘the injunctions of Mr. Vicar General’ were kept ‘even by the dreadful grandees of our parish’ for a day or two, yet as soon as he had turned his back, things went back to their old way.⁷ One whom he met out riding asked him ‘in sober sadness’ whether the orders of Sir Nathanael were seriously intended to be kept; for neither clergymen nor laymen (especially gentlemen and men of wealth) would keep them, but laughed and jeered at them.⁸ The talk of the common people⁹ showed where their sympathies lay: ‘yourself,’ writes Andrewes to Sir John Lambe, ‘are banned and cursed to the pit of hell for suspending Mr. Gladman of Chesham and Mr. Valentine of Chalfont St. Giles. Oh how severely will God exact at your hands the blood of so many souls which must necessarily (notwithstanding Mr. Calvin’s predestination) be damned for want of these bible-babble sermons! “These priests and bishops, they set them to vex the godly. As for Mr. Foster, Mr. Askew, Mr. Langley, Mr. Wright, if these stay long they will bring the whole country to the papist orders of the canons and such fopperies.”’¹⁰ Andrewes writes with the bitter energy of a man who fights in a losing cause; and if his words were unsupported by other evidence we might suspect them of exaggeration. But the visitation reports of 1634, 1635 and 1637 show that the account he gives of the state of the

¹ S. P. Dom Chas. I. cclxxix. 36, and cclxxxvi. 86; and also a case in the visitation of 1637.

² It may be noticed that these three had to live on very small stipends and were more open to such temptations. S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxiv. 12. ³ Ibid.

⁴ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxxvi. 86.

⁵ At the Metropolitanical Visitation.

⁶ Hampden was accused at the same time, but made his peace with Sir Nathanael Brent privately. Ibid. cclxxvi. 35.

⁷ Ibid. Jas. I. clxxiii. 4. ⁸ Ibid. Chas. I. cclxxxvi. 86.

⁹ The gardener of one of Andrewes’ neighbours took upon himself to accuse the Catechism of containing false doctrine because of the words ‘hath redeemed me and *all mankind*.’

¹⁰ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxxvii. 31. John Wright was vicar of Burnham. Foster had some connection with the ecclesiastical courts in Bucks, and was a friend of Andrewes (S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccxci. 16).

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county was not too highly coloured. It is impossible in a short sketch like this to speak of all these in detail,¹ but that of 1637 cannot be passed over, as it shows not only the condition of the churches at that time, but the very moderate uniformity to which the authorities wished to reduce them.

The report² gives an account of 111 churches and 5 parochial chapels; the important towns of Buckingham, Aylesbury and High Wycombe are not however included in the survey. The details are so full that it is difficult to make a fair selection from them; and yet a mere summary cannot produce anything like the impression left upon the mind of one who reads them through steadily from beginning to end. There are only three out of all the churches here named with which but little fault could be found; at Dorton all that was ordered was a new service book for the clerk; at Grendon Underwood no school was to be kept thenceforward in the church; at Weston Turville a linen cloth was to be provided for the communion table. Six others, though not in good order, were at least in decent repair³; all the rest presented a picture of neglect, decay and ruin beyond description.⁴

The interior of one of these Buckinghamshire churches of 1637 (we may fairly hope that there was nothing worse to be seen in any other part of the kingdom) would have presented a strange and unfamiliar appearance to any one accustomed even to the least ornate of our modern churches. Looking from the west door towards the altar he would have seen a motley assembly of wooden pews, varying in size and height according to the taste of the owner; some six feet high, some seven, some nine; some roofed in, and others not. The intervening spaces were filled with benches for public use, men on one side and women on the other, very often broken in the boards or in the flooring, and in many cases so arranged that their occupants sat with their backs to the altar. As to the altar itself, it was probably invisible; even if the pulpit or some great pew did not obstruct the view, there was a solid boarded partition between the chancel and the church, and beyond that perhaps a great family tomb standing in the middle of the

¹ The metropolitan visitation has been already referred to. A visitation of 1635 is contained in S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccxcvi. 6, 13, 17. It contains presentations for recusancy (both Romanist and Puritan), working on Sundays and holy days, irreverence in church and various deficiencies in churches and ornaments: nothing out of the common. There is another for the whole diocese of Lincoln in 1638 (ibid. ccclxxxvii. 68).

² It is contained in S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccclxvi. 79, and ccclxix. 59, and has been printed in full in *Records of Bucks*, vii.

³ Amersham, Fulmer, Beachampton, Whitchurch, Buckland and Chalfont St. Peter. The last however needed whitewashing. Fulmer was only built in 1610, so had not had time to get out of repair. All these however required alterations as to the height of pews, etc. The steeple cross of Marsh Gibbon was leaning over on one side, but no other repairs needed—only alterations in the pews. The church of Wing is not mentioned in this list, and may have been in good condition; the churchwardens' book shows that repairs were done during the few years previous to the visitation.

⁴ At Bledlow, where it was noticed that the seats in the chancel were broken, the chancel needed paving; one window was entirely stopped up and another in part, besides others broken in both church and chancel: the seats in the church in decay in backs, benches and bottoms; the lead in the south aisle in decay so that it rained into Sir Richard More's seat, where there was a 'piece of a coach'; and it rained in also at the west end of the church. This case is not conspicuous. There were plenty more.

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sanctuary.¹ The actual fabric of most of the churches was seriously in decay; many wanted new lead for the roof, where the rain came in; pillars and buttresses were crumbling, walls sometimes black with moisture, and seventy-four at least had one or more of the windows broken and dammed up with boards or straw. The pavements were sunk and uneven; huge funeral monuments darkened the windows which remained unbroken. Only in four cases,² it should be mentioned, was the altar out of its proper place, and only in two were the rails absolutely wanting: what the visitors had to deal with was a general disorder and decay.³

Their requirements may be briefly summed up. Actual decay and ruin must of course be repaired; but beyond this a minimum of uniformity was desired, which most Churchmen of the present day would think very moderate. The pews must be reduced to one level,⁴ and the eastern benches transformed from seats into desks; the walls must be whitewashed and painted with sentences from Holy Scripture; the communion table must be in good condition,⁵ and stand altar-wise against the wall, covered with a 'carpet,' if possible of silk, and fringed⁶; over it⁷ must hang not the King's arms,⁸ nor some gentleman's arms,⁹ but the Ten Commandments neatly framed. The rails must extend from wall to wall, and a kneeling-bench must be placed below them that the communicants might have no excuse for standing. The pulpit must have a cushion upon it 'well stuffed with feathers,' and provided with tassels, and a fringed cloth to match the 'carpet.' There must be a surplice and a hood for the priest, a linen cloth and napkin for the altar, a chalice with a cover, a flagon, a bier and a hearse cloth. Every church must possess, as well as the Bible and service book, a copy of the canons and the homilies, and

¹ This was noticed at Iver, Great Marlow, Swanbourne, Lillingstone Dayrell, Thornton (where there was also an elder tree growing on the roof of the church), Datchet, Langley Marish.

² At Hardwick and Swanbourne the table was not set altarwise: at Kingsey it had benches all round it: at Buckland and Bow Brickhill Chapel it stood out in the chancel quite away from the wall.

³ Those who may think this picture overdrawn are invited to read the original. It is rather difficult to fix on the very worst church for description, but perhaps Wyardisbury may be selected as one of the worst. There were two windows dammed up in the chancel and several in the north aisle, and *all* were broken in the glass: the south aisle seemed to have been removed altogether; the church needed ceiling, the roof was in such decay that the snow came in, except where Mr. Bulstrode, the proprietor of the north aisle, had mended the leads and laid on new tiles; the steeple was in great decay, braced with timber and iron pins; the frames of the bells were broken so that they could not be rung. The churchwardens had not passed the accounts lately; there were seats built too high and without license; the door-keeper and others were often absent on holy days, and many kept on their hats in prayer and sermon time.

⁴ The pew of Sir John Parsons at Langley Marish deserves description; it was built on the roof of a vault, nine steps up from the church floor; seven feet high and seven yards long, covered overhead, with eight lattice windows towards the church; having a door in the church and one into the churchyard; surely a delightfully exclusive place, where a man might worship (or slumber) according to his own inward inspiration.

⁵ The numerous orders for *new* tables to be made looks as if they were not in good condition in some cases.

⁶ In cases where the orders are most explicit, the carpet is ordered to be of green; and the fringe seems to have been *de rigueur*.

⁷ Or on either side.

⁸ The proper place for these was apparently over the partition between church and chancel.

⁹ Private arms hung over the altar at Caversfield and Barton Hartshorn.

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Bishop Jewel's works¹ (especially the controversy with Harding); also a book for entering the names of strange preachers. A pair of organs was desired but not required. Some churches might indeed rise above this standard²; but none was to fall below.

It will be remembered that in 1519 there was much decay, neglect and irreverence in Buckinghamshire, about forty years before the accession of Elizabeth; but this was nothing to the neglect and irreverence that prevailed about forty years after her death. Perhaps we may see in this the last halting-place of the extreme party of reform within the Church.

Not many cases from this county were referred to the Court of High Commission; only a few which were quite deserving of punishment, such as flagrant irreverence and evil living.³ There was a consistory court established however at Leighton Buzzard, which gave great offence in the neighbourhood,⁴ though Sir Nathanael Brent said there was more complaining than proving⁵; none of its acts have been recorded. The ordinary archdeaconry courts were held at Aylesbury, Buckingham, Stony Stratford, Little Brickhill, etc.

In 1642 the Civil War began, and Buckinghamshire was found for the most part on the side of the Parliament.⁶ The county town

¹ The Churchwardens' Book at Wing notes the purchase of 'Juels booke' in 1569 (f. 72) and again in 1600 (f. 104). In the visitation of 1612 to which allusion has been made, it is often noted that 'Jewel and Harding' is missing. Jewel's works are ordered, wherever they are missing, in this visitation of 1637. They were probably read sometimes in the place of a sermon or homily.

² A few other ornaments were undoubtedly possessed by some churches at this time; e.g. at Maids Moreton there was a 'costly desk in the form of a spread eagle gilt,' whereon the rector used to lay Bishop Jewel's works; but there is no trace anywhere in this county of any possessing such things as altar crosses or candlesticks. An inventory (taken 6 December, 1638) of Winslow Church, at this time in the hands of a vicar of the Laudian school, is still in existence among the records of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans; it is perfectly simple and contains only what is mentioned above—'a communion table decently railed-in; a fair communion cloth with silk fringe; another old cloth of satin; another linen cloth and a napkin; a communion cup of silver with a cover; a pewter flagon; one press with three locks; a large Bible, common prayer, and Bishop Jewel's works; a book of Homilies and the Canons; a cloth and cushion for the pulpit; a ring of five tuneable bells, a sanctus bell and a clock; a bier and hearse cloth of satin; a surplice; a fair register book.

³ One was a marriage case (Richard Wright of Stone); another a pew dispute (Amy Haynes of Turweston), involving disturbances in church: a third, the case of Zachary Allnutt of Ibstone, who had been guilty of much profanity and of unclean living; *inter alia*, he had an old half-witted man shaved on one side of his head, and brought into the church to make the boys laugh. He was fined £500, and had to make public submission in the court and in the church (see *Cal. of State Papers Chas. I.* 1634, from the book of Acts of the High Commission Court, vol. ccxci. ff. 126, 69, 315). John Ames of Olney, in February 1640-1, complained to Parliament of fines and imprisonment which he had suffered in connection with this court (*Hist. MSS. Com.* iv. 49).

⁴ The parishioners of Haddenham brought in a complaint at the visitation of 1635 (S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccxcvi. 17).

⁵ At the metropolitanical visitation.

⁶ The few remaining recusants of the county took the king's side, so far as can be discovered: e.g. Sir Robert Throckmorton of Weston Underwood and Lady Digby of Gayhurst had their estates sequestered by Parliament (Lipscomb, *History of Bucks.* iv. 283). The head of the Dormer family, Lord Carnarvon, died on Newbury field. He had been brought up an Anglican, being committed as a child to the wardship of the Earl of Montgomery (*Cal. of State Papers Jas. I.* lxxxix. 67) but probably returned at the hour of death to the faith of his childhood (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). His mother and her younger sons remained Romanists; Robert Dormer of Great Missenden and his wife being returned as recusants in 1635 (S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccxcvi. 17); as well as many persons of no note at Wing. Dr. Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, who had jurisdiction over the English Romanists about this time, stayed frequently with Lady Dormer 'at Wing or Ivinge or at Chandlers a house in a wood near Aylesbury' and her son Anthony entertained him at Great Missenden (*ibid.* xcix. 19).

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however was, as Browne Willis tells us, 'ever remarkable for its orthodoxy and strict adherence to the principles of the constitution both in church and state.'¹ The ejection of 'scandalous ministers' began even before the war. The first to go was James Bradshaw of Chalfont St. Peter, of whom Dr. Andrewes of Beaconsfield had spoken as a 'well-meaning man' but 'wonderful timorous'; it seems that he was provoked at last into wishing the Puritan lecturers hanged.² Andrewes himself did not live to see the disestablishment of the Church he loved.³ John Barton, prebendary of Aylesbury, and George Roberts of Hambleton were both ejected in or before 1642.⁴ Besides these, Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy* gives the names of twelve others⁵ ejected after this date, and therefore rather for political than religious reasons; fourteen other cases may be gathered from different sources,⁶ making a total which represents about one-seventh of the clergy in this county. Their places were filled by men whose chief recommendation was that they were 'godly, diligent and painful preachers'⁷; and as the people of Buckinghamshire had long set a very high value on sermons as the chief means of grace, it is probable that they were on the whole well satisfied with the change. Here and there,⁸ however, the new ministers had some difficulty in collecting their tithes, and at Hambleton, Taplow and Monks Risborough they were vigorously resisted by the ejected incumbents and their supporters.⁹ At Maids Moreton,

¹ Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 53.

² Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 190; and Dr. Shaw, *History of the English Church under the Commonwealth*, ii. 279. He was ejected 12 November, 1640.

³ His successor, George Ashton, was ejected some time before January 1650 (Lambeth Library, *Parliamentary Surveys of Livings*, iii. 19).

⁴ John Barton on 18 July, 1642, and George Roberts, 23 September, 1642. Dr. Shaw, *History of the English Church under the Commonwealth*, ii. 298, 299. John Barton was probably imprisoned for a short time (Lipscomb, *History of Bucks*, ii. 45). George Roberts joined the King at Oxford (Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 339, on the authority of Anthony à Wood).

⁵ The incumbents of Cheddington, Shenley, Langley Marish, Great Marlow, Wendover, Hillesden, 'Wickham,' Turweston, Stony Stratford, Moulsoe, Tyringham and Illmer. 'Wickham' is probably West Wycombe, which had been some time sequestered by October 1645 (Add. MS. 15669 f. 190d) William Oakley of Hillesden and Anthony Tyringham of Tyringham were still however serving their respective cures in 1650 (Lambeth Library, *Surveys of Livings*, iii. 56, 82).

⁶ Stoke Goldington, Taplow, Monks Risborough, Hulcott, Newton Longville, Fleet Marston, Leckhampstead are named as sequestered in the Minute Book of the Committee of Plundered Ministers (Add. MSS. 15669-71); Upper Winchendon in Dr. Shaw, *History of the English Church under the Commonwealth*, ii. 308; Beaconsfield, Hughenden, Winslow and Fulmer, in *Parliamentary Surveys of Livings*, iii.; Beachampton in Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 147; Berton in *Records of Bucks*, ii. 160; Chetwode in Lambeth Library, *Augmentations of Livings*, vol. 975, 28. There may have been others also: exhaustive lists for the whole country have yet to be collected, and it is clear, from the work done in connection with this county and others, that Walker's numbers fall very far short of the truth.

⁷ Variations of this description are applied to all approved ministers in the *Parliamentary Surveys*.

⁸ At Weston Turville, Taplow, Newton Longville, Monks Risborough, Langley Marish (Add. MS. 15669, f. 163d; *ibid.* 15670, f. 58d, 178d; *ibid.* 15671, 14-17, 119, 178d, 182).

⁹ At Hambleton Dr. Roberts was ordered twice in 1647 to yield peaceable possession to Henry Goodeare (Add. MS. 15671, 189d and 228). He had been ejected in 1642 and had been at Oxford with the king, but was bold enough to return at this time and claim his rectory. At Taplow Dr. Edmunds remained in the parish and maintained that he was the true rector and that no tithes ought to be paid to his successor. He was compelled to promise conformity to the orders of the Committee in 1647 (*ibid.* 15670, f. 210), but Sir Thomas Hampson and one of the churchwardens still refused to recognize and pay the intruded incumbent (*ibid.* 15671, 14, 17, 179d). At Monks Risborough the ejected rector, even after he was summoned to appear before the Committee for disturbing the Parliamentary nominee, had

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where at the death of the rector in 1643, an order of the House of Commons prescribed 'that Mr. Daniel Evans shall serve the cure . . . and that the bishop be enjoined not to give any institution, induction or collation to Mr. Bate' (presented by the lawful patron of the living) 'upon any pretence whatsoever.' Mr. Bate nevertheless became rector, and remained at his post long enough to write 'Laus Deo' in his parish register above the year of the Restoration.¹

It was certainly intended that one-fifth of the profits of a sequestered living should be paid to the wife and family of the ejected incumbent; but the order was not always carried out. At Weston Turville, the wife of the rector petitioned vainly for her portion, from 9 August, 1645, till 21 May, 1647; but the minister in possession utterly refused to pay, in spite of repeated orders from the Committee of Plundered Ministers²; he was evidently an undesirable person, even in the judgment of his own friends, and after refusing the offer of an exchange,³ was himself finally ejected in favour of the original incumbent.⁴ It is only fair to the Committee to show that real efforts were made to enforce these payments. They had also many elaborate schemes for redistributing endowments and so raising the value of the poorer livings.⁵ There was real need for such measures in Buckinghamshire. As many as twenty-three churches or parochial chapels, once appropriated to religious houses, had had no regular endowment whatever since the dissolution of monasteries; their incumbents received as stipend whatever the impropiators, lay or clerical, chose to allow them. Twelve churches had an endowment of less than £20, and two others of exactly that amount. There were nine benefices in 1650 (including one where the endowment was as much as £30), which were returned as void for want of proper maintenance for a minister.⁶ Between 1646 and 1650 an attempt was made to provide for these needs. Those livings which were appropriated to various cathedrals and collegiate churches were augmented from the sequestered chapter endowments⁷; and a scheme

the spirit to enter the church and openly read to the congregation a proclamation from the king prohibiting payment of tithes to the intruded ministers, and charging those who did so with treason.

¹ *Records of Bucks*, vi. 432-4 (from the parish registers), and Shaw, *History of the English Church under the Commonwealth*, ii. 310. Matthew Bate was in peaceable possession in 1650 (Parl. Surveys of Livings, iii. 76).

² Add. MS. ff. 15669, 133d, 163d, 193, 220; *ibid.* 15670, 58d.

³ *Ibid.* 15670, f. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.* 15671, f. 30. The original rector was in possession still in 1650.

⁵ The scheme is stated in a series of volumes in the Lambeth Library headed *Augmentations of Livings*.

⁶ Great Kimble £10; Lee Chapel £2; Owlswick chapel £13; St. Leonard's chapel, Aston Clinton £24 (to be obtained from a farm belonging to the chapel); Little Missenden £30; the chapels of St. Giles and St. Mary Magdalene, Stony Stratford £8 and £6 (usually served by chaplains from Wolverton and Calverton); Stowe £30; Dorton, having a stipend of £10 paid by the impropiators; Cholesbury £8. These and the other details given above are from Lambeth Library, *Surveys of Livings*, iii.

⁷ Datchet, Wyrardisbury and Langley Marish augmented from the endowment of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor; Buckland and Bierton from those of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln; Stewkley from those of the Dean and Chapter of Oxford; Great Marlow from those of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester; Haddenham and Cuddington from those of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester; Fingest from those of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester; and Little Brickhill from those of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury (*Augmentations of Livings*, vol. 979 and 984). Chilton was augmented from the appropriated Rectory (*ibid.* vol. 970, f. 123).

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was drawn up for uniting some of the smaller benefices, where it was in any way possible for an incumbent to serve two.¹ It was noticed at the same time that Colnbrook, a market town and much frequented, ought to have a separate endowment; and Fenny Stratford (where it may be remembered there was once a gild chapel) ought to have a church built.² These good intentions deserve to be recorded, though their authors had not much time to carry them into effect. During the Civil War this county was continually traversed by troops, chiefly belonging to the Parliament: there was a Royalist garrison for some time at Boarstall; Parliamentary forces were stationed at Newport Pagnel and at Aylesbury; and some small engagements actually took place around these centres. The church at Great Marlow was at one time fortified and occupied by soldiers.³ Other churches suffered more or less from the violence of the fanatical soldiery: the parish register of Maids Moreton, for instance, records how the 'reverend and religious rector' died in March 1643, 'almost heartbroken with the insolence of the rebels against the Church and the king,' having seen the windows of his church broken, the cross cut off the steeple, and the 'costly desk in the form of a spread eagle gilt, on which he used to lay Bishop Jewel's works, doomed to perish as an abominable idol.'⁴ A letter of a soldier stationed at Aylesbury describes how he and his companions broke into the church there, defaced the stained glass windows, and burned the altar rails.⁵ It is also asserted that they were guilty of similar outrages at Lillingstone Dayrell, Grandborough, Winslow, Hogshaw, East Claydon, and Addington⁶; and it may have been at this time that the effigy of a priest in Woughton Church was 'designedly mutilated, for fear ignoient popish Christians should fall down and worship it,' and monuments defaced in other places also.⁷ Such excesses were of course common enough at this period. A story is also given by Walker from the *Mercurius Rusticus* of 1646, of the rough handling of the aged rector of Tyringham, arrested on suspicion by a troop of soldiers near Stony Stratford, and carried to the gaol at Aylesbury. It is said that they robbed him of everything he had, even to his boots and cap, but when they ordered him to take off his cassock, he, 'being not sudden in obeying the command nor over hasty to untie his girdle to disrobe himself of the distinctive garment of his profession,' was accused

¹ The scheme is too lengthy to transcribe here: it is summarized in *Augmentations of Livings*, vol. 1001.

² *Ibid.* There is an order given for the repair of the chancel of Wyrardisbury dated 31 Jan. 1655 (*ibid.* vol. 972, f. 18); and there may have been others, though on the whole there must have been much more damage than repair done during this period.

³ The Churchwardens' accounts quoted in *Records of Bucks*, vi. 156, contain an item in 1642—'Paid for throwing in the bulwarks about the Church and in Duck Lane and for cleaning out the church when the soldiers lay in it.'

⁴ *Ibid.* vi. 432.

⁵ R. Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury*, 20, from the letter of one Nehemiah Wharton.

⁶ *Ibid.* 21. The church of Hogshaw seems to have been still in use at the Survey of 1650, but it was probably very far gone in decay. By the time of Browne Willis, at about 1730, there was not a trace of it left.

⁷ Noted by Cole, *Add. MS.* 5839, f. 223d, and 5840, f. 91d.

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of resistance and wounded so badly that his arm had to be amputated at the end of the journey.¹

Those of the extreme reformers who at the beginning of the war had hoped not merely for the abolition of episcopacy, but for complete freedom of worship, were however doomed to disappointment. The new system established by Parliament required as strict a conformity as the old. Some incidents in the career of the famous Sir Samuel Luke show the spirit in which a typical Presbyterian would regard the Independents and other sectaries so numerous at this time in the army. To the former, the parish church, purified from all superstitious services and ornaments, was still the proper and official meeting-house for religious exercises; those who absented themselves or organized private assemblies were viewed with disfavour. Just after Naseby, Sir Samuel, then governor of Newport Pagnel, ordered a public thanksgiving to be made on the next Sunday in the parish church. But when the day came, he found a great many places vacant; inquiring into the matter, he heard that two captains of Colonel Fleetwood's regiment, who had passes for London, were stopping in the town, and at the hour appointed for the general thanksgiving had drawn away a large crowd of men and women to Lathbury for the purpose of holding religious exercises after their own fashion. The irate governor at once had them arrested under an ordinance of Parliament for the apprehension of stragglers from the army, and sent them back to Sir Thomas Fairfax. In a letter written to that general shortly after, he expresses in scornful terms his disapproval of such methods. 'For you to draw my parishioners away and so leave the church empty I could no longer endure. If they return back again to me I shall send them up to your Assembly, and then I hope you will take order that such Anabaptistical companions trouble us no more. I hear the praying and preaching regiments, as they term you, trusted more to earth than to heaven' (at a recent engagement), 'for their heels were their chiefest refuge. . . . most of you found four legs under you.'²

Another instance of the desire for religious liberty carried to its utmost extreme is found in this county, in Roger Crab the hermit, who could not find a resting place in any of the sects, and after a chequered career, first in the army (when he was once condemned to death for disobeying orders) and afterwards as a tradesman at Chesham, ended by selling all his worldly goods, and departing to Uxbridge, that he might

¹ No other record has as yet been found of this story except in the *Mercurius Rusticus*; and Anthony Tyringham was still serving the cure in 1650. Walker says he was sequestered, but this may only refer to his canonry of Worcester. He belonged to a good family in Buckinghamshire, and his brother died in the Royalist army. A pardon for delinquency was issued by the House of Commons in 1646 to William Tyringham of Tyringham, and the fact that the rectory of that place was not actually sequestered may be in some way connected with this fact (Add. MS. 5839, f. 196; the pardon being quoted with reference from the *Commons Journals*). In those days of infrequent celebrations of the Holy Eucharist the loss of an arm would not seem so terrible a misfortune as it would to a priest of this century; and as the benefice was sufficient to provide a curate, the old rector may still have felt justified in retaining it, even if the story be all true.

² *Records of Bucks*, ii. 357. The letter is from Egerton MS. 786, f. 2.

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follow out his own particular theories in complete solitude.¹ But besides these less gracious types of Protestantism, there was another of a far more attractive character, which came into existence at this time and represented a really spiritual reaction against the cold formality of both Churchmen and Presbyterians of the period. George Fox and the early Quakers, it will be remembered, were leaders in the first instance of a protest against the rigid Calvinism which, in spite of the teaching of the prayer book and the best Anglican divines, had gained so strange a popularity in England even before the establishment of the Presbyterian system. Thomas Ellwood, in his *Autobiography*, from which we gain one of the most pleasing pictures of the life of the early Quakers, tells us how he received his first strong impression in their favour at a discussion between his own father and Edward Burrough, a disciple of Fox; when the latter maintained the offer of universal free grace to all mankind as against the Calvinistic theory of predestination.² And it was during the Commonwealth that the Quakers were first persecuted. In so far as they objected also to all outward forms and ceremonies of religion, and believed in no sacraments of any kind, they were also brought into collision with the Church at the Restoration; though their curious prejudices against taking oaths, and against petitioning for any sort of relief, brought on them (so it must seem to those who do not share their views) much additional and unnecessary suffering.

George Fox was in this county as early as 1644,³ when his ideas were not yet fully developed; but by 1655 he had quite a large number of followers in several places, as at Newport Pagnel, Wavendon, High Wycombe, Chalfont St. Peter.⁴ Some of their inward inspirations, it must be confessed, led them into actions which would scarcely have passed without censure even in a much more liberal-minded age. At Newport Pagnel in 1655 a woman was imprisoned for interrupting and rebuking the officiant in the middle of divine service⁵; a man at North Crawley was very roughly handled for addressing the congregation on their way out of church⁶; and Thomas Ellwood relates how a certain Quaker at the end of a sermon, when the people were asked to pray, quietly stood up in his place and said: 'The prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, and the Lord heareth not sinners.'⁷ In 1656 another was sued for refusal of tithes and imprisoned about three years at Aylesbury, and others in 1659 were prosecuted for attending a meeting in Wavendon.⁸

Many of the Quakers were of the lower classes, but they had a

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* There is a good account of Roger Crab's career and writings in the *Treasury* for 1903, vol. i. The 'hermit of Dinton,' John Bigg, appears to have been quite mad, and his vagaries do not seem to have had any connection with his religion.

² Ellwood, *Autobiography*, 38.

³ T. P. Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 133.

⁴ *Ibid.* 134-5; Ellwood, *Autobiography*, 37, 41.

⁵ T. P. Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 134.

⁷ Ellwood, *Autobiography*, 35.

⁸ T. P. Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 135.

• *Ibid.*

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few adherents also among the gentry of this county. The most notable of these was Isaac Penington of Chalfont St. Peter, whose house was visited by Fox himself in 1658¹; it was through acquaintance with this family that Thomas Ellwood came within range of Quaker influence, attracted by the strange sweetness and stillness of their home life, from which nevertheless 'all mirth and pleasant discourse' were excluded. William Penn's first wife was a daughter of this house, though he was not himself in Buckinghamshire till 1668, and never had a permanent home there.²

It was still before the Restoration that Ellwood went through his first struggles with his father for liberty to worship with his new friends and follow his new convictions.³ But it was not until the Restoration, and the consequent requirement of the oath of allegiance from all loyal subjects, that the worst troubles of the Quakers began. Ellwood was arrested in London in 1660, and imprisoned with thirty others in Oxford gaol for refusing the oath⁴; again in 1662, after the outbreak of the Fifth Monarchy men, he was with many others in Bridewell and Newgate, and suffered a good deal from the unhealthy conditions of prison life at this time⁵; in 1665 and 1666 he was for short periods in Aylesbury gaol.⁶ Isaac Penington was imprisoned six times between 1660 and 1670, for the most part in Aylesbury gaol; one of these times he was removed with sixty or seventy others to a malthouse behind the gaol, which Ellwood says was 'not fit for a dog-house,' and open on one side to the weather; the gaoler had put them there because the prison was over-full, and he knew their principles would not allow them to attempt an escape.⁷ Others were sent to the house of correction near High Wycombe in 1664.⁸

The year of the Restoration brought back a few of the ejected incumbents to their old parishes, as at Great Marlow, Aylesbury, Bier-ton, Moulsoe, Turweston, and Hambleden; George Roberts, rector of the last named place, being appointed archdeacon of Winchester.⁹ Besides these there were others who rejoiced in the restoration of the liturgy. Matthew Bate, rector of Maids Moreton, triumphantly records in his parish register that in spite of the ordinance of 1653, legalizing merely civil registration and marriage, 'There was never any

¹ Fox was in Buckinghamshire in 1656, and again ten times before 1681 (George Fox, *Journal* (latest edition), i. 333, 440, and ii 79, 90, etc.).

² W. H. Summers, *Memories of Jordans*, 131-2. It was at West Wycombe that Penn had a public controversy with a Baptist, Jeremy Ives.

³ The chief cause of offence was his refusal to take off his hat before his father, and to use the plural pronoun in addressing him. It seems strange to us that such obstinacy and discourtesy to a parent could be justified on religious grounds by one so gentle and amiable as Thomas Ellwood; yet his own account of the matter shows that to him at any rate there was a real principle involved in this and many other apparently trifling matters (Ellwood, *Autobiography*, 42-63).

⁴ *Ibid.* 99-103.

⁵ *Ibid.* 169.

⁶ *Ibid.* 206; W. H. Summers, *Memories of Jordans*, 95.

⁷ Ellwood, *Autobiography*, 121.

⁸ Parker, *History of Wycombe*, 64 (from the Borough Records). There were of course a great many other cases of imprisonment, fines, and other penalties inflicted on Quakers at this period; but it is not necessary to give a complete account of them in an article on the history of the Church in this county.

⁹ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 240, 326, 339.

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that I know of, of that mind in Moreton,' and he certifies 'all whom it may concern, and that on the word of a priest' that all those entered in his register were 'duly and orderly baptized,' and all couples solemnly wedded in the church, and that according to the orders of the Church of England.¹ The rector of Amersham had to speak of a very different experience. 'General Fleetwood lived at the Vache, and Russell on the opposite hill, and Mrs. Cromwell, Oliver's wife, and her daughters at Woodrow High House, where afterwards lived Captain James Thomson; so the whole country was kept in awe and became exceeding zealous and very fanatical; nor is the poison yet eradicated.'² It had, indeed, been injected long before the coming of these magnates.

Twenty-four³ of the ministers of religion placed by Parliament in charge of parishes in this county were ejected in 1662, either in favour of the old incumbents or because they refused to accept the episcopal form of Church government: this number nearly equals those displaced during the twenty years preceding. A few stayed on in the neighbourhood where they had ministered, and were supported by private congregations. William Dyer, who had been at Cholesbury, did good service in London at the time of the plague by preaching in one of the deserted churches there: Nathanael Vincent, of Magdalen College, Oxford, who had served the cure of Langley Marish, preached in the streets of London after the fire (to thousands, Calamy declares) and was several times imprisoned in the Gatehouse and the Marshalsea under the Five Mile and Conventicle Act; George Fownes, a graduate of Cambridge, after leaving High Wycombe was imprisoned two years and a half at Gloucester for the same offences.⁴ Four of those who remained at places near the scene of their former ministrations received licenses to preach and hold religious meetings under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. These licenses, as might be expected, are numerous in Buckinghamshire. There were twenty-seven in all, Presbyterians applying for them in most cases, as well as a few Congregationalists and one Conventicle of Anabaptists. At High Wycombe four different licenses were granted, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Anabaptists being all represented; at Aylesbury two different places were licensed for meetings, both being Presbyterian, and at Newport Pagnel two also, both Congregational.⁵ The Quakers, although so numerous in the county, did not apply at all, not thinking it lawful to ask permission from man to worship God.⁶

It is generally acknowledged that much was done at the Restora-

¹ *Records of Bucks*, vi. 433-4.

² From the parish register of Amersham, quoted *ibid.* ii. 159.

³ Calamy reckons also Thomas Valentine of Chalfont St. Giles, who was suspended a short time before the Civil War, and John Luff of Aylesbury, who returned there as soon as the old incumbent died, and cannot fairly be reckoned among the victims of the Restoration. *Nonconformists' Memorial of 1775*, i. 234-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ For all the particulars, see *Cal. of State Papers Chas. II.* 1672-3.

⁶ W. H. Summers, *Memories of Jordans*, 160. Many of the troubles of the Quakers came upon them for similar causes, refusing to find bail for themselves, etc.

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tion towards the repair of the churches, but it is not easy to get detailed information on the subject. The Churchwardens' Book at Wing gives us perhaps a fair average specimen of changes that had to be made, and the cost involved in carrying them out. In the year 1660 the Kings' Arms were purchased for £10 15s., and put up at a cost of 32s.: the church was painted and 'sentenced' for £28; other work done cost £5 9s.; a new cloth (perhaps for the pulpit¹) was bought for £5, a hearse cloth for £2, a prayer book for 14s. 6d., and a Bible for £3 0s. 0d., amounting altogether to £56 10s. 6d., a considerable outlay at that time in a small country church.² In some places order would only be gradually restored: in 1699 when Browne Willis came to Bletchley he found the altar in a 'dinner posture'³ out in the middle of the chancel, and the same arrangement might have been seen at Grandborough and Tattenhoe even in 1847.⁴ At Little Horwood the archdeacon ordered the purchase of a book of Common Prayer in 1684,⁵ as if up till then they had only a shabby or mutilated copy.

A good specimen of the ideal which an ordinary good Churchman of the Restoration period would set before him is found in the will of George Bushope,⁶ vicar of Edlesborough from 1664 to 1707, who left £50 to his successors on condition that they should preach a special sermon on the Sunday before Lent (presumably to set forth to the parishioners their duties at that season) and should read prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent and all through Holy Week, and administer the Blessed Sacrament on Good Friday; there were special bequests in the same will to poor widows who should attend the services in Lent regularly. It may have been that the clergy were growing remiss in their performance of week-day services towards the close of this good vicar's life, and he hoped by this legacy to supply his successors with an additional incentive.

The imaginary 'Popish plots' of 1678 led to a fresh return of recusants, and a list of fourteen names in Buckinghamshire was drawn up in connection with the proposed 'Bill for the Removal and Disarming of Papists.'⁷ The best known name on this list is that of Sir John Fortescue of Salden; and it is stated that Sir Francis Throgmorton of Weston Underwood and Rowland Dormer, heir of the family once settled at Wing, were no longer living in this county.⁸ Among the various redistributions of Romanists involved in this scheme, it was

¹ There was a 'new communion cloth and napkin' bought in 1657, and a 'new carpet for the communion table' in 1664, so that this new cloth of 1660 cannot have answered either of those purposes

² Churchwardens' Book, 1660-1.

³ W. Cole in Add. MS. 5821, f. 200. The roof was at that time out of repair, and the windows still stopped up with brick and mortar.

⁴ Lipscomb, *History of Bucks*, iii. 251 and 489. He may perhaps be trusted to report correctly of his own time.

⁵ MS. Records of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans.

⁶ Add. MS. 5840, f. 33d.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Rep. xi. pt. ii. p. 232.

⁸ The descendants of the youngest son of the first Lord Dormer were still living at Great Missenden, and the parish register contains entries of their names from 1696 to 1733 as 'baptized by their own Popish priest' (*Records of Bucks*, vi. 316-7). Upon these the peerage finally devolved.

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suggested that those resident in Buckinghamshire should be exchanged with those resident in South Wales; but the Earl of Bridgewater represented to the House of Lords that the Papists in his county were few and not dangerous, and begged that the Welsh might not be brought in to 'pervert more.' It is needless to say that the scheme was never carried into effect.

During the next reign the vicar of Little Horwood, Thomas Footman, was accused of omitting the State prayers from the Liturgy, and also of not keeping the day of thanksgiving publicly appointed for the king's victory over the Duke of Monmouth and his followers. He managed to clear himself from the latter charge on the ground of sickness, but it is not unlikely that he as well as others found the thanksgiving very little to his taste.¹

Towards the close of the seventeenth century the northern part of the county witnessed some strange religious phenomena. The career of John Mason of Water Stratford is of interest as illustrating some possibilities in the Church life of this period. He was vicar first of Stantonbury from 1668 to 1674,² and then for twenty years at Water Stratford. Educated at Cambridge, where Latitudinarian influences were strong, and much attached to the liturgy of the Church (of which he said that he 'enjoyed much communion with God while reading it') he yet continued to maintain the most rigidly Calvinistic views. The rector of Tyringham, Henry Maurice, who was his personal friend and wrote an *Impartial Account* of him, often argued with him on this subject³; but it is evident that the larger and more Catholic views of the great Caroline divines had comparatively little influence amongst the inferior clergy, and neither Mason nor James Wrexham, rector of Haversham, who shared his views, seemed to think themselves out of place in the Church of England. It was Wrexham, 'a melancholy divine and very often disturbed,' who first became occupied with speculations on the Second Advent; the fact that he went completely mad some time before his death in 1684 did not discourage Mason from devoting himself more and more to meditation upon the same subject. For a while, indeed, he was able to write calm and practical letters of spiritual advice, and verses of some merit, and even his sermon of 1691, called the 'Midnight Cry,' which made somewhat of a sensation at the time,

¹ He was also accused of marrying a couple without banns or license at 5 a.m.; this he was able to disprove, and his parish clerk declared that he had usually said the State prayers, though he owned the thanksgiving had not been made. MS. Records of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans.

² This involved very little more than a chaplaincy to the family of Wittewronge, in whose house the vicar probably resided (*Records of Bucks*, vii. 9-12). The epitaph of Mrs. Clare Wittewronge, who died 1669, contains some bold theological statements which sound very like Mason—

'The mother with two babes doth silent lie
Within this womb of immortality;
But when the birthday comes the mother then
Shall rise a virgin, and her children men.' (Add. MS. 5839, f. 179d).

³ He maintained that there was no difference between Peter and Judas except what the divine decrees and 'irresistible grace' had made: that it was all the same whether he had kept the commandments or broken them all, since Christ had observed them: and that he was saved by the 'imputation of the righteousness of Christ' to him. Maurice, *Impartial Account*.

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is well worked out and does not read like the composition of a madman.¹ The conclusion of the matter—the failure of his health and his loss of mental balance through continual dwelling upon the same theme, which resulted at last in a vision of the returning Lord on Low Sunday, 1694²—can only be briefly noticed here. From this time he, who had been wont to preach for hours together and was often ‘ready to faint before he would give over,’ whose extempore prayers had been long and vehement with ‘an awful silence between each petition’ would no more preach nor pray nor even administer the sacraments: the reign of Christ had begun—so he told the people from his open window—and the day of such means of grace was past: there was nothing else to do but to await the consummation of all things, which would be on the next Whitsunday. He did not live to see the failure of his own prophecy³; but his followers, who had gathered round the parsonage and in the village to the number of more than four hundred, under the firm conviction that Water Stratford was the ‘holy ground,’ the only place where salvation was guaranteed,⁴ continued for some time to hold religious exercises by themselves, and even the exhumation of the poor vicar’s remains by his successor did not convince them that he was really dead. Their existence as a sect continued some twenty or thirty years.⁵ The strangest thing about the whole affair is that the ecclesiastical authorities do not seem to have taken the slightest notice of it.

The records of the eighteenth century for this county are fairly full and good.⁶ There is reason to believe that the revival of Church life under Queen Anne, which was so marked in London, had but little effect upon the country generally. The returns of Bishops Wake and Gibson bear witness to the truth of this statement at any rate within the diocese of Lincoln. These valuable books contain statistics for all

¹ This sermon was preached on the parable of the Ten Virgins, and announced the speedy coming of the Judgment. It ends thus—‘Blessed be God, you have grace, the spirit of grace; but I fear it is oil in the glass, not in the lamp. Methinks I see when the cry comes, what a pouring of oil there will be out of the vessel into the lamp: what a lively frame Christians will be in. Oil in the vessel is grace in the habit, oil in the lamp is grace in exercise. Therefore see that you have oil in the lamp.’ This does not fit in very well, however, with predestinarian theories. The sermon was followed by a pamphlet called *Two Witnesses to the Midnight Cry*, by two disciples of Mason; and this was answered by another, *The Trial and Condemnation of the Two False Witnesses*.

² He saw this vision as he lay in bed, utterly exhausted after long preaching and the fast which he was accustomed to keep on such occasions.

³ There must have been something loveable about the man in spite of his strange theories; Maurice speaks kindly of him throughout, and says that though he was the ‘fiercest man in the world against sin,’ he was yet the ‘pitifullest man to the sinner,’ until the vision came and assured him that ‘the books were sealed,’ and there was no more place for repentance.

⁴ They were not quite sure how far the borders of this limited ‘Sion’ extended; but they were sure it would hold all the elect, for these were very few; and any that were hindered by ignorance or distance from coming to it would on the appointed day be ‘haled thither by angels.’ They had the usual argument to meet all doubters; so holy a man could not possibly be deceived.

⁵ The substance of this account is taken from Maurice’s *Impartial Account* and a paper in *Records of Bucks*, vii. 9–40. The excesses of Mason’s followers, their dancings, shoutings and hand-clappings, were much the same as those of the fanatics of all ages, and are not worthy of special description. ‘A conventicle of the disciples of Mr. Mason’ is noticed in connection with Water Stratford in the returns of Bishops Wake and Gibson of Lincoln.

⁶ At the close of the seventeenth century it should be noted that two non-juring clergy were ejected in this county at the beginning of the reign of William III.: Thomas Bottler, vicar of Marsworth, and John Gilbert, vicar of Medmenham. Overton, *Nonjurors*, 473, 478.

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the parishes in the archdeaconry of Buckingham between the years 1705 and 1723: they give the population of each, the number of services usually held, the number of Eucharists celebrated throughout the year, and other details of interest. It appears from these returns that not in one church of the archdeaconry, even where as at Amersham and Bletchley, the incumbents were pronounced High Churchmen, were mattins and evensong daily recited in public,¹ though nearly everywhere there were services on Wednesdays, Fridays, and holy days throughout the year. Only three churches—Buckingham, Hambleton, and Newport Pagnel had a celebration of the Holy Eucharist as often as once a month²; at Waddesdon there were ten celebrations during the year, at Olney, Whaddon, Steeple Claydon, Denham, Great Brickhill, as many as eight (at least during part of the period specified), at Aylesbury seven. The rest had only three or four; a few small and sparsely populated villages like Horsenden, Chenies, Chicheley, Buckland, only one or two in the year.³ The practice of catechizing on Sunday afternoons seems however to have been well kept up during this period, though doubtless the explanations given of the Catechism were not always very satisfactory.⁴ Yet there were even in this county a few excellent churchmen, among the laity as well as among the clergy, whose devotion to the interests of the Church was as real and practical as that of the first disciples of the Oxford movement. Browne Willis⁵ of Whaddon Hall deserves an honourable mention in any history of the Church in Buckinghamshire. He spent his whole energy on researches prompted by the love of Catholic antiquity, and a great part of his wealth in beautifying the churches of his neighbourhood. In periods of history when all goes smoothly, when the standard of life is low, when there is no strong call for self-devotion and nothing specially picturesque in sacrifice, there are generally but few men who can boast of being the poorer for their love of the Church. Willis therefore deserves all the more credit that he not only did what he could himself but tried to inspire others with the same enthusiasm. This made him no doubt something of a tyrant in his exercise of patronage—his friend Cole, the rector of

¹ Mattins and evensong were said daily in many London churches at the beginning of the Restoration period, and the same may have been done in some country churches also (Overton, *Life in the English Church, 1660-1714*, p. 167).

² The entry 'once a month' is only found in connection with Hambleton; at Buckingham and Newport it is 'ten or twelve times a year,' which does not necessarily imply a monthly celebration.

³ There are three entries in connection with each parish, showing changes between 1705 and 1723: e.g. '4 . . . 5 vel 6 . . . 6 plerumque 3.' Decrease is commoner than increase. 'Six communions in the year' is further explained (at Turville) to be 'i.e. bis in tribus festis'; that is to say, only three times a year after all. In some churches there may have been a general communion at Michaelmas or All Saints to break the long gap between Whitsunday and Christmas: there is an allusion to a 'sacrament' on St. Michael's Day in the Wing Churchwardens' Book for 1716. A little earlier the celebrations at Wing were somewhat more frequent. In 1684-5 there was one on the Coronation Day, as well as in November; and on Easter Monday and Tuesday, as well as Easter Day (the entry being 'Bread for the Communion for three days at Easter').

⁴ At Aston and Clinton and Boarstall it was stated that the people were invited to the catechizing, but would not come.

⁵ His grandfather, Thomas Willis, had been physician in ordinary to King Charles II. and a devout Churchman. Overton, *Life in the English Church, 1660-1714*, pp. 111-3.

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Bletchley, who tells us that he would never be content with any rector who did not spend all the profits of the rectory on the church, adds in his humorous way that any of his nominees who felt he had already spent a good deal and was not inclined to do anything further, had better resign gracefully as soon as possible.¹ We are also told that he 'did not affect a married clergy,' and that his opinions on this subject were so well known that a certain curate at Bletchley actually went up to London to be married, and kept his wife there secretly for years, for fear of displeasing his patron!² But there can be no doubt that an example of some kind was sorely needed, and the notices of Browne Willis's benefactions in the returns of Bishops Wake and Gibson show that such cases were by no means common.³ We learn thence, and with more detail from Cole, that he beautified his own parish church at Bletchley at a cost of over £1,200⁴; that he built and adorned a chapel which had long been needed at Fenny Stratford,⁵ and did a great deal by his influence and generosity to bring about a very necessary restoration of the church at Bow Brickhill.⁶ His own epitaph in the chapel of Fenny Stratford shows the effect upon his inner life of the study of Christian antiquity, and may well be compared with the fulsome inscriptions in which his contemporaries delighted :

O Christe, Soter et Judex,
Huic peccatorum primo
Misericors et propitius esto.

The rector of Bletchley has left us a full description of the parish church as it appeared after its restoration, and this may perhaps serve as a specimen of what was thought sufficient and even admired at the time. After the necessary repairs to roof and windows, a new altar of inlaid wood was provided and set in its proper place; the chancel floor was raised by two steps above the level of the rest of the church, and its walls wainscoted and hung with eight neatly framed texts; the eastern wall had pillars and curtains painted on it, and the ceiling was adorned with the word 'Jehovah' in a 'glory' surrounded by cherubims, just above the altar, besides full length figures of the twelve apostles. The altar-piece is described as 'very handsome,' made of Norway oak, and had panels in it containing the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Decalogue; the arms of Queen Anne were in the pediment, with an urn on either side. A 'neat screen' separated the chancel from the church, which was now newly paved and pewed, and there were sixteen framed texts provided for the walls. On Sundays and festivals the altar was covered with a rich crimson velvet cloth edged with gold lace and fringe; the

¹ Add. MS. 5821, f. 190.

² Ibid.

³ Under Bletchley is the entry 'ecclesia multum ornata a patrono Browne Willis.' The building of Fenny Stratford chapel by him is also noticed. There are no similar entries at all.

⁴ It is not clear whether this includes the painting of the church, which cost £140. Add. MS. 5821, f. 200.

⁵ Ibid. f. 153. The need of the chapel was noted in one of the Surveys of the Commonwealth period (Lambeth Library, Augmentations of Livings, vol. 1001, f. 78).

⁶ Add. MS. 5839, f. 32d.

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pulpit and reading desk were similarly furnished; the oaken kneeling desks at the two ends of the altar, as well as the Bible and two prayer books which lay upon it, were also covered with red velvet. In Lent a 'suit of violet cloth' was substituted for the 'crimson furniture.' A handsome silver almsdish and flagon, engraved with the sacred monogram and emblems of the Passion, were also among the gifts of the Willis family.¹

It is probable that in very few churches was anything more ornate than this attempted. Cole gives this description with very evident pride and satisfaction, and adds, after commenting upon his patron's generosity, 'May he live to see the communion table decked with an embroidered covering, and the pulpit with a cushion and cloth of the same kind!' as if that would leave nothing further to be desired. He does not seem to have even dreamed of such things as crosses, candlesticks or flower vases, although he gladly 'patched up' an old crucifix in the glass of the eastern window. Moreover, the returns of Bishops Wake and Gibson show that four, or at the outside six, celebrations in the year were all that could be attained at Bletchley during the first part of the eighteenth century. It seems indeed that the High Churchmen of that period belonged to a type which is now extinct. There is really no party within the Church of to-day which can fairly claim to represent them. They justified the Reformation, while yet they despised the vandalism which it often produced²; they hated Dissenters as no Churchman of to-day would think it proper to do; they were sincere lovers of the English Church, and yet they seemed content with so small a share in Church privileges. They had lost, too, all the old bitterness against Rome—it is indeed a little startling to hear Cole speak of the '*pretended* Powder plot'³ of 1605, and of '*Foxe's Book of Martyrs, as it is called*'⁴—and yet they were in no way attracted by her modern methods.

The parish church of Gayhurst was rebuilt in 1728 at the expense of a certain Mr. Wright, patron at that time of the living⁵; he was doubtless a man of real generosity, though not a Churchman of the same type as Browne Willis.⁶ The old chapel of St. Giles at Stony Stratford was also rebuilt in 1757.⁷ There was destructive work done too during

¹ Add. MS. 5821, ff. 164, 198–200. The crimson velvet coverings for the altar, pulpit and desk were the gift of Dr. Martin Benson (Rector 1728–35), and the kneeling stools of Cole himself.

² Cole, speaking in one place about the loss of some of the brasses from the tomb of an abbess of Elstow, supposes that one of them contained an inscription 'which the squeamish stomachs of former ages would not digest, and so reaved the brasses of such Popish stuff away to sell it in a good Protestant method'! It is the tone which he and Willis always take with regard to such acts. Add. MS. 5830, f. 140d.

³ Ibid. 5839, f. 82d.

⁴ Ibid. 5840, f. 15d. From this entry, from the inventory of Bledlow 1785, and other allusions, it would seem that *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* was sometimes read aloud in church in place of a sermon as late as the end of the eighteenth century.

⁵ Add. MS. 5839, f. 85d.

⁶ He regretted the demolition of the tower of Filgrave Church on the ground that it made a 'very good object' from his parlour window. Ibid. f. 79d.

⁷ Ibid. f. 192.

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the same period. Since the complete dismantling of the abbey church at Biddlesden in 1569, the parishioners of that village had attended a little chapel dedicated to the honour of St. Margaret; but this also was pulled down in 1713 by the lord of the manor, and the only place for many years available for services was a large room under the same roof as the stables of the manor house.¹ The tower of the disused church of Filgrave was pulled down about 1758 to repair a mill, because it was thought that old stones which had stood the weather so long would be more trustworthy than new; and the very foundations were dug up shortly after by the rector, who was desirous to repair and fit up his parsonage 'in a very handsome manner.'² It is also written of Sir William Stanhope, successor of the Dormers at Eythrope, that in 1738 he 'wickedly, sacrilegiously and impiously demolished' the remains of the ancient chapel there to repair a bridge.³ Such acts were unhappily only too common at the time; it was much if the parish churches still in use were kept in decent repair. A real effort of reform in this direction was made by Archdeacon Ibbetson of St. Albans in 1757, which affected four churches now in the archdeaconry of Buckingham: Grandborough, Little Horwood, Winslow and Aston Abbots. The first two needed a complete repair of the whole fabric of the chancel, besides whitewashing, glazing, etc.; at Aston Abbots the pavement and the flooring of the seats were out of order, and a new carpet was needed for the altar; at Winslow the pavement and pews wanted repair, and a new west door had to be provided. The directions, often repeated during this visitation,⁴ that there should be a napkin provided to cover the sacred vessels at the time of celebration, and that the surplice belonging to the church should be washed at least four times a year, point to a general slovenliness in the services of the Church at this time. Yet there are indications here and there of a higher standard; one in particular connected with the church of Bledlow is of great interest and deserves special notice.

An inventory referring to this church and dated 1785 is still in existence, and shows that it was better furnished than we should naturally expect during this period. It is evident that the Holy Eucharist was celebrated with much reverence and care, though we do not know how frequently; the bread and wine were placed before the service not on the altar but on a 'sideboard' or credence covered with linen; water and cambric towels were provided for the cleansing of the sacred vessels; and the celebrant was vested in an alb. It seems probable too that he said the consecration prayer at any rate before the altar. There is a similarly careful and reverent provision of all things needful for occasional services: a litany desk stood in

¹ Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 153; and *Records of Bucks*, ii. 78.

² Add. MS. 5839, ff. 79d-80. Cole ascribes the destruction of the tower to the steward of the lady of the manor, who had been valet to Mr. Thomas Uthwat of Great Linford, and 'inherited his master's loose principles as well as his old clothes.'

³ *Records of Bucks*, vii. 258-61.

⁴ MS. Records of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans.

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the church, with a covering of silk, a stool and a cushion ; there was a burying pall kept safely in a long oaken box, a short surplice for funerals, a sleeveless surplice for the clerk. And here again we may notice that in a specially well-furnished church there is no mention of cross or candlesticks ; only the altar-piece of mahogany, which contained a picture of the Deposition, was surmounted by a pediment 'furnished with three sham tapers in candlesticks carved and gilt.'¹

The interesting point in connection with this inventory is that it was made in the time of a rector, Dr. John Davey, who had no reputation for singularity, and who afterwards, as Master of Balliol, was in no way distinguished from his predecessors.² The previous rector, from whom he probably inherited some of the unusual ornaments,³ was equally insignificant. And yet it is difficult to believe in the face of the evidence given by such a keen observer as Cole of Bletchley that such cases were common, at any rate in this part of the country.

The Methodists secured several centres of influence in this county towards the close of the century. Wesley himself made a preaching excursion to Beaconsfield and High Wycombe in 1757,⁴ and the latter became the chief scene of his labours and those of his followers from that time forward.⁵ The county of Buckingham was soon made part of a 'circuit' embracing also Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Wiltshire.⁶ It was under the influence of Wesley that Hannah Ball began her Sunday School at High Wycombe in 1769,⁷ fourteen years before the similar effort made by Robert Raikes at Gloucester : it was in connection with the parish church, and she was careful to take the children there after their lessons. In 1777 a Methodist Chapel was first built at High Wycombe, and Wesley came to preach there ; it was on this occasion that he was unable to proceed with his sermon because a drummer had been hired to play just outside the window.⁸ At Aylesbury there were Methodists also, though for some time they preached in the Baptists' meeting-house.⁹ In 1768 Thomas Grove, one of the six students expelled from St. Edmund's Hall for holding private prayer-meetings, came back to his father's house near Wooburn and began to preach and hold religious exercises there : a congregation was formed which afterwards built a chapel at Core's End.¹⁰ The Methodist influence also affected

¹ The genuineness of the inventory and other points connected with it have been discussed in a paper written on the subject by Dr. J. Wickham Legg for the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society. The inventory is on a loose sheet in the Churchwardens' Book of Bledlow, and was recently deposited for a short time in the British Museum, where it was seen by the writer of this paper.

² See the paper already referred to by Dr. J. Wickham Legg.

³ Dr. Davey became Rector of Bledlow according to the returns of Wake and Gibson in 1775 ; but the alb appears in the Churchwardens' Book under 1771-2 ; the word 'altar' begins to be used instead of 'Communion Table' in 1770. At the beginning of the book (which is dated 1702) the 'chalice' of the inventory is called, as was usual at the time, the 'communion cup.' It seems that some new influence began to be at work about the church somewhere in the middle of the century. Dr. Wickham Legg suggests some connection with the non-jurors : this is of course merely conjectural.

⁴ Tyerman, *Life of Wesley*, ii. 274.

⁵ *Ibid.* 534, 614, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 29.

⁷ Parker, *History of Wycombe*, 164.

⁸ Tyerman, *Life of Wesley*, iii. 241, 251.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 33, and *Records of Bucks*, iv. 21. The (Episcopal) Chapel at Loudwater was built and endowed in 1791. Lipscomb, *History of Bucks*, iii. 652.

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several of the clergy of this county : Cole tells us of Barton Burton, curate of Ravenstone, that he had a 'strong Methodistical turn' which had 'near shattered a weak understanding'¹; Thomas Scott, afterwards curate of the same place and later of Olney, whose commentaries on Holy Scripture were largely read even by Church people about fifty years ago, was one of the same school. The most famous Methodist of this county, however, was John Newton, curate of Olney from 1764 to 1779 : two new galleries had to be built in the parish church to accommodate those who flocked to hear his preaching. Newton's own account of the reflections which led him to seek episcopal ordination shows that he had no idea whatever of any intrinsic superiority of the Church over the sects, or of the necessity of apostolic succession : he only became and remained a churchman,² like many others of his time, because the holding of a benefice within the establishment secured to him a larger influence. The effects of such an attitude, maintained by many popular preachers, remained in the Church long after the main body of the Methodists had separated from her, and the strength of the movement had spent itself. The same party within the Church, while rightly insisting on the necessity of personal religion, tended to discourage reverence for its external forms and for the ordinary means of grace in an age which already valued them little enough. It is probable that to this period, the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, we owe the loss of many ancient Church customs and relics of mediaeval devotion which had survived even the ravages of the Commonwealth. Many of the churches lapsed again into a condition not unlike that described in the visitation of 1637. In Aylesbury Church before 1848 there was scarcely a wall or pillar which had not gone out of the perpendicular.³ At the time when Lipscomb wrote his *History of Buckinghamshire* the sky was visible through the roof of the chapel at Tattenhoe⁴; and the church at Stowe was a 'small mean structure,' with a decayed vicarage in which no one had lived for nearly a century.⁵ The same want of reverence which did not care to keep the churches in repair caused them sometimes to be put to strange uses. Aylesbury Church was turned into a powder magazine at

¹ Add. MS. 5839, f. 165.

² *Memoirs of John Newton*, prefixed to his works, ed. Rev. R. Cecil, pp. 37, 40. It is only fair to add that his mother was a dissenter, that he never had any Church teaching, and that the refusal of the Archbishop of York to ordain him was his lack of a university education, not any matter of principle. The Bishop of Lincoln accepted him through the influence of a friend. But it is clear from his own words that he would quite as readily have taken charge of a dissenting congregation, if he had finally failed to obtain a church, and only preferred the establishment because of its practical advantage. It is interesting, however, to notice that one of the first instruments of his conversion, after a career of wild adventure and utter disregard of religion, was a book which had been the fruit of the Church revival under Queen Anne—Dean Stanhope's edition of the *Imitation of Christ*.

³ Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury*, 74.

⁴ Lipscomb, *History of Buckinghamshire*, iii. 489.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 109. The disused chapel of Quarrendon was allowed to fall to pieces during the first half of the nineteenth century : it was quite complete in 1818. On the other hand, orders were given in 1791 for the repair of the four churches belonging to the archdeaconry of St. Albans, and had evidently been carried out by 1804, when Winslow and Grandborough were in good order, and Aston Abbots and Little Horwood only needed slight repairs (MS. Records of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans).

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the beginning of the century during the French wars. Not very long after the south transept was a receptacle for all the apparatus belonging to the Fire Brigade—three engines, drags, buckets and helmets ; and beside these lay the sexton's tools, the hearse with its trestles, and a great wooden hut used for funerals in bad weather.¹

The reaction commonly known as the Oxford Movement began to be felt in this county about the year 1850. During the next twenty years a great work of restoration was going on in every direction.² It was carried out perhaps here as in other parts of the kingdom sometimes with more zeal than knowledge ; but those who have followed the history of the county through its course will scarcely find it in their hearts to regret the trifling losses involved in so great a gain. During the last half century also several³ of the larger parishes, such as High Wycombe, Chesham, Wolverton, Burnham, Great Marlow, have been subdivided, and new churches have been built to meet the needs of the increased population around those and other centres. These changes are necessarily less extensive and less marked in a county chiefly agricultural than they are in the great manufacturing districts. But the census of 1901 returned for Buckinghamshire a total of 286 clergymen of the Established Church, over against 10 Roman Catholic priests and 74 ministers of various sects. It is obvious that after all the vicissitudes of the past the Church of England still holds a point of vantage even in this county—and still has hope, if she use her opportunity aright, to win back many of her lost and strayed children to a truer appreciation of her privileges.

¹ Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury*, 74.

² See *Records of Bucks* during this period, which contains notices of the restoration of different churches in almost every number.

³ Details on this subject are reserved for the appendix on Ecclesiastical Divisions.

APPENDIX I

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY

THE original churches of Buckinghamshire were in all probability subject at first to the West Saxon bishops of Dorchester (afterwards of Winchester)¹: and when the conquests of Offa in the eighth century transferred this district to the Mercian kingdom, Dorchester again became its ecclesiastical centre.² The boundaries of this new Mercian diocese varied no doubt a good deal during the period of Danish invasion; but it would always have included at least the counties of Buckingham and Oxford: and when after the Conquest the 'bishop's stool' was transferred to Lincoln, these two counties suffered no change of jurisdiction.

It was proposed at the dissolution of monasteries to make a new diocese, including Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire,³ but as a matter of fact both remained a part of the diocese of Lincoln till 1837, when the latter was transferred to Oxford.⁴

It is generally agreed that the archdeaconries were first divided during the episcopate of Remy; that is to say, towards the close of the eleventh century; but the further subdivision into rural deaneries is more difficult to date. It seems not improbable that the rural deans were in existence as recognized officials some time before their territorial limits were fixed. We hear of a dean of Thornborough in the twelfth century⁵; but this place does not appear among the names of deaneries mentioned in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV. These are Buckingham, Newport, Wendover, Burnham, Wycombe, Mursley, Risborough and Waddesdon, eight in all.⁶ They contained one hundred and eighty-six parishes.⁷ The same number of deaneries existed in 1535, and very nearly the same number of parishes, but there are some changes in the distribution of the latter. The two prebendal churches of Buckingham and Aylesbury, which in the *Taxatio* are placed after the churches in the Burnham deanery, are given in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* to the deaneries of Buckingham and Wendover respectively.⁸ The four churches belonging to the abbey of St. Albans, not mentioned at all in the *Taxatio*, are set by themselves in the *Valor* as 'within the jurisdiction of the Abbot of St. Albans.'⁹ These four—Winslow, Grandborough, Aston Abbots and Little Horwood—remained in the archdeaconry of St. Albans until the redistribution in 1837.

At the revival of the rural deaneries in the last century the old divisions were retained, with the exception of the deanery of Risborough; its two churches, Monks Risborough and Halton, being assigned to Wendover. At this time the deanery of Buckingham contained 27 parishes, that of Burnham 26, Mursley 28, Newport 44, Waddesdon 26, Wendover 25, Wycombe 17; 193 in all.¹⁰ There were a few minor changes in 1853, of which the most important was the removal of the chapels of Hornton and Horley, so long connected with the prebend of Sutton-cum-Buckingham, altogether out of the jurisdiction of this archdeaconry.¹¹ In 1855 there was a reconstruction of the rural deaneries, which were made thirteen¹² in number.

Buckingham	containing 16 parishes.
Claydon	" 18 "
Amersham	" 16 "

¹ Canon Bright, *Early English Church History*, 147-8, 263.

² *Ibid.* 310-11.

³ Cole, *King Henry VIII's scheme of Bishopricks*, 60-6.

⁴ *London Gazette*, 30 May, 1837.

⁵ In a charter connected with Luffield Priory. Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 351. See *V. C. H. Beds*, i. 347.

⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com), 32-4.

⁷ One hundred and seventy are named in the *Taxatio*, of which two were probably not parish churches at all (Tattenhoe and Evershaw); and eighteen are omitted.

⁸ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 215-252.

⁹ *Ibid.* iv. 231.

¹⁰ *Clergy List*, 1841.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 1853.

¹² *Ibid.* 1855-6.

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Burnham	containing	17		parishes
North Mursley	"	15		"
South Mursley	"	15		"
Newport (first division)	"	21		"
Newport (second division)	"	16		"
Stony Stratford	"	16		"
Waddesdon	"	13		"
Wendover (first division)	"	14		"
Wendover (second division)	"	12		"
Wycombe	"	19		"

In 1865 there were further changes. To the deanery of Amersham two parishes were added; one of long standing, viz. High Wycombe, another quite new, Gerrard's Cross. To the deanery of Burnham six parishes were added (Dropmore being a new subdivision of the parish of Burnham), and one was taken away from it. The deaneries of Stony Stratford, Wycombe and Wendover (first division) were altogether abolished, and their parishes redistributed; Buckingham was divided into two parts. The new deaneries formed in their place were as follows¹ :—

Aylesbury	containing	24		parishes.
Buckingham (first division)	"	14		"
Buckingham (second division)	"	17		"
Marlow	"	8		"

In 1874 there were several minor changes, nineteen parishes being redistributed among the various deaneries. The greater changes were (1) the combining of the two parts of Buckingham deanery into one; (2) the revival of Wycombe deanery, containing 18 parishes; (3) the formation of two new deaneries—Bletchley, from the second portion of Newport, and Ivinghoe from the second portion of Mursley.² The last change of importance was the re-division of Buckingham deanery into two parts in 1897, and in the same year the parish of Christ Church was severed from the ancient parish of High Wycombe.³

¹ *Clergy List*, 1865-6.

² *Ibid.* 1874.

³ *Ibid.* 1897.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

INTRODUCTION

The Religious Houses of Buckinghamshire, though fairly numerous, were for the most part small and insignificant: only three of them indeed fell outside the range of the first Act of Suppression in 1534. Not one of them was built before the Conquest, nor is record preserved of any religious foundation at all in the county before the end of the eleventh century. The Cluniac priory of Tickford was probably the earliest, and that was not in existence before the compilation of the Domesday Survey. The next in order of foundation seems to have been the abbey of Missenden, which followed the Arrouasian form of the Augustinian rule; its earliest charter is dated 1133. Nutley Abbey, of the same order, was probably founded about the same time, the Cistercian abbey of Biddlesden in 1147, five small Benedictine priories—at Luffield, Bradwell, Ankerwick, Ivinghoe and Little Marlow—and the Premonstratensian abbey of Lavendon in the course of the twelfth century. As many as six Religious Houses of different orders were founded during the thirteenth century in this county: Medmenham (Cistercian) in 1204; Snelshall (Benedictine) about 1219; Chetwode (Augustinian) in 1245; Ravenstone (Augustinian) in 1255; Burnham (Augustinian nuns) in 1266; and Ashridge (Bonhommes) as late as 1283. There were no friars in the county till the Earl of Ormond established a house of Minorites at Aylesbury in 1387. A Commandery of Knights Hospitallers was founded at Hogshaw some time during the reign of Henry II. and there was a small Preceptory of Knights Templars at Bulstrode. Two alien priories at Wing and Newton Longville make up a total of twenty-one Religious Houses in all. Besides these there were at least twelve hospitals, all dating from the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries: two at Buckingham, two at Aylesbury, two at Newport Pagnel, three at High Wycombe, and three more at Ludgershall, Stony Stratford, and Wendover. Doubtless there were others besides of which no record has yet been found: it seems probable that all large towns had one or two, during the thirteenth century at any rate.

The chief interest of the Buckinghamshire houses lies in the contribution which they make towards the study of the smaller monas-

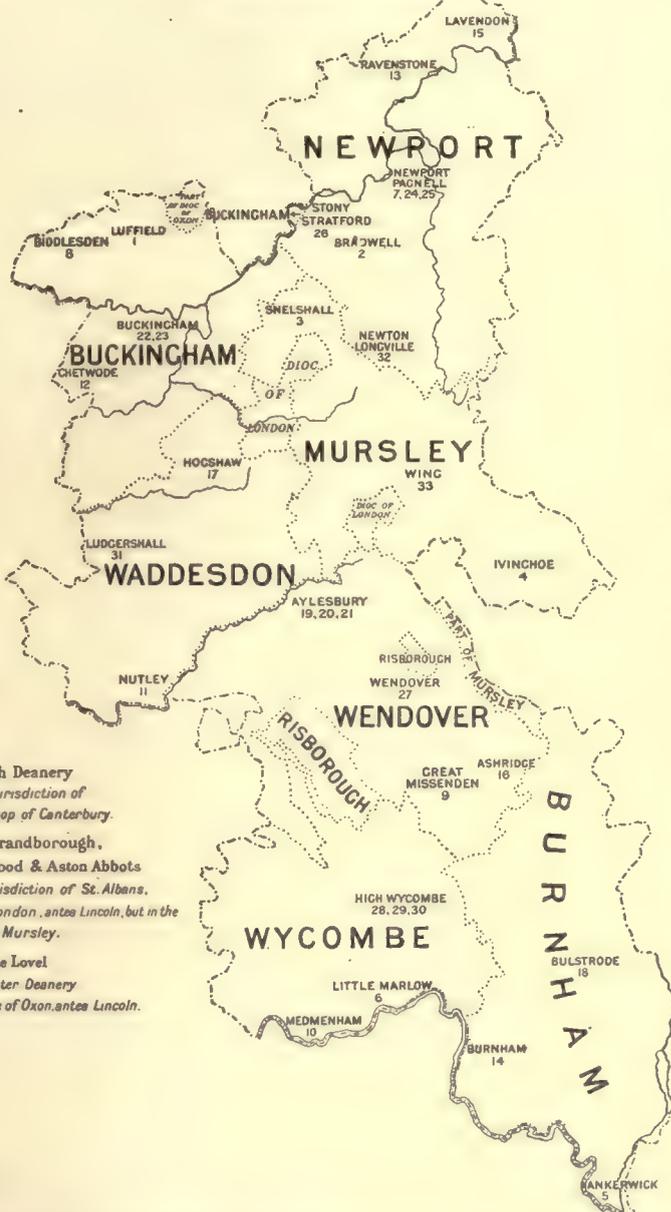
ECCLESIASTICAL MAP OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Showing ancient Rural Deaneries according to the Valor of 1535
and the Religious Houses.

Scale

MILES 2 1 0 2 4 6 8 MILES

William Stanford & Company, Ltd.



RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BENEDICTINE MONKS.

1. Luffield Priory.
2. Bradwell Priory.
3. Snelshall Priory.

BENEDICTINE NUNS.

4. Ivinghoe Priory.
5. Ankerwick Priory.
6. Little Marlow Priory.

CLUNIAN MONKS.

7. Tickford or Newport Pagnell Priory.

CISTERCIAN MONKS.

8. Biddlesden Abbey.

AUSTIN CANONS.

9. Missenden Abbey.
10. Medmenham Abbey.
11. Nutley Abbey.
12. Chetwode Priory.
13. Ravenstone Priory.

AUSTIN NUNS.

14. Burnham Abbey.

PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS.

15. Lavendon Abbey.

BONHOMMES.

16. Ashridge College.

KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS.

17. Hogshaw Commandry

KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

18. Bulstrode Preceptory.

FRIARIES.

19. Aylesbury Franciscan Friars.

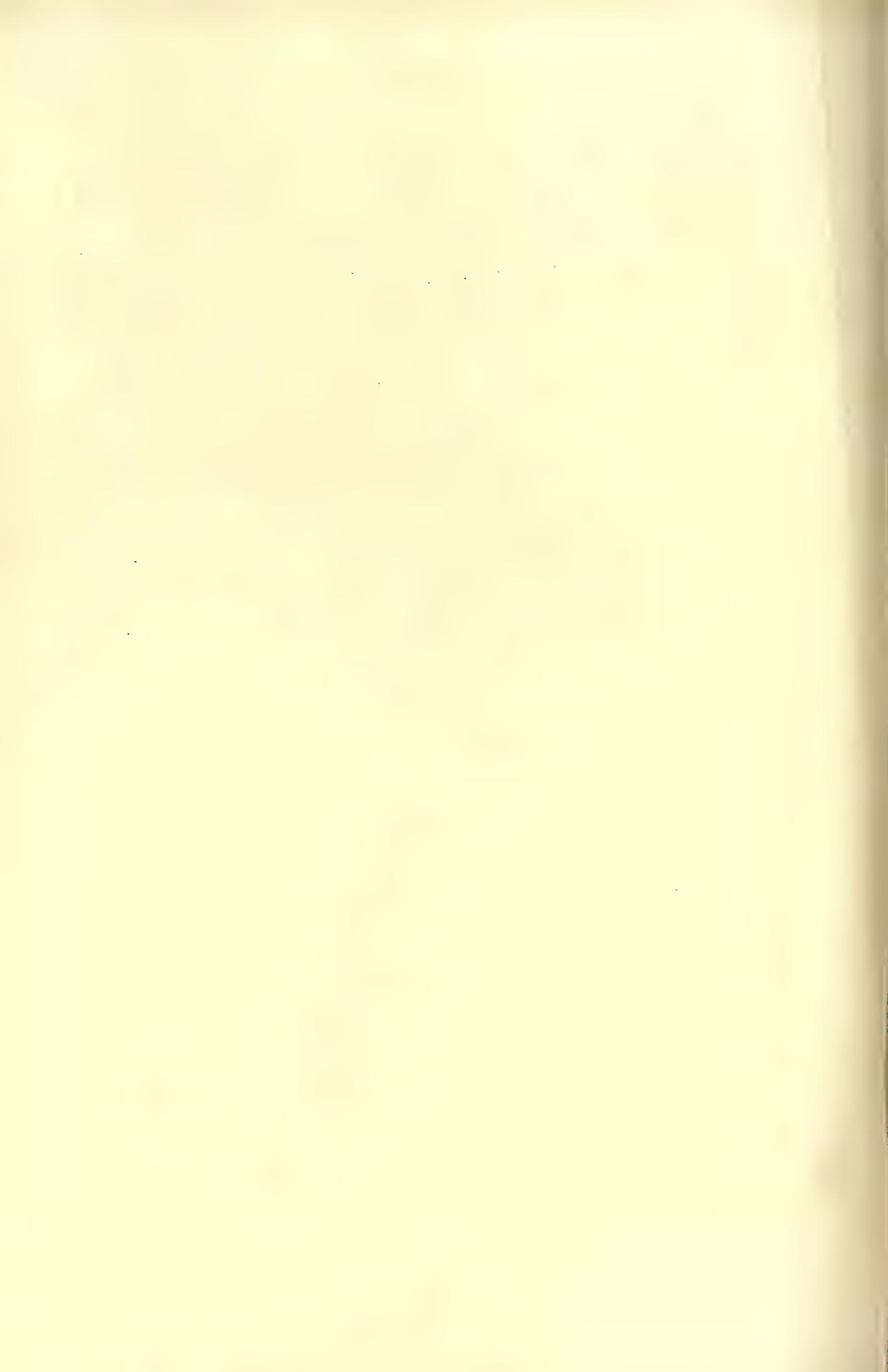
HOSPITALS.

20. Aylesbury St. John the Baptist.
21. " St. Leonard.
22. Buckingham St. John the Baptist.
23. " St. Lawrence
24. Newport Pagnell St. John the Baptist & St. John the Evangelist.
25. " St. Margaret
26. Stony Stratford St. John the Baptist.
27. Wendover St. John the Baptist.
28. High Wycombe St. Margaret.
29. " " St. Giles.
30. " " St. John the Baptist.
31. Ludgershall.

ALIEN HOUSES.

32. Newton Longville Priory.
33. Wing Priory.

- N.B. (1) Risborough Deanery
under the jurisdiction of
The Archbishop of Canterbury.
- (2) Winslow, Grandborough,
Little Horwood & Aston Abbots
in the jurisdiction of St. Albans,
Diocese of London, antea Lincoln, but in the
Deanery of Mursley.
- (3) Lillingstone Lovel
in-Burchester Deanery
in the Diocese of Oxon. antea Lincoln.



RELIGIOUS HOUSES

teries of England. There have been writers who, though they condemned the wholesale destruction of all monasteries by Henry VIII., have yet been disposed on the whole to accept the statements contained in the preamble to the First Act of Suppression; and there is indeed at first sight something very plausible in the theory that the smaller houses were worse than the large ones, as less influenced by public opinion both within and without. The question however is not what might have happened, but what actually did happen; and so far as this county is concerned, there is no evidence that the smaller houses were more degenerate than the greater; they were nearly all well spoken of at the last by the local commissioners. Nor do we find here any signs that one order was on the whole worse than another, though the latest reports of the abbey of Missenden tend to justify Wolsey's efforts to reform the Augustinians. But indeed it very often happened that two houses¹ of the same order, separated by only a few miles of country, might be in a very different condition; and the same house which at one visitation was censured might a few years later be praised; not because of any fault in the times, or in the order, but simply because of the change of superiors. This fact has not perhaps received as much consideration as it deserves: duly weighed, it will account for a good deal that would otherwise be difficult to understand.

Five of the Buckinghamshire monasteries were destined to come to an end before the general dissolution. The priory of Luffield was suppressed in 1494 to endow Henry the Seventh's new chapel at Westminster; and the priories of Tickford, Ravenstone, and Bradwell formed part of the endowment of Cardinal's College in 1524. The priory of Chetwode had been absorbed into the abbey of Nutley in 1461.

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

I. THE PRIORY OF LUFFIELD

The priory of Luffield was probably the first house of this order in Buckinghamshire,² and was dedicated to the honour of St. Mary; the name of the founder, Robert de Bossu, Earl of Leicester, shows the date of foundation to have been earlier than 1133.³ Gifts of land for the support of the monastery were confirmed by Henry I. and the Empress Maud, and also by bulls of Eugenius III. and Alexander III.:⁴ there is no well-known name among its benefactors except that of

Hamo son of Meinfelin.⁵ The endowments in the twelfth century were not extensive, and no considerable gifts were added at any later time, so that the number of monks must always have been small. The house seems to have been reckoned almost from the first as a royal foundation, and the royal patronage was of real advantage in at least one case of need. For we are told by the chronicler of Dunstable⁶ that in the year 1244 a band of five-and-twenty robbers burst into the monastery while the monks were singing vespers, and carried away all the portable ornaments of the church, with everything else they could

¹ E.g. the abbeys of Warden and Woburn in Bedfordshire.

² It is partly in Northamptonshire as well as in this county.

³ Tanner gives the year 1124, *Notitia*, Northants, xxii.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 348.

⁵ He gave 5½ hides in Thornborough and the church. *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 351.

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 165. The priory of Beverley was robbed in the same year. Such acts were by no means uncommon at this time.

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lay hands on, not even sparing the sacred vessels: whereupon the king not only consoled the monks with kind words, but sent them three new chalices and the necessary vestments for three chaplains, as well as £15 in money. In November 1286 the debts of the house had become so serious that Edward I. took the priory under his protection and appointed a royal clerk, Richard de Rothwell, to the custody of the temporalities during his pleasure.¹ The house is here described as being of the patronage of the king. As pertaining to his prerogatives the king exercised the right of imposing boarders, and on 20 August, 1316, John de Ditton, clerk, obtained letters to the prior and convent entitling him to receive the pension they were bound to grant to one of the king's clerks by reason of the new creation of a prior.² Some years later, in February 1333-4, Robert de la Chapelle was sent to the house to receive such maintenance as John Close, deceased, had had.³

Not much is known of the external history of the priory, though the names of the priors are found in regular succession both in the episcopal registers and the patent rolls. There is no record even of any important lawsuit connected with this house. Finally, in the year 1493, when the number of inmates was reduced to three, King Henry VII. petitioned Pope Alexander VI. to allow him to suppress the house and apply its revenues, the yearly value of which was estimated at 260 florins *auri de camera*, to the chapel and chantry which he had founded next to St. George's, Windsor, together with a hospital for the poor and other 'miserable persons' in the town of the same. The Bull which granted this request describes the monastery as situated in a deserted place, and inhabited for some time past by a prior with only two monks, who had not even been professed in the house: the buildings had fallen into almost irreparable ruin through the neglect of those who had charge of them.⁴ A subsequent Bull of Julius II. allowed the king to apply the revenues of the priory to his new chapel at Westminster instead of to Windsor,⁵ and this plan was carried into effect four or five years later.

Archbishop Peckham visited the priory early in 1280 and found the conduct of the prior, William de Esteneston, so bad that he

absolved him from office.⁶ The monks obtained leave to elect, and on 8 March, 1279-80, the king signified his assent to the election of Adam de Hanred or Henred.⁷ The archbishop wrote to Oliver Sutton, then bishop-elect of Lincoln, forbidding him to assign any pension or portion to the late prior of Luffield beyond the common share, unless he should think fit to send him to do penance for his excesses in another monastery, stating that in the face of his express prohibitions and on the very day of the archbishop's departure the prior had admitted women into the cloister of the monastery and had wasted the goods of the house on them.⁸ Archbishop Peckham visited the priory again in the autumn of 1284, and found that William de Esteneston had prevailed on his diocesan to grant him the usual privileges of a retired superior for so long as he should behave himself honestly and regularly. This indulgence the archbishop found he had grossly abused, and on 15 November Peckham issued a decree that brother William de Esteneston should be deprived of the special chamber assigned to him in the infirmary, which should henceforth be restored for the use of the sick, that he should take his meals with the monks in the refectory, and share the food of the ordinary brothers, should sleep in the dormitory and attend the day and night offices in the church unless obviously ill, should receive the same treatment in the infirmary if he should fall ill as any other brother, and that his servant (*garcio*) should lodge with the other servants of the community and not within the cloister. The archbishop, in order to prevent the abuse spreading, ordered that the door leading from the chamber occupied by the late prior into the orchard should be locked and the key kept by the prior until a wall could be built round the orchard. After that the sick should have liberty to go in and out of the orchard until sunset, when the door should be locked and the key placed in the custody of the prior. If the culprit refused to adhere to these regulations he was to be separated from the community and kept in seclusion according to their rule until he rendered humble obedience. If he should show signs of apostasy, as was to be feared, or attempt to renew his crimes, he was to be placed in close custody.⁹

There was much discord in the house at the close of the century, which showed itself in several successive elections. In 1285 Bishop

¹ Pat. 14 Edw. I. m. 4.

² Close, 10 Edw. II. m. 27d.

³ Ibid. 8 Edw. III. m. 35d.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 346.

⁵ Ibid. and Rymer, *Fœdera*, xii. 563, and xiii. 97.

⁶ *Reg. of Archbishop Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 101.

⁷ Pat. 8 Edw. I. m. 21.

⁸ *Reg. of Archbishop Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 102.

⁹ Ibid. iii. 584-5.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Sutton deprived the brethren of their right of election, because of the dissensions which arose at the resignation of the prior: and finding no one in the house whom he thought capable of holding office, he on his own authority re-appointed Adam de Hanred, the monk who had just resigned.¹ In 1287 Adam again resigned, and on 26 May a licence to elect having been obtained, the brethren elected Richard de Silveston. The royal assent to his election was signified on 18 June, but on that day a messenger arrived from the convent bearing the resignation of brother Richard and requesting another licence to elect.² This having been obtained, the choice of the priory fell on a brother from another monastery—John of Houghton, from the priory of Daventry.³ He in his turn resigned two years later, and became a Friar minor: the monk elected in his place resigned the office,⁴ and Peter of Saldeston or Shalstone was finally appointed.⁵ In 1294 the bishop visited the house, and deposed Peter of Shalstone,⁶ because he would not obey the injunctions then given as to the management of the property of the convent, and William of Brackley was elected. After this the house must have enjoyed greater peace, for William ruled it nearly twenty years, and his successor twenty-eight years.

The only other recorded visitation of this monastery was in 1311, by order of Bishop Dalderby⁷; its results are not entered in the episcopal registers. In 1347 the prior was enjoined to receive back an apostate monk, who wished to resume the habit of religion.⁸ The death of the prior is recorded in the year of the Great Pestilence, and it is stated that

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Sutton. According to entries on the patent and fine rolls the monks, on the resignation of Adam de Henred or Hanred in December 1284, elected William de Brackley, a brother of their house, as prior, and on 2 January, 1284-5, the king signified his assent (Pat. 13 Edw. I. m. 31). The bishop annulled the election and reappointed Adam, without however obtaining another licence from the king, who of his special grace directed the escheator to restore the temporalities of the house to Adam until Parliament, to be held after Easter, when the matter should receive final settlement. Fine R. 13 Edw. I. m. 16, cited by Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 346, *n.z.*

² Pat. 15 Edw. I. ms. 9, 11.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Sutton.

⁴ His name was Gilbert de Merse. Pat. 17 Edw. I. ms. 18, 20.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Sutton and Pat. 17 Edw. I. m. 18.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, f. 111.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, 202d.

⁸ Ibid. Inst. Bek. 12d.

all the monks died of the plague.⁹ It may be that, like many other small houses, the priory of Luffield never fully recovered its original numbers or prosperity after this year. The last prior, Thomas Rowland, on the suppression of the house in 1494, retired to the abbey of Abingdon, of which he died Lord Abbot in 1504.¹⁰

The original endowment of the priory consisted of the demesne land at Luffield, with other parcels of land in Thornborough, Shalstone and Evershaw in this county, at 'Flechamsteda' in Warwickshire, and at Dodford in Northamptonshire; with the churches of Thornborough, Beachampton and Water Stratford and the Chapel of Evershaw.¹¹ The total value of temporalities in 1291 was £24 19s. 7½d.¹²; the spiritualities could not have amounted to much, as the churches of Thornborough and Water Stratford were both of less than £10 value, and vicar's portions had to be paid out of this.

In 1316 the prior of Luffield was returned as holding half the vill of Shalstone, half the vill of Evershaw, and one third of Thornborough.¹³ In 1346 he held the same portion of Thornborough, and shared with the abbot of Biddlesden one eighth of a knight's fee in Evershaw.¹⁴

The value of the house, as stated in the bull of Alexander VI. for its annexation, is stated to have been 260 golden florins.

PRIORS OF LUFFIELD

Mauger,¹⁵ first prior, occurs before 1133

William,¹⁶ occurs 1151

Ralf,¹⁷ occurs 1174

John¹⁸

William,¹⁹ before 1218

Roger,²⁰ died 1231

William de Brackley,²¹ elected 1231

⁹ Cited by Browne Willis (*Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 27) from Camden. See also Gasquet, *Black Death*, 137.

¹⁰ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 27. His companions were probably transferred to other monasteries according to the ordination laid down in the bull of Alexander VI. Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 352.

¹¹ Ibid. and *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 343, 351.

¹² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 45-47, etc.

¹³ *Feud. Aids*, i. 108-9.

¹⁴ Ibid. 125-6.

¹⁵ Foundation Charter, Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 346.

¹⁶ Bull of Eugenius III., *ibid.*

¹⁷ Bull of Alexander III. *ibid.*

¹⁸ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 25

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Pat. 15 Hen. III. m. 2.

²¹ Ibid.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Ralf de Silveston,¹ elected 1263, resigned 1275
 William de Esteneston,² elected 1275, resigned 1279-80
 Adam de Hanred, Henred or Heured,³ 1279-80, resigned 1284
 William de Brackley,⁴ elected 1284-5, election annulled
 Adam de Hanred, Henred or Heured⁵ re-appointed 1285, resigned 1287
 Richard de Silveston,⁶ elected 1287, resigned same time
 John de Houghton,⁷ elected 1287, resigned 1289
 Gilbert de Merse,⁸ elected 1289, resigned same time
 Peter de Saldeston or Shalstone,⁹ elected 1289, deposed 1294
 William de Brackley,¹⁰ elected 1294, resigned 1316
 John de Westburg,¹¹ elected 1316, died 1344
 William de Skelton,¹² elected 1344, died 1349
 William de Horwood,¹³ elected 1349, resigned 1383
 John Pirye,¹⁴ elected 1383
 John Horwood,¹⁵ elected 1396
 John Hals,¹⁶ elected 1420, died 1444
 John Pinchbeck,¹⁷ elected 1444, resigned 1468
 William Rogers,¹⁸ elected 1468, resigned 1488
 Thomas Rowland,¹⁹ elected 1488, resigned the house 1494²⁰

Seal: A pointed oval seal²¹ of the thirteenth century represents the Virgin seated on a throne, a sceptre in her right hand, the Holy Child on her left knee with cruciform

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

² Ibid. and Pat. 3. Edw. I. m. 19.

³ Ibid. 8 Edw. I. m. 21.

⁴ Ibid. 13 Edw. I. m. 29.

⁵ Ibid. m. 23, and Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Sutton.

⁶ Pat. 15 Edw. I. m. 9.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Sutton.

⁸ Pat. 17 Edw. I. m. 18. ⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. 23 Edw. I. m. 18.

¹¹ Ibid. 9 Edw. II. m. 15.

¹² Ibid. 18 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 15.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, f. 240d.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, i. f. 230.

¹⁵ Ibid. ii. f. 184.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. Fleming, f. 49d.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. Alnwick, f. 131.

¹⁸ Ibid. Inst. Chadworth, f. 72d.

¹⁹ Ibid. Inst. Russell, f. 63.

²⁰ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 27.

²¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 348.

nimbus, lifting up the right hand in benediction and holding a book in the left. In the upper part of the seal is the representation of a church, in base a prior is kneeling in prayer. Legend: s' COMMVNIS: SANCTE: MARIE: D'LVFFEILT.

2. THE PRIORY OF BRADWELL

The priory of Bradwell, like that of Luffield, has scarcely any history at all. It was founded somewhere about the year 1155 by Meinfelin, lord of Wolverton,²² and the patronage of the house continued in this family for a century at least.²³ Its endowments were very small, and it had scarcely any property outside this county.

As early as the reign of John the prior had to contest with Alan of Etchingham the advowson of Padbury church,²⁴ and there were several suits in the thirteenth century in connection with the church of Chalfont St. Giles,²⁵ which passed for some time out of the hands of the monks.²⁶ This house appears to have been among those which suffered most from the effects of the Great Pestilence: the prior, William of Loughton, died in 1349, and a dispensation granted in the same year to a certain monk of illegitimate birth to hold any office, even that of prior,²⁷ suggests that the number of those eligible was very small at that time. It is stated by Browne Willis that the prior in 1361 was sequestered for causing or allowing dilapidation of the conventual buildings,²⁸ and there seems to have been a vacancy for some years after this.²⁹ Not even

²² Browne Willis, *History of Abbies*, ii. 15.

²³ The name of Longville appears as patron in an election of 1410; and Sir John Longville granted the priory to Cardinal Wolsey in 1524, with the proviso that a chaplain should be found to sing mass for his soul in the priory church or else in the new college at Oxford. *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. (1) 536.

²⁴ *Feet of F.* (Rec. Com.), 3 John, p. 200.

²⁵ *Feet of F.* 3 Hen. III. Nos. 2 and 6. The prior gained the day, but granted the presentation to William de Aubeney and his wife for life. There was another suit in 1253, when John de Wellington failed to establish a claim on the church (ibid. 37 Hen. III. no. 4).

²⁶ In 1259, when it was granted to the Cathedral at Lincoln. Lipscomb, *History of Bucks*, iii. 229.

²⁷ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv. 175.

²⁸ Browne Willis, *History of Abbies*, ii. 15. When Browne Willis's references can be traced, they are usually found to be accurate in connection with his own county.

²⁹ Commissions were issued by the bishop in 1376 and 1381 to different persons to take charge of the priory during vacancy. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 126 and 235.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

the names of the priors between 1410 and 1492 have as yet been recovered: the history of the house during that period is almost a blank sheet. In 1504, at the resignation of Thomas Wright, the number of monks was insufficient for a canonical election, and the bishop was obliged to collate a prior¹; and in 1524 the site of the monastery and its scanty revenues were granted to Cardinal Wolsey for the endowment of his new college.²

During the latter half of the fourteenth century, when the priory of Bradwell was evidently very poor and its monks few in number, it nevertheless appears to have had a very high character for the strict observance of the rule. For one of those monks who obtained permission from the good abbot of St. Albans, Thomas de la Mare, to leave his own monastery in search of a more perfect life, made choice of this little house³ as a place of holy retirement; perhaps finding its simplicity and very real poverty more attractive than the stately order of the great abbey in which he was professed. The priory seems to have maintained this character for some time. When Bishop Gray visited it between 1431 and 1436⁴ he had no serious fault to find with anything he heard or saw. He encouraged the monks in spite of the smallness of their numbers still to be regular in rising to mattins; and if there were not sufficient voices to sing the office they were permitted to recite it without note, yet devoutly and distinctly, observing the pause in every verse. If they were unable to go to the refectory together every day, they should do so at least on Wednesdays and Fridays: in other words, the fact that they were few was not in any way to hinder the regularity of their life. The bishop concluded by bidding them increase their number as soon as possible on pain of contempt, but it seems probable that their poverty made this almost impossible, for in 1455 they had to petition for the suppression of the vicarage of Padbury and its union with the parish church⁵: and the sum total of their revenue at the time of the dissolution of the monastery was less than £50.

The original endowment of the priory comprised only certain lands in Wolverton and Padbury, and the churches of Wolverton,

Padbury, Stantonbury, Chalfont St. Giles' and Stoke Hammond.⁶ The church of Stantonbury was granted at an early date to the Cathedral at Lincoln,⁷ and the church of Chalfont St. Giles in the year 1259; the latter was however reckoned among the benefices belonging to the monastery in 1527. The temporalities assigned to Bradwell in 1291 amount only to £10 19s. 10d.⁸; and a survey taken in 1380 gave a total of £32 6s. 2d.⁹ At the dissolution the total issues of the house were stated to be £47 4s. 1½d.¹⁰

PRIORS OF BRADWELL

Nigel,¹¹ occurs 1189
 Richard,¹² occurs 1201
 John,¹³ occurs 1219
 Richard,¹⁴ resigned 1237
 Simon de Kantia,¹⁵ elected 1237
 John,¹⁶ occurs 1253
 Bartholomew,¹⁷ occurs 1272
 Robert of Ramsey,¹⁸ elected 1280
 John,¹⁹ died 1320
 Robert of Rowsham,²⁰ elected 1320
 Robert Foliot,²¹ died 1331
 Simon of Elstow,²² elected 1331, resigned 1336
 William of Loughton,²³ elected 1336, died 1349
 John of Billing,²⁴ elected 1349
 John of Willen,²⁵ deprived 1361

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 508-12.

⁷ Lipscomb, *History of Bucks.* iv. 348.

⁸ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 510-11. The survey is quoted from a valuation which Browne Willis saw at Buckden, dated 1380; and in the Episcopal register of 1380-1 a survey of the goods of the monastery was ordered, of which this may be the result (*Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham*, 235). The prior of Bradwell in 1316 had only one third of the village of Padbury. *Feud. Aids*, i. 109.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. (3) 6788.

¹¹ Browne Willis, *History of Abbies*, ii. 15.

¹² *Feet of F.* (Rec. Com.), 200.

¹³ *Feet of F. Bucks.* 3 Hen. III. 2 and 6, and *Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Hugh of Wells*, A° 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Rolls of Grosstête.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* He had been sacrist of Peterborough.

¹⁶ *Feet of F.* 37 Hen. III. 4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 56 Hen. III. 17.

¹⁸ Browne Willis, *History of Abbies*, ii. 15.

¹⁹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Burwash*, 325.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.* 338. He may be the same as Robert of Rowsham.

²² *Ibid.* 349.

²³ *Ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 240.

²⁴ Browne Willis, *History of Abbies*, ii. 15. This may be the same as John of Billing; but as Willis does not give his reference, it cannot at present be proved that he has misread the name.

¹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Smith*, 375d.

² *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. (1) 536, etc.

³ *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 416.

⁴ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gray*, 202.

⁵ *Ibid.* Memo. Chadworth, 41. The vicars had constantly brought suits against the priory, thinking they had not a sufficient share in the fruits of the benefice.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

John Horwood,¹ occurs 1388, died 1410
William Horwood,² elected 1410
John Wells,³ elected 1492, died 1503
Thomas Wright,⁴ elected 1503, resigned
1504
Robert Boston,⁵ elected 1504, resigned
1515
John Ashby,⁶ last prior elected 1515

Pointed oval seal, one side of which is chipped, attached to a charter⁷ bearing the date 1209, represents the prior standing on a corbel holding a book. Legend, partly defaced, runs: . . . ILL' PRIORIS DE BRADEWEL.

3. THE PRIORY OF SNELSHALL

There is no record of the existence of this priory earlier than 1219⁸; and the charter of confirmation granted by Henry III. in 1228 names Ralf Martel as the founder, and donor of the demesne land with the chapel of Tattenhoe. Several smaller benefactions were confirmed at the same time, but they are not connected with any well-known names. The priory was dedicated to St. Leonard, and it is probable that it was never intended to support more than about half a dozen monks. Like the other Benedictine houses of this county, it has very little history. A visitation of Bishop Burghersh, dated 1321,⁹ describes it as so poor that the monks had scarcely the necessaries of life, and had to beg even for these; an indulgence was granted at this time to those who should contribute to their support. Again in 1490¹⁰ the prior of Snelshall was presented to the archdeacon for not paying tithes to Shenley Church for lands which lay in that parish. In 1529 Bishop Longland¹¹ visited the house and evidently found some irregularity amongst the two or three monks who remained. He ordered the prior, William Maltby, on pain of deprivation, to observe the purpose of the foundation and

to see that others did the same: and enjoined him also within ten days to dismiss all women, married or unmarried, from the precincts of the monastery,¹² retaining only two of more than forty-eight years and of unexceptionable character as servants. There were to be three brothers in the house besides the prior, and no strangers were to be entertained except in the way of hospitality.

In 1535, after the passing of the first Act of Suppression, the local commissioners reported that there were only three monks in the house, two priests and one only a novice, and none of them guilty of immorality; that there were eight servants also living in the monastery, as well as the prior's father and mother, who had brought all their goods with them, and hoped to spend their old age there. The house was said to be 'wholly in ruin': but it was not in debt.¹³

William Maltby, the prior, with two monks had signed the Acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy in the same year.¹⁴ At the surrender of the house, which must have been before 28 July, 1535, he received an annual pension of £5.¹⁵

The original endowment of the priory by Ralf Martel comprised the land on which it stood, with 'husbote and haybote' in the woods of Tattenhoe, sufficient for fuel and building purposes, and of underwood enough for making bread and beer, and quittance of pannage for hogs. The chapel of Tattenhoe was also granted to the monks with a virgate of land, and some small parcels of land in the neighbourhood and in Northamptonshire.¹⁶ The temporalities of the priory in 1291 amounted to £8 14s. 8d.¹⁷; the chapel of Tattenhoe seems only to have been worth 13s. 4d. A taxation of 1383 only amounted to £6 19s. 3d. besides the chapel.¹⁸ The commissioners of 1535 reported the clear value of the monastery to be £18 1s. 11d.; on

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Repingdon, 444.

² Ibid.

³ Browne Willis, *History of Abbies*, ii. 15. He had been prior of Snelshall.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Smith, 371d.

⁵ Ibid. 375d.

⁶ Ibid. Inst. Atwater, 40d. He seems to have been alive in 1529. *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 6033.

⁷ Harl. Chart. 84 D. 19.

⁸ *Chron. of priory of Dunstable* (Hearne ed.), ii. 680.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh, 39d.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 233 (from visitations of Bucks).

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Longland, 196d.

¹² This does not necessarily imply that there had been scandal, but only that there had not been proper care to avoid scandal. Bishop Longland was not in the least afraid of making plain and simple accusations when necessary. The local commissioners of a few years later report quite simply—'Monks three, incontinent none.'

¹³ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Abbies*, ii. 36, 7.

¹⁴ P.R.O. Acknowledgment of Supremacy No. 105.

¹⁵ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 232, f. 29. The pension was to begin from 28 July, so that the house must have been dissolved before that date.

¹⁶ *Cal. of Chert. R.*, i. 67, and Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 235.

¹⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 233.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

the second survey £19 14s. 8d. ; bells, lead, etc., were worth £10 16s. 8d.¹ The Minister's Accounts of the same year give a total of only £15 7s. 10d.²

PRIORS OF SNELSHALL

William,³ occurs 1219
 Hugh,⁴ occurs 1226
 Nicholas,⁵ occurs 1232
 John,⁶ occurs 1240
 Hugh of Dunstable,⁷ elected 1251, resigned 1272
 Warin,⁸ elected 1272
 Nicholas of Hanslope,⁹ resigned 1300
 Richard of Eye,¹⁰ elected 1300, resigned 1302
 Nicholas of Hanslope¹¹ re-appointed 1302, died 1319
 John of Conesgrave,¹² elected 1319
 Hugh of Leckhampstead,¹³ elected 1334, died 1357

Richard de Nibbeley¹⁷ (or de Nuble), elected 1357, died 1367
 Roger of Oving,¹⁸ elected 1367, died 1393
 John Middleton,¹⁹ elected 1393
 Simon London,²⁰ resigned 1431
 William Whaddon,²¹ elected 1431
 Hugh Fuller,²² occurs 1461
 John Medburn,²³ occurs 1478
 John Wells,²⁴ occurs 1488, resigned 1492
 Thomas Broke,²⁵ elected 1492, resigned 1503
 Hugh Brecknock,²⁶ elected 1503, died 1529
 William Maltby,²⁷ last prior, elected 1529

A seal of this priory is attached to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy (No. 105). It is in red wax and represents a prior standing with a staff in his right hand and an open book in his left. Legend: s. PRIORIS ET C . . . DE SNELLESHALL.

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

4. THE PRIORY OF IVINGHOE

The date of the foundation of this priory is very uncertain, but it seems on the whole most probable that it was in existence before Ankerwyke or Little Marlow. It was most commonly called the priory of St. Margaret's in the Wood. Leland gives the tradition that it was founded by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, about the year 1160: but a charter of St. Thomas of Canterbury given in Dugdale confirms the grants of William, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1129, confirmed by Henry de Blois his successor.¹⁴ The manor of Ivinghoe had for a long time been part of the endowment of the see of Winchester, even before the Conquest.¹⁵

The benefactors of the priory were not numerous, either in its earlier or later days:¹⁶

in the thirteenth century King Henry III. granted to the nuns the church of Merrow in Surrey,¹⁷ with other smaller gifts, such as an annual fair on the feast of St. Margaret, and ten acres of assart in Hemel Hempstead.¹⁸ There are several allusions in the episcopal registers to the poverty of this house, and in 1277 the prioress seems to have been thankful to be acquitted even of so small a fine as two marks, which she had incurred by privately settling a dispute which ought to have come before the king's justices.¹⁹

The priory was dissolved under the first Act of Suppression, and contained at that time only five nuns, of whom three were novices. The prioress, Margery Hardwick, received a pension of £4.²⁰

Bishop Dalderby granted indulgences on three different occasions²¹ to those who should

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 234, from Browne Willis.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 233. ⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Feet of F. Bucks, 14 Henry III. 4.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosstête.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.* Memo. Dalderby, 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Inst. Dalderby, 175.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 176. ¹² *Ibid.* 192d.

¹³ *Ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 281d. A disputed election.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 268.

¹⁵ See Domesday translation.

¹⁶ The name of Miles Neirenuit is the only one well known in the neighbourhood during the thirteenth century.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 264d.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Inst. Bokyngham, i. 414.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 408.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Inst. Gray, 45. ²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 233. ²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.* 234, and Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Russell, 126d.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.* Inst. Smith, 371.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Inst. Longland, 197d.

²⁸ *Cal. of Chart. R.*, i. 186 (17 Hen. III. m. 2).

²⁹ *Ibid.* i. 27 (11 Hen. III. pt. 1, m. 13).

³⁰ Close, 5 Edw. I. m. 5.

³¹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 232, f. 20d.

³² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 44, 58d, 368d (1301, 1303 and 1318).

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

give alms for the maintenance of the 'poor nuns of St. Margaret's priory'; from which we may surely infer that he had visited the house and was satisfied with its condition in other respects.¹ Poverty and obscurity are indeed in no sense a reproach to a convent of nuns. Again in the fifteenth century (during which only two names of prioresses can at present be recovered) there is indirect evidence of the faithful observance of the Benedictine rule in this house. During the episcopate of Bishop Alnwick a nun of some years' standing at the Augustinian priory of Grace Dieu sought and obtained permission to leave her own monastery and retire to St. Margaret's, Ivinghoe. After she had actually gone there, her original superior sent and fetched her back again; whereupon she appealed to the bishop. He examined the matter, and finding that she had made the change not from levity of mind, but from a motive always sanctioned by the Church—the desire, namely, of passing a *minore religione ad majorem, causa arctioris aut durioris vitæ*—ordered that she should be allowed to remain at St. Margaret's.² Bishop Alnwick was an energetic visitor of the monasteries in his diocese,³ and would soon have discovered if the priory of Ivinghoe did not really offer to the nun in question the stricter life which she desired.

Bishop Longland visited the house in 1530⁴ and found there a prioress with three or four nuns. The house was said to be in debt, but under no other reproach, except that one of the ladies had visited her friends without permission, and stayed away from her monastery from the Feast of St. Michael till Passion

¹ Bishop Dalderby knew the nunneries of his diocese pretty well, as he had visited them all early in his episcopate to explain the statute *Pro clausura monialium*.

² *Ibid.* Memo. Alnwick, 69.

³ There is a series of visitations of Bishop Alnwick's still preserved at Lincoln; they are not all noticed in his Memoranda, and are probably very little known: many of the heads of houses mentioned in them are not found in any of the lists in Dugdale.

⁴ Visitations of Bishop Longland, 1530. Many of these also are not noticed in his Memoranda. They are in the same form as those of Bishops Alnwick and Atwater: the bishop sat in the chapter house and interrogated each religious in turn as to the state of the house, so far as she was able to speak of it; at the end of the conference he delivered his injunctions. Only a summary of the injunctions is usually entered in the Memoranda: but the original visitation report gives the actual answer of every monk or nun in the house—and very quaint answers they sometimes are.

Sunday in the next year. She was enjoined not to go out again without permission from the prioress: and for a penance she was to say the seven penitential psalms every Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday, with an additional *Pater, Ave* and *Credo* every day.⁵

In 1535 the local commissioners found five nuns here, of whom two were professed and three only novices: three of these were sufficiently attached to their religious life to decline the opportunity of returning to the world, and asked permission to enter another house of the order. There were four servants living in the monastery, which was said to be of competent estate and no longer in debt.⁶

The house was originally endowed with only a small portion of land in the wood of Ivinghoe: to which was added later the church of Merrow in Surrey with lands attached, and ten acres of assart at Hemel Hempstead.⁷ The priory is not mentioned in the *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*: its revenue is given in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as £14 3s. 1d. clear.⁸ The survey of the local commissioners returned it first as worth £13 3s. 4d. and later as £19 8s. 9d.; the bells, lead, etc., were valued at £8 10s. 6d., and the moveable goods at £1 13s. 4d. The Ministers' Accounts only give a total of £10 4s. 1½d.⁹

PRIORESSES OF IVINGHOE

Alice,¹⁰ occurs 1237
 Isolt,¹¹ died 1262
 Cicely,¹² elected 1262, resigned 1275
 Maud de Hockliffe,¹³ elected 1275, died 1296
 Isolt de Beauchamp,¹⁴ elected 1296
 Sibyl de Hampstead,¹⁵ resigned 1340
 Maud de Cheyney,¹⁶ elected 1340
 Eleanor Cross,¹⁷ died 1467
 Eleanor Symmes,¹⁸ elected 1467

⁵ It is characteristic of Bishop Longland that he does not say 'a *pater, ave, and credo*,' but 'the Lord's Prayer, the angelic salutation, and the symbol of the apostles.'

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 269; from Browne Willis.

⁷ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i. 27, 186.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 227.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 269.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i. 226.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. R. of Gravesend.

¹² *Ibid.* ¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Inst. Sutton, 119d.

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 268. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Chadworth, 153. It is a tempting conjecture that this may be the Augustinian nun who came in 1447 to Ivinghoe in search of a stricter life. Her name however is given in Bishop Alnwick's Memoranda as Margaret Cross.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Elizabeth Wyvill,¹ occurs 1530, died 1534
Margaret Hardwick,² last prioress, elected
1534

A pointed oval seal of Prioress Isolt de Beauchamp, attached to a charter³ dated Feast of St. Valentine, 1325-6, represents the Virgin Mary, full length, the Holy Child with nimbus on her left arm. The legend, which is defaced, runs: . . . P. . . . DICAT. VGO MAR[IA].

5. THE PRIORY OF ANKERWICK

The priory of Ankerwick⁴ seems to have been founded during the reign of Henry II., probably not before 1160,⁵ by Gilbert de Muntfichet, lord of Wyrardisbury, whose son Richard was also reckoned as a founder and benefactor. This is another poor and small monastery of which very little is known; it was dedicated to the honour of St. Mary Magdalene. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were six or seven nuns besides the prioress: an income of about £20 would probably never have supported more. And yet we find here, as at Ivinghoe and Little Marlow, the names of some well-known county families among the prioresses.

Of the external history of the house absolutely nothing is known: it probably went through the same struggles as other small

¹ Visitations of Longland, 1530.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Longland, 1534.

³ Harl. Chart. 84, f. 54.

⁴ The name of Ankerwick is not found in Domesday: it suggests that the priory was built on the site of an ancient hermitage.

⁵ It has been suggested that the priory was of earlier date, from the mention of 'Hugh abbot of Chertsey' among its benefactors (there was an abbot of that name at Chertsey early in the twelfth century). But the charters referring to Wyrardisbury Church in *Hist. Mon. S. Petri Glouc.* i. 164-174 make it clear that an earlier date than 1154 would make it impossible for Gilbert father of Richard de Montfichet to be the founder. Robert Gernon was the Domesday tenant of Wyrardisbury, and granted the church to Gloucester Abbey; William de Muntfichet succeeded Robert Gernon and lived all through the reign of Henry I., for he founded Stratford Abbey in 1135; his son Gilbert, founder of Ankerwick, was a minor at the time of his father's death and through the civil war under Stephen, and not able to act on his own account till the reign of Henry II. was well begun. The name of Gilbert de Muntfichet occurs in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Rolls Ser.), i. 38 and 730, under the years 1167-8: his son Richard's from 1187 to 1212. The events mentioned in Curia Regis R. 48 go back to the year 1182.

monasteries during the fourteenth century,⁶ and the death of a prioress (unnamed) is recorded in 1349.⁷ We may surely hope that in the course of three or four hundred years it was in some sense a source of blessing to the neighbourhood, although of this we have no record. It was surrendered some time before 8 July, 1536, when the prioress, Magdalen Downes, received a pension of £5 a year.⁸

What we know of the internal history of this house we must frankly own is not greatly to its credit; yet the recorded episcopal visitations are separated by considerable spaces of time, and it would be rash to conclude from their tone that the monastery was never in a very satisfactory condition. As early as 1197⁹ a single runaway nun managed to give the priory a good deal of trouble. She is described as 'A. the daughter of W. Clement,' and had been fifteen years professed; at the end of that time she grew weary of the cloister and returned to her friends. Now if she had only asked them for shelter and protection, very little might have been heard of the affair: she would have been ordered to return, and excommunicated if she did not obey; and that might have been the end of the matter. But she was bold enough to claim a share in her father's property on the ground that she had been forced into the monastery against her will by a guardian who wished to secure the whole inheritance; and this roused her own relations against her. They appealed to no less a person than the pope himself, Celestine III., who first appointed delegates to hear the case, and then, as the nun still proved difficult to deal with, sent a formal letter to be published by the Abbot of Reading and the prior of Hurley, ordering her to return to her monastery on pain of excommunication. The affair came at last into the *Curia Regis*,¹⁰

⁶ During the reign of Edward III. the prioress petitioned Parliament for redress, complaining that Hugh le Despenser the elder had disseised her convent of 59 acres of land in Datchet. Whether her petition was granted is not recorded. *Rolls of Parliament* (Rec. Com.), ii. 406.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, 26. The congé d'élire is dated 11 Kal. May 1349, but the names of the prioresses are left blank.

⁸ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 232, f. 37.

⁹ Curia Regis R. 48, m. 14.

¹⁰ This would be in the natural course after the excommunication had been pronounced, and the case came within the reach of the secular arm. The Roll is dated 9 John: but the letter of Celestine III. of which it contains a copy is dated in the 5th year of his pontificate, i.e. 1197. Some parts of the membrane are very much faded, and doubtless some points in the story have been missed.

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and side by side with the papal letter is the official declaration of the prioress that 'A.' had actually been fifteen years professed, had been precentrix in the choir, and had lived all the time 'as a nun among nuns'; with a mandate to the dean and archdeacon of Lincoln and the Archbishop of Canterbury to excommunicate 'A.' and a certain W. de Bidun, who had aided and abetted her. The story serves to show how even in the twelfth century, when the religious houses of England were in their first fervour, there were cases of unfaithfulness to the religious ideal; further, in what a serious light apostasy was regarded; and again, the tremendous ecclesiastical machinery that might be brought to bear upon one insignificant nun.

Bishop Burghersh issued a commission in 1338¹ for the visitation of this monastery, both head and members, to correct, punish and reform in all points needed. The entry is merely formal, and the results are not given. In 1382 Bishop Bokyngham excommunicated a nun of Ankerwick for leaving the monastery by night, and all those who aided her in any way: as well as certain who had carried away goods belonging to the priory.²

In 1441 in the course of his general visitation Bishop Alnwick came to this house, and called all the sisters, according to custom, into the chapter house. The prioress, Dame Clemence Medford, had no complaint to make, except that the nuns were given to eat and drink between meals, contrary to the rule of St. Benedict; the sub-prioress answered *Omnia bene*; but the other sisters had a good deal to say. Dame Margery Kirby declared that the house was ruinous, that a barn had been lately burnt down, and that the prioress kept the convent seal in her own hands and disposed of the goods of the priory without consulting her sisters at all. Dame Julian Messenger said that the prioress wasted the goods of the monastery, often invited guests of her own but would never let the other nuns invite any one, and was very austere in her dealings with them generally: she also said that the novices had no *informatrix* to instruct them in the rule and in the choir office. Another sister, who had been ill, complained that she had not proper coverings for her bed nor warm clothes for herself, nor such food as might make her strong enough to 'endure the burden of religion.' There were three others of tender age and much simplicity (perhaps these were the novices) who said nothing at all.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh, 332.

² Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 247.

The bishop passed over the minor complaints—probably he had heard the like elsewhere—and simply ordered the prioress to consult her sisters as to the disposal of property; the common seal was to be in the custody of two sisters, of whom Dame Margery Kirby was to be one: two keys were to be made, one for the prioress and the other for a sister who should be elected by the rest of the convent.³

In 1519 Bishop Atwater visited the priory.⁴ Two cases of apostasy were recorded: one who had worn the habit four years had forsaken her monastery; another had not only left the monastery, but had married, and was living in sin⁵ in the house of a relative. There were two novices at this time in the priory, of whom one was Magdalen Downes, afterwards prioress; and the unhappy examples she saw before her at this time may have left their mark upon her. For she has the unenviable distinction of being the only nun in Buckinghamshire who married after the dissolution of the house—she was still living in 1552 and drawing her annual pension.⁶ The note affixed to her name in the pension list—'Is married and so remains'—whatever it may really be intended to convey,⁷ has cer-

³ Visitations of Bishop Alnwick, in the episcopal registry at Lincoln. Margery Kirby occurs as prioress two years after this visitation (Dugdale, iv. 230, from Browne Willis): if her complaints were dictated by a true zeal for the religious life, and not by any desire to find fault with her superior, her election may have brought a change for the better.

⁴ Ibid. Visitations of Atwater.

⁵ The report says *in adulterio*: it was of course the marriage that was the sin. It might be wondered how it would be possible for a nun at that time to find a priest who would perform the marriage ceremony for her: but one who would leave her monastery for this purpose would probably not scruple to conceal the fact that she was a nun.

⁶ Exch. Mins. Accts. Bdle. 76, No. 26.

⁷ The phrase is at any rate unique. The record in which it occurs is of great interest: it is a list drawn up in 1552, for the diocese of Lincoln, of all the pensioned monks, nuns, and cantarists still living; it gives their present abode, their means of livelihood, and states in every case whether they have married or not. The ordinary phrase is simply *nunquam nuptus* (or *nupta*) or *est nuptus*, without qualification. The names of monks who married will be given in connection with their own monasteries. Magdalen Downes is the only married nun in this county. There were several nuns of Elstow in Bedfordshire (one who was professed at sixteen and only twenty-three at the surrender) and of other monasteries, living in the same neighbourhood; all entered as *nunquam nupta*. Fifteen married nuns in all are mentioned in the counties of Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford and Lincoln,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE MONASTIC SEALS



LUFFIELD PRIORY.



TICKFORD PRIORY.



IVINGHOE PRIORY.



ANKERWICK PRIORY.



BRADWELL PRIORY.



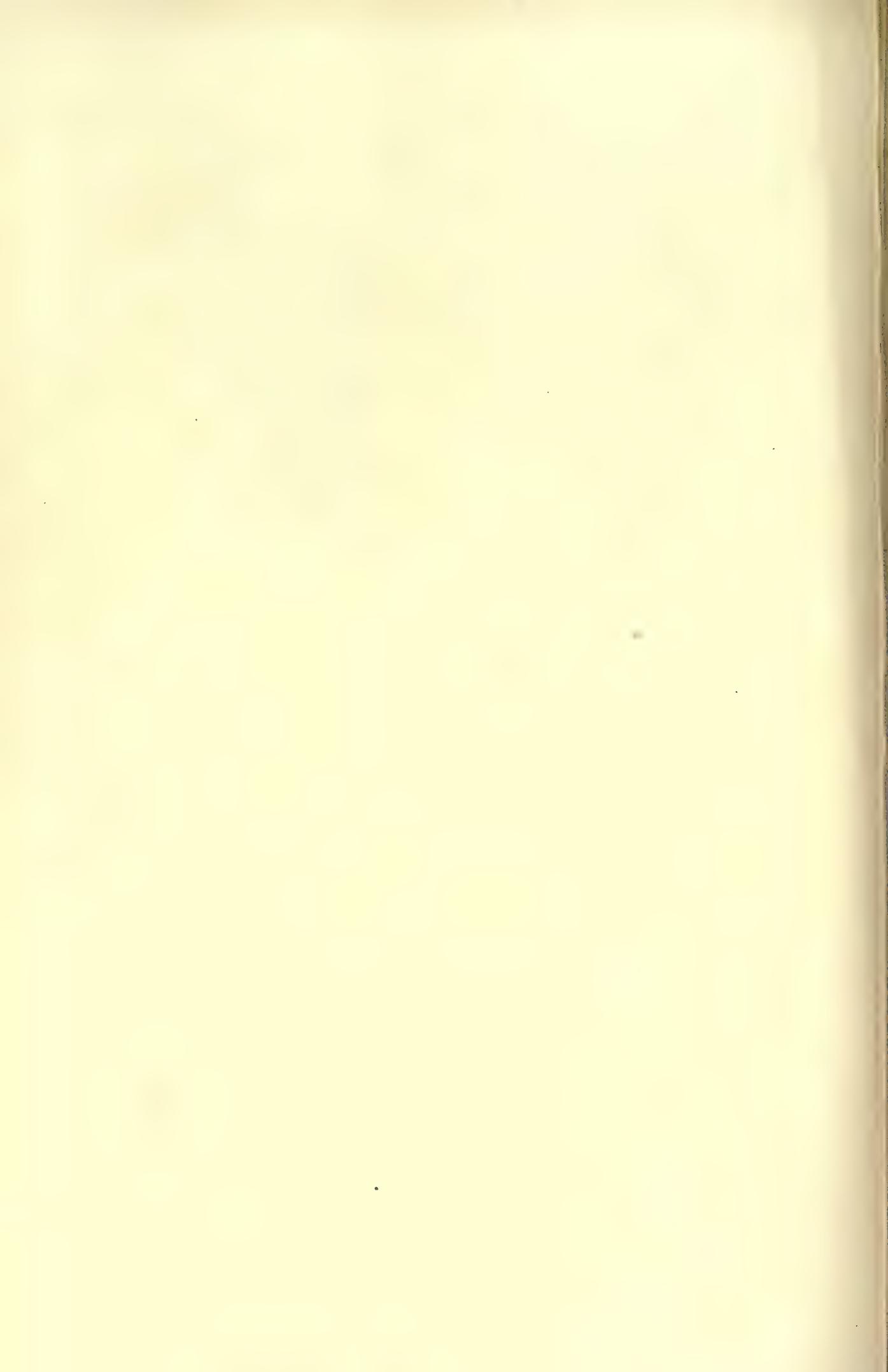
MISSENDEN ABBEY.



MISSENDEN ABBEY.



MISSENDEN ABBEY.



RELIGIOUS HOUSES

tainly a sinister suggestiveness about it: for indeed it might seem worthy of remark that one who had so lightly broken her ancient vows should have stability enough to keep a new one.

The original endowment of the priory comprised the demesne called Ankerwick in Wyardisbury parish, with small parcels of land in the same neighbourhood, as well as in Egham (Surrey), Greenford and Stanwell (Middlesex), Henley, Windsor, etc.¹ King Henry III. in 1242 granted the nuns licence to pasture sixty pigs every year in the king's forest of Windsor, quit of herbage and pannage.² The temporalities mentioned in the *Taxatio* were only worth 10s.,³ and they had no spiritualities at all. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* reports the value of the revenue of this monastery as £22 os. 2d. clear⁴; the ministers' accounts give a total of £44 12s. 6d., including the demesne land and the manors of Alderbourne, Bucks, Greenford and Stanwell Park, Middlesex, and a manor in Egham, Surrey.⁵

The revenues of this priory were granted by the king for the foundation of the new abbey of Bisham, which was destined to be so short-lived.⁶

PRIORESSES OF ANKERWICK

- Letitia,⁷ occurs 1194
- Emma,⁸ occurs 1236, died 1238
- Celeste,⁹ elected 1238
- Julian,¹⁰ elected 1244
- Joan of Rouen,¹¹ elected 1251
- Margery of Hedsor,¹² occurs 1270, resigned 1305
- Alice de Sandford,¹³ elected 1305

of these fourteen belonged to Lincolnshire (eight of them Gilbertine). It is a remarkably small proportion, when we remember the numbers turned adrift between 1536 and 1538, and the change in public opinion in the reign of Edward VI.

¹ *Cal. of Chart. R.*, i. 472.

² *Ibid.* 269.

³ *Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.)*, 206b.

⁴ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, iv. 222.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 232.

⁶ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xii. (2) 1311.

⁷ 'Letia'; Campbell *Cb.* x. 7.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 230. The name of the prioress who died 1238 is not given in the episcopal register; but it was probably the same who was living in 1236.

⁹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosstête.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Cal. of Anct. D.*, A. 1590; called Margery of Hedsor in Close, 8 Edw. I. m. 6d.

¹³ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby*, 178. Probably of the family which had the advowson of Missenden Abbey a little earlier.

Emma of Kimberley,¹⁴ elected 1316, died 1327

Joan of Oxford,¹⁵ elected 1327, died 1349

Joan Godman,¹⁶ elected 1384, died 1390

Maud Booth,¹⁷ elected 1390, resigned 1401

Elizabeth Golaffre,¹⁸ elected 1401

Clemence Medford,¹⁹ occurs 1441

Margery Kirby,²⁰ elected 1443

Margaret Peart,²¹ died 1478

Eleanor Spendlow,²² elected 1478

Alice Worcester,²³ occurs 1526 and 1535

Magdalen Downes,²⁴ last prioress

A round seal attached to a charter²⁵ of Letia or Lettice, Prioress of Ankerwick, dated 5 Richard I. The colour is mottled green, the edge of the seal is chipped. It represents the priory church with half timbered walls, round-headed doorway, thatched roof, bell turret topped with a cross, and a cross at each gable end. Legend: +SIGILL' ECCL' E SCE M[A]RIE MÄG DE ANK'WIC.

A similar seal, dark brown in colour, the sides much broken and the edge chipped away, may be found attached to a charter of the Prioress Margery and the convent,²⁶ dated Conversion of St. Paul. Legend: SIG . . . E . . . DE. ANK'WIC.

6. THE PRIORY OF LITTLE MARLOW

The origin of this priory is quite unknown: neither the date of foundation nor the name of the founder can as yet be recovered. Leland indeed gives as the traditional founder one 'Geoffrey, Lord Spencer,' a personage unknown to history.²⁷ The patronage of the monastery and the parish church was in the family of d'Anvers early in the thirteenth century; the earls of Gloucester also gave their

¹⁴ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby*, 336.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* *Inst. Burghersh*, 333d.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* *Inst. Bokyngham*, 376d.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 400.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* *Inst. Beaufort*, 180. This is another well-known name in Bucks.

¹⁹ *Visitations of Bishop Alnwick.*

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 230.

²¹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Rotherham*, 101d.

²² *Ibid.* Collated by the bishop, as there were not enough nuns to elect, and confirmed by letters patent. *Pat.* 18 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 10.

²³ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, iv. 222.

²⁴ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Longland*, 190. The date of her election is certainly 1526, when Alice Worcester is said to have resigned; but Alice Worcester is named still as prioress in the *Valor Eccl.*

²⁵ *B. M. Campbell Chart.*, x. 7.

²⁶ *P.R.O. Doc.* with seals attached, *Ser. S. B.* 12.

²⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 419.

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consent to the election of some prioresses of this period.¹ The earliest record of this priory is found in the Rolls of Bishop Hugh of Wells, under the year 1218, but it does not imply that the house was then newly founded.² It may indeed have come into existence almost any time in the later half of the twelfth century.

We hear of the priory in the thirteenth century only in connexion with a few unimportant lawsuits.³ In 1292 the conventual church was rebuilt and its high altar dedicated by Bishop Sutton⁴; but the nuns were very poor at the time, and received indulgences and a licence to beg alms in 1300 and 1311 from Bishop Dalderby.⁵ In 1339 they made a grant to the Bishop of Lincoln in consideration of his improvement of the estate of their house,⁶ but they were evidently still barely self-supporting, for the following year the assessors of the ninth of sheaves, lambs and fleeces in the county of Buckingham were ordered to supersede the assessment of that subsidy of the priory of Little Marlow, as it was so slenderly endowed that its goods did not suffice for the maintenance of the prioress and convent.⁷ From 1338 to 1350 the prioress appears to have been a relation of Sir John de Stonore, a knight of the shire; and it is possible that his mediation secured better terms for the nuns than they would otherwise have been able to obtain, at the ordination of the vicarage of Little Marlow Church in 1344.⁸ Early in the fifteenth century there was a long suit in connection with the advowson of the Church of Hedsor, which had belonged to the priory since the days of Hugh of Wells. It is difficult now to be quite sure of the rights of the matter, but the patronage of this church seems to have been resumed by the Crown, and the prioress had in some way impeded the presentation of a chaplain, and tried to reclaim the

advowson.⁹ In 1403 she made a complaint before the Court of King's Bench that John Stephen, chaplain of Hedsor, had broken into her close, had struck, wounded and ill-treated her and taken away goods to the value of 40s. and committed other enormities against the king's peace, to the grave damage of her house: and on a second occasion had taken away books, vestments, keys, household utensils, etc. John roundly denied the whole charge.¹⁰ The Crown apparently declined to examine it, on the ground that the prioress had attempted to impede the presentation of this chaplain and to secure the advowson of the church. The prioress then brought forward two pleas: a fresh one against the chaplain, and another against the Crown, claiming the advowson of Hedsor; but nothing came of these; perhaps they were dropped as hopeless.¹¹

There are no visitations of this house recorded in the episcopal registers except one of Bishop Dalderby in 1300, which was merely for the purpose of explaining to the nuns the Statute of Pope Boniface VIII. *Pro clausura monialium*.¹² This statute was intended to compel the English nuns of all orders to observe a stricter enclosure; but though Bishop Dalderby did his duty conscientiously by explaining it to all the houses under his care—sometimes under rather trying circumstances—it seems to have been quite ineffectual. The English Benedictine nuns and Austin canonesses never had been strictly enclosed, and quietly ignored the new regulations, even though they came from the pope himself. In later episcopal visitations the nuns of these two orders were often ordered not to go out without the consent of their superiors: but there was no established rule or custom before

⁹ The dispute is carefully set out with the references in *Records of Bucks*, viii. 499–507.

¹⁰ De Banco Rolls, no. 570, m. 213d.

¹¹ *Records of Bucks*, viii. 499–507.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 10d. The injunctions were 'That they should take care to keep within the monastery, and not go out to any place whatsoever, contrary to the form of the aforesaid statute, nor allow any to enter the monastery.' At Little Marlow in particular it was added 'That they were to close all their doors, and especially that one which opens towards the inner parts of the monastery, and give no person, honest or dishonest, leave to enter without reasonable and manifest cause.' In the same year, 1300, Bishop Dalderby requested the nuns of Little Marlow to receive back again to community life a lay sister who had desired and attempted to serve God as an anchoress, but found herself unable to continue in that state of life. Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, 10.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Hugh of Wells, Grosstête and Gravesend. The earliest presentation in 1230 names only Agnes d'Anvers as the patroness.

² *Liber Antiquus* (ed. Gibbons), p. 84.

³ Feet of F. 16 Hen. III. No. 25; *ibid.* 31 Hen. III. 3; *ibid.* 42 Hen. III. 13. These are concerned only with small parcels of land in the county. See also Close, 13 Hen. III. m. 10.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 92.

⁵ *Ibid.* Memo. Dalderby, 9d, 188.

⁶ Pat. 13 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 7.

⁷ Close, 14 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 23.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Burghersh, 353; and Memo. Bek, 92. Sir John de Stonore petitioned in 1339 for the appropriation of both moieties of the church to the priory.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

the Reformation to prevent them going out of the cloister at all.

Although the earlier history of this house is so little known, we happen to possess some interesting details of its latter days and of the circumstances immediately preceding its dissolution. The last prioress, Margaret Vernon, appears to have been on friendly terms with Thomas Cromwell, even while he was still in the service of Cardinal Wolsey, and not so well known to the religious of England generally as he afterwards came to be. The study of this lady's character does not produce a very pleasant impression. Her house was doubtless in excellent order, and she showed herself a good steward of its property: she may quite well have been a kind and considerate superior; but she was very evidently a scheming and worldly woman, with a keen eye for her own advancement and no real love for the little priory over which she ruled. As early as 1529 we find her writing to Cromwell about a vacancy in the priory of St. Helen's.¹ She had heard from 'Lewys, a goldsmith in the town,' that the sub-prioress was likely to secure the post; if she herself still has any chance, Cromwell may offer his master the sum 'we were at a point for'; in any case she begs him to let her know 'my lord's pleasure,' so that she may settle herself in quietness. Her intrigues were not successful at this time, and she turned herself to arranging the affairs of her own house.² But not very long after she wrote to Cromwell again to inquire when he would be in her neighbourhood, and when she would be likely to find him in his own house, as she required his counsel on several matters.³

In 1530 Bishop Longland visited Little Marlow and found there five nuns besides the prioress; every one of them answered *Omnia bene* except Dame Katherine Picard, who drew attention to the fact that there was no sub-prioress. There were no injunctions delivered.⁴

In 1535 the royal visitors arrived, and in accordance with the injunction which forbade the profession of any under twenty-four years of age, dismissed three of the nuns.⁵

¹ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 5970.

² Her next letter begged a loan of £40 till Whitsuntide, so as to enable her to buy a neighbouring farm for the benefit of her house. *Ibid.* 5971.

³ *Ibid.* 5972.

⁴ Visitations of Longland in the episcopal registry.

⁵ For the injunctions see Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 786. Margaret Vernon states that the nuns dismissed at this time were Dame Katherine (Picard) and 'The young women that were last professed'

They do not seem to have found anything else amiss. Dame Margaret however found these proceedings 'not a little to her discomfort,' and wrote to Cromwell again for advice.⁶ The First Act of Suppression was passed very soon after, and the local commissioners⁷ reported of this house as in good estate, and out of debt, mentioning at the same time that there were only two nuns there,⁸ who both desired to enter other houses of religion, and four servants attached to the monastery, two men and two women.

The surrender of the house was received by William Cavendish on or before 23 September, 1536; in a letter of that date he reports his discharge of the religious whom he found there, adding that 'my lady took the matter very like a wise woman,' and delivered

(Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv. f. 71; printed in Wright). The record of this last profession at Little Marlow is found in Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Longland, 85; it was in 1528, and there were three novices professed. For some reason unknown, this memorandum contains not merely a formal entry of the act, which is usual enough, but the complete formula of profession, in English, as follows. 'In the name of God, Amen. I, Sister Constance, in the presence of Almighty God and our blessed lady St. Mary, patron of this monastery and all angels and saints of heaven, and of you, reverend Father in God, John bishop of Lincoln and ordinary of this diocese, and in the presence of all this honourable witness, vow offer and fully give myself to serve Almighty God during my life natural in this monastery of Little Marlow, dedicated in honour of God and of our blessed lady St. Mary. And for this intent and purpose I here renounce for ever and utterly forsake the world, and property of temporal substance and goods of the same and all other worldly delights and pleasures, taking upon me wilful poverty; vowing also and promising ever to live in pure chastity during my life: to change my secular life into regular conversation and religious manners, promising and vowing due and reverent obedience unto you, Reverend Father in God, John bishop of Lincoln and your successors, bishops; and unto my lady and mother Dame Margaret, now prioress of this monastery, and to her successors, prioresses of the same. And utterly from henceforth I forsake mine own proper will, and not to follow the same but to follow the will of my Superior in all lawful and canonical commandments. And to observe this holy order and religion according to the holy rule of St. Benedict and all the laudable constitutions of this monastery by the gracious assistance of Our Lord Jesus Christ. In witness whereof I do put and sign with mine own hand to this my profession.'

⁶ Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv. f. 71.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 420, from Browne Willis.

⁸ One must have died since 1530, when there were five beside the prioress.

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him all the goods of the house.¹ 'My lady' had probably some assurance already from Cromwell of preferment to another monastery, and had few regrets in leaving Little Marlow.² She was made Abbess of Malling three months later, and surrendered that house also on 29 October, 1538, having profited not a little by the exchange,³ for the revenues of Little Marlow would only have furnished her with a pension of £4 or £5, while the Abbess of Malling received an annuity of £50.

The original endowment of the house cannot be exactly given, as no foundation charters remain. It seems to have comprised some land about the priory, and the churches of Little Marlow and Hedsor. The latter was lost at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In 1291 the temporalities of the priory outside this county were only reckoned at 1s. per annum.⁴ The revenue of the house is given in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as £23 3s. 7d.⁵; the local commissioners a little later give the same total.⁶ The moveable goods of the house at the dissolution were worth £17 os. 2d., the bells, lead, etc., £4 10s. 8d.⁷ The ministers' accounts amount to £22 16s. 10d.⁸ The revenues of this house were granted to the new foundation at Bisham.⁹

PRIORESSES OF LITTLE MARLOW
 A.,¹¹ died 1230
 Maud d'Anvers,¹² elected 1230, occurs 1232
 Admiranda,¹³ elected 1237, occurs 1247
 Cecily of Turville,¹⁴ occurs 1256, resigned 1258
 Christine de Whitemers,¹⁵ elected 1258, died 1264
 Felicia of Kimble,¹⁶ elected 1264, resigned 1265
 Gunnora,¹⁷ elected 1265, resigned 1271
 Margery of Waltham,¹⁸ elected 1271
 Agnes of London,¹⁹ resigned 1291
 Agnes of Clevedon,²⁰ elected 1291, resigned 1298
 Julian of Hampton,²¹ elected 1298, resigned 1305
 Rose of Weston,²² elected 1305
 Joan de Stonore,²³ elected 1338, died 1350
 Margery Jeromide,²⁴ elected 1350
 Susanna of Hampton,²⁵ occurs 1395
 Elizabeth Broke,²⁶ resigned 1474
 Isabel Savage,²⁷ elected 1474
 Eleanor Kirby,²⁸ occurs 1492
 Eleanor Bernard,²⁹ occurs 1516
 Margaret Vernon,³⁰ last prioress, occurs 1528

HOUSE OF CLUNIAN MONKS

7. THE PRIORY OF TICKFORD OR NEWPORT PAGNEL

The priory of Tickford was not the only house of this order in Buckinghamshire; but it was the only one which survived the suppression of alien priories and became indigenous, during the course of the Hundred Years' War. It was certainly one of the earliest monasteries founded in this county, if not actually the first¹⁰; but the date of foundation cannot be exactly fixed. There is a charter in existence, witnessed by Archbishop

Theobald of Canterbury, and therefore not later than 1154,³¹ which recounts the gifts of

¹ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xii. 1188.
² We are not told what became of the other 'pore madyn.'
³ *Ibid.* xiii. (2) 717.
⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.). The property of the priory within the county is not mentioned at all.
⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 250.
⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 420.
⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.* 421-2.
⁹ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xii. (2) 1311.
¹⁰ The priory of Ivinghoe may perhaps have been a little earlier: but its date of foundation is as uncertain as that of Tickford.

¹¹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Hugh of Wells.*
¹² *Ibid.* and Feet of F. Bucks, 16 Hen. III. no. 25 (the surname is quite clear in the first entry; the Christian name in the second).
¹³ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Grosstête and Feet of F.* 31 Hen. III. no. 3.
¹⁴ *Ibid.* 42 Hen. III. no. 13.
¹⁵ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.*
¹⁶ *Ibid.* ¹⁷ *Ibid.* ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁹ *Ibid.* Memo. Sutton, 1d.
²⁰ *Ibid.* Inst. Sutton, 107d; and Memo. Sutton, 205. ²¹ *Ibid.* Inst. Sutton, 122d.
²² *Ibid.* Inst. Dalderby, 179d.
²³ *Ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 330.
²⁴ *Ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 243.
²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 419.
²⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Rotherham*, 97d.
²⁷ *Ibid.*
²⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 419. ²⁹ *Ibid.*
³⁰ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Longland*, 85.
³¹ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i. 444. It is a charter of Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln. Reference was made to the same charter and others of Fulk and Gervase Paynell and of Henry II. in some inspeximus charters of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, dated 1224 (Harl. MS. 2188, f. 125).

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Gervase Paynel, then living, and also of his father Ralf and his grandfather Fulk, the founder of the house; and this seems to bring it very near the beginning of the twelfth century. Fulk Paynel is said to have been the son of Ralf Paynel,¹ who appears in the Domesday Survey and was founder of the priory of Holy Trinity at York near the close of the eleventh century.

Tickford Priory was originally a cell to the Abbey of Marmoutier at Tours²; and this connection was a source of much difficulty during the thirteenth century. Very little is known of the history of the house during the twelfth century, except the names of a few priors, attached to documents of no great importance.³ But early in the thirteenth century the question of jurisdiction came to the front, and the difficulty had reached an acute stage between 1220 and 1230.⁴ It will perhaps be not unprofitable to describe its course

¹ T. P. Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 28. Several references to the external history of this priory are taken from this book; but the author had obtained nothing from the Lincoln Registers except the names of priors.

² Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i. 444.

³ *Feet of Fines* (Rec. Com.), i. 187, 190. Fulk Paynel seems to have placed one of his nephews in the priory. A charter of his is witnessed by Helias, monk, nephew of Fulk Paynel. Harl. MS. 2188, f. 125d.

⁴ During the same ten years the prior of Newport was involved in a long suit relative to the church of Aston, Warwickshire, and the chapel of Yardley appendant thereto. In 1220 the chapel of Yardley was claimed by the abbot of Alcester, Ralf de Limesy, Giles de Ardington and the prior of Newport. The first two owned their claim to be unfounded, and the chapel was finally awarded to Giles till he should come of age: but he quit-claimed it to the prior. In 1230 the prior claimed the church of Aston, in virtue of a charter made by Thomas de Ardington, grandfather of Giles, and confirmed by Silvester, bishop of Worcester. The charters were pronounced to be false, and it was proved that the prior had not presented to the church in the time of Thomas de Ardington or his son Henry. So Giles de Ardington recovered seisin. *Bracton's Note Book*, iii. 347-8, and ii. 337. But Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1224 appears to have confirmed a charter of Gervase Paynel granting to the priory the church of Aston with the chapels of Yardley, Bramwig, and Overton (Harl. MS. 2188, f. 125). It had also been confirmed by Stephen Langton (*ibid.* 125d), and was confirmed again by Ralf de Somery when he married Hawise, heiress of the Paynels (*ibid.*). It belonged to Tickford in 1291, but was again disputed between 1324 and 1331; and was finally reckoned as part of the property of the priory at the dissolution (*L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 2167).

and final settlement with some detail, as the exemption of Cluniac monasteries was not so clearly established and understood as that of the Cistercians and other orders of later date.

In 1220 Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, visited the priory as diocesan and installed William, a monk of the house, as prior in the place of Hugh, who had just resigned.⁵ This was probably resented by the Abbot of Marmoutier as an infringement of his rights; but he was not in a position at that time to assert any claim against the bishop, as the priory itself was in rebellion against his authority, and under the leadership of Prior William, protested against the payments exacted by the parent abbey from its cells. William was compelled to resign and to leave the house altogether in 1228, and some of the monks were imprisoned, because they would not accept a certain charter offered to them by the abbot; but soon afterwards a composition was made, which secured to Marmoutier the rights of visitation and correction, but remitted all payments which had hitherto been required of the English monks.⁶

In consequence, however, of these difficulties, no successor had been appointed at William's resignation; and after six months the bishop collated John of Colne, a monk of Spalding.⁷ When John resigned in 1233, the bishop came to the priory again, and had some very serious faults to find with the monks. He said the rule was so badly kept that the house was a scandal to other religious, and the number of monks was not even half what it should be. He enjoined them to keep their rule better in future, and to receive twelve more monks during the following year.⁸ This would suggest that the proper number was about twenty.⁹

During the episcopate of Robert Grossetête, the Abbot of Marmoutier complained to the pope that the bishops of Lincoln were exceeding their rights: by excommunicating monks of Tickford, contrary to the privileges of the order, and also interfering in the administration of the priory. William, Cardinal of St. Eustace, was appointed to inquire into the matter, and gave sentence for the bishop

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Hugh of Wells.

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 109.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Hugh of Wells. It is simply said here that William had resigned: the chronicler of Dunstable explains that this was not a voluntary resignation, and that he was sent into exile.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ In 1450 it was noted that the number should be sixteen. Sir G. F. Duckett, *Charters and Records of the Abbey of Cluni*, ii. 213.

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against the abbot in 1249.¹ There was a long vacancy again in 1270 at the death of a prior, and the bishop was again obliged to nominate a monk to fill the office.² About 1278 there were troubles of a different kind, which led to a final settlement of the whole question of jurisdiction. Simon de Reda, who was prior from about 1275 to 1291, seems to have been a most unfit person to rule a monastery; but when disorders broke out in the house he contrived for a while to represent himself as the injured party. In June 1278 Reginald de Grey was ordered to take the priory into the king's hands and imprison all those monks who had lately, under the leadership of one who had been excommunicated for his excesses, attacked the priory, imprisoned the prior and wasted the goods of the monastery. The ringleader of the malcontents was to be brought to Windsor Castle, and the sheriff was ordered to see this mandate carried out.³ Nothing however was done until September, when a commission of 'oyer and terminer' was issued, to do swift justice on all those, both men and women, who continued to trouble the prior, and to bring to an end divers appeals and pleas that were pending with reference to the same matter.⁴ It seems that Simon de Reda was reinstated, but the disturbances continued, and in 1290 Bishop Sutton came to visit the priory and to find out what was really amiss.⁵ His visitation was however resisted by some of the monks, whom he excommunicated in consequence. The Abbot of Marmoutier again complained to the pope, who appointed fresh delegates⁶; but in the meanwhile it became obvious that the prior of Tickford was himself the cause of the recent scandals, and he was deposed on the gravest of charges—waste of goods, evil living, and homicide.⁷ Before a new prior could be installed it was desirable that the Abbot of Marmoutier and the Bishop of Lincoln should come to a clear understanding of their respective rights; and they agreed to meet at the Old Temple in London. There was a long but not unfriendly discussion: the abbot appealed to the privileges of his order, and exhorted the bishop to 'show his respect for the Apostolic See' by recognizing them. Oliver Sutton, whose very real respect for the Apostolic See was shown a few years later by his obedience to the Bull 'Clericis laicis,' had

however the decision of 1249 in his favour. Finally it was agreed that the visitation and correction of the priory belonged properly to the abbot alone; the bishop would in future accept the priors presented to him for consecration 'without examination, difficulty or delay,' and they should swear canonical obedience to him *salvo privilegiis praefati monasterii praesentibus et futuris*; and the only procuration which the bishop could claim was that which was due at the installation—none must be asked at any other time. In return for this the church of Sherrington, hitherto appropriate to the priory of Tickford, was to be granted to the bishop.⁸

In accordance with this agreement Bishop Sutton came to the priory in the same year and was received by the new prior, Geoffrey called Villicus, at the door of the cloister in solemn procession, and was reverently censed: he afterwards sang mass and preached in the conventual church.

This was the end of one difficulty, and for a while we may hope there was some measure of quiet within the monastery. But there were other troubles to face in the century which followed. Some time before 1311 the charters and muniments of the priory were destroyed by fire, and had to be confirmed afresh by letters patent.⁹ A few other entries in the Close and Patent Rolls of this period give an idea of the great difficulty there must have been in maintaining the regular life in an alien priory during the wars with France. As early as 1324 this monastery was in the king's hand, and its prior under subjection to the official keeper of the lands of aliens,¹⁰ who was ordered in this year 'to cause the prior of Tickford, who was in his custody by the king's order, to be brought before the King's Bench on 11 November to prosecute an assize concerning the advowson of one tenth of the chapel of Yardley, and to deliver the necessary expenses from the priory.'¹¹ In the same year a survey of the monastery was taken by the king's orders,¹² and showed that the number of monks was seriously diminished; there were only eight besides the prior. It seems too that an effort had been made to free the house from debt by selling corrodies; there were at this time two chaplains, eight men

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 100d-116.

⁹ Pat. 5 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 14.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 117d.

¹¹ Close, 18 Edw. II. m. 27. This chapel and the church of Aston were now claimed by the prioress of Catesby: the prior recovered one third of the advowson of the church in 1331. Pat. 5 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 4.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 204-5.

¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i. 257.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

³ Pat. 6 Edw. I. m. 19 and 9.

⁴ *Ibid.* m. 6d.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 2.

⁶ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i. 521.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 108d-114.

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and one woman who received board, and possibly lodging also, at the expense of the priory.¹ The priors too at this time were foreigners, sent direct from Marmoutier, and by no means always men of high character. William de Menevere in 1329 was accused of taking the goods of John Kimble of Filgrave.² The vicar of Newport Pagnel complained in 1340 that Fulk de Champagne, then prior, with two others, had lately besieged his house at Tickford, had broken the doors and windows, when he tried to escape had insulted, beaten and wounded him, and threatened to burn the house over his head if he returned.³ This prior, or his successor, died in the year of the Great Pestilence, which probably lowered still further the numbers and resources of the priory.

The lands and revenues of aliens were again in the king's hand during the reign of Edward III., and Tickford was farmed out for twenty-three years⁴: it was in the same condition in the time of Richard II. It must have been extremely difficult to maintain the ordinary discipline of the house while its revenues were administered by secular officials, whose only interest was to secure some margin of profit for themselves, after paying the rent due to the king. It was indeed sometimes hard to know who was the real head of the house. In 1386 the farmer and chaplain

¹ The account of these corrodies is interesting, as tending to show that the monks of mediaeval England fared on the whole neither more nor less luxuriously than ordinary citizens of the middle class—that is to say, of the class from which most of them came, during the thirteenth and until the sixteenth century. If the fare provided in the refectory of the convent had been much poorer than was customary in this class of life, the secular chaplains and vicars who served their appropriate churches would scarcely have been expected to take their meals ordinarily with the monks, and to regard this board as part of their stipend: if the food had been better and more costly than that eaten by ordinary citizens, the monks themselves would not have been so ready to grant corrodies for life to their lesser benefactors. Bread and beer are constantly mentioned as the staple diet of the monks. See the account of Dunstable Priory in the *V.C.H. Beds*, i. 375. Nearly all these pensioners at Tickford received a loaf of bread and a gallon of conventual beer daily: one had in addition four dishes of meat every week, another a robe every year: in one case it is expressly stated that a monk's corrody was granted in satisfaction of a debt of 25s.

² Pat. 2 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 34d.

³ Pat. 14 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 20d. These last are merely accusations, and may not of course have been actually proved.

⁴ Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*.

appointed at Tickford by letters patent succeeded in disseising John Dvien, recently elected prior, on the ground of an ordinance of Parliament dated 1 Richard II., expelling all aliens except priors who had a title for life. On the occasion of the king's journey to Scotland, when he lodged in the monastery, John Dvien however managed to lay his complaint before Richard himself, and was restored to office and allowed to hold the priory instead of the other farmers, at a rent of 40 marks a year.⁵ It is not surprising, under such conditions as this, to find notice of 'waste, destruction and other defects' in this house.⁶ Nor was John Dvien, it must be owned, a man who was likely to help his brethren to regain a higher standard of life. He was charged in 1398 with trying to obtain tithes from the Rector of North Crawley on false pretences; the case was proved against him, and he was condemned to pay the costs; but he refused to accept the sentence and appealed finally to Rome, only to be condemned again. In 1400 he and his convent were threatened with excommunication if they still refused to give up the tithes and pay the costs, and James, bishop of Ploek, was to invoke the secular arm against them if necessary.⁷

From the reign of Henry IV. onwards the priory ceased to be immediately subject to Tours; and the priors were thenceforward nominated by the prior of Holy Trinity, York, as proctor-general of the Abbot of Marmoutier.⁸ Once indeed in 1499,⁹ at the death of William Pemberton, the abbot wrote and appointed a monk of St. Peter's, Westminster, in his place; but no notice was taken of his letter. The delegates who visited all the Cluniac monasteries in England in 1450 mention Tickford by name, but it is doubtful if they really came to this priory: they reported that it was immediately subject to the priory of Lewes, which was not the case, and also that it contained sixteen monks, which seems improbable at this time.¹⁰

Thomas Broke, who was elected in 1503, had been previously Prior of Snelshall. The last prior surrendered the house to Wolsey

⁵ Pat. 10 Richard II. pt. i., m. 36.

⁶ Ibid. 9 Richard II. m. 40d.

⁷ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v. 93-4, and 271-2.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg.

⁹ Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 80; from Bodleian Library, Bucks Charters, 59.

¹⁰ Sir G. F. Duckett, *Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations*, 43. In the same author's *Charters and Records of the Abbey of Cluni* the words are *debet esse sexdecim*, which is probably the correct form of the statement made by the visitors.

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5 February, 1524,¹ that its revenues might be applied to the support of the new college at Oxford, and received a pension of £10 a year.² The five monks who remained were given 6s.8d. each as 'reward,'³ but it is uncertain whether this was a regular pension or only paid to them at their dismissal. Probably they entered other houses of religion.

The original endowment of this house comprised the demesne land at Tickford with other small parcels of land in this county and Northamptonshire, and several churches: Newport Pagnel with the chapels of Little Linford and Little Crawley; Chichely, Broughton, and half North Crawley, Willen, Astwood, Bradwell, Sherrington, and the chapel of Petsoe in this county; Aston, Warwicks, with three dependent chapels; Barnack and Botlingdon, Northants. Most of these were given by various members of the family of Paynel before 1154.⁴ Broughton and North Crawley had passed out of the possession of this monastery by the thirteenth century, and Sherrington was granted to the bishops of Lincoln in 1291. William Paynel⁵ gave the monastery the churches of Bridgewater and 'Hynnespill' in the diocese of Bath in 1224, but they were lost some time later as well as the two churches in Northamptonshire, before the house was dissolved. At the time of the *Taxatio* the priory was valued £104 16s. 3½d.,⁶ of which only £15 15s. 3½d. were in temporalities. £89 1s. includes the revenues of all the churches, which were not of course by any means clear profit. The survey of 1325 gives a total of £70 1s.; there were pensions to be paid out of this amounting to £18 10s., besides ten corrodies in kind.⁷ In 1302 the prior held one tenth of a knight's fee in Chichely and one eighth in Hardmead⁸; in 1346 he had one fee in Chichely, one eighth in Bradwell, and one eighth in Hardmead.⁹ At the dissolution of the house in 1524 its total issues amounted to £57 11s. 4d.¹⁰; the bells and lead were worth £33 6s. 8d., and the moveable goods only £5 4s.¹¹ The

Ministers' Accounts however give a total of £122 19s. 7d.¹²

PRIORS OF TICKFORD

Robert de Bohun,¹³ occurs 1187
 Walter,¹⁴ occurs 1199
 Bernard,¹⁵ occurs 1200
 Hugh,¹⁶ resigned 1220
 William,¹⁷ elected 1220, resigned 1232
 John de Colne,¹⁸ elected 1232, resigned 1233
 Robert Hamelyn,¹⁹ elected 1233
 Oliver,²⁰ occurs 1255 and 1259
 Gilbert,²¹ occurs 1262
 Bartholomew,²² died 1270
 Reginald de Cossam,²³ elected 1270
 Simon de Reda,²⁴ occurs 1275, deposed 1291
 Geoffrey Villicus,²⁵ elected 1291, resigned 1302
 William de Menevere,²⁶ elected 1302, resigned 1332
 Fulk de Champagne,²⁷ elected 1332, died 1349
 William de Tanquerterre,²⁸ elected 1349
 John de Garry,²⁹ occurs 1352 and 1355
 John de Fresney,³⁰ occurs 1362
 Francis Quatresoulz,³¹ elected 1363
 William Daunay,³² elected 1365
 John Dvien,³³ occurs from 1383 to 1416
 Thomas Chace,³⁴ occurs 1419
 John Carlell,³⁵ occurs 1431, died 1434
 Robert Blythe,³⁶ elected 1434
 Thomas Derneton,³⁷ elected 1464, resigned 1468

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 206.

¹³ Charter of Fulk Paynel; Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 202.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Feet of Fines* (Rec. Com.), i. 187, 190.

¹⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Hugh of Wells.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* ¹⁸ *Ibid.* ¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Feet of F. 19 Hen. III. 13.

²¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 201.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend. Dugdale's list has Reginald de Bernewell also, occurring 3 Edward I.; who is probably the same person.

²⁴ Pat. 6 Edw. I. m. 19, etc.

²⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 117d.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Inst. Dalderby, 176. His name is spelt in two or three different ways.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Inst. Burghersh, 341.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 240.

²⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 202.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, 409.

³² *Ibid.* 410d (William de Alneto).

³³ Pat. 9 Richard II. m. 40d, etc., and Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 97.

³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 201.

³⁵ *Ibid.* and Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gray, 49.

³⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gray, 49.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Memo. Chadworth, 64.

¹ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 1137.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.* 6222.

⁴ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i. 444; and the confirmation charter given in Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 202, and dated 1187.

⁵ Harl. MS. 2188, f. 125d.

⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.). A survey of the manor taken 22 Edw. I. amounts to £141 15s. 2d. (Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 204-5).

⁷ *Ibid.* v. 205.

⁸ *Feud. Aids*, i. 104.

⁹ *Ibid.* 130, 132.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 6788.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 6222.

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William Kirkby,¹ elected 1468, resigned
1475
William Pemberton,² elected 1475, died
1499
William Eynsham,³ elected 1499, resigned
1501
Thomas Yorke,⁴ elected 1501, resigned
1503
Thomas Broke,⁵ elected 1503
Thomas Parker,⁶ occurs at the dissolution,
1524

Pointed oval seal of late fourteenth century taken from an impression in gutta-percha gilded,⁹ represents the Blessed Virgin with crown seated in a niche with tabernacle work at the sides. The Holy Child with nimbus is on her right knee, in her left hand she holds a sceptre fleur-de-lizé. In base in a niche with round-headed arch an ecclesiastic is kneeling, turned three-quarters to the left, in prayer. Legend: SIGILLŪ : CŌIE : DOMUS : BEATE : MARIE : DE : TYKFORD.

HOUSES OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

8. THE ABBEY OF BIDDLESDEN

The Cistercian abbey of Biddlesden was founded in the year 1147⁷ by Arnold de Bois (or de Bosco), steward to the Earl of Leicester, and one of the keepers of the royal forest. The traditional account of its foundation, if true, does not reflect much credit upon Arnold. For the lands with which he endowed it were a gift from the Earl of Leicester, to whom they had escheated during the civil war by the failure of the former tenant, Robert of Meppershall, to do the homage and service due for them⁸; and it is said that Arnold de Bois determined to found an abbey there in order to avoid the difficulty of a disputed tenure. When peace was restored, Robert did indeed lay claim to the lands, and impleaded Arnold; but the monks paid him ten marks, and persuaded him to grant them a charter of confirmation. Matthew Paris however speaks of Arnold as *strenuus, facetus et optimis moribus adornatus*, so perhaps his motives in founding the abbey have been misrepresented. At any rate he received all the honours of a founder, and was buried in

the conventual church before the high altar.¹⁰

The first monks of Biddlesden were probably sent from the abbey of Gerondon in Leicestershire, for the earliest charters were made out to the abbot of that house; but after the custom of Cistercian foundations, it became an independent abbey almost at once. The original endowment was confirmed by Robert, Earl of Leicester, by Stephen and Henry II., by Theobald of Canterbury, and Robert of Lincoln.¹¹ Many well-known names in this county are reckoned amongst the benefactors of Biddlesden: William and Ralf de Cheinduit, Roger and Miles de Bray, Roger Foliot, Ralf de Pinkeney, Thomas de St. Waléry, and Beatrice, wife of the younger William de Beauchamp. Their gifts were bestowed for the most part during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The church of Ebrington in Gloucestershire was granted to the abbey as late as 1378.¹² But it was not a wealthy house at any time, and its revenue never rose much above £100.

Little is known of its external history. In 1260 the vicar of Thornborough complained to the abbot that he did not receive tithes from the monastic lands in his parish; and the abbot, for the sake of peace, granted him three acres out of these, being careful however at the same time to assert the Cistercian pri-

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Chadworth, 155.

² Ibid. Inst. Rotherham, 106.

³ Ibid. Inst. Smith, 365d.

⁴ Ibid. 367.

⁵ Ibid. 373.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. 1137 (18). Thomas Broke is given by Dugdale and Brown Willis as the last prior, it is possible that he may be identified with Thomas Parker, who occurs at the dissolution of the house.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 364, from the Annals of Peterborough.

⁸ The land had changed hands two or three times before this, being first granted by Robert of Meppershall to Geoffrey de Clinton in return for certain benefits and then restored to Robert again as a dowry with a kinswoman of Geoffrey's. Ibid. 365-8. Robert's charter of confirmation is extant. Harl. Chart., 85 c. 48.

⁹ B. M. Seals, xxxv. 194.

¹⁰ *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Series), v. 487.

¹¹ Harl. MS. 4714, 1-3. This chartulary is of late date, but the originals of many of the charters contained in it are extant, and prove it to be very correct on the whole, with the exception of a few obvious blunders, such as the date 1251 attached to the charter of Henry II., witnessed by Thomas Becket as chancellor.

¹² Ibid. 267d. The advowson was disputed by a certain Henry Bemys and his wife until 1399, when they finally surrendered their claim. Harl. Chart. 84 f. 14, and 84 n. 23.

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vilege of exemption, and to explain that he and his convent did this of their own free will.¹ In 1276 the same abbot was involved in a suit with his tenants of the manor of Boycott on the subject of feudal customs.² In 1280 he had to complain of trespasses and injuries done to him in his house in London,³ and at about the same time he was distrained for scutage for his property in Maryland, but it was finally proved that none was really due.⁴ In 1302 the abbey was taken under the king's protection, and as it was greatly burdened with debt, John of Tingewick, rector of Wappenham, was appointed custodian of the house, to aid the monks by his counsel, and to superintend the administration of its revenues.⁵ It seems however that John took base advantage of his position, for in 1308⁶ a suit was brought by the abbot and convent against him and many others, for breaking down their enclosures in Syresham and depasturing the corn that grew there. In 1325 Abbot Roger de Gotham acknowledged a debt of £200, which however he contrived afterwards to pay off.⁷ In 1392 the house seems to have recovered its prosperity a little; for the abbot and convent were in a position to take over the cell of Weedon Pinkeney from the Abbot of St. Lucien near Beauvais in France, at a pension of 12 marks a year, afterwards commuted for a payment of 300 marks in full quittance.⁸ The purchase of Weedon Pinkeney however involved the monks of Biddlesden in a long dispute with the rectors of Wappenham, in whose parish part of the property of the late priory lay. Two or three attempts were made to settle the question of tithes, but it was not finally arranged until 1406. In this year the rector agreed not to molest the monks in future in respect of any property that had belonged to St. Lucien; and received in compensation two acres of cornland, with two lambs and two cheeses yearly. The final agreement was ratified by Bishop Repingdon and the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁹

Of the internal history of the house nothing whatever is known until just before the dissolution. An abbot was deposed in 1192,¹⁰

but his offence is not recorded. The house was exempt from episcopal visitation, like all Cistercian monasteries, so that the Lincoln registers throw no light upon its condition from its foundation to its surrender. As its yearly income was under £200, it would naturally have been dissolved with the smaller monasteries in 1536. In this year the local commissioners reported that there were eleven monks in the house, of whom nine were priests, and none guilty of any immorality. There was a former abbot living in the house, with a pension of £13 6s. 4d. for his maintenance, and there were as many as fifty-one servants attached to the monastery, of whom twenty-four were 'hinds' or farm labourers, thirteen did the work of the house, nine were children (possibly servers at mass), and four were women who came in by the day.¹¹ The commissioners stated further that only one of the monks desired a capacity to depart to another house of religion, but this does not seem very consistent with the fact that they petitioned for the monastery to be continued, and actually paid as much as £133 6s. 8d. for this privilege.¹² The house was not surrendered till 25 September, 1538. The form of the surrender is not of the ordinary type, and is in English. As it has been more than once printed in full, there is no need to reproduce it here verbatim.¹³ It has received the more attention because it is not, like so many others, a merely formal declaration that the surrender is quite voluntary and that there are many excellent but unnamed reasons why it should be made; but it contains a certain amount of vague self-accusation. Summed up, it is a confession that the 'manner and trade of living' of the monks of Biddlesden and others of their 'pretensed religion' for many years past did most principally consist in 'dumb ceremonies': that they had been exempt from their own ordinaries and diocesans and subject to 'forinsecal potentates' such as the bishops of Rome and abbots of Citeaux, 'which never came here to reform such discord of living and abuses as now have been found to have reigned amongst us': and that they had never been taught in the true knowledge of God's laws, but now had happily discovered by the study of the gospel that it was most expedient for them to be ruled by their Supreme Head the king. Even if this document had been composed by the monks themselves and not merely handed to them

¹ Harl. MS. 4714, f. 133d. There was a similar dispute about tithes in Syresham in 1382. *Ibid.* 156-161.

² *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 192.

³ Pat. 8 Edw. I. m. 18.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 366.

⁵ Pat. 30 Edw. I. m. 26.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2 Edw. II. m. 26d.

⁷ Close, 19 Edw. II. m. 24d.

⁸ Harl. MS. 4714, f. 250d.

⁹ *Ibid.* ff. 221d-242.

¹⁰ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 251.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 365; from Browne Willis.

¹² *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (2) 422 and 457.

¹³ Deed of Surrender (P.R.O.) 22; and see *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (2), 421.

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to sign, it would prove very little against them, and over against it may be set not only Dr. London's approval of the house¹—which might be a poor compliment—but the favourable report of the local commissioners.

The abbot received a pension of £40; the cellarer, £6; the rest, eight in number, £5 6s. 8d. each; and the old abbot, Richard Benet, apparently kept his original pension of twenty marks.² One of the monks, Richard Taylor of Northampton, was still living in 1552 as Vicar of Thornborough, and had never married.³

The original endowment of the abbey included the vill of Biddlesden, 5 virgates in Whitfield, and the manor of Maryland in Syresham, Northants, as well as the advowson of half the church of Houghton, Northants, with lands and a mill in the same parish.⁴ The manors of Charwelton and Preston Capes in Northants were granted by William and Ralf de Cheinduit at the end of the twelfth century⁵; the manor of Boycott, Oxon, was the property of the abbey early in the thirteenth.⁶ In 1379 the church of Ebrington, Gloucestershire, was granted to the monks by William la Zouche of Harringworth in memory of his kinsman, William de Bosco⁷; and Sir Richard Corbett relinquished his rights in the same church on condition that a certain number of masses should be said for his soul.⁸ In 1284 the Abbot of Biddlesden held three fourths of a knight's fee in Dodford and a share in one half of Thornborough⁹; in 1302 he was returned as holding Dodford and Stowe with the Abbot of Osney, and half the village of Evershaw¹⁰; in 1316 his lands were the same as in 1302, with the addition of one third of Thornborough.¹¹

In 1291 the temporalities of the abbey amounted to £66 9s. 3d.¹² The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* estimates its revenues at £125 4s. 3d.¹³; the local commissioners in 1536 at £130 4s. 3d. or £138 7s. 6d.¹⁴; the Ministers' Accounts

of 1538 at £164 1s. 7d., including the manors of Boycott, Oxon, and Dodford, Bucks, with Charwelton, Preston and Gorall, Northants; and the church of Ebrington.¹⁵

LIST OF ABBOTS¹⁶

Richard,¹⁷ occurs 1151
 Alexander,¹⁸ occurs 1157 and 1166
 Richard,¹⁹ died 1192
 William,²⁰ deposed 1198
 Adam of Bath,²¹ elected 1198, occurs till 1209
 Maurice,²² occurs 1219 and 1222
 Henry,²³ occurs 1226, died 1228
 Thomas,²⁴ occurs 1230 and 1232
 Giffard,²⁵ resigned 1236
 Walter,²⁶ occurs 1238 and 1240
 Henry Mallore,²⁷ occurs 1241
 Philip,²⁸ occurs 1245 to 1250
 William,²⁹ occurs 1254 to 1257
 Roger,³⁰ occurs 1259 and 1262
 William Bisham,³¹ occurs from 1264 to 1286

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 368-9.

¹⁶ This list is almost the same as that made out by Browne Willis. As it is mainly a list of occurrences (only three elections appearing in the episcopal registers), it is an evidence of his general care and accuracy, at any rate in dealing with his own county; and the verification of nearly all the names and dates which he gives is a presumption in favour of those which cannot so easily be traced. He seems to have had a considerable acquaintance with old wills, from which he may have obtained some of these.

¹⁷ Harl. MS. 4714, f. 2.

¹⁸ Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, p. 157.

¹⁹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 248.

²⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 251.

²¹ *Ibid.* Called Adam of Bath in Harl. MS. 4714, f. 33, and occurs with the date 1209 on f. 155d.

²² Harl. MS. 4714, f. 26d: the second date is given by Browne Willis.

²³ Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 157, gives the date 1226, and adds 'Stephen of Canterbury died 1228.' The mistake may easily be traced. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 109, has 'Eodem anno obiit Stephanus Cantuariensis; abbas de Bitlesden,' etc. It was probably Henry who died in 1228, if he was abbot in 1226.

²⁴ Feet of F. 16 Hen. III. 14.

²⁵ He was made abbot of Waverley in this year. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 316.

²⁶ Harl. MS. 4714, f. 20d; and Harl. Chart. 84 D, 32, have W. dated 1239 and 1240.

²⁷ Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 157.

²⁸ Harl. MS. 4714, f. 20; Feet of F. 35 Hen. III. no. 3.

²⁹ Feet of F. 39 Hen. III. no. 4, and 55 Hen. III. no. 4.

³⁰ Harl. MS. 4714, ff. 6, 11d.

³¹ The earliest reference, in Harl. MS. 4714, f. 338, is dated 1266; the latest, in f. 105, is 1286.

¹ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (2), 422.

² *Ibid.*

³ Exch. Mins. Accts. Bdle 76, no. 26.

⁴ Harl. Chart. 84 H, 45-48, 85 G, 48, and Harl. MS. 4714, ff. 1-3.

⁵ Harl. MS. 4714, ff. 58, 59d, 100, 101d.

⁶ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 192.

⁷ Harl. MS. 4714, f. 267d.

⁸ Harl. Chart. 84, F. 5. Alms were still distributed to the poor in his name in 1535, and also for Arnold de Bois. *Valor Eccl.* iv. 238.

⁹ *Feud. Aids*, i. 79, 81.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 100. ¹¹ *Ibid.* i. 108, 109.

¹² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

¹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 238.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 365.

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John Thornborough,¹ occurs from 1290 to 1296

Walter,² elected 1296, occurs till 1300

John of Salisbury,³ occurs 1301 to 1307

Thomas of Buckingham,⁴ elected 1308, occurs till 1315

John,⁵ elected 1317, occurs till 1321

Thomas of Buckingham,⁶ occurs 1324

Roger of Gotham,⁷ occurs 1325 to 1332

Griffin,⁸ occurs 1341

William of Loughborough,⁹ occurs from 1346 to 1357

Peter,¹⁰ occurs from 1378 to 1396

John,¹¹ occurs from 1397 to 1400

Stephen,¹² occurs 1428

John,¹³ occurs from 1469 to 1480

William,¹⁴ occurs 1481

Richard Benet,¹⁵ occurs 1495, resigned 1535

Richard Green,¹⁶ last abbot, elected 1535

Seal of St. Mary and St. Nicholas of Biddlesden :

A pointed oval seal¹⁷ of the late twelfth century, creamy white, imperfect. The obverse is wanting, the reverse represents a sinister hand and vested arm issuing from the left and holding a pastoral staff in pale. The legend, of which only a part remains, runs : +SIG . . . S DE BETLESD.

A very similar one,¹⁸ light brown in colour, representing a hand and vested arm issuing from right, grasping a pastoral staff in pale. Legend : +SIGILLVM DE BEHTLESDENA.

¹ Harl. Chart. 84 E, 20, 25.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 159; Harl. Chart. 84 E, 29.

³ Harl. Chart. 84 E, 28, 38.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 121; and Harl. Chart. 84 E, 43 (1315).

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 347; Harl. Chart. 84 E, 47 (1321).

⁶ It is uncertain whether this was the same Thomas of Buckingham, re-elected, or another of the same name. He occurs only in 1324 (Harl. Chart. 84 E, 50); but the references to his predecessor John are very numerous.

⁷ Close, 19 Edw. II. m. 24d; Harl. Chart. 84 E, 60.

⁸ Harl. Chart. 84 F, 1.

⁹ The earlier date is given by Browne Willis; Ibid. 86 B, 8, and 84 F, 2 give 1355 and 1357.

¹⁰ Ibid. 84 F, 4; 86 G, 11. There are numerous references to him between these dates.

¹¹ Harl. MS. 4714, ff. 242d and 293d.

¹² Harl. Chart. 84 F, 15.

¹³ Ibid. 85 G, 59 and 84 F, 16.

¹⁴ Harl. MS. 4714, f. 342d.

¹⁵ The earlier date is given by Browne Willis: there are several later references.

¹⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Longland, 191d.

¹⁷ Harl. Chart. 84 G, 12.

¹⁸ Ibid. 84 D, 21.

A dark green pointed oval seal or counter-seal, 1264-1286,¹⁹ represents a dexter and vested arm issuing from the right and holding a pastoral staff in pale. In the field on the left a crescent enclosing an estoile. Legend : [C]ONTRA S' ABB'IE DE BETLESDENE.

A pointed oval seal or counterseal, pale yellow in colour, and imperfect, attached to a charter bearing date 1275,²⁰ represents a dexter hand and vested arm issuing from the right, holding a pastoral staff with large crook in pale. In the field on the left two crescents and an estoile. The legend is defective : [C]ONTRA S' . . . ESDEN. . . .

A very small green pointed oval seal attached to a charter of 1265.²¹ The impression, which is very imperfect, represents a crescent enclosing an estoile of many points. Legend : AVE MARIA GRA.

Later seal of the fourteenth century.²² Two partial impressions, one containing the upper, the other the lower part of a pointed oval seal, represents a saint standing in a canopied niche. In base a shield of arms: a fesse and quarter: ERNALDUS DE BOSCO, founder. Legend : SIG . . . NT' DE.

Seal of Abbot Giffard 1228-1236.²³ Pointed oval, dark green, represents Minerva helmeted, in profile to the left holding a spear. Legend : +VIVE : VT : PLACEAS : DEO.

Seal of Abbot Thomas about 1238-1240.²⁴ Pointed oval, opaque yellow in colour, the impression is fine but very imperfect, represents the abbot full length, in his right hand a pastoral staff, in his left a book. Legend : . . . BATIS . . . TO NICHOL . . .

Seal of Abbot Philip 1245.²⁵ Pointed oval, dark green, represents the abbot standing on a platform, holding in his right hand a pastoral staff, in his left a book. Legend : +SIGILL' : ABATIS : DE : SANCTO : NICHOLAO.

Seal of Abbot William 1264-1286.²⁶ Similar to seal of Abbot Philip. Another seal of Abbot William, a pointed oval, represents the Virgin half length, the Holy Child on her left knee. In base under an arch the abbot half length in prayer.²⁷ Legend : [M]ATER DEI [MEM]ENTO ME[I].

Another seal of Abbot William,²⁸ oval, impression of a bust couped at the neck, in profile to right, wearing a double tiara. Legend : IHESV : MERCI.

¹⁹ Harl. Chart. 84 E, 11.

²⁰ Ibid. 84 E, 4. ²¹ Ibid. 86 E, 48.

²² Ibid. 83 F, 20.

²³ Ibid. 84 D, 25.

²⁴ Ibid. 84 D, 28. ²⁵ Ibid. 84 D, 36.

²⁶ Ibid. 84 E, 14, 15. ²⁷ Ibid. 84 E, 13.

²⁸ Ibid. 84 E, 10.

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Seal of Abbot John Sarum.¹ A pointed oval seal attached to a charter dated 1304, the impression is very fine but imperfect. It represents the abbot standing on a carved corbel under a trefoiled canopy supported on

either side by a slender shaft, in his right hand a pastoral staff, in his left hand a book. Legend: . . . I . . . BVTLESDENE.

Only a fragment remains of the seal attached to the Deed of Surrender.⁵

HOUSES OF AUSTIN CANONS

9. THE ABBEY OF MISSENDEN

The abbey of Missenden was founded in or about the year 1133 by a certain William of Missenden,² for Austin Canons following the customs of the abbey of St. Nicholas at Arrouaise in Artois. This date is well established by a concurrence of charters of confirmation; from Pope Innocent II. in 1137 and Eugenius III. in 1145, and from Henry I. in 1133, Stephen, and Henry II.,³ and the connection with Arrouaise is equally well attested.⁴ The

¹ Harl. Chart. 84 E, 36.

² Harl. MS. 3688, f. 18. Hugh, the heir of William, is always styled, Hugh de Nuiers (Noers) in the Harleian Chartulary. His name occurs in the Carta of Earl Walter Giffard (1166), *Red Book of the Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), p. 312.

³ Harl. MS. 3688, ff. 178, 179d, 187-8.

⁴ *Ibid.* 178-179d. These privileges are at the end of the chartulary (which is dated 1330) and in a different hand. They are of all the more value if they were copied at a time when the Arrouasian tradition was almost forgotten: especially as the earliest, that of Pope Innocent II., dated 1137, has the correct but unusual form 'Aridagamancia' (see Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, i. 479, 480). The privilege of 1181 speaks of the Rule of St. Augustine 'et institutionem arroesi fratrum.' The copyist was so ignorant as to write 'Ambrosius' for Alexander III. and 'Eusebius' for Eugenius III. (perhaps there was nothing but the initial letter in his original): but the privilege of Innocent III. dated 1253, which alludes to those of Innocent II. and Eugenius III., is found again in *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v. 433-5, confirmed by Boniface IX., in 1401, when it was 'beginning to be consumed with age.' These details are given because the genuineness of the chartulary or at any rate of the foundation charter, has been questioned in a paper in *Records of Bucks*, vi. 374, etc. It may be added that the boundaries of land and names given in the foundation charter are the same as those in *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v. 433-5, which also names William of Missenden: and that it would require an almost impossible combination of cunning and simplicity for monks who could not find out the correct names of popes of the twelfth century, and called Malcolm IV. of Scotland 'Manasser,' to invent a number of charters of comparatively obscure benefactors who can (like Turstin Mantel) be proved from other sources to have lived at the required time. The charters of the twelfth century must stand or

fall together in a case where we have only a single chartulary to deal with: we cannot condemn one and approve others without more definite evidence than mere probability. It is certainly strange that an inquisition taken in 1332 should have dated the foundation of the house as late as 1293: but even if Harl. MS. 3688 had not survived, the date could have been proved from many sources to have been of the twelfth century, and even fixed between 1130 and 1150, by the charter relating to the hermitage of Muswell in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (1) 549.

The Arrouasian reform of the Augustinian order originated independently of that which is connected with the name of St. Peter Damian; it was begun in 1090 by three hermits, but not ruled by an abbot until 1124.⁷ During the time of Gervase, the first abbot, the order seems to have increased, and several houses were founded in England and Ireland, amongst which we find Missenden and Nutley in this county, Harrold in Bedfordshire, Bourne in Lincolnshire. It was the Arrouasian custom to place new houses under an abbot at once,⁸ and not to keep them in the position of cells to the parent abbey: with the natural result that the Arrouasian Canons tended to approximate more and more to others who kept the rule of St. Augustine, and after a while ceased to be distinguished from them in any way. They never seem to have been really an independent order with special privileges, like the Premonstratensians:

fall together in a case where we have only a single chartulary to deal with: we cannot condemn one and approve others without more definite evidence than mere probability. It is certainly strange that an inquisition taken in 1332 should have dated the foundation of the house as late as 1293: but even if Harl. MS. 3688 had not survived, the date could have been proved from many sources to have been of the twelfth century, and even fixed between 1130 and 1150, by the charter relating to the hermitage of Muswell in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (1) 549.

⁵ P.R.O. Deed of Surrender, No. 22.

⁶ Harl. MS. 3688, ff. 187-189. S. Maria de Nemore—probably Ruisseauville, a daughter-house of St. Nicholas of Arrouaise, situated in the modern department of the Pas de Calais 55 kilometres from Arras. *Gallia Christiana* (ed. 1751), p. 1607, and map before p. 1,147. Joanne, *Dict. Géog. de La France*, p. 1994. Note also a ratification by the Abbot of St. Nicholas supported by his brethren of St. Mary in the Wood and two Boulogne Houses. Harl. MS. 3688, f. 163.

⁷ Helyot and Bullot, *Hist. des Ordres Mon.* ii. 107.

⁸ See foundation charter of Bourne Abbey.

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and by the fifteenth century the Arrouasian name, where it was still retained, was little more than a convenient excuse for escaping attendance at general chapters and other ordinances of the regular life.¹

All the best known names in the county of Buckingham are found amongst the early benefactors of Missenden Abbey: Richard de Urvill the archdeacon, Walter Giffard, Walter de Bolebec, Turstin Mantel, Manasser Danmartin, Simon de Gerardmoulin, Hugh de Gurnay, Robert Mansel, the Turvilles and Cheinduits, and many others. The house was never among the greater abbeys of England, but it was fairly well endowed from the beginning, and was one of the most important monasteries in this county. The number of canons was probably soon increased, and even in the fifteenth century there were as many as twenty.² It seems likely that a later William of Missenden added to the original endowment in the thirteenth century, and so came to be reckoned as founder, and this would explain the result of the inquisition made in 1332, which reported that the house was founded as recently as 1293.³ Yet another William of Missenden in 1336 was buried in the abbey with the honours of a founder⁴: and perhaps these later benefactions obscured the memory of the earlier ones.

At the end of the twelfth century the Abbot of Missenden was proctor to the Abbot of Arrouaise, and had to act for him in a difficulty which arose in connection with the priory of Harrold in Bedfordshire. The priors of this house had been nominated at first by the Abbot of Arrouaise, without contradiction; but near the end of the twelfth century, the nuns, under the leadership of a certain brother 'B.' and Gila the prioress, tried to escape from all subjection to the parent abbey. They tried to get a privilege from the pope for this purpose: the Abbot of Arrouaise indeed alleged that they had forged one, and was inclined at first to believe that the Abbot of Missenden had aided and abetted their plots; but he afterwards cleared the latter of all blame. It was finally arranged that the nuns should pay half a mark yearly to the Abbot of Missenden and be free in future of all subjection to Arrouaise. After this agreement, which took place about the

year 1188,⁵ there is no record of any further connection between Missenden and Arrouaise.

This house is mentioned early in the thirteenth century in connection with a few suits of no great importance; in two of these the abbot was convicted of putting forward unwarrantable claims. In 1225 he appeared against Hubert de Burgh the justiciar, and brought forward a charter from Walter de Penn, which granted to him the advowson of Oulton Church in Norfolk, but Hubert was successful in proving that Walter never had any right to make the gift, and the abbot was fined in consequence.⁶ In 1231 the abbot was successful in proving his claim to the chapel of Muswell,⁷ but in 1245 he was again convicted of wrongfully exacting a pension from the rector of Taplow.⁸

We hear from the chronicler of Dunstable that the convent of Missenden suffered some kind of persecution from Ralf Brito, the king's treasurer, before 1232, but no details are given.⁹ In 1239 Isabel, the wife of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, desired that a part of her body should be buried in this abbey.¹⁰ The Close Rolls of the reign of Edward I. show the abbots to have been somewhat involved in debt at this time.¹¹ And towards the close of the thirteenth century the abbey seems to have fallen into great poverty, for in 1281 Henry Huse and Walter de Agmodesham were appointed to take it under the king's special protection for four years, as it was in danger of dispersion and ruin by murrain among sheep and horses, failure of crops, and accumulation of debts,¹² and in 1286 a similar order was issued to Master William de Luda, king's clerk, for a period of time unnamed.¹³ In 1276 Abbot William of London received 50 marks from the king to establish a chantry in the

⁵ Harl. MS. 3688, ff. 160d-163. What is here told helps to explain the account of the final concordia in the Chartulary of Harrold priory, Lansd. MS. 391, ff. 18b, 19, which supplies the date, and the fact that the Abbot of Missenden was proctor to the Abbot of Arrouaise. This is further evidence for the generally reliable character of Harl. MS. 3688.

⁶ *Bracton's Note Book*, iii. 92; *De Legibus et Consuet. Angliae*, iii. 246-7.

⁷ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i. 125.

⁸ *Ibid.* 217.

⁹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 130.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 113.

¹¹ Close, 2 Edw. I. m. 9d, m. 7d; *ibid.* 3 Edw. I. m. 17d; *ibid.* 6 Edw. I. m. 2d. The largest sum mentioned is £151.

¹² Pat. 10 Edw. I. m. 21.

¹³ Pat. 14 Edw. I. m. 12.

¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. D, i. f. 64.

² Pat. 2 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 14d.

³ Inq. p.m. 5 Edw. III. n. 5 in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (1), 548.

⁴ John Tofts' book, in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (1), 848. John Tofts was alive though not prior in 1463 (Pat. 2 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 14d).

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conventual church for the soul of Hugh de Sandford, in whose family the patronage of the house had been for some years.¹ It was probably soon after this that the second William of Missenden became a benefactor of the abbey.

The abbots of the fourteenth century were generally of families well known in the county: two of the Marshalls of Missenden held this office, and in 1340 a brother of Thomas De la Mare, afterwards Abbot of St. Albans, ruled the abbey of Missenden for a short time. In 1361 Ralf Marshall earned for his house a most undesirable notoriety: he was convicted of falsifying the coinage of the realm in his manor at Lee, and condemned to be drawn, hanged and quartered. He was afterwards pardoned,² and the sentence commuted to a term of imprisonment, first in the castle of Nottingham, and afterwards in the monastery of Bourne.³ About 1369 however he returned again to Missenden,⁴ which had been ruled by the prior in the meanwhile,⁵ and died in his London house in 1374.

There was another abbot, Robert Risborough, who brought much discredit and trouble upon the house during the reign of Edward IV. His name occurs in connection with leases and other transactions of a formal character as early as 1448⁶; but at the beginning of the new reign, in June 1462, he appealed to the king for protection against the prior and canons of his monastery, who were summoned to appear in Chancery and give sureties that they would not injure him or set fire to his house.⁷ It is evident however that this order was given hastily and without sufficient inquiry, for in July of the same year Robert Risborough was deprived of his office by the vote of the whole convent for simony and other crimes of which he had been convicted, and Henry Honor of Missenden was elected in his place.⁸ The process of deprivation and election was duly and formally reported by the prior to the Bishop of

Lincoln, and both were confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury,⁹ so for a while Henry Honor was able to maintain his position quietly. But about the year 1469 Robert appealed to Thomas Rotherham, then Bishop of Rochester and Chancellor of the kingdom, and managed so to present his case that the Chancellor, though he had really no jurisdiction in the matter, reinstated him and imprisoned Henry Honor for three years in the Fleet. In 1471, when Rotherham became Bishop of Lincoln, and seemed likely to go into the matter more carefully, Robert thought it wiser to resign, on condition that the canons would allow him the manor and church of Great Kimble for his maintenance. So Henry Honor again became abbot: but after five years Robert made another attempt to regain his old place. He complained to the king that he had been wrongfully deposed by George Neville, late Archbishop of York, for no other cause than sympathy with the Lancastrian party, and a writ was issued to the sheriff for his restoration. But in a very short time the king, probably through Rotherham, who had now become Archbishop of York, found out the true facts of the case and ordered Henry to be confirmed in his office and protected him from further molestation.¹⁰ Mandates were issued to the Bishop of Lincoln and the rector of Ashridge to see this final sentence carried into effect.¹¹

Henry Honor was abbot from this time almost until the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. During the last few years before the dissolution the number of canons diminished, and the monastic buildings were allowed to fall out of repair.¹² In 1530 besides the abbot there was a prior, a vicar, a chanter and sub-chanter, a kitchener, a refectorian, and a sacrist, besides another canon and five novices.¹³ The Acknowledgment of Supremacy was signed by John Fox and thirteen

⁹ Sloane MS. 747, ff. 15-18; and also f. 57d.

¹⁰ Ibid. ff. 57d-58.

¹¹ Ibid. 59d. The various stages of this affair can only be approximately dated. It is summed up, mentioning Henry Honor's three years in prison and five years of subsequent peace, in the royal writ on f. 57d, which refers to Rotherham as Archbishop of York and cannot be earlier than 1480. The mandate to the rector of Ashridge is dated 1482. There are two points—an order to the Bishop of Lincoln to let Henry remain in possession till Robert prove a better title (f. 56d); and an order for the arrest of Robert in Pat. 11 Edw. IV.—which are not easy to fit into their proper place in the story.

¹² Visitations of Longland (Lincoln).

¹³ Ibid.

¹ Close 4 Edw. I. m. 8d.

² Pat. 35 Edw. III. pt. 2.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Gynwell, 116.

⁴ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 90.

⁵ Ibid. Memo. Gynwell, 99d. In 1361 the abbot and convent of Missenden petitioned to the pope for permission to appropriate the churches of Glatton and Missenden, as their revenues were diminished by pestilence and other causes: the matter was entrusted to the Bishop of London for further investigation. *Cal. of Pet. to the Pope*, i. 364-5.

⁶ Sloane MS. 747, f. 4d.

⁷ Pat. 2 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 14d.

⁸ Sloane MS. 747, ff. 15-18.

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canons in 1535¹; the final surrender was made by John Otwell in 1538.² The abbot received a pension of £50, and the canons annuities ranging from £5 to £7, or else benefices in the gift of the monastery.³ Four of them besides the abbot were still alive and drawing their pensions in 1552.⁴

We have unusually full information as to the internal history of this house, which serves to illustrate a point of interest. There is a modern theory that one chief cause of the degeneracy of the religious houses in England before the dissolution was the exemption of so many among them from episcopal visitation; but this is not supported by any solid basis of facts, and, like some other theories as to the comparative advantage of great and little monasteries, is built rather upon a general idea of what ought to have happened than upon what actually did happen. The whole Augustinian order was subject at all times to episcopal jurisdiction, and none of its abbeys or priories ever obtained any exemptions: the episcopal registers survive to witness that the bishops did visit them continually; and yet it was this order which was solemnly warned of the 'impending ruin of all religion' among them in 1518—a warning uttered not by their enemies, but by their true friend, Cardinal Wolsey, who did his best to help them in the work of reformation.⁵ Of course not all the Augustinian houses were degenerate: some have a quite satisfactory record even at the end⁶; but Missenden was not one of these. Nevertheless its failure was in no sense due to lack of episcopal supervision.

The Abbot of Missenden was one of those deposed by Bishop Grosstête in his severe and searching visitation of 1236⁷; whether for maladministration or for more serious faults does not appear; but indeed the house seems from first to last to have been singularly unfortunate in its abbots. There is an interesting letter of Grosstête to the monks of Missenden, giving them advice as to the election of a new superior in 1240, and speaking of the qualifications to be desired in one who

was to bear rule in a house of religion.⁸ Bishop Sutton had occasion twice to write to the abbot and convent to receive back apostate but repentant canons.⁹ It does not appear that in his time there was any laxity in the house, but rather the reverse: for a certain novice cut his own throat in 1297 for fear of discipline.¹⁰ The monastery was visited in 1338 by order of Bishop Burghersh,¹¹ and in 1343 an inquiry was made into its rights and liberties by Bishop Bek.¹² There was another inquiry made in 1347 to see which of the monks were trying to impede the election of John of Abingdon¹³; and again in 1348 the bishop had to intervene and collate an abbot after a lapse of six months.¹⁴ In 1361 the scandals connected with Abbot Ralf Marshall's attainder brought the house under the notice of Bishop Gynwell, who had to appoint the prior to rule the house for a time.¹⁵ In 1369, when Ralf Marshall returned, he found his position a difficult one, and perhaps tried to enforce his authority by rough measures, for some of the canons complained to the bishop. A commission was sent in 1370 to inquire into their grievances, and the abbot was ordered to take no proceedings against those who had complained¹⁶; but in 1372 there was a fresh commission which suggests that the monks and not the abbot were the aggressors.¹⁷

Bishop Gray visited the abbey between 1431 and 1436, but found no special laxity. The number of monks seem to have been insufficient at this time for the due performance of the divine office: they were to be increased as soon as possible, and certain of the conventual buildings were to be repaired.¹⁸

⁸ *Epist. Grosstête* (Rolls Ser.), 268. It is not much credit to the abbot then elected (Roger of Gilsburgh) that he was a personal friend of the profane and irreligious Ralf de Cheinduit; but at any rate he helped him to make his peace with God and St. Alban on his deathbed in 1243. *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Series), i. 320, and *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv. 262.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 109, 127d.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 173. The fact is noticed merely in connection with the question whether the house needed purification after effusion of blood. It is not stated whether the novice succeeded in killing himself, or whether it was an attempt only.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 333d.

¹² *Ibid.* Memo. Bek, 56.

¹³ *Ibid.* 96.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 241. This occurs among the entries during the year of the Great Pestilence.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Memo. Gynwell, 99d.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Memo. Bokyngham, 99, 91.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 105d.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Memo. Gray, 202.

¹ P.R.O. Acknowledgment of Supremacy, 87.

² Lipscomb, *History of Bucks*, i. 368.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Exch. Mins. Accts., Bdle. 76, no. 26.

⁵ Cott. MS. Vesp. D, i. f. 64.

⁶ The three priories of Dunstable, Caldwell and Newnham have a very fair record in the Visitation of Longland, 1530: this was not noticed in the article on the Religious Houses of Bedfordshire in this series, as those visitations were not then accessible to the writer.

⁷ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 143.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

In the time of Robert Risborough, if the abbot was unworthy of his office, public opinion in the monastery was certainly against him, though the prior and canons were obliged to wait until he could be canonically deposed, and the credit of the house restored by a better appointment. It may fairly be supposed that Henry Honor, who was elected in Robert's place, was chosen because he upheld a higher standard of religious observance. It was probably during his long term of office that the Sloane chartulary¹ was compiled, though it contains some entries of later date. It is a curious book, in which leases and royal writs are mixed up indiscriminately with scraps of general information of all kinds—a table of the kings of England, the way to find Easter and to understand the signs of the weather; lists of Christian virtues, deadly sins and colours for painting; prescriptions for divers diseases containing such strange ingredients as 'oil of black snails' and 'marrow of horse bones,' with the exorcisms for the falling sickness and the fever; the ten commandments in English and many rhymed adages and rules for the conduct of life generally.²

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the discipline of the house became sadly lax, and the visitation of Atwater in 1518 reveals a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. The bishop noticed that licences to go into the town were much too readily granted to the canons. These he ordered to be restricted in future to cases of necessity. The refectory was to be repaired, and until it was ready the abbot must appoint some other place where the canons could eat together and hear the

¹ Sloane MS. 747. This book has been very little noticed by those who have inquired into the history of Missenden, possibly because it is in the worst hand of the late fifteenth century, and very difficult to read.

² The following quaint rhyme may serve as an instance:—

'When thi hede aks, *memento* :
And thi lypps blaks, *confessio* :
And thi hert pants, *contritio* :
And thi wind wants, *satisfactio* :
And thi lemes unwilling lie, *libera me*
domine :
And thi nose waxes colde, *domine miserere* :
And thi nyes hollowes,
Then the deth folowes,
Veni ad judicium.'

Another bids a man

'Arise early,
Serve God devoutly,
The world busily,
Go thy way sadly,
Answer demurely,' etc.

Rule read. The infirmary was to be put in order, and five at least among the canons must in future be priests. They were to have a proper place where they could receive their friends two or three times in the year. There was a monk from another house living here who was *non utilis monasterio*. Richard Gynger, a novice, was too prone to ease and gave neither his time nor his attention to heavenly things; he must occupy himself laudably. There was want of care too even in the appointments of the conventual church. The bishop found it necessary to order a lamp to be alight continually before the Blessed Sacrament. The very servants of the monastery were insolent and abusive to the canons, and refused to attend to their needs.³

In the lists of those who abjured and did penance in 1521 for heresy, Foxe names a canon of Missenden.⁴ It is by no means improbable at such a time, when the monastery was in such complete disorder.

There was worse to come. The visitations of Longland in 1530 and 1531 revealed mischief of a still more serious kind. In 1530⁵ it was complained that the abbot, John Fox, was wholly under the influence of a secular, John Compton, who cut down trees and did as he pleased with the goods of the monastery. The prior was remiss in correction, and did not set an example of regular attendance at the divine office. The buildings were all out of repair, and the house £60 in debt. The abbot had no book or rental to show his lands, and did not know what his possessions really were. The gate between the nave and choir of the conventual church was never closed, so that seculars could enter the choir at their will. No lessons from Holy Scripture were read in the refectory. One canon, John Slythurst, was accused by three or four of his brethren not merely of being 'verbose, of elate mind, and a sower of dissension,' but of the crime condemned beyond all others in Holy Scripture; and the late abbot, William Honor, had shared his guilt.

It was a terrible indictment, and the bishop's commissary, Thomas Jackman, met it with stringent regulations. John Slythurst was to be kept apart from all the brethren, in the custody of the abbot and prior; he was never to go out of his cell without a licence from the bishop, and no one was to be admitted to see him except those who came for the good of his soul. No boys were to be

³ Visitations of Atwater (Lincoln).

⁴ *Acts and Monuments*, iv. 227.

⁵ Visitations of Longland (Lincoln), 10 October, 1530.

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allowed in the dormitory or any part of the monastery on any account whatever: if the prior were to infringe this rule he was to be put on bread and water. For the rest, it seemed best to report the whole case to the bishop, and Longland was not the man to treat it lightly.¹ In June 1531 he visited the house in person. More searching inquiries elicited from the abbot himself a more complete confession. He was evidently a man of feeble character, not a hardened sinner, but incapable of standing against any strong temptation. His sister was living in the monastery as *brasiatrix*, and he had dismissed her daughter from the house because of her evil conversation; yet his own life had not been wholly pure. He owned also that he had squandered the goods of the monastery. Roger Palmer, the rectorar, who had piously complained of the want of lectures in Holy Scripture at the last visitation, was a very different character: not the victim of temptation, but one who deliberately broke his vows. He had been seen more than once at midnight coming out of a house in the village² in doublet and jerkin, with a sword by his side, and this he confessed to be true.

¹ Just because the crimes here alluded to have been charged indiscriminately against the monasteries of the sixteenth century on such evidence as that of the well-known 'Comperta,' it has been thought best to give the whole results of these visitations, and to keep nothing back at all. No excuse whatever is offered for this particular monastery, but the report nevertheless serves to show that bishops like Atwater and Longland really did take pains to find out the state of the houses they visited, and that when such grievous offences came to light they were not palliated but called by their proper names: it is therefore significant if recorded reports such as this one are remarkably few. Longland's impression in this case is shown by the prompt punishments inflicted, and by the fact that he came again the following year in person to visit the house, and was determined to find out the whole extent of the mischief. In respect of this abbey, considered by itself, it should be noticed (1) That only one canon was found guilty of the greater offence, and two of the lesser; (2) that the sin of John Slythurst was regarded with horror and aversion by his brethren, who denounced him openly on the first opportunity; (3) that the boy whom he had led astray had been already convicted and punished before the visitation; (4) that the offender was treated by the bishop's commissary as one who was unfit to be amongst the rest of the brethren. All these things convey an impression that the case was uncommon.

² It was the house of a married woman, the same who had once been to the abbot, John Fox, an occasion of falling.

The bishop ordered that the abbot should be suspended from his office until further notice, and the charge of the monastery was committed to John Otwell, afterwards abbot. Roger Palmer was to be kept under lock and key. The injunctions finally delivered to the whole convent were written in 'vulgar English,' that the canons might have no excuse, and might not say they could not understand what was desired of them. The injunctions are of the usual nature and relate to the due observance of the rule of the order, particularly that a learned man in grammar should be appointed to teach the canons and young priests; that the doors from the church into the quire and cloister and the door of the Lady Chapel be kept locked; that no canon should have a key of the cloister door leading into the fields, and that the door only be opened at such times 'as the covent shalbe licensed to goo into the felde to sport togydre'; that the buildings, especially the belfry, be repaired; that they be more sparing in their board till the house be in a better state, and that the abbot should no more suffer his kinsfolk 'to hang upon the monasteryes charge as they have done'; whereas it was found at the late visitation that John Compton 'ruleth thabbot' and 'cutteth down trees,' that he meddle not further till 'he doth use himself uprightly'; that the brethren are not to wear 'garded or welted hose or stuffed codpese or jerkyn or any other shorte or courtely fashioned garment,' and that Dom John Slithwise be committed to prison till 'ye knowe our further mynde.'³

John Fox died some time between 1535 and 1538, and Otwell became abbot *de jure* as well as *de facto*, but he had little opportunity of reforming the house before its dissolution.⁴ He lived till 1552, and was married some time before that date; so was Thomas Bernard, the kitchener, who had the vicarage of Little Missenden assigned to him by way of pension. Three other canons living in 1552 remained unmarried: Roger Palmer was one of them.⁵

It may perhaps be considered a point of generosity in the king and his agents, that pensions were dealt out so impartially to guilty and innocent alike; but it was a strangely indiscriminating zeal for reform which set John Slythurst free from penitential

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Longland, 194-195d, and *Arch.* xlvii. 60-64.

⁴ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (2), 1252. Longland seems to have thought Otwell a worthy man, as he recommended him in this letter to Cromwell for the vacant post.

⁵ Exch. Mins. Accts., Bdle. 76, no. 26.

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discipline, and promoted him to a benefice with cure of souls.¹

The original endowment of the abbey included the demesne land at Great Missenden with other parcels of land in the counties of Buckingham, Oxford and Huntingdon, as well as the churches of Great Missenden, Great Kimble, Chalfont St. Peter, Weston Turville and its chapels, in Bucks; Glatton and Aldbury, Hunts; Caversfield and Shiplake, Oxon; Swynford, Radenhall and Porlaine.² The *temporalia* of the abbey in 1291³ amounted to £60 5s. 5d., and included lands in Bucks, Oxon, Herts, and London; the manor of Peterley was added not long after.⁴

In 1284 the abbot held only one knight's fee in Great Kimble with four acres besides⁵; in 1302⁶ the same; in 1316 half the vill of Broughton and Holcutt with one third of Great Kimble⁷; in 1346 one fee in Great Kimble and a small part of Little Kimble.⁸ The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* gives for this abbey a clear revenue of £261 14s. 6d., including the churches of Great Missenden, Great Kimble, Chalfont St. Peter, Caversfield, Shiplake and Glatton.⁹ The Ministers' Accounts amount to £240 11s. 4½d., including the manors of Great Kimble, Hughenden, and Little Missenden.¹⁰

ABBOTS OF MISSENDEN

- Daniel,¹¹ first abbot, occurs 1133 and 1145
 Peter,¹² occurs about 1163
 Adam,¹³ occurs 1198 and 1206
 William,¹⁴ occurs 1217
 Martin,¹⁵ occurs 1219, deposed 1236

¹ Lipscomb, *History of Bucks*, i. 368. 'To John Slythurst, £8 for serving the cure at the Lee chapel; or if he refuse it £5 6s. 8d.'

² Charters of Confirmation, Harl. MS. 3688, ff. 178-191.

³ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.). In a roll amongst those of Bishop Lexington (Linc. Epis. Reg.), 1254-8, the whole valuation of the abbey, in spiritualities and temporalities, is stated at £44 7s. only: which favours the conjecture of a fresh endowment by a second William of Missenden about 1293.

⁴ Harl. MS. 3688, f. 34.

⁵ *Feud. Aids*, i. 75, 85.

⁶ *Ibid.* 96. ⁷ *Ibid.* 112.

⁸ *Ibid.* 122.

⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 247.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (2) 549.

¹¹ Harl. MS. 3688, ff. 18, 179d.

¹² *Ibid.* 178.

¹³ *Ibid.* 178d: *Feet of F.* (Rec. Com.), 165, 219.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 548.

¹⁵ *Feet of F. Bucks*, 3 Hen. III. 24.

Robert,¹⁶ elected 1236, resigned 1240

Roger of Gilsburgh,¹⁷ elected 1240, occurs till 1248

Simon of London,¹⁸ elected 1258, resigned 1262

Geoffrey de Welpesle,¹⁹ elected 1262, resigned 1268

William of London,²⁰ elected 1268, occurs till 1278

Matthew of Tring,²¹ died 1306

Richard Marshall,²² elected 1306, died 1323

Robert of Kimble,²³ elected 1323, resigned 1339

William Delamere,²⁴ elected 1339, died 1340

Henry of Buckingham,²⁵ elected 1340

John of Abingdon,²⁶ elected 1347, died 1348

William of Bradley,²⁷ elected 1348, resigned 1356

Ralf Marshall,²⁸ elected 1356, died 1374

William of Thenford,²⁹ elected 1374, died 1384

John Marsh,³⁰ elected 1384, died 1398

Richard Meer,³¹ elected 1398

Robert Risborough,³² occurs 1448, deposed 1462

Henry Honor³³ or Missenden, elected 1462, occurs till 1503

William Smith,³⁴ died 1521

William Honor,³⁵ elected 1521, died 1528

John Fox,³⁶ elected 1528, occurs 1535

John Otwell,³⁷ last abbot, surrendered 1538

Dark green, pointed oval seal of the twelfth century attached to a charter of Abbot Martin and the convent of Missenden.³⁸ The impression is a very fine one, and represents the Blessed Virgin with crown seated on a throne with carved ends, in her lap the Holy Child with cruciform nimbus. In her right

¹⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosstête.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; and Feet of F. Bucks, 32 Hen. III. No. 36.

¹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*; and Close, 6 Edw. I. m. 2d.

²¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 180.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.* Inst. Burghersh, 328d.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 355. ²⁵ *Ibid.* 358d.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Memo. Bek, 96.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 241.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 260.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Inst. Bokyngham, i. 435d.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 461. ³¹ *Ibid.* ii. 425d.

³² Sloane MS. 747, f. 4d.

³³ *Ibid.* f. 17.

³⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Longland, 187.

³⁵ *Ibid.* ³⁶ *Ibid.* 195.

³⁷ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (2) 1252.

³⁸ Add. Chart. 19910.

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hand she holds a sceptre fleur-de-lizé, in her left hand a staff which is surmounted by a bird. Her feet are resting on an ornamental footboard. Legend: +SIGILLV SCE MARIE DE ME[SSENDEN]A.

A seal of similar description is attached to a charter of about 1240,¹ the impression is less perfect, and much of the legend wanting. Attached to the same charter is the seal of Abbot Roger de Aylesbury,² dark green, pointed oval, representing the abbot standing on a carved corbel, in his right hand a pastoral staff, in his left hand a book. In the field on the left an estoile, on the right a crescent. Legend: +SIGILL' ROGERI . . A . . . DE . MESSENDENE.

A mottled green seal, the impression of which is very imperfect, but similar to the first seal, and the legend wanting, is attached by a woven cord of red silk strands to a deed of 1242 exhibited in the British Museum.³ To the same document is also attached by another cord of red silk strands the seal of Abbot Roger as described above.⁴

A red pointed oval seal of the fifteenth century,⁵ attached to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy, 1534, represents the Blessed Virgin with crown seated in a canopied niche, in her right hand the Holy Child with nimbus, in her left hand a sceptre. In the field on each side, three trees, one above, two below. In base, under an arch, an abbot and three monks in adoration. Legend: s' COE. ABBIS. ZS. COUET' MONAST' . BEATE . MARIE . DE . MISSYNDEN.

An oval seal of Abbot William, taken from a cast in the British Museum,⁶ represents the Blessed Virgin standing in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides, the Child on her right arm, in her left hand a sceptre fleur-de-lizé or flowering branch. The legend is indistinct: . . . DE . . . ENDEN.

10. THE ABBEY OF MEDMENHAM

The little abbey of Medmenham was founded in 1204 upon lands granted to the abbey of Woburn, Bedfordshire, by Isabel de Bolebec, Countess of Oxford. Leave to build a monastery in this place was granted in 1202,⁷ but there seems to have been some mismanagement in connection with its first foundation. In 1204 the first colony of monks was sent there from the parent abbey,

¹ Add. Chart. 20,370.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. 20,372.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ P.R.O. Acknowl. of Supremacy, No. 87.

⁶ B. M. Seals, lix. 91.

⁷ Chart R. 2 John, m. 17.

but it was recalled in the same year. The Abbot of Woburn was deposed on account of this failure.⁸ Other monks were sent apparently soon after, for the house was built and inhabited in 1213,⁹ and from this time it remained an independent abbey.¹⁰

It has no history whatever, so far as can at present be discovered. Even the names of the abbots are difficult to find out. There are a few suits concerned with small parcels of land recorded in the Feet of Fines during the thirteenth century¹¹; and the Close Rolls of the fourteenth contain one or two notices of debts incurred by the abbot and convent of Medmenham.¹² The abbots are said to have held the office of Epistolar to the Order of the Garter.¹³

In 1524 there was some thought of granting the revenues of this house to Wolsey for his college at Oxford,¹⁴ but the plan was not carried out. At the dissolution, which was before 8 July, 1536, it was made part of the endowment of the new abbey of Bisham.¹⁵ There was at this time only one monk left besides the abbot¹⁶; the latter received a pension of 10 marks.¹⁷

So far as can be discovered, the property of the abbey consisted of little more than the vill of Medmenham and the parish church.¹⁸ There is no account of its value in the *Taxatio*. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* gives a total of £20 6s. 2d.¹⁹

ABBOTS OF MEDMENHAM

Roger,²⁰ occurs 1256 and 1259

Peter,²¹ elected 1295, occurs 1303

John of Medmenham,²² occurs 1308

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. v.*

⁹ Assize R. 13 John 480, n. 4 in dorso.

¹⁰ The foundation charters of the house were still kept at Woburn in 1538, but cannot now be traced. *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (1) 981.

¹¹ Feet of F. 41 Hen. III. n. 4; *ibid.* 44 Hen. III. n. 8; *ibid.* 31 Edw. I. n. 3.

¹² Close, 9 Edw. III. m. 14d; *ibid.* 15 Edw. II. m. 25d.

¹³ *Records of Bucks*, iv. 62.

¹⁴ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. (1), No. 989.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* xii. (2) 1311.

¹⁶ *Records of Bucks*, iii. 62.

¹⁷ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 232, f. 20d.

¹⁸ The parish church had a vicarage ordained under the abbots in the time of Hugh of Wells. A. Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus*, 17.

¹⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 251.

²⁰ Feet of F. 41 Hen. III. n. 4; *ibid.* 44 Hen. III. n. 8.

²¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Sutton, 132; Feet of F. 31 Edw. III. n. 3.

²² Langley, *History of the Desborough Hundred*, 340.

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Geoffrey,¹ occurs 1321
 Stephen of Thame,² elected 1373
 Henry,³ occurs 1416
 Richard,⁴ occurs 1421
 John Talbot,⁵ occurs 1535
 Richard Brangwen,⁶ last abbot, occurs
 1536

Dugdale says,⁷ 'according to Willis the seal of the abbey was the effigies of the Blessed Virgin crowned, sitting on a splendid throne, in her bosom the venerable Infant.' He adds the only impression remaining is that of [Abbot] John 1308, which is a neat oval seal with this inscription on the edge: S' FRIS JOHIS. MENDHAM.'

II. THE ABBEY OF NUTLEY

The Abbey of Nutley, or Crendon Park, was founded early in the twelfth century by Walter Giffard and Ermengarde his wife, for Austin Canons following the customs of Arrouaise.⁸ It was dedicated to the honour of St. Mary and St. John Baptist. The exact date of foundation cannot be given, but it seems probable that it was about the same time as that of Missenden, and it must certainly have been before 1164, to fall within the lifetime of Walter Giffard. It was the richest monastery in Buckinghamshire: its income at the dissolution was very little short of £450, and it had even then the patronage of eleven churches.

Yet it has very little history. There are one or two suits of importance during the thirteenth century, and these constitute the whole of our information for this period. There was a long suit in connection with a moiety of the manor of Lower Winchendon, for which it seems that the abbot advanced an unwarranted claim. It began in 1207, when Agnes Wake had the land secured to her as a marriage portion, and the canons were ordered not to molest her in any way.⁹ It was reopened in 1221, when Agnes showed the foregoing charter, while the abbot pleaded the custom of an earlier date¹⁰; and it was finally settled in 1238, when the abbot quitclaimed it to Hugh Wake, but received it back again

at a yearly rent of sixteen marks.¹¹ There was another suit in 1214, when the canons secured the church of Bottesham in Cambridgeshire against Richard de Clare, by showing the charter of Walter Giffard.¹²

Abbots of this house during the fourteenth century were several times commissioned by the pope to inquire into the circumstances of appeals and petitions¹³; and on this abbey as well as Missenden, Edward II. and Edward III. used occasionally to quarter their old servants.¹⁴ At the beginning of the same century there must have been some dispute concerning jurisdiction between Bishop Dalderby and the canons of Nutley: for the bishop complained in a letter to the Dean of Waddesdon that the infirmarian and three others had dared to try and hinder him from administering the sacrament of confirmation in the conventual church; they had attacked his servants, beaten and trampled upon them, and committed other enormities; and another canon in his malice defended these evildoers. The entry is unfinished, so the conclusion of the affair is unknown¹⁵: but it seems that this house, though not exempt, was seldom visited by the bishops of Lincoln.

Richard of Crendon, who was abbot in 1333, was mixed up in a very discreditable affair in that year: the Prior of Walron in Norfolk complained to the king that the Abbot of Nutley and another canon with certain knights carried away two of his horses and other goods of his at Kelling and Sherringham.¹⁶ An inquiry was made in 1345 as to the rights by which the canons of Nutley held so many churches *in proprios usus*, as they were found to be destitute of vicars¹⁷; and it was noticed more than a century later that the churches belonging to this house were ruinous and badly served.¹⁸ In 1374 it was formally

¹¹ Feet of F. 18 Hen. III. no. 4. It seems however that the abbot succeeded in proving his claim finally, for in 1302 we find him in possession of the whole manor of Lower Winchendon, and thenceforward to the dissolution. In 1346 it is expressly stated to be in pure and perpetual alms of the gift of Walter Giffard and Ermengarde. *Feud. Aids*, i. 96, 121.

¹² Cur. Reg. R. 59 (15 John), n. 15 in dorso.

¹³ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, ii. 122, 168, 224, 522.

¹⁴ Close, 11 Edw. II. m. 19d; 6 Edw. III. m. 11d, etc.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 15.

¹⁶ Pat. 7 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 19d.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bek, 64.

¹⁸ Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 198, from a visitation report of 1493. The report of Bishop Atwater, 1518, shows the abbot again in default.

¹ Close, 15 Edw. II. m. 25d.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 126.

³ Langley, *History of the Desborough Hundred*, 340.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 251.

⁶ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 232, f. 20d.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 684.

⁸ Foundation Charter, Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (I) 278.

⁹ *Rot. Pat.* 8 John (Rec. Com.), 70.

¹⁰ *Bracton's Note Book*, iii. 416.

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stated that the abbey had suffered severely from the Great Pestilence, and was not able to maintain its wonted hospitality.¹ In 1383 the conventual church was attacked by a band of armed men, who were excommunicated in consequence; nothing more is known of the affair or its causes.²

In 1461 the priory of Chetwode and its lands were granted to the canons of Nutley,³ on condition that they should fulfil all the obligations attached to the suppressed foundation. Just before the dissolution the abbey came into the king's hand, on account of the attainder of the Duke of Buckingham, who had been its patron.⁴ The last abbot, Richard Ridge, signed the Acknowledgment of Royal Supremacy in 1535,⁵ and surrendered his house on 9 December, 1538. The Deed of Surrender is signed by the prior and thirteen other canons besides the abbot; it takes the form of an enfeoffment of the house to Dr. London for the king's use.⁶ London had been busy in the neighbourhood just before, taking the surrender of Eynsham, and defacing various shrines.⁷ The pension list for Nutley Abbey, as given by Browne Willis, is to the abbot £100, to the prior £6 13s. 4d., to the sub-prior £6, to Thomas Webb £6, and to twelve others £5 6s. 8d.⁸ As the house possessed many churches, it is possible that some of the pensions were commuted for benefices. Valentine Bownde, the prior, became chaplain of Long Crendon,⁹ and another canon was cantarist of the fraternity of Buckingham until its suppression.¹⁰ The last-mentioned canon was the only one who survived till 1552, when he claimed two pensions: £5 6s. 8d. from Nutley, and £4 for the chantry.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, i. 412; the church of Lillingston was appropriated on this account.

² Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 267.

³ Pat. 1 Edw. IV. pt. iv., m. 23. A dole of 2s. 6d. was still paid to the poor every year for the soul of Ralf of Norwich, founder of Chetwode, in 1535. *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 234.

⁴ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 3082.

⁵ P.R.O. Acknowledgment of Supremacy, 96.

⁶ P.R.O. Deed of Surrender, 184.

⁷ Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 221, 233.

⁸ One canon is named in the pension list of 1552, as receiving £5 6s. 8d. Exch. Mins. Accts. Bdle. 76, no. 26.

⁹ *Records of Bucks.* vi. 292. He died in 1550, in which year his will was proved: but it seems extremely improbable that it was he whose grave was found in Long Crendon Church; he would not have been buried in his habit and sandals, with rosary and crucifix, in 1550.

¹⁰ Exch. Mins. Accts., Bdle. 76, no. 26.

The Arrouasian canons had a great reputation for strictness of life at the first foundation of their order; but there is very little to show us how far this house was faithful to its original ideal. The Abbot of Nutley was one of those deprived by Bishop Grosstête in 1236,¹¹ a fact which suggests unsatisfactory administration at that time, if nothing worse. The elections of 1268 and 1271 were both annulled by Bishop Gravesend, not because of the unfitness of the persons elected, but because of some informality in the procedure.¹² The entry in Bishop Dalderby's register already alluded to does not give us a favourable impression of the house in 1300; but not enough is known of the circumstances to enable us to judge the matter fairly.¹³ A commission was issued by the same bishop a few years later for the visitation and correction of the abbey of Nutley, but no report is preserved.¹⁴ In 1323 an order was given for the readmission of an apostate monk after absolution by the bishop.¹⁵ In 1350 there was certainly no unfriendly feeling between the abbot and his diocesan, for the former was commissioned to examine the election of a prioress of Little Marlow in that year.¹⁶ The first formal report of visitation is dated 1379. It does not point to any special laxity, but only to some defects of administration. It was enjoined that two bursars should be elected annually by the abbot and the 'greater and wiser part' of the convent, who should receive all moneys and render an account of the same. The officers of the monastery were to be appointed and removed by the abbot with the concurrence of the 'greater and wiser part' of the brethren; but all should render due obedience to the abbot. No pensions or doles should be given without consent of the abbot and the 'greater and wiser part.' The kinsmen of the abbot or the canons were not to be chargeable to the monastery without consent of the abbot and the 'greater and wiser part.'¹⁷

The exact value of these injunctions cannot be estimated without more knowledge of the contemporary history of the house. They read like a temporary expedient to check the power of an abbot who had not shown sufficient consideration for his brethren, nor consulted them duly; for the stress laid upon the consent of the majority is very unusual.

In 1391 an indult was granted by the pope

¹¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 143.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹³ Ibid. Memo. Dalderby, 15.

¹⁴ Ibid. 202d.

¹⁵ Ibid. Memo. Burghersh, 109.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 243.

¹⁷ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 181d.

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to the canons of this abbey, that they might adopt the Use of Sarum for the recitation of the divine office, that of St. Augustine having become 'too burdensome' for them.¹ The discipline of the order seems however to have been in full force in this house towards the end of the fifteenth century; for in 1471 Henry Honor of Missenden asked permission to send the disobedient among his own canons to Nutley to be punished, 'for the preservation of order.'² A visitation of Bishop Atwater in 1519 reveals no laxity and very few causes of complaint. It was alleged that the abbot did not pay the accustomed annuities, nor consult the senior canons as he ought to do; and a proper infirmary was not provided for the sick.³ No visitation of Bishop Longland is preserved. The abbot in 1525 was accused of having falsified a lease of the parsonage of Hillesden; but the accusation was made in the course of a family quarrel, and may have been without foundation.⁴ There is every reason to suppose that the house had an honourable reputation during its last years. The election of 1528 was made under the approval of Cardinal Wolsey⁵; and the king himself stayed at Nutley in 1529 while he was making progress through the Midlands.⁶ Dr. London accused the canons of nothing worse than superstition, and that only by inference: he tells us how the chaplain of Caversham fled home to Nutley with the only 'relic' he had been able to save from destruction—an aungell with oon wyng that brought to Caversham the spere hedde that percyd our Saviour is syde upon the crosse'—and adds, 'butt I sent my servant purposely for ytt.' The surrender of the house followed in a few days.⁷

The original endowment of Nutley Abbey included the demesne land called Crendon Park, the churches of Long Crendon, with the chapels of Lower Winchendon and Chearsley, Princes Risborough, Hillesden, Ashendon, Chilton with the chapel of Dorton; the church and chapel of Caversham, and Stokelyle in Oxfordshire; Sherringham and Choseley in Norfolk, Bottesham in Cambridgeshire, Bradley in Wiltshire.⁸ To these

were added at a later date the churches of Netherswell in Gloucestershire, Coleshill and Blakeborough in Norfolk,⁹ Lillingstone (Dayrell) in Buckinghamshire¹⁰; and in 1461 the lands of the priory of Chetwode, with the churches of Chetwode and Barton Hartshorn, and the chapel of Brill.¹¹ In the time of Bishop Lexington (1254–8) the whole value of the abbey in spiritualities and temporalities was stated as £80 7s.¹²; in 1291 its temporalities amounted to £48 16s. 6½d.,¹³ but the value of its churches cannot be exactly given, as they are not all mentioned in the *Taxatio*.

In 1284 the abbot held one third of a knight's fee in Hillesden¹⁴; in 1302 the same, with the whole manor of Lower Winchendon¹⁵; in 1346 both of these, with the addition of a portion of a fee in Long Crendon.¹⁶

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the clear value of the house was given as £437 6s. 8½d.¹⁷; the Ministers' Accounts amount only to £402 19s. 4½d., including the churches of Long Crendon, Chilton, Chearsley, Caversham, Princes Risborough, Ashendon, Hillesden, Lower Winchendon, Chetwode, Barton Hartshorn, Stokelyle, Sherringham, Maiden Bradley, Netherswell; and the manors of Long Crendon, Chilton, Lower Winchendon, Chearsley, Canonend, Chetwode in Bucks; and Stragglethorpe, Lincs.¹⁸

ABBOTS OF NUTLEY

Osbert,¹⁹ occurs under Henry II.

Robert,²⁰ occurs 1189

Edward,²¹ occurs 1203 and 1221

John,²² occurs 1223, deposed 1236

Henry of St. Faith,²³ elected 1236

John of Crendon,²⁴ elected 1252, died 1268

John of Gloucester,²⁵ elected 1268, died 1269

Richard of Dorchester,²⁶ elected 1269, resigned 1272

1258, quoted and confirmed in *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v. 508–9.

⁹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, i. 412.

¹¹ Pat. I Edward IV. pt. iv. m. 23.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Lexington.

¹³ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

¹⁴ *Feud. Aids*, i. 77. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* 96, 107.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 120, 121, 124.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 234.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 280.

¹⁹ *Bracton's Note Book* (ed. Maitland), iii. 416.

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 278.

²¹ *Feet of F.* (Rec. Com.), 229.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 278, and *Feet of F.* 18 Hen. III. no. 4.

²³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosstête.

²⁴ *Ibid.* ²⁵ *Ibid.* Rolls of Gravesend.

²⁶ *Ibid.* He entered the Cistercian order in 1272.

¹ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv. 396.

² Sloane MS. 747, f. 53.

³ Visitations of Atwater (Lincoln).

⁴ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (2), 246.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 4187. ⁶ *Ibid.* 5965.

⁷ Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 225. Dr. London had been at Nutley in 1528 to examine the election of Robert Brice. Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Longland, 193d.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 279. The same gifts are rehearsed in the charter of Pope Alexander IV.,

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Henry called Medicus,¹ elected 1272
 William of Sherringham,² died 1309
 John of Thame,³ elected 1309
 Richard of Crendon,⁴ occurs from 1331 to
 1357
 John of Winchendon,⁵ occurs 1367 and
 1376
 John of Chearsley,⁶ occurs 1379, died 1389
 Nicholas Amcotes,⁷ occurs 1390 and 1395
 Thomas,⁸ occurs 1397
 William,⁹ occurs 1400
 Nicholas Redding,¹⁰ occurs 1447
 William Stanton,¹¹ occurs 1457 till 1479
 Peter Caversham,¹² died 1503
 Richard Petérton,¹³ elected 1503, died 1513
 John Marston,¹⁴ elected 1513, resigned 1528
 Robert Brice,¹⁵ elected 1528, died 1529
 Richard Ridge,¹⁶ last abbot, elected 1529

Pointed oval seal of the twelfth century, taken from cast at the British Museum,¹⁷ represents the Blessed Virgin with crown, seated on a carved throne, the Holy Child on her left knee, in her right hand a flower. + SIGILLVM : SANCTE : MARIE : DE : NVTLE.

A round seal of the fifteenth century taken from a cast,¹⁸ represents three Gothic niches, with canopies crocketed and pinnacled, the Blessed Virgin standing with nimbus and crown, the Holy Child with nimbus on her right arm, in her left hand a ball or orb, two saints on either side, the one on the left with nimbus holding a plaque, the other on the right with nimbus and mitre holds apparently a wheel. On tabernacle work at each side a shield of arms: that on the left, quartering 1, 4, France (modern), 2, 3, England, that on the right uncertain. In base, under a square-

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

² Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 182.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Close, 5 Edw. III. pt. i, m. 6; *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii. 448.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 278.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 181d; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 278.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 278.

⁸ Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii. 965.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 278. ¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. and Sloane MS. 747, f. 39d (1470 and 1472).

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Smith, 372.

¹³ Ibid. ¹⁴ Ibid. 391d.

¹⁵ Ibid. Inst. Longland, 193d.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 5828.

¹⁷ B. M. Seals, lix. 89. See Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 277.

¹⁸ B. M. Seals, lix. 93. This cast has been taken from the seal attached to the Deed of Supremacy (No. 96) now in the Record Office. The original is red and of a very fine impression, but much chipped.

headed arch, a shield of arms: a lion rampant. Legend: SIGILLUM C . . . MONAST' BÈ MARIE ET SCI' IOHANNIS' BAPTISTE DE NOTTELE.

Another seal of the fifteenth century, the cast of which has been taken from an imperfect impression,¹⁹ represents the Blessed Virgin standing on a corbel in a niche holding the Holy Child on her right arm, in her left hand a sceptre fleur-de-lizé. Legend: . . . BEATE MA. . . .

12. THE PRIORY OF CHETWODE

The priory of Chetwode was founded in the year 1245 by Ralf de Norwich.²⁰ A licence was granted by Bishop Grosstête for its foundation, and a canon was sent from Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire to be the first prior.²¹ The endowment was a small one, and it seems probable that there were never more than three or four canons. King Henry III. granted to the priory a carucate of land for the service of the hermitage or chapel of St. Werburga in the forest of Brill, and 50s. besides for the service of the royal chapel when he kept his court at Brill²²; the canons also served the churches of Chetwode and Barton Hartshorn.²³

During the first year of the existence of the priory there was a dispute with the founder concerning the lands which formed the endowment.²⁴ A few years later the king's gift lost almost all its value because the deer in the royal forest could not be kept out of the canons' cornfields; but Henry III., with that generosity which he always displayed towards the religious, made them a further grant, and allowed them to enclose their ploughlands.²⁵ This right was disputed in 1313 by a certain Roger Pymme and other men of the neighbourhood, who claimed part of the land as common, broke down the enclosure, and fed their beasts on the grass there. The prior complained that he had suffered losses amounting to 40s. in value: but it is not known whether he recovered anything at this time.²⁶

The house was reckoned from the first among royal foundations, and the names of all its priors may be found on the Patent Rolls. We may gather from the record of the prior's death in 1349, that the Great Pestilence

¹⁹ B. M. Seals, lix. 94.

²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosstête.

²¹ Ibid.; and *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i. 37.

²² Pat. 40 Hen. III. m. 15.

²³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, 177.

²⁴ Feet of F. 30 Hen. III. No. 9.

²⁵ Pat. 40 Hen. III. m. 15.

²⁶ Coram Rege R. 6 Edw. II. n. 66.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE MONASTIC SEALS



ASHRIDGE COLLEGE.



RAVENSTONE PRIORY.



NUTLEY ABBEY.



BIDDLESDEN ABBEY.



NUTLEY ABBEY.



BIDDLESDEN ABBEY.



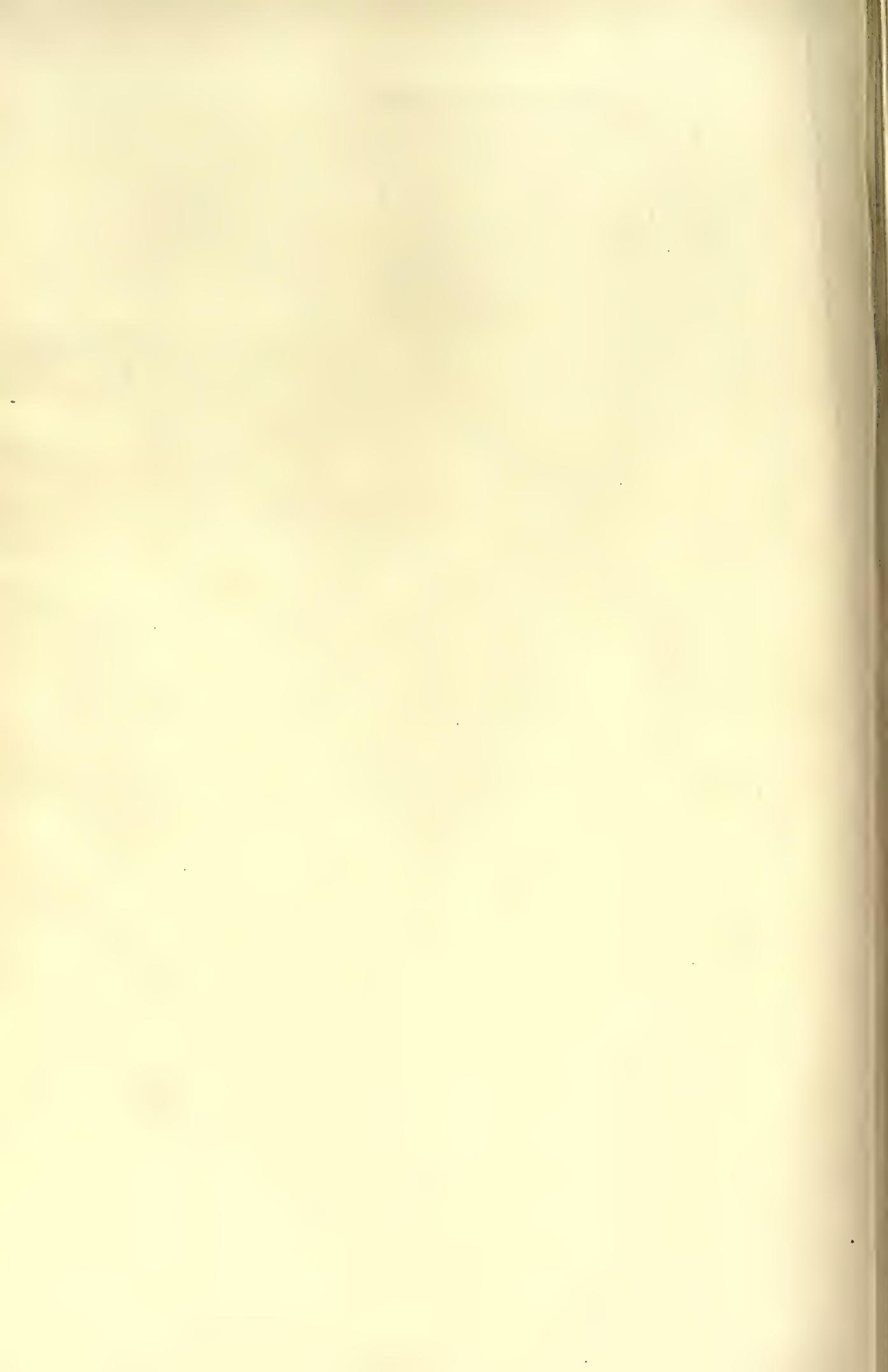
BIDDLESDEN ABBEY.



LAVENDON PRIORY.



BIDDLESDEN ABBEY.



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visited this house as well as most of its neighbours during that year. Beyond this and the few facts mentioned above, it has no history at all. In 1460 it had become too poor even to maintain canons enough to serve the appropriate churches, and was annexed with the king's consent to Nutley Abbey.¹

No visitations of this priory are recorded at Lincoln.

Its original endowment was merely the demesne land at Chetwode, the king's gift above mentioned, and the churches of Chetwode and Barton Hartshorn.² In 1284 the prior held 8½ virgates at Chetwode with the site of the priory, of Robert de Chetwode.³ There is no mention of the house in the *Taxatio*.

PRIORS OF CHETWODE

- Thomas of Hanworth,⁴ first prior, elected 1245, resigned 1261
 John of Woodstock,⁵ elected 1261, resigned 1270
 William of Dadington,⁶ elected 1270
 William of Bricklesworth,⁷ resigned 1304
 Roger of Lynham,⁸ elected 1304, resigned 1317
 John of Warmington,⁹ elected 1317, died 1328
 Robert of Brackley,¹⁰ elected 1328, died 1337
 William of Halton,¹¹ elected 1337, died 1349
 Henry of Wykeham,¹² elected 1349, died 1361
 John of Westbury,¹³ elected 1361, died 1386
 Richard Langton,¹⁴ elected 1386
 Thomas Rede,¹⁵ elected 1405
 Richard Borton,¹⁶ died 1445
 John Humberstone,¹⁷ elected 1445, died 1458

¹ Pat. 1 Edw. IV. pt. iv., m. 23; Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Chadworth, 76d.

² The hermitage of SS. Stephen and Laurence at Chetwode never had any connection with the priory: all its chaplains during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were presented by members of the Chetwode family.

³ *Feud. Aids*, i. 87.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Grosstête.

⁵ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend. His name is given as John of Woodstock in Close, 3 Edw. I. m. 23.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

⁷ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 177d.

⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid. 190.

¹⁰ Pat. 2 Edw. III. pt. ii., m. 31.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Burghersh, 350.

¹² Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 240. ¹³ Ibid. 275d.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, ii. 385.

¹⁵ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, 429.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. Alnwick, 193. ¹⁷ Ibid.

13. THE PRIORY OF RAVENSTONE

The priory of St. Mary, Ravenstone, was founded about the year 1255 by Peter Chaceporc, keeper of the royal wardrobe, on lands which formed a part of the barony of Wahull.¹⁸ After the death of Peter the patronage of the house reverted to the Crown, and the canons were bound to sing a certain number of masses for the soul of the king as founder.¹⁹ The number of canons provided for in the original foundation is unknown: at the dissolution of the house there were only two left, though an income of about £70 would have easily supported more. It was probably on account of this diminished number that the priory was granted to Cardinal Wolsey for his college at Oxford, and dissolved 17 February, 1524.²⁰ The canons received 20s. each as 'wages.'²¹ No visitations of the house are recorded at Lincoln: nor is it easy to recover any details of its history, exterior or interior.

The original endowment included half a knight's fee at Ravenstone, with the parish church, and a demesne of 386 acres besides.²² There is no evidence that it was ever much increased. The *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas assigns to its *temporalia* a value of £11 10s.; the church was worth £10 a year. In 1316 the prior held one third of the village of Ravenstone,²³ and the same amount in 1346.²⁴ At the dissolution the total value of the house is given as £66 13s. 4d.,²⁵ or, at another reckoning, £72.²⁶ The moveable goods were worth £10, the bells £33 6s. 8d.²⁷

PRIORS OF RAVENSTONE

- Adam of Wymondley²⁸ (probably first prior), resigned 1275
 Ralf of Ravenstone,²⁹ elected 1275
 John,³⁰ died 1309
 Roger de Clare,³¹ elected 1309, died 1324
 William Aubel,³² elected 1324, died 1328
 Robert Maunsel,³³ elected 1328
 John Man of Raundes,³⁴ elected 1398

¹⁸ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i. 447.

¹⁹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i. 37.

²⁰ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 1137.

²¹ Ibid. 6222. Two servants were paid off at the same rate.

²² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 348.

²³ *Feud. Aids*, i. 110. ²⁴ Ibid. 131.

²⁵ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 3538.

²⁶ Ibid. 6788. ²⁷ Ibid. 6222.

²⁸ Pat. 3 Edw. I. m. 32.

²⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

³⁰ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 183. ³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 330d.

³³ Ibid. 335d.

³⁴ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, ii. 424d.

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John Stanwigg,¹ elected 1417
Ralf Newport,² died 1456
Thomas Gryber³ (or Wolvercote), elected
1456, resigned 1465
John Holt,⁴ elected 1465, resigned 1473
Eustace Bernard,⁵ elected 1473, resigned
1485
Ranulf Bleese,⁶ elected 1485
William Wittlesey,⁷ died 1509
John Penkith,⁸ elected 1509
Thomas Cockes,⁹ last prior, occurs 1524

Only a fine fragment remains of the seal of the priory attached to a charter dated 1278.¹⁰

It is pointed oval and creamy white in colour, and represents the Blessed Virgin seated on a carved throne. In base under a trefoiled arch with carved spandrils supported by a central pillar, a woman kneels, holding up some object. Legend defective: . . . G D RAVENES . . .

The reverse is a smaller pointed oval counter-seal of Prior Ralph representing the Blessed Virgin, half length, under a trefoiled arch, the Holy Child on her left knee. In base, in a quadrilobe with arched spandrils, the prior is kneeling in prayer. Legend: . . . ADVLPH PRIORIS D'RAVE. . . .

HOUSE OF AUSTIN NUNS

14. THE ABBEY OF BURNHAM

The abbey of St. Mary the Virgin at Burnham was founded in 1266 for Austin canonesses by Richard, King of the Romans, who endowed it with the surrounding lands and the church of Burnham.¹¹ A complaint was made ten years later that he had gone beyond his rights in his desire to provide for the needs of the nuns: that he had turned aside a water-course through the village of Cippenham to the monastery, had given them twenty acres of wood from the common, and diverted a pathway which used to lead from Burnham to Dorney¹²; but it is uncertain whether these wrongs were proved. The endowment was not a very large one, but on the analogy of other houses it may have provided for about twenty nuns at the beginning: at the dissolution however there were only ten.

The first abbess, Margery of Aston, had been sub-prioress of Goring. She was installed, and made her profession of 'subjection, reverence and obedience, under the rule of St. Augustine' to Bishop Gravesend on the Feast of St. John Baptist, 1266, in the presence of an honourable company, which included the Archdeacon of Exeter, some canons of Missenden, and the prioress of Goring, her late superior.¹³

Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, the son of the founder, confirmed his father's charters, and with the licence of the king granted to the nuns the privilege of free election without reference to himself or his heirs, so that his ministers might not interfere with the abbey lands in time of voidance.¹⁴ This charter was sometimes infringed, but the right could be proved by appeal to it.¹⁵

In 1330 the abbess was involved in an expensive suit with reference to a part of the manor of Bulstrode which had been recently leased to her by the king at a rent of £15 a year. Geoffrey de Bulstrode disputed the abbess's right, on the ground that the land had been taken from him by Hugh le Despenser, and made it impossible for her to pay her farm: he broke into her houses, wrecked her mill, cut down her hedges, corn and trees, and sent cattle to feed on her pastures; and he so ill-treated her servants that she could not get any one to serve her in that place.¹⁶ A commission of *oyer and terminer* was granted to examine the matter, and in the next year it was clearly proved that Geoffrey had no rights in the disputed lands, which were freshly granted to the abbess in fee farm.¹⁷ Her losses however had been severe, and she was compelled to ask a remittance of her rent for two years, which was granted.¹⁸ In 1335 she was still in arrears,¹⁹ in 1337 the king pardoned her a debt of £57 6s. 4d. because of the poverty of her house²⁰; and the following year the collectors of wool were ordered to cause the abbess and convent of Burnham to

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Repingdon, 466.
² Ibid. Inst. Chadworth, 141.
³ Pat. 4 Edw. IV. pt. ii., m. 3.
⁴ Pat. 12 Edw. IV. pt. i., m. 18.
⁵ Ibid. m. 5.
⁶ Ibid. 2 Rich. III. pt. iii., m. 2d.
⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Smith, 387d. ⁸ Ibid.
⁹ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 1137.
¹⁰ Harl. Chart. 44 n, 56.
¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 546; Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.
¹² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i. 46.
¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹⁴ Pat. 29 Edw. I. m. 20.
¹⁵ Close, 17 Edw. II. m. 6.
¹⁶ Pat. 4 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 29d.
¹⁷ Close, 4 Edw. III. m. 39.
¹⁸ Close, 5 Edw. III. m. 13.
¹⁹ Pat. 9 Edw. III. pt. ii., m. 19.
²⁰ Pat. 11 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 11.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

have respite till the following Easter, for the wool they owed to the king.¹ In 1396 the nuns were in some danger of losing the church of Dorney²: but they evidently succeeded in proving their right, as it was part of their property at the dissolution.

The history of the house during the fifteenth century is obscure: only a few names of abbesses can be recovered. As its whole revenue was under £200 a year, it should have been dissolved under the first Act of Suppression, but on the petition of the local commissioners the house was continued, and so the surrender was delayed until 19 September, 1539, when it was received by Dr. London.³ The Deed of Surrender is extant, and takes the common form 'with our unanimous assent and consent.' It is signed by the abbess, Alice Baldwin, and nine nuns. It is probable that some pensions were reserved, but their number and value does not remain on record.

There are several notices in the Episcopal Registers relating to the internal history of the house. In 1281 the nuns of Burnham incurred the displeasure of Archbishop Peckham⁴ by refusing to receive a certain Maud de Weston at his request. They seem to have given no satisfactory reason for this refusal except vague suggestions that they could not receive postulants without the consent of their patron⁵; and when the archbishop pressed the matter they pleaded their poverty. He wrote them a sharp letter in reply, declaring that he was never one to put pressure on the poor, but showing very clearly that he did not believe their excuses to be true ones.⁶ He accused them indeed plainly of pride, or some other personal motives, and added that if they did not give him some lawful and adequate reason for refusing his candidate, he would provide for their alleged poverty by sending others in addition.

In 1300 Bishop Dalderby visited the house to explain the statute *Pro clausura monialium*. He ordered them, as he did all the convents of nuns in his diocese, to keep strictly within their enclosure and to admit no secular person within the cloister door on any excuse.⁷ It

is probable however that the nuns of Burnham paid no more heed to these admonitions than did their sisters in other houses.

In 1311 a certain nun, Margery of Hedsor, left the house and forsook the habit of religion: she was excommunicated in consequence, and the sentence was renewed at intervals until 1317.⁸ In that year she brought in a plea that she had been compelled by her father to enter the monastery when under age, and had been previously contracted in marriage to Roger Blacket of Rickmansworth. The real truth of the matter is not known, as the results of the inquiry which followed are not given; but it is instructive to note that the bishop gave orders that the sentence of excommunication should be removed, if the plea was proved on examination to be a true one.⁹

In 1339 two nuns of Burnham were transferred to Goring 'for the peace and quiet of the house.'¹⁰ Such occasional notices as these, though they must be duly recorded in a detailed history of the monastery, really tell us very little of its inner life, and may be even misleading if they are made too much of. Far more serious evidence than this, as regards the general tone of the house, is found in the visitation reports of Bishops Grey and Atwater. It seems that early in the fifteenth century the nuns of Burnham, like those of Elstow in Bedfordshire, had attempted to increase their revenues by taking in a number of ladies as boarders, and with much the same results: the house had become secularized. When Bishop Grey visited the abbey between 1431 and 1436, he ordered the removal of all seculars whatsoever.¹¹ The order was probably obeyed only for a time, for Bishop Atwater in 1519 called attention to the same point. He enjoined the abbess again on no account to allow secular women to lodge in the monastery; and not even young children (*infantes*) were to be admitted to the dormitory of the nuns. Other signs of worldliness appear in the injunction that the nuns should not use girdles ornamented with gold or silver, nor wear any rings except that which was the sign of their profession.¹² He allowed them how-

¹ Close 12 Edw. III. pt. iii., m. 28d.

² *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iv. 529.

³ P.R.O. Deed of Surrender, 37.

⁴ *Epist. Johannis Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 189.

⁵ The archbishop says, 'If you say that the earl of Cornwall forbids you to receive any one without his consent, know that we do not believe it, as he is a devout man and has always been a friend of ours.'

⁶ 'Now you make a plea of poverty, which we suspect because it comes so late.' Ibid.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 10d.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 185d, 233, 288d.

⁹ Ibid. 361d.

¹⁰ Ibid. 368d. One of the nuns named is Margery de Louches, and an abbess of that name resigned in the same year. But it seems unlikely that it was actually the abbess who was sent away: there would surely have been some notice of the fact in the entry, if it had been the case. Perhaps it was a relative of the late abbess.

¹¹ Ibid. Memo. Gray, 203.

¹² Visitations of Atwater (Alnwick Tower, Lincoln).

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ever to adopt the use of Sarum instead of the original office of St. Augustine.¹

Bishop Longland visited the house in 1530, but the report of his visitation is incomplete. The abbess, the chantress, the sub-chantress, and seven other nuns assembled in the chapter house to meet him. The abbess reported *Omnia bene*; the chantress drew attention to the fact that there was no prioress.² None of the other speeches are legible, but the proceedings do not seem to have been lengthy; there was probably little to remark upon, and it seems that Bishop Atwater's injunctions had been more effectual than Bishop Grey's. The request of the local commissioners that the house might be continued, in spite of its small value, is sufficient evidence of the good reputation which it had at the last in its own neighbourhood. The report of the commissioners states that there were nine nuns in the house, all of whom desired to go into another religious house. The household consisted of thirty-seven servants, of whom two were priests, twenty-one hinds, and fourteen women servants.³

The original endowment of the abbey included the manor of Burnham with the advowson of the parish church; and land appurtenant to the manor of Cippenham with a mill, fishery and other rights.⁴ To these was added later the church of Dorney.

In 1291 the temporalities of the abbey amounted to £18 16s. 11d.; the spiritualities to £44 13s. 4d.,⁵ out of which two vicars' portions had to be paid. Between 1284 and 1346 the abbess held half the vill of Burnham and half the hamlet⁶ of Beaconsfield. The *Valor*

Ecclesiasticus gives a clear value of £50 2s. 4½d., including the churches of Burnham and Dorney, and the manors of Stoke Poges and Holmer⁸; the Ministers' Accounts amount to £126 5s. 1½d.⁹

ABBESSES OF BURNHAM

Margery of Aston,¹⁰ first abbess, elected 1266, resigned 1274

Maud of Dorchester,¹¹ elected 1274, resigned 1274

Joan of Rideware,¹² elected 1274, died 1314

Idonea de Audley,¹³ elected 1316, died 1334

Joan de Somerville,¹⁴ elected 1334

Margery de Louches,¹⁵ elected 1334, resigned 1339

Joan of Dorney,¹⁶ elected 1339

Agnes Frankleyn,¹⁷ elected 1367, resigned 1393

Elizabeth Warde,¹⁸ elected 1393

Alice Golafre,¹⁹ elected 1403

Agnes Gower,²⁰ elected 1457

Agnes Sturdy,²¹ occurs 1459

Joan Radcliffe,²² resigned 1507

Margaret Gibson,²³ elected 1507, resigned 1536

Alice Baldwin,²⁴ last abbess, elected 1536

Red, pointed oval seal of the fourteenth century attached to the Deed of Surrender, dated 19 September, 1539,²⁵ represents the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin in a double arcaded canopied niche pinnacled and crocketed. In base a shield of arms, on a chief three lozenges between two initial letters S and perhaps T. Legend: SIGILLVM CONVENTVS [MONI]ALIVM DE BVRNHAM.

HOUSE OF PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS

15. THE ABBEY OF LAVENDON

The abbey of St. Mary and St. John Baptist at Lavendon was founded, probably during the reign of Henry II., by John de Bidun,⁷ who was sheriff of the county in 1154. The abbey was much troubled by law suits during the first century of its existence, and lost nearly all the churches with which the founder had endowed it. The charters of John de Bidun and other benefactors, as Sibyl de Aungerville, Ralf Earl of Chester, Ralf de

Bray, Richard de Beauchamp, were confirmed by Henry III. in 1227: but the church of

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 221.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 546.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

¹¹ Ibid. ¹² Ibid. ¹³ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 187d.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. Burghersh, 331.

¹⁵ Ibid. Memo. Burghersh, 283d.

¹⁶ Ibid. 355. This is probably the same as the 'Joan Turner' of Browne Willis's list.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, i. 413. ¹⁸ Ibid. ii. 409.

¹⁹ Browne Willis gave her name as occurring *circa* 1399 (from an unknown source). But she was dispensed to hold this office (being the daughter of unmarried parents) only in 1403. *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v. 549. ²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Chadworth, 35.

²¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 545 (from Browne Willis).

²² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Smith, 383d. ²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Pat. 29 Henry VIII. pt. i., m. 19.

²⁵ P.R.O. Deed of Surrender, No. 37.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Atwater, 68.

² Visitations of Longland (Lincoln).

³ Browne Willis, *Mitred Abbies*, ii. 16.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 546.

⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

⁶ *Feudal Aids*, i. 79, 91, 114, 116.

⁷ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i. 42; and Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (2) 888.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Stowe had already been quitclaimed to John de Rochford¹; and the place called Snels-hall, with the chapel of Tattenhoe, was given in the next year to the Benedictine priory of that name.² In 1231 two of the daughters of John de Bidun claimed the churches of Wootton and Shelton in Northamptonshire. The case was difficult to settle, as the last incumbent of Wootton had been presented by John de Bidun; but while the abbot said he was presented before the charter was made, the heirs declared that he was presented after the charter. The abbot vouchsafed to warrant two other daughters of John, but the case was not settled at that time for want of further evidence³: and it seems that it was finally decided against the abbot, for he certainly lost the churches from this time forward. Again in 1225 he lost the church of Tombstone in Norfolk, because it was finally proved that the de Biduns had no right in the church at all, and could not grant it to the abbey; the last presentment, which had been made by Sarah de Bidun, had been irregular.⁴ In 1237 the abbot secured the church of Lavendon against John de St. Medard⁵; in 1272 the church of Lathbury was claimed by Robert Raynel,⁶ and again in 1281 by Andrew de Gatesden.⁷ The church of Kirkby must have been lost some time during the same century.

In 1339 a quarrel arose with Simon of Norwich, a near neighbour of the abbot's in Lavendon. Simon complained that whereas he had impounded certain cattle in his fee of Lavendon for default of service, the abbot had rescued the cattle, broken his close houses and doors, assaulted him, and carried away his goods.⁸ A month later the abbot brought a complaint against Simon for having prevented his tenants coming to his court leet, impounded his sheep, plotted against his servants so that they dared not go out to till his land, buried a boat with nets for taking fish in his fishery, and compelled his men to swear that they would no longer serve him.⁹

There are a few notices of protection

¹ Curia Regis R. 39, No. 5.

² They were secured to Lavendon in 1215 (*Liber Antiquus*, ed. Gibbons, 76), and again in 1227 (*Cal. of Chart. R. i.* 42): but passed to Snelshall in 1229. The reason is at present unknown.

³ *Bracton's Note Book* (ed. Maitland), ii. 497-9.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 97.

⁵ Feet of F. 21 Hen. III. No. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.* 56 Hen. III. 8 (bound in 55 Hen. III.).

⁷ Close, 10 Edw. I. m. 10d.

⁸ Pat. 13 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 23d, 20d.

⁹ *Ibid.* m. 11d.

granted to abbots of Lavendon among others to cross the seas for the general chapters at Prémontré.¹⁰ In 1226 an abbot of this house was the bearer of a special message from Henry III., granting favours to the order, and asking the benefit of their prayers at the coming chapter.¹¹ The wars of the next century made these gatherings difficult for English monks to attend. A petition sent to the pope in 1397 from Lavendon shows that the house, never very rich, had fallen into great distress. It was hard by the high road, and there were constant demands upon it for hospitality; but its revenues had been sorely diminished by the results of the Great Pestilence: lands had become barren for want of cultivation, labourers were few and wages very high, and great exactions had been made from religious during the wars, in spite of the burdens they had to sustain in maintaining the poor and infirm. The church of Aston in Northamptonshire, not two miles from the monastery, was appropriated at this time for their support.¹²

At the time of the dissolution there were ten or eleven canons in this house,¹³ but as its revenue was under £200 it fell under the first Act of Suppression. The surrender was taken some time before 28 July, 1536, when William Gales, the abbot, received a pension of £12.¹⁴ Perhaps some of the others may have received benefices, but as the house was poor, no other pensions were assigned.

All Premonstratensian houses were free of episcopal jurisdiction, and the benediction of the diocesan was not necessary even at the election of a new abbot: consequently there are few entries relating to them in the Lincoln registers. As Bishop Bokyngham wrote a letter to the pope however in 1397 on behalf of the canons of Lavendon, we may conclude that he was prepared to endorse their plea of poverty, and had no reason to disapprove the house.¹⁵ The general visitation of the whole order in 1478 tells us very little of this abbey: its report simply states that the Abbot of Soleby was its father abbot, and that the canons had four churches to serve; no details as to the order of the house are given.¹⁶

The original endowment of the abbey included the site and adjacent fields, with 29 acres besides, and a park and a mill; the

¹⁰ Close, 5 Edw. III. m. 6d.

¹¹ Pat. 10 Hen. III. m. 2.

¹² *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v. 73.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 888.

¹⁴ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 232, f. 22.

¹⁵ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, v. 73; Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 355.

¹⁶ Sloane MS. 4935, f. 44.

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churches of Lavendon, Lathbury in this county; Wootton and Shelton in Northamptonshire; Stowe, Kirkby, Tombstone in Norfolk; the place called Snelshall and the chapel of Tattenhoe; with other parcels of arable land, wood and meadow in the neighbourhood.¹ The churches of Wootton, Shelton, Kirkby, Stowe and Tombstone, as well as Snelshall and Tattenhoe, passed out of the abbot's hands in the thirteenth century. The churches of Aston near Bozeat (Northants), and Shotwell (Warwicks) were appropriated during the fourteenth century.² In 1284 the Abbot of Lavendon answered for half the vill of Lathbury and one sixth of a knight's fee in Lavendon³; in 1302 for half a fee in Willen⁴; in 1346 for only one quarter of a knight's fee.⁵ The *temporalia* of the abbey were valued in 1291 at £34 4s. 2d.⁶; in 1535 its whole revenue amounted only to £79 13s. 8d.⁷ The Ministers' Accounts after the dissolution amount to £90 os. 4d., including the rectories of Lathbury, Lavendon, Aston and Shotwell.⁸

ABBOTS OF LAVENDON

David,¹³ first abbot
Austin,¹⁴ occurs 1236 and 1237
Jordan,¹⁵ occurs 1254 and 1271
Philip,¹⁶ occurs 1279
John of Lathbury,¹⁷ elected 1312
Richard of Emberton,¹⁸ occurs 1350, died 1380
William of Leicester,¹⁹ elected 1380
Nicholas of Lathbury,²⁰ occurs 1413
Robert Helmdon,²¹ occurs 1478
William Curlew,²² occurs 1491
William Gales,²³ last abbot, occurs 1529

Pointed oval twelfth century seal, taken from a cast at the British Museum, the impression of which is imperfect,²⁴ represents St. John baptizing our Lord. Overhead a trefoiled arch with a spire capped by a cross. Legend: +SIGILL' . . . BAPTISTE DE LAVENDUNE.

A fragment of a seal still exists attached to a charter dated 1375,²⁵ the colour is creamy white, and it is very imperfect and indistinct.

HOUSE OF BONHOMMES

16. THE COLLEGE OF ASHRIDGE.

The College of Bonhommes at Ashridge, was founded in 1283 by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall⁹ in honour of The Precious Blood, on one of his manors which lay on the Hertfordshire border, and now forms a part of that county. It was the only house of this order in England, except the small college at Edington in Wiltshire¹⁰: the rule obeyed by the brethren differed however very little from that of the Austin Canons, though the dress they adopted was more distinctly monastic, consisting of a grey habit and scapulary, with a long grey cloak and cowl.¹¹

The endowment was not at first very large, and provided only for seven brethren who were to be all priests,¹² and were to receive six marks yearly from the Earl's treasury

for their support.²⁶ The chronicler of Dunstable tells us that there was at the time little hope that the house would continue, as the foundation was so insufficient, and some of the brethren had not at first a very good character, in spite of their name.²⁷ The founder however seems to have been satisfied with his work; the conventual church was dedicated in 1286 by Bishop Sutton,²⁸ and enriched by a very valuable relic—a phial containing a portion of the Precious Blood, bought in Germany by Richard King, of the Romans and divided between this house and the Abbey of Hailes.²⁹ In 1290, Edward I.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 888.
² *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii. 264, and v. 73.
³ *Feud. Aids*, i. 73, 74.
⁴ *Ibid.* 106. ⁵ *Ibid.* 131.
⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).
⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 242.
⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 888.
⁹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 305.
¹⁰ Founded in 1345. Walsingham, *Hist. Angliæ* (Rolls Ser.), i. 266.
¹¹ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 13; from the Rule.
¹² *Ibid.* 15.

¹³ *Bracton's Note Book* (ed. Maitland), ii. 497.
¹⁴ Feet of F. 20 Hen. III. No 1, 21 Hen. III. No. 2.
¹⁵ *Ibid.* 39 Hen. III. No. 27, and 56 Hen. III. No. 8.
¹⁶ Close, 7 Edw. I. m. 9d.
¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 236d.
¹⁸ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, iii. 369.
¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 207.
²⁰ *Ibid.* Memo. Repingdon, 105.
²¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 888.
²² *Ibid.*
²³ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* iv. 6047.
²⁴ B. M. Seals, lix. 87.
²⁵ Add Chart. 19,917.
²⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 305.
²⁷ *Ibid.* ²⁸ *Ibid.* 326.
²⁹ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 2-3.

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kept Christmas here with his Court.¹ In 1300 the founder died at Ashridge,² and his heart, embalmed in a casket, was placed beside that of St. Thomas de Cantilupe in the Conventual Church; other parts of his body were buried separately here and at Hailes.³

In 1307 the rector and brethren of Ashridge received the custody of the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in London⁴; but in 1315 it was alleged that they had obtained this by falsehood and suppression of the truth, during the absence of the master, and it was taken away from them.⁵ They were cited at the same time to appear before the pope in person or by proxy to clear themselves of this charge, and to bring all papers relating to the suit between them and the master of the hospital.⁶ It does not appear that they recovered possession of it.

In 1323 there was a suit with the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, London, who finally surrendered to the brethren all his rights in the church of Hemel Hempstead.⁷ In 1346 a chantry was founded in the conventual church for the soul of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, at the appropriation of the church of Ambrosden.⁸ After the Great Pestilence the endowment of the house was found to be so diminished in value as to be quite insufficient; and in 1376 the Black Prince increased it so considerably that he was reckoned as the second founder. At the same time the statutes were revised, and the house set on quite a new footing. From this time forward the ordinary number of the brethren was twenty,⁹ and even at the dissolution there were still seventeen.

In 1380, just after the re-modelling of the house, the rector, Ralf of Aston, claimed on behalf of his convent to hold one half of the roads or paths that led from Redbourne to Hemel Hempstead, and the Abbot of St. Albans ceded this without making any difficulty. Afterwards, on examination of the evidences, it was found that those rights had belonged from time immemorial to the abbey, but it was too late to take back what had been formally granted, and the monks of St. Albans had to endure their loss with as good a grace as they might, while 'the brethren' of Ash-

ridge, says the chronicler, 'gloried in the success of their fraud.' It is of course possible that the whole transaction might have been very differently described by a chronicler of Ashridge: it is given by Walsingham from the point of view of his own house.¹⁰

In the year 1381 the brethren of Ashridge suffered considerable losses on their manors at Berkhamstead and Hemel Hempstead, from the violence of the revolted peasantry, who extorted from them new charters of liberty, and treated them and their property in much the same way as they had the monks of St. Albans and the canons of Dunstable.¹¹ It may have been partly in consequence of this as well as other causes that they found themselves 'overwhelmed with great necessity' in 1413, when the Bishop of Winchester granted them the church of Ivinghoe, and a clerk of his household gave them £100 towards the rebuilding of the choir.¹²

During the last years of its existence, the conventual church was a notable place of pilgrimage in the county; and those convicted of heresy were sometimes ordered to do their penance there, or even to pass some time in the monastery itself.¹³ The last rector, Thomas Waterhouse, assisted at the trial of the relapsed heretic, Thomas Harding of Chesham, who was condemned to death in 1532.¹⁴ He signed the Acknowledgment of Supremacy in 1535,¹⁵ and surrendered his house 6 November, 1539,¹⁶ receiving by way of pension the rectory of Quainton.¹⁷ The rest of the brethren, sixteen in number, received benefices or pensions of £6 or £7 a year; two of them were living in 1552 as incumbents of Ayot St. Peter and Dachworth, and both of these were married.¹⁸ The old rector himself lived till 1554, and seems to have held steadily to the religion in which he had been bred, bequeathing to several churches at his death the vestments which he had contrived to keep as personal property all through the reign of Edward VI. There was until

¹⁰ *Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 262.

¹¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 417.

¹² Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 21.

¹³ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv. 244, 580.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Longland, 169.

¹⁵ P.R.O. Acknowledgment of Supremacy, No. 3.

¹⁶ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 25; from the register, which states that it was in the same year as the execution of Cromwell; and on St. Leonard's Day.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Exch. Mins. Accts., Bdle. 76, No. 26. It is assumed that other pensions were similar to these two, which are £6 and £7.

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 363.

² Walsingham, *Hist. Angliæ*, i. 80.

³ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 9-10.

⁴ Pat. 1 Edw. II. pt. i., m. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.* 8 Edw. II. pt. ii., m. 9.

⁶ *Cal. of Pap. Letters*, i. 573.

⁷ Close, 17 Edw. II. m. 28d.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bek, 137d.

⁹ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 15.

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recently a fine brass on his tomb in Hemel Hempstead Church, representing him in the vestments of the priesthood,¹ it is now in the chapel at Ashridge.

We have it on the testimony of Harpsfield that the Bonhommes of Ashridge were in very deed what their name implies—*boni homines*²: nevertheless there are some serious flaws in their record, as preserved in the episcopal registers and elsewhere. It has been already noticed that certain of the first chaplains of the house, according to the chronicles of Dunstable, *se habebant minus bene*.³ At the election of Ralf of Aston in 1368, there was some dispute and opposition, and a commission was ordered to inquire into the matter; the rector was specially enjoined to reside, which looks as if his predecessor had been at fault in this respect. It is natural to suppose that the revision of the statutes at the new foundation in 1376 brought about a renewal of religious fervour, and a fresh desire for the careful observance of the rule.⁴ It was the rule of St. Augustine to which the brethren of Ashridge were professed, with the addition of a few customs proper to their house. They were placed under the government of a rector, instead of an abbot or prior, and he was to be supported by a *corrector*. As the brethren were all priests, their time was to be given mainly to the divine office, to prayer and to study;—a granger superintended the temporal property of the house outside the limits of the cloister, and a cellarer had charge of all domestic affairs within the college. The life of the brethren was to be strict and regular, but not what would have been considered then very austere, either in respect of fasting, vigil or enclosure. They rose indeed, as all religious were bound to do, for the midnight office; but it was the Use of Sarum they observed⁵—the ordinary office of secular priests—and they might retire again to rest till prime if they desired.⁶ They had ordinarily two meals in the day, and were not altogether forbidden the use of linen for their undergarments. Only a few women were ever allowed to enter the cloister—the foun-

der's wife, the queen, the mothers and sisters of the brethren—but with these they might speak, so it were briefly, and in the presence of a companion. Their profession, like that of Augustinians generally, took the form of a promise of obedience made to the rector personally: the novice knelt and placed his hands between the rector's hands, saying: 'I promise obedience to God, to Blessed Mary, to thee, N., Rector of Ashridge, according to the rule of Blessed Augustine and the institutions of the *Boni homines* of this place;—and that I will be obedient to thee and to thy successors unto my life's end.'

It was a simple and a moderate rule, and we may hope that for the most part the brethren continued faithful to its observance, and so earned the character which Harpsfield gives them. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, they seemed to have shared in the general laxity that marked so many religious houses, as well as the life of the clergy of that period. Bishop Smith visited the house and laid certain injunctions upon the brethren, but the record of these is not preserved.⁷ At the visitation of Bishop Atwater in 1519 it was observed that silence was not well kept, nor were the bells regularly rung. Complaint was made that the rector and corrector sometimes used bitter and opprobrious words in the exercise of discipline; they were enjoined to use more self-restraint in this respect. The bishop also ordered that the younger brethren should be more diligent in study, and should not give themselves to idleness, to sport or to drinking: all were to sleep in the dormitory according to rule, and the accounts were to be more carefully kept.⁸ It seems that the last rector, Thomas Waterhouse, and perhaps his predecessors, took some pains to secure the observance of these injunctions, and to improve the discipline of the house. The last visitation report, that of Bishop Longland in 1530, is very instructive as showing the natural results of such efforts of reform, and also the freedom of speech which was allowed on such occasions, so that anything like grave scandal would have been exceedingly difficult to hide.

More than one of the brethren complained that the granger was unfaithful in the exercise of his office, and sold poultry and other goods of the convent for his own profit. One or two brethren complained that the seniors

¹ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 25. ² *Ibid.*

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 64d.

⁴ *Ibid.* 274d. The statutes are printed also in full in Todd's *History of Ashridge*, 2-13. They are the same as in the episcopal registers, except that they have the names of Edmund Earl of Cornwall and his family among the benefactors to be prayed for at the end of chapter.

⁵ They were also bound to recite the office of Our Lady.

⁶ The time between lauds and prime might of course be spent in prayer or study.

⁷ His visitation and injunctions are mentioned, but with no details, in the course of Bishop Atwater's injunctions.

⁸ Visitations of Bishop Atwater (Alnwick Tower, Lincoln).

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were not sufficiently consulted nor held in due honour by the rector; nor did the juniors reverence or bow to them as custom required. Others however were ready to bear witness that the chief complainant was disobedient, impatient, and wont to contend with the rector. Another simply stated his opinion that the rector's rule was beneficial to the college.¹ There were smaller complaints as to eating and drinking between meals; that a woman had once spent two nights in the monastery; that a brother had once been out in secular habit.

The injunctions show a real grasp of the situation. The brethren are exhorted to live in virtue, in concord and in charity, and to be pure alike in heart and body. They are gently reminded that the reform of all disorders lies with the rector and corrector, and that complaining serves no good purpose. All, under pain of contempt, are to abstain from eating and drinking between meals without reasonable cause; those who do so without licence of the rector or corrector shall fast upon bread and water. The rector and corrector are to see that all women are kept outside the cloister; they are to repress all murmuring by prudent government. The accounts are to be shown yearly to four senior brethren; the granger and cellarer are to give a faithful account of their stewardship. Licences to go out are to be rarely given, and the juniors are never to go alone.²

In 1538 one of the brethren of Ashridge incurred some danger by rash words spoken against 'Mr. Dr. Petre'³—probably in connection with the dissolution of some neighbouring houses⁴—and a letter was sent up to Cromwell by Sir John Russell on his behalf, saying that he was but a simple man, and that what he did was for lack of discretion. It is probable that no proceedings were taken against him; but the danger of such words at that time was a very real one.⁵

¹ The phrase constantly recurs in these reports, and is a mere formal expression of approval—² Rector utilis est collegio.³ Sometimes the opposite statement is found, as at Missenden—⁴ Dominus Johannes Johns non est utilis monasterio.⁵

² Visitations of Bishop Longland (Alnwick Tower, Lincoln).

³ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (1) 931.

⁴ Dr. Petre took the oath of Supremacy at Wooburn in 1535, and may have taken it at Ashridge also.

⁵ This letter is dated 5 May, 1538; and it was on 11 and 12 May that Dr. Petre, with Legh and Williams, heard the depositions of the monks of Wooburn, preliminary to their trial for treason. In the same month Friar Forrest was hanged and burnt.

The Deed of Surrender, now lost, probably acknowledged that the brethren with unanimous consent gave up their house to the king. The last entry in their register, for which the rector was probably responsible, speaks their mind more truly. *Hoc anno nobilis domus de Asscherugge destructa fuit et fratres expulsi sunt in die S. Leonardi. Hoc anno decapitatus fuit ille eximius haereticus et proditor Thomas Cromwell, qui causa fuit destructionis omnium domorum religiosorum in Anglia.*⁶

The original endowment of the house included the manors of Ashridge, Pitstone (Bucks), Little Gaddesden and Hemel Hempstead (Herts), with the advowson of the church of Hemel Hempstead. Before his death the founder added the manors of Ambrosden and Chesterton (Oxon), with their churches.⁷ The church of Pitstone with Nettleden chapel was appropriated in 1381,⁸ and that of Ivinghoe in 1420.⁹

From 1302 until 1346 the Rector held one quarter of a knight's fee at Ashridge, half a fee in Hemel Hempstead, a quarter of a fee in Flaunden, and half a fee in Little Gaddesden.¹⁰

The temporalities of the house in 1291 were valued at £72 5s. 7d.¹¹; in 1535 its clear income was £416 16s. 4d.¹² The Ministers' Accounts give a total of £467 3s. 7½d., including the manors of Aldbury, Ambrosden, Chesterton, and Hemel Hempstead, and the churches of Hemel Hempstead, Pitstone, Ambrosden, Chesterton and Ivinghoe.¹³

RECTORS OF ASHRIDGE

Richard of Watford,¹⁴ first rector, elected 1283, resigned 1297.

Ralf of Aston,¹⁵ elected 1297, resigned 1336

Richard of Saretta,¹⁶ elected 1336, died 1346

⁶ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 25.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (1) 515-6; Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 2-9.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 224.

⁹ Ibid. Memo. Fleming, 217d.

¹⁰ *Feud. Aids*, i. 102, 111, 128, 424. The manor of Pitstone is reckoned as half a fee in 1284. Ibid. 77.

¹¹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

¹² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 227.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (1) 517. The annual stipend for the rector's household was £110 6s. 8d.; and £8 annually was reckoned for the support of each brother.

¹⁴ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 23.

¹⁵ The episcopal register clearly states that William of Harrold (whom Todd calls the second rector) was informally elected, and Ralf of Aston collated in his place. Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, 121.

¹⁶ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 23: his death is recorded in Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bek, 113.

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Gilbert Boweles,¹ elected 1346
Ralf of Aston,² elected 1368, died 1396
John of Tring,³ elected 1396
Abel⁴
Robert Farneburgh,⁵ occurs 1416 and 1428
John (Audelee),⁶ occurs 1435 and 1445
John Whytton or Wilton,⁷ occurs 1482 and
1492
Ralf⁸
John of Berkampstead,⁹ resigned 1521
John Malden,¹⁰ elected 1521, died 1529

Thomas Waterhouse,¹⁴ last rector, elected
1529

Red pointed oval seal of the fourteenth century, of which only a fine fragment remains attached to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy 1534.¹⁵ The impression represents on an altar with large cover the Agnus Dei. In base a lion rampant in allusion to the arms of the founder, Edmund, son of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, 1283. Legend: COMVN . . . VIR.

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

17. THE COMMANDERY OF HOGSHAW

The Commandery of Hogshaw was probably founded during the reign of Henry II. on lands which were originally the gift of William Peverel.¹¹ The commandery was never an important one. There was a survey taken of its lands, income, expenses, etc., in 1338,¹² when there was a preceptor in residence with one other knight. It had then all the ordinary accessories of a small monastery—a court, garden, mill and dove house, with arable land and pastures attached; the chaplain serving Hogshaw Church, with the chaplain who served the house, and a certain Thomas Fitz Neel, who held a knight's corrody, sat at table with the preceptor and his brother. There were the usual servants in the house, an attendant squire, a porter, a cook, a *pistor*, and two grooms for the preceptor. Twice a year the prior of the Hospitallers in England visited the house.¹³ Beyond this little is known of its inner or outer life. It was suppressed with the rest of the commanderies of the order in 1541.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bek, 113.

² Ibid. Memo. Bokingham, 64d.

³ Ibid. Inst. Bokingham, ii. 420.

⁴ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 24; he also inserts a certain John between John of Tring and Abel.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Repingdon, 138; the second date is given by Todd.

⁶ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 24.

⁷ Sloane MS. 747, 59d, alludes to John Wilton, rector of Ashridge, 1482: Todd gives John Whytton, 1492.

⁸ Todd, *History of Ashridge*, 24. ⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Longland, 196d.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 809; from the Confirmation Charter of I John. The lands and tenements granted by Richard Malet (ibid. 835) in Quanton were probably a separate gift.

¹² L. B. Larking, *The Knights Hospitallers* (Camden Soc.), 68-9. ¹³ Ibid.

The manor of Wydende or Widmer in Great Marlow also belonged to the Hospitallers, and the remains of a chapel, with a crypt below, have been thought to indicate the existence of a small commandery there.¹⁴ In 1338 however the 'camera' of Wydende was being farmed by William de Langford, and there were no knights there¹⁷; it is quite uncertain whether there were any at an earlier date. The survey of the property of the order in 1314 merely states that the manor of Wydende, as well as that of Hogshaw, had always belonged to the Hospitallers and not to the Templars.¹⁸

The commandery of Hogshaw was originally endowed with the manor of Hogshaw and the churches of Cholesbury, Hogshaw,¹⁹ Oving, Addington, Creslow and Ludgershall.²⁰ In 1302 the lands at Hogshaw were held as half a knight's fee; in 1312 the preceptor also held half the vill of Drayton.²¹ Its valuation in 1338 amounts to £74 14s. 10d., including pensions from the churches of Oving, Addington, Creslow and Ludgershall, and the whole revenue of Hogshaw Church (only nine marks); the expenses of the household, with the chaplains who served the house and the church, amounted to £28 16s. 4d.²² At the dissolution the lands of the Hospitallers at Hogshaw and Claydon, were valued only at £2 12s. annually.

The name of the preceptor in 1338 was William Warde²³: no others are at present known.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Longland, 196d.

¹⁵ P.R.O. Acknowl. of Supremacy, No. 3.

¹⁶ *Records of Bucks*, iii. 121.

¹⁷ L. B. Larking, *The Knights Hospitallers*, 125. It was only worth 10 marks.

¹⁸ Cott. MS. Nero E, vi. f. 90. ¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ L. B. Larking, *The Knights Hospitallers*, 68-9.

²¹ *Feud. Aids*, i. 96, 111, 112.

²² Ibid.

²³ L. B. Larking, *The Knights Hospitallers*, 69.

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HOUSE OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS

18. THE PRECEPTORY OF BULSTRODE

All that is known of the preceptory of Bulstrode is that it certainly existed in 1276, for in that year Brother John, the preceptor, was accused of taking a bribe of half a mark from a certain robber to let him go free.¹ An inquisition taken in the year 1330 reported that

the manor of Bulstrode had once formed part of the lands of the Templars, and after the annulling of their order passed to the Hospitallers.² It is mentioned again among the lands of the Hospitallers in 1338, but they never had a commandery there: the manor was simply leased on their behalf for 75 marks.³ The Templars had also lands at Radnage⁷ and at High Wycombe.⁸

FRIARIES

19. HOUSE OF FRANCISCAN FRIARS, AYLESBURY

The house of Grey Friars at Aylesbury was founded by James Butler, Earl of Ormond, as late as 1386.² At the dissolution there were only seven friars there,³ but it is possible that at the foundation there may have been a larger number.

At a time when friars did not rank very high in popular esteem these Minorites of Aylesbury seem to have shown something of the same independent and fearless spirit as their brethren of the strict observance in the sixteenth century. Richard II. had been a benefactor of this house, and at the beginning of the next reign a friar was accused by one of his own brethren of spreading a report that the late king was still alive. He was brought before Henry IV., but the story of his ending cannot be better told than in the words of the mediaeval chronicle, whether strictly historical or no.⁴ It happened at the time 'when the people began to grudge against King Harry, and bear him heavy, because he took their goods and paid not therefore,' that the friar of Aylesbury was brought into the royal presence. Said the king to the friar, 'Thou hast heard that King Richard is alive, and art glad thereof.' And the friar answered, 'I am glad as a man is glad of the life of his friend, for I am holden to him, and all my kin, for he was our furtherer and promoter.' But the king said, 'Thou hast noised and told openly that he liveth, and so thou hast excited and stirred the people against me.' 'Nay,' said the friar. But the king went on, 'Tell me the truth as it is in thine heart: if thou sawest King Richard and me in the field

fighting together, with whom wouldst thou hold?' 'Forsooth with him, for I am more beholden to him,' replied the bold friar. 'Then thou wouldst that I and all the lords of my realm were dead?' 'Nay,' said the friar again. 'What wouldst thou do with me if thou hadst the victory over me?' 'I would make you Duke of Lancaster,' answered the friar. 'Thou art not my friend, and therefore thou shalt lose thine head,' was the king's reply: and the poor friar was 'dampned befor the justice, and drawe and hanged and beheddid.'

At the dissolution the house at Aylesbury was a very poor place, and in debt; the church however was in good condition, and had lately been repaired.⁹ Dr. London reported to Cromwell that there was scarce money enough, even after the sale of the plate and lead, to 'dispatch the friars honestly.'¹⁰ No attempt was therefore made to provide them with pensions: but London desired special capacities for them to serve cures.¹¹ Whether these were granted or no remains uncertain.

The guardian of the house in 1535 was Edward Ryly¹²; the one who signed the surrender was Henry Meyn.¹³ The Deed of Surrender, which is dated 1 October, 1538, is identical with that of the friars of Bedford, and therefore obviously not of their own composition. The acknowledgment which it contains—that, after profound consideration, the brethren had discovered that their religion consisted mainly of pharisaical ceremonies—is in consequence quite as formal

¹ Close, 4 Edw. III. m. 39.

² L. B. Larking, *The Knights Hospitallers*, 213.

³ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i. 45.

⁴ *Feud. Aids*, i. 76.

⁵ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (2) 719.

⁶ *Ibid.* 526.

⁷ *Ibid.* 767.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 248.

⁹ P.R.O. Deed of Surrender, 10.

¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i. 43.

² Pat. 10 Rich. II. pt. ii., m. 6.

³ P.R.O. Deed of Surrender, 10.

⁴ *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry IV., V. and VI.* (Camden Soc.), 23.

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and meaningless as the ordinary Deeds of Surrender.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* gives the clear income of the friars at Aylesbury as £3 2s. 5d.¹ London valued the whole property—close, fields, garden and site—at £6 2s. 4d.; the timber round the house was worth £6 13s. 4d.²

Pointed oval seal, red in colour and chipped at the top, attached to the Deed of Surrender

dated 1 October, 1538.⁸ The impression, which is somewhat indistinct, represents St. Francis to the right beneath a tree lifting up the right hand and holding in the left hand a pastoral staff. In the branches of the tree are two birds before him and on the left a friar kneeling. The whole may represent the story of St. Francis preaching to the birds. Legend :
... COMUNITATIS : FRA . . . UM : AYLESBURIE.

HOSPITALS

20. HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, AYLESBURY

The oldest hospital in Buckinghamshire seems to have been that of St. John Baptist at Aylesbury, which is said to have been founded during the reign of Henry I. by Robert Ilhale, William atte Hide, William son of Robert and John Palnok for the maintenance of lepers and sick persons. The men of Aylesbury appointed the masters. It was endowed with a messuage and 21 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow in Aylesbury. The house had however fallen into great poverty by the reign of Edward III., and was united in 1384 with that of St. Leonard in the same town.³

21. HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, AYLESBURY

The hospital of St. Leonard at Aylesbury was founded apparently at about the same time as the Hospital of St. John Baptist, and was intended also to receive lepers. It was endowed with a messuage and 14 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow in Aylesbury,⁴ but fell into poverty at the same time as the hospital of St. John, and was united to it before 1384. Both had ceased to exist long before the suppression of the chantries. The founders' names are said to have been Samson son of William, Reginald Wauncy, and others.⁵ In 1360 Eleanor, Countess of Ormond, claimed to hold the advowson as lady of the town of Aylesbury, and she is said to have presented John de Adyngrave, John Synekere and another as masters.⁶ In 1384 Walter Bere was appointed master of the united hospitals by the king by reason of the wardship of the heir of James Butiller, Earl of Ormonde.⁷

¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 248.

² *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiii. (1) 501.

³ Inq. p.m. 34 Edw. III. (2nd Nos.), No. 56, and 35 Edw. III. (2nd Nos.), No. 57.

⁴ Inq. p.m. 35 Edw. III. (2nd Nos.), No. 57.

⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Pat. 7 Rich. II. pt. i. m. 12.

22. HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, BUCKINGHAM

The hospital of St. John Baptist is mentioned only once, under the year 1279, in the Hundred Rolls of this county,⁹ where it is stated that the master held one acre of land for which he paid 1d. yearly. It is just possible that the chapel of St. John Baptist, belonging to the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in London,¹⁰ and endowed with a chantry by Matthew Stratton in 1268,¹¹ may have originally been the chapel of this hospital; but this is mere conjecture.

23. HOSPITAL OF ST. LAURENCE, BUCKINGHAM

The hospital of St. Laurence was founded, for the purpose of sheltering lepers, probably during the thirteenth century, though it is not mentioned earlier than the fourteenth. The master and brethren received an indulgence in 1321 from Bishop Burghersh, to induce the faithful of the neighbourhood to contribute to their necessities.¹² In 1337 it was stated that they had not enough for their livelihood unless they could be relieved by contributions from a somewhat wider circle, and they were consequently allowed to seek alms from those outside the town of Buckingham.¹³ In 1347 a certain Gilbert of Buckingham endowed the hospital with lands of the value of 10 marks, out of compassion for the poverty of the master and brethren.¹⁴ The depreciation of property after the Great Pestilence probably made it impossible for the house to be maintained any longer. Nearly all the hospitals of the county came to an end at this period.

⁸ P.R.O. Deed of Surrender, No. 10.

⁹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 341.

¹⁰ Chant. Cert. 5, n. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.* and Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 73.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Burghersh, 39d.

¹³ Pat. 10 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 37. See also *Ibid.* 2 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 10 and 4 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 23.

¹⁴ Browne Willis, *History of Buckingham*, 40.

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24. HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND ST. JOHN EVANGELIST, NEWPORT PAGNEL

There were certainly two hospitals, at Newport Pagnel, even if we identify the 'New Hospital' of 1240 with that of St. John Baptist.¹ If the identification should prove to be a mistake there would be three, but it seems most probable that it is correct. The 'New Hospital' is first mentioned in a will of 1240²: an inquisition of 1245 alludes to the master of the hospital of St. John Baptist among the tenants of Roger de Somery.³ According to a foundation charter quoted in Bull's *History of Newport Pagnel* the hospital of St. John Baptist was said to have been founded by John de Somery⁴; a commission appointed at the new foundation under James I. reported that it was first built in the reign of Henry III. or earlier, and until 1275 had a master, brethren and sisters.⁵ Letters of protection were granted in that year to a master and brethren only,⁶ but in 1329 again to a master, brethren and sisters⁷; Indulgences were granted to those who would contribute to the maintenance of the house in 1301⁸ and 1336⁹; in 1332 the brethren received a licence from the king to collect alms once a year.¹⁰ In 1336 it was stated that the master and brethren had become quite dependent on charity.¹¹ By 1387 there is no more allusion to the hospital: masters were instituted from that time forward to the 'free chapel or hospital' of St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist. At the Suppression of the Chantries and Hospitals the commissioners stated that the original intent of the foundation was unknown: the house was down, the chapel sore in decay, and no hospitality had been kept for sixteen years. The incumbent was 'of honest understanding,' but non-resident. The clear revenue of the house was £6 10s. 6d.¹²

It seems probable that as there was another hospital founded at Newport, this one may have been originally intended for the poor. It was refounded for this purpose, under the

¹ Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 212.
² Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, 424.
³ Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 212.
⁴ *Ibid.* 214.
⁵ *Ibid.* 213.
⁶ Pat. 3 Edw. I. m. 22.
⁷ Pat. 3 Edw. III. pt. i, m. 23.
⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 33.
⁹ *Ibid.* Memo. Burghersh, 355.
¹⁰ Pat. 6 Edw. III. pt. ii., m. 9.
¹¹ Pat. 10 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 2.
¹² Chant. Cert. 4, No. 11; and 5, No. 29.

name of Queen Anne's Hospital, in the reign of James I.¹³

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL

Adam Russell,¹⁴ resigned 1291
 Gilbert de Luda,¹⁵ elected 1291, died 1303
 Richard of Willen,¹⁶ elected 1303
 John Drayton,¹⁷ elected 1340
 William Draper,¹⁸ elected 1345, resigned 1355
 Thomas Atte More,¹⁹ elected 1355, died 1360
 Henry de Hauksherd,²⁰ instituted 1360, died 1369
 Ralf Heyward,²¹ instituted 1369, resigned 1374
 John Dene,²² instituted 1374, resigned 1381
 John Carter,²³ instituted 1381, died 1386
 Thomas Mody,²⁴ instituted 1386
 Henry Smith,²⁵ died 1483
 William Baynton,²⁶ S.T.P., instituted 1483, died 1496
 Thomas Wimeston,²⁷ instituted 1496, died 1501
 Thomas Smytheson,²⁸ instituted 1501, died 1506
 Thomas Copland,²⁹ S.T.P., instituted 1506, resigned 1510
 Edward Champion,³⁰ instituted 1510, died 1528
 Thomas Thornham,³¹ instituted 1528, died 1548
 John Saunderson,³² instituted 1548

25. HOSPITAL OF ST. MARGARET, NEWPORT PAGNEL

This hospital is only mentioned once in a will dated 1240.³³ Its date of foundation, its purpose, and the time when it finally disappeared are alike unknown.

¹³ Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*, 220.
¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton, f. 108d.
¹⁵ *Ibid.*
¹⁶ *Ibid.* Inst. Dalderby, 176d.
¹⁷ Bull, *History of Newport Pagnel*.
¹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bek, 113.
¹⁹ *Ibid.* Inst. Gynwell, 260.
²⁰ *Ibid.* 269d.
²¹ *Ibid.* Inst. Bokyngham, i. 421.
²² *Ibid.* 433d. ²³ *Ibid.* 453d.
²⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 384.
²⁵ *Ibid.* Inst. Russell, 118d.
²⁶ *Ibid.*
²⁷ *Ibid.* Inst. Smith, 354d.
²⁸ *Ibid.* 365d. ²⁹ *Ibid.* 381d.
³⁰ *Ibid.* 390.
³¹ *Ibid.* Inst. Longland, 196.
³² *Ibid.* 270d.
³³ Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, 424.

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26. HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, STONY STRATFORD

This hospital was built upon the bridge of Stony Stratford, and was intended for the poor. It was in existence in 1306, and probably some time before, as it seems to have been rebuilt in 1310. It contained a master and brethren, who received grants of indulgence for those who should contribute to the fabric of the hospital in 1306,¹ 1310,² and 1313.³ It was still in existence in 1353,⁴ but probably not much later, for already in 1329 the master and brethren were without the means of living unless others would come to their aid.⁵

27. HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, WENDOVER

An indulgence was granted to the hospital of St. John Baptist at Wendover, and to the brethren of the same, in 1311.⁶ Nothing further is known of the history of the house.

28. HOSPITAL OF ST. MARGARET, HIGH WYCOMBE

The hospital of St. Margaret is mentioned first in 1229, when a yearly fair was granted to the master and leprous brethren on the vigil of the feast of St. Margaret.⁷ Richard, master of 'the hospital for the sick' at Wycombe, jointly with the master of the hospital of Crowmarsh, sued Walter Champion for tithes in 1268⁸; and the same two masters claimed a tenth sheaf in the fields of Wigan de Wallingford in Oving, after the church tithes had been collected.⁹ These suits may refer either to the hospital of St. Margaret or to that of St. Giles, the hospital of St. John being apparently for the poor.

An indulgence was granted in 1368 to the hospital of 'St. Gilbert and St. Margaret next Wycombe' by Bishop Bokyngham.¹⁰

29. HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES, HIGH WYCOMBE

The hospital of St. Giles, High Wycombe, was founded for the reception of lepers before 1229, when letters of protection were issued

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 91d.

² Ibid. 163d. ³ Ibid. 256.

⁴ Pat. 26 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 18. It is here merely mentioned in a writ.

⁵ Pat. 3 Edw. III. pt. i., m. 4.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, 91d.

⁷ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i. 96.

⁸ Feet of F. 52 Hen. III. No. 10.

⁹ Ibid. 54 Hen. III. No. 3.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Bokyngham, 57.

to these.¹¹ In 1389 John Skefthyng was appointed warden,¹² but shortly after this date it was dissolved. It was granted early in the reign of Henry V. to a certain Thomas Giles, and its endowments were finally bestowed upon the college of Windsor.¹³

30. HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, HIGH WYCOMBE

This hospital was certainly in existence early in the thirteenth century, if not in the twelfth. In an inquisition taken in 1245, it was found that the brethren and sisters of this house were bound to distribute annually on Lady Day to the poor who should ask alms at their gate bread to the amount of two quarters of wheat, and also to pray for the soul of Adam Walder, who may have been the founder.¹⁴ A fragment of a charter exists which must have been made out between 1235 and 1241.¹⁵ In 1236 the master of the hospital gained the day in a suit with Richard of Rouen concerning a carucate of land in High Wycombe.¹⁶ In 1239 the brethren received a grant of a yearly fair on the vigil of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.¹⁷

In 1548 the commissioners found that there was a master in possession of the hospital, but no brethren. The original purpose of the foundation was quite forgotten, and the charter had been burnt. It was still however a part of the master's duty to find three beds for poor and infirm persons coming through the town.¹⁸

After the Suppression of Chantries the house was sold to the mayor and burgesses, and converted into a grammar school.¹⁹

In 1302 and 1346 the master of St. John's Hospital held one-fifth of a knight's fee in Wycombe.²⁰ Its clear value at the suppression was £8 10s.²¹

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL

Gilbert,²² occurs 1236

Robert,²³ occurs 1265

¹¹ Pat. 13 Hen. III. m. 11.

¹² Pat. 13 Rich. II. pt. ii. m. 28.

¹³ Parker, *History of Wycombe*, 138.

¹⁴ Ibid. 140.

¹⁵ Ibid. It has the names of Bishops Grosstête and Gregory IX.

¹⁶ Feet of F. 20 Hen. III. n. 23.

¹⁷ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i. 244.

¹⁸ Chant. Cert. 4, No. 4.

¹⁹ Parker, *History of Wycombe*, 142.

²⁰ *Feud. Aids* i. 92, 117.

²¹ Chant. Cert. 4, No. 4.

²² Feet of F. 20 Hen. III. n. 23.

²³ Parker, *History of Wycombe*.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Adam,¹ instituted 1277
 Geoffrey,² died 1304
 Richard de la Raye,³ Instituted 1304, re-
 signed 1310
 John Outrel,⁴ instituted 1310
 John de Martham,⁵ died 1344
 Hugh of Newton,⁶ instituted 1344, re-
 signed 1344
 Michael of Northburgh,⁷ instituted 1344,
 resigned 1354
 John of Hale,⁸ instituted 1354, died 1355
 John atte Corner,⁹ instituted 1355, died
 1361
 Hugh of Bridham,¹⁰ instituted 1361
 William of Lokington,¹¹ instituted 1369
 John Talworth,¹² instituted 1382
 John Dede,¹³ instituted 1440
 John Benet,¹⁴ instituted 1456
 Hugh Clay,¹⁵ resigned 1471
 William Blackpoll,¹⁶ instituted 1471, died
 1474
 John Wykes,¹⁷ instituted 1474, died 1478
 Edmund Hampden,¹⁸ instituted 1478, re-
 signed 1484
 Geoffrey Hemmysby,¹⁹ instituted 1484,
 died 1493

Edward Wellesbourne,²² instituted 1493
 William Trew,²³ instituted 1522, resigned
 1541
 Charles Chalfont,²⁴ instituted 1541

31. THE HOSPITAL OF LUD- GERSHALL

Three hides of land at Ludgershall, valued at 60s., were granted by Henry II. to the brethren of Santingfeld near Wissant before 1156,²⁵ but it is by no means certain that a hospital was actually built there. On other lands, near Luton in Bedfordshire, which were granted in the same charter, the hospital of Farley was founded shortly after, and it seems not unlikely that another was built at Ludgershall²⁶; but the only actual evidence of its existence is the fact that the master of Farley in 1296 is called master of Farley and of Ludgershall.²⁷ All other allusions to the lands given by Henry II. in this place describe them as the property of the brethren of Santingfeld.²⁸ At the suppression of the alien priories, the lands of Farley and Ludgershall were granted in 1448 to King's College, Cambridge.²⁹

ALIEN HOUSES

32. THE CLUNIAC PRIORY OF NEWTON LONGVILLE

The priory of Newton Longville was founded by Walter Giffard as a cell to St. Faith's at Longueville near Rouen. The lands in Buckinghamshire which formed its endowment were granted to the Norman priory about 1150,²⁰ and it seems probable that the English cell was built almost at once, as a grant of materials for the purpose was included in Walter Giffard's charter.²¹ Very

little is known of the history of this house; it was immediately subject to St. Faith's, and exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. In 1277 Edward I. sent the priory a gift of two tuns of wine.³⁰ In 1331 the prior received a licence to go to the general chapter at Cluny with his suite.³¹ During the wars of the fourteenth century this priory probably suffered the same losses and inconveniences as other alien cells. It was finally granted to New College, Oxford, in 1441.³²

The original endowment consisted of the manors of Great Horwood, Newton Longville, Whaddon and Akeley, with their churches; tithes of other lands, fishpools and woods, and free pasture for stock, as well as

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Gravesend.

² Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, 177d.

³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid. 184d.

⁵ Ibid. Inst. Bek, 109.

⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, 256d.

⁹ Ibid. 258. ¹⁰ Ibid. 275.

¹¹ Ibid. Memo. Bokyngham, 85.

¹² Ibid. Inst. Bokyngham, i. 457d.

¹³ Parker, *History of Wycombe*.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Chadworth, 159.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. Rotherham, 96.

¹⁸ Ibid. 102.

¹⁹ Ibid. Inst. Russell, 119.

²⁰ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, 74-77.

²¹ Ibid. 75-76.

²² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Russell, 128d.

²³ Ibid. Inst. Longland, 186.

²⁴ Ibid. 209.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 639; Pipe R. 1156.

²⁶ See Cobbe's *Luton Church*, 497.

²⁷ Pat. 22 Edw. I. m. 7.

²⁸ *Testa de Neville* (Rec. Com.), 245; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i. 37; *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.) 46.

²⁹ Pat. 26 Hen. VI. pt. i., m. 7.

³⁰ Close, 5 Edw. I. m. 11.

³¹ Ibid. 5 Edw. III. pt. ii., m. 3d.

³² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 1036.

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all the monks might need for building purposes.¹

The *temporalia* of the priory in 1291 amounted to £14 9s. 5d.² In 1279 the priory held Akeley and its church in frank-almoyn, Great Horwood and its church, and the church of Whaddon.³ In 1302 he held the village of Akeley as one knight's fee, and lands in Great Horwood.⁴ In 1316 he answered for Akeley, Newton Longville and Great Horwood⁵; in 1346 for half a fee in Akeley.⁶

PRIORS OF NEWTON LONGVILLE

William,⁷ occurs 1236

Peter,⁸ occurs 1262

John de Panneville,⁹ occurs 1277

Richard,¹⁰ occurs 1297

William de Talley,¹¹ occurs 1306

33. THE PRIORY OF WING

Before the compilation of Domesday the Benedictine monks of St. Nicholas, Angers, held 2½ hides in Crafton of the Count of Mortain, valued at £4.¹² Later on they acquired also the advowson of the church of Wing, and other lands in the same parish to the extent of 660 acres¹³; but it is quite uncertain when the priory was built. There was a suit in the reign of John and another in 1248 between the abbot of St. Nicholas and the Talbots with reference to feudal customs: Quintin Talbot first and William Talbot after him demanding provision for thirty-two reapers and

other rights, including two candles apiece for all their servants on Candlemas Day; they also claimed the right to hold their courts in the abbot's hall at Wing as often as they pleased.¹⁴ There is no reference here to a monastery at Wing, and indeed it may be doubted if there ever was one in the strict sense at all: it seems more probable that it was but a small cell of two or three monks who resided there merely to look after the abbot's property. The fact that only two presentations were ever made to the parish church by a prior of Wing, while the rest were made by the proctor-general in England of the Abbot of St. Nicholas, tends to support this theory.¹⁵ There are no remains of the monastic buildings from which any certain conclusions may be drawn: the history of the priory is very obscure, and in all probability must remain so.

The original endowment included lands at Wing amounting to 660 acres, with the advowson of the parish church. The monks of Wing had also in 1291 a pension of £1 2s. in the church of Henlow, Bedfordshire.¹⁶ The priory was in the king's hand between 1342 and 1361, and again from 1393 to 1423.¹⁷ In 1416 it was confiscated finally as an alien cell, and granted to the prioress and convent of St. Mary de Pré in Hertfordshire.¹⁸

PRIORS OF WING

Geoffrey,¹⁹ occurs 1271

Robert de Bures,²⁰ occurs 1312

Peter de Monte arditio,²¹ appointed 1377

¹ Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, 74-77. Akeley is not mentioned in these charters, but it is said in *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i. 32 to have been held in frank-almoyn of the gift of Walter Giffard.

² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

³ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i. 32, ii. 336, 338, 339.

⁴ *Feud. Aids*, i. 100, 101.

⁵ *Ibid.* 108, 109, 112. ⁶ *Ibid.* 125.

⁷ Feet of F. 20 Hen. III. No. 50.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 1036.

⁹ *Ibid.* ¹⁰ *Ibid.* ¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² See Domesday translation.

¹³ Feet of F. 32 Hen. III. No. 8.

¹⁴ Feet of F. 32 Hen. III. No. 8.

¹⁵ The presentation of 1312 was made by Brother Robert de Bures, *dictus* prior of Wing, and proctor general of the abbey of St. Nicholas.

¹⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

¹⁷ This is gathered from the list of vicars of Wing, inserted in the Churchwardens' Book of that parish and taken from the Lincoln Registers.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 1046.

¹⁹ From the list of vicars.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Bokyngham, 442.

AGRICULTURE

IN giving a brief account of the Agriculture of Bucks, it seems desirable to review shortly its history. Several well-known writers have given their impressions of it, though none of them speak in very flattering terms. One, Edward Lawrence, a Surveyor to the then Duke of Buckingham, in a book published 1727, gives some insight into the circumstances of that period. Rents appear to have been from ten to fifteen shillings an acre or more, the tenant paying rates and taxes, while the covenants of the leases were very stringent. A great deal of the land was unenclosed, and there were many 'common-fields,' both of arable and pasture. The four-course shift seems to have prevailed and was generally: 1st, fallow; 2nd, wheat or barley; 3rd, beans or peas; 4th, barley or oats. There were special covenants regulating the growth of woad, weld (one of the mignonette family giving a beautiful yellow dye), madder, etc., the cultivation of which must have been very remunerative, for the 'woad men' were willing to pay £2 a year extra rent per acre for the privilege of growing them. Labourers' wages were a shilling a day in summer, and 9d. and 10d. in winter, while domestic servants received about £3 a year. Arthur Young, writing in 1771, seems to have only seen the Aylesbury side of the county, while on his riding tour through the Midlands. He found rents varying from 6s. to 20s. an acre, with an average of about 14s. He condemned the system of farming, the dirty condition of the crops, and also the unenclosed state of most of the land. The course in that district was: 1st, fallow; 2nd, wheat; 3rd, beans; a wasteful system, which merited his censure. The very shallow ploughing, and the deep ridge and furrow, both in arable and pasture, without any underground draining, were also severely condemned. With keen insight he declared that, if the landlords would enclose and drain the land, 'All this vale would make as fine meadows as any in the world.' In common with Lawrence, he protested against the tenants gathering the cow-dung off the fields to dry and burn, and the latter warned stewards to see that the tenants did not use too much of the pig-dung to wash their linens with! Farming must have improved soon after Young's day, for Cobbett, in his Rural Rides in 1826, speaks eloquently and enthusiastically of all that he saw in the Aylesbury district; and Youatt, writing some eight years later, compares the Vale of Aylesbury to the justly celebrated Pevensy Level and Romney Marsh.

Coming to the present time we find that Bucks, like most other

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counties, having benefited by the good times from 1855 to 1875 or thereabouts, has fallen on a period of agricultural depression. Both money and labour are scarce, and consequently the fields are too often dirty, the hedges uncared for, and the old pride in good management seems to be wanting. A ride through the country at harvest time will show a large amount of docks in the corn, while couch and other 'trash' make themselves unpleasantly conspicuous throughout the year. The tendency to abandon arable land, and either lay it down to grass, or allow it to lay itself down, is particularly marked in this county; though from the appearance of some of the newly laid down land the process does not seem very remunerative. How far this change in farming has at present gone may be seen by comparing the Agricultural Returns for Bucks of Corn and Grass for 1867 with those for 1904. The former date, if not the earliest, is among the earliest of the Returns.

	1867.		1904.
WHEAT	55,130 acres	. . . .	24,731 acres.
BARLEY	30,376 "	. . . .	16 602 "
OATS	23,090 "	. . . .	30,904 "
ROTATION GRASS .	27,607 "	. . . .	33,450 "
PERMANENT GRASS	181,012 "	. . . .	250,469 "

The increase in the acreage under oats is in keeping with the general returns throughout the country, and proves that this most useful grain is yearly more appreciated.

The county seems to be naturally divided into three areas for agricultural comparison. The Thames Valley, the Chiltern Hills with the smaller spurs and vales running from them, and the Vale of Aylesbury.

In the Thames Valley there is generally a varying depth of kindly working soil overlying a hot gravel. Both meadow and arable lands give a very satisfactory return for good management in a damp season; but, in a hot dry one, both soon burn, and the yield is very meagre. On the higher ground the soil generally deteriorates, and is often a poor, hungry flint-gravel very difficult to farm with any chance of a profit. Between Maidenhead and London there is a stronger section of land with considerable breadths of brick earth. Here farming assumes the character of market-gardening. This, aided by cheap manure from London, usually affords very satisfactory returns.

The soil on the Chilterns is almost everywhere gravel or flints, mixed with a considerable proportion of retentive clay, and resting on chalk, the covering being extremely thin in many parts. It is not an attractive land from a farmer's point of view, but it throws up some very good herbage in a kindly season; that is to say one with plenty of showers in April and May. The hop trefoil, known locally as 'black grass,' appears to be indigenous, and very soon asserts itself in any laid down land, as does the white clover in a somewhat less degree. An excellent quality of wheat is grown on these hills, but the yield is seldom good, and rarely exceeds three quarters per acre. Good crops of medium quality oats are also taken, but barley is not often satisfactory either in

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colour or skin. On the whole it may be said that the farming on these high grounds is not of a very advanced kind, and is certainly not improved by the very general habit of picking stones and selling them to the highway authorities. In the spring the teams are frequently on the road carting stones when they ought to be cleaning the land. Moreover many good judges condemn the excessive picking of stones as being distinctly injurious to the good farming of the land.

In the Vale of Aylesbury, which may roughly be said to extend from beyond Buckingham to Amersham, the conditions are very different. A rich, kindly working land rests on strong blue clay, and is capable of making a splendid return for any outlay. Experience has taught the farmers of that favoured district that grass is the natural product of the land, grass of a quality, both for milking and feeding purposes, hardly surpassed in any district in England. Consequently one may travel mile after mile and hardly see a ploughed field. Many acres have been laid down to grass, and are being laid down every year; for, though the land will yield fine crops of wheat and beans, it is found that grass gives a better return. It is delightful to see the great broad-backed oxen in the pastures, and the whole vale has a pleasing air of prosperity. There is a good deal more arable land at the Amersham end of the vale, which is, in the bottoms, capable of growing any ordinary farm crop in the most satisfactory way. A stroll along those pleasant valleys, with their snug farmhouses, and well filled folds and stackyards, is a delightful experience in these days of agricultural depression. There is another fine stretch of country on the high ground dividing the Thames and Ouse watersheds. The road from Waddesdon through Winchendon and the pleasing village of Long Crendon to Thame traverses some excellent land, suitable for both roots and corn. With the advent of the Great Central Railway this country will soon become better known.

In giving a description of the system of cultivation in Buckinghamshire, there is not the four-course shift which was all but universal for years in the Eastern Counties to start with as a base. Any deviation from that course used to be looked upon by a Norfolk or Suffolk farmer as flat heresy, which nothing but extraordinary circumstances could in any way justify. There does not seem to be any corresponding feeling in this county. No very strict routine is observed, but so far as there is a regular shift it takes the character of a five-course one, namely—1st, fallow or roots; 2nd, barley or oats; 3rd, clover or peas; 4th, wheat; 5th, barley or oats. The greater part of the turnips is eaten on the land by the sheep, and the plough is kept going as close to the fold as may be. Mangolds, which grow extremely well in many parts, are kept in clamps for the stock in the yards and for the sheep in spring. The 'Yellow Globe' and the 'Golden Tankard' are the most popular varieties, and, owing to their early maturity, many growers do not hesitate to use them in December or even earlier. Oats come well and generally yield a heavy crop after roots, but barley is apt to be coarse and not

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a very good malting sample. The best results are obtained when barley follows wheat : white wheat is much more grown than red, and is usually a capital sample of good weight and a fine plump berry. The straw, too, is singularly free from mildew, bright and good, and generally sells at a very good price. Clover is usually sown with a proportion of rye-grass, and is then known as 'mixture,' and it may as a rule be depended upon to give a good return every eight years. The proximity of London causes both hay and straw to be sold in large quantities off many farms, and it is to be feared that the manure to compensate this wastage of the land is very frequently not forthcoming.

The implements used on the farms are of the kind common to all counties. Many of them on the smaller holdings are extremely old-fashioned, but in general they are fairly up to date. The plough used more than any other in the hill districts, and known here as the 'swing' plough, has two equal-sized wheels in front with a stout iron standard springing from the axle, which works free in a loop on the end of the beam, thus forming a sort of fore-carriage. It is claimed for it that it gives much more freedom of action, and does better work on the side of the hills than the ordinary two-wheeled ploughs. It is in common use on the light lands in Suffolk, and is there known as the 'gallows' plough. The 'one-way' or 'turn-wrest' plough is coming more into favour, and is useful for turning the furrows all down-hill in steep land. It is, however, somewhat cumbersome and looks unhandy. On the large farms the steam tackle is much used in the autumn for breaking up both corn and clover stubbles and is a distinct saver of labour. The various proprietors are kept very busy when the weather is favourable. The usual price for medium sized lots is about 12s. an acre for ploughing, 12s. an acre for cultivating twice, and 3s. an acre for harrowing. Mowing machines and self-binders are everywhere used for the hay and corn harvests, and the light and handy American horse-rakes are much appreciated. The light-running local waggons are used in preference to carts for carrying the hay and corn, much skill being displayed by the drivers in clearing some of the steep fields, while accidents very rarely happen. The corn is all thrashed by the travelling thrashing machines, a very costly process by the time everything is paid for. The cheerful sound of the flail in the fine old barns is no longer heard, and the fixed thrashing machine has quite disappeared.

The land was at one time in the great majority of cases held by leases of five, seven, or fourteen years, but a great deal of it is now held by yearly agreements. The landlord apparently does not like to alienate his property for any length of time in case values should improve, and the tenant fears that there may still be a lower depth of depression to be reached, and consequently does not care to risk a lease. Michaelmas entry is practically universal, and the valuations of tenant-right are taken in the usual way. The outgoing tenant thrashes his own corn and markets it, the incoming tenant takes the hay and straw. There is no hard and fast rule as to terms : on some estates they are taken at market-

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price, while on others it is at consuming price of two-thirds the value. Dung is generally paid for. Farmhouses are as a rule fairly good, but the accommodation in many of them is very primitive and not in accordance with modern ideas. The average tenant is not, however, very exacting in that respect. On some estates, of course, the houses are excellent. The farm buildings are mostly commodious and afford good shelter for the stock, and the spacious barns are invaluable. Happily the doctrine, which prevailed a few years since, that barns had served their purpose and were no longer wanted, has had its day.

The cottages are generally good and comfortable, if not very picturesque. Most of them have a fair-sized garden, and, where feasible, it will be found that a moderate addition to the garden is vastly more useful to the tenant than an allotment very likely some distance away. Cottage rents in Bucks average from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per week, but they are a good deal higher in parts of the Thames Valley.

The regular labourers on the farms are tacitly hired by the year. About 13*s.* a week, with a little extra in hay and harvest time, and from £2 to £3 given at Michaelmas, known as 'Michaelmas money,' is about the average wage. Carters and shepherds get a little more, and the latter usually have head money for the lambs, about 5*s.* per score on all lambs reared by a certain day.

Unfortunately the outlook for labour on farms generally is not an encouraging one; and, in the Home Counties within the radius of London's attractive influence, it is a very serious question. There is, moreover, no cottage building going on, owing, among other things, to the restrictions of the County Council's bye-laws. A cottage tumbling to pieces is a far more common sight than one being erected. Agitation, however, against these regulations may in the future lead to their relaxation and a renewal of building operations.

In the matter of cattle and sheep, Bucks, unlike many of its neighbouring counties, has no distinct breed of its own. Arthur Young, at the end of the 18th century, found the Longhorns in possession, and Youatt, writing later, reports the same state of things. The latter certainly claimed that the Bucks breed of Longhorns was distinct; modern breeders, however, would hardly agree with him, but would class them with the ordinary Midland stock, the points of difference being too slender to constitute a separate breed. Longhorns are still kept in the late Duke of Buckingham's noted park at Stowe, and certainly the herd is worthy of its beautiful surroundings. If Bucks has no breed of cattle of its own, it certainly contains worthy representatives of most of the best breeds. Shorthorns of the purest and most fashionable strains are to be found in many parts. Notably at Waddesdon Manor, where the Hon. Alice Rothschild has some magnificent cattle capable of holding their own anywhere. Not far away Mr. Leopold Rothschild has at Ascott a fine herd, and near Bletchley Mr. Leon is an active patron of the breed. At Hambleden, near Henley, the Hon. F. Smith has a small but very select herd.

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The popular Aberdeen Angus is kept at Danesfield, near Marlow, by Mr. Hudson, who has been extremely successful with it and crosses from it at shows all over the country. This breed also finds an active supporter at the northern end of the county in the Rev. C. Bolden, of Preston Bissett.

Mr. Hudson also keeps a few of the stylish little Kerries, and with them breeds some excellent cross-bred cattle, which are generally appreciated by butchers, for they furnish the choice small joints so much in demand at present. Both Jerseys and Alderneys are scattered all over the county and do remarkably well in most parts. A small and very choice lot of the former is kept at Greenlands. Besides the pure bred stocks, there are many very excellent herds of milking cows. Foremost among them is the admirable herd of Mr. Scott-Murray at Hambleden. Big, useful, stylish cows, they would attract attention in any county and in any company.

The numbers of cattle in the county were 57,448 of all ages in 1867, and 75,992 in 1904, which shows a very satisfactory increase.¹

Sheep, on the other hand, show a very remarkable falling off in the same time and mark a serious decline in the style of farming. In 1867 there were of sheep of all ages 349,474, while in 1904 the numbers had declined to 178,539. A good many lambs are made fat each year and command as a rule very satisfactory prices in the early part of the season. There is no breed of sheep peculiar to the county. Oxford Downs are kept generally on the Buckingham side, where the deep pastures suit their great frames. Foremost among the breeders of them is Mr. Treadwell of Winchendon, who has been extremely successful with them, and whose name is inseparably connected with the breed. Hampshire Downs are found in the Thames Valley and more or less all over the county. The Bucks farmers, however, do not restrict themselves to these two breeds, but endeavour also to meet the demand for smaller mutton. Black-faced Scotch, Cheviots and Welsh are seen on many pastures. Kent or Romney Marsh are also competing for public favour, and bid fair to establish themselves. An increase in the price of wool would probably lead to quite as many sheep being kept in the county as in former times.

Pigs, like sheep, show a serious falling off in numbers. In 1867 there were 52,897, in 1904 there were only 34,339. Bad prices, coupled with the restrictions under the Swine Fever Regulations, have caused very many farmers to give up breeding them. The Black Berkshires are practically the only breed kept, and it would be hard to find a better. There are a few Red Tamworths and Tamworth crosses, which are generally liked where tried, but white pigs are not commonly kept.

¹ Milk selling has become very important wherever the railways are accessible. It is now one of the most profitable branches of the farming industry and is largely responsible for the steady increase in the number of cattle in Buckinghamshire.

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With regard to horses the Shire Bred predominates in the county, and some admirable specimens of the breed are kept in Mr. Hudson's stables at Danesfield. There is always a ready market at a remunerative price for a good shire horse. Mr. Hudson sends out some excellent horses to travel the country in the spring which are thoroughly appreciated over a very wide area. A good many farmers, however, take advantage of the ready access to London to get down very useful horses which can no longer stand the wear and tear of the streets, but are capable of doing good work on the farms. For ploughing on the tenderer lands and for the mowing and reaping machines they are extremely useful.

Poultry hardly receives the attention it deserves, but there is a growing tendency to devote more trouble to it, and to keep a better class on many farms. The county is, however, a long way behind Surrey and Sussex with regard to this branch of farming. Turkeys are kept in fair quantities in many parts of the county, and in a good beech-mast season thrive well among the trees. Geese are not very generally kept, in spite of the small expense involved in rearing them. Ducks are the great speciality of the county, for it possesses in the Aylesbury duck a breed of its own everywhere highly esteemed. A great many very fine birds are kept in the Vale of Aylesbury and in most parts of the county. Great trouble is taken with them, and the aim is to get them hatched as early in January as possible in order to have them ready by the end of March and in April. If brought to the markets in good condition they will then readily make from 12*s.* to 15*s.* a couple.

Rabbits on many farms make a useful addition to the returns from the smaller items, but they are not kept in any large quantities. The land does not so readily lend itself to warrens as the large sandy heaths of the Eastern Counties. In some seasons, when the beech-mast is plentiful, the wood pigeon also is laid under profitable contributions. These birds do not, however, now come in such huge flocks as they used to do formerly.

Pheasant rearing, on the other hand, has become a considerable industry and now represents a good deal of invested capital. Starting at Missenden, it has spread along the Chiltern Hills and has enabled a good deal of very poor land to be profitably occupied. Both the ring-necked and other varieties are kept, and there seems little to choose between them. Wild ducks are also in many places reared in large numbers alongside the pheasants.

A great feature of the county is the large extent of its commons and heaths, covering many thousands of acres. The grazing rights on these are a very fruitful source of discord, and it may well be doubted if they are in reality very much assistance to farmers. In many cases sheep are sent on to the commons to graze when they would have done far more good if kept on the land at home to enrich it for the next crop.

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With the exception of the orchards in the Slough district, there is not much to be said of the general culture of fruit. The orchard on the vast majority of farms exhibits the same neglect that one has come to expect from their treatment in the country generally. Few young trees are planted; and, if they are, they are seldom cared for, while the old trees are left alone. The soil is not, as a rule, naturally adapted for apples and pears, and their growth is seldom satisfactory, but cherries and all stone fruit thrive on the chalk. The cherry orchards of Cookham are a delightful sight, both in blossom and fruit time, and form one of the sights of the county.

Among the extra crops of the farm lucerne is but sparsely grown. Sainfoin is, however, very largely cultivated and thrives remarkably well in most years with very little assistance. Admirable both as hay and pasture, it is hard to over-estimate its value.

The farmers' chief vegetable pests are docks and couch grass, mentioned above, charlock, which seems inseparable from chalk lands, and the scarlet poppy, known in Suffolk as 'canker,' which is very conspicuous on many of the hot gravels. Of animal pests, rats and mice cause much damage to corn, both in stacks and barns, and seem to be increasing. Sparrows cause very serious loss in harvest time, while the blackbird does great damage to the fruit growers.

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