



S. 31.

THE
WILTSHIRE
Archaeological and Natural History
MAGAZINE.

Published under the Direction of the Society

FORMED IN THAT COUNTY A.D. 1853.

VOL. IV.



DEVIZES:
HENRY BULL, SAINT JOHN STREET.
LONDON:
BELL & DALDY, 186, FLEET STREET; J. R. SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.
—
1858.

DEVIZES :
PRINTED BY HENRY BULL,
SAINT JOHN STREET.



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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

“MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS.”—*Ovid.*

Baynard Monuments in Lacock Church.

THE South Transept of Lacock Church is attached to the Manor of Lackham in that parish, and appears to have been used by many of its successive owners as a place of interment. The object of the present paper is to describe three ancient memorials of the Baynards which it contains, as illustrating in some degree the pedigree of that family, or rather the portion of it connected with the descent of the Lackham estate.

At the period of the Domesday survey, Lacham was held by Ralph [de Mortemer] of William de Ow, and by him (together with other Manors in Wiltshire) of the King.¹ At a somewhat later date it belonged to the family of Bluet.² Elinor, the *daughter and heiress* of Sir John Bluet, Knight,³ by marriage with Edmund

¹ Wyndham's 'Domesday' xxxii. 12. Mr. Britton in his 'Beauties of Wiltshire,' vol. iii, states that William de Ow was attainted of treason in the reign of William Rufus, and his estates forfeited to the Crown; but omits to mention his authority.

² The names of three individuals of this family,—Roger de Bloet, B. Bluet, and Sir William Bluet, occur in the Cartulary of Lacock Abbey, an abstract of which is printed as an appendix to the 'History of the Abbey,' by the Rev. Canon Bowles, and J. G. Nichols, Esq., 1835; (see p. xv. xviii. xix.) An Emma Bloet was elected Abbess of Godstow in Oxfordshire, A.D. 1248. From the 'Testa de Nevill' compiled early in the 14th century, it appears that the heir of Ralph Bluet held, at that date, one Knight's fee in Lackham of the Earl Mareseall, and the Earl of the King. An obit for the soul of 'Rafe Bluet' was celebrated annually on the 20th of February, in the Priory of Kington St. Michael, to which he had been, in all probability, a benefactor.

³ Sir John Bluet was buried in the Abbey Church of Lacock, where, until the Dissolution, four candles of wax, lighted during the daily Mass for the Dead, were maintained about his tomb.

Baynard, Esq., of Dunmow, Co. Essex, *circa* A.D. 1349, conveyed the estate to that family.¹

From an ancient document on vellum, formerly in the possession of the Lady Mary Montagu, (daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Baynard), entitled "*Illustrations collected by John Philipott,*" (Somerset Herald, temp. James I.) "*of the Family of Baynard, shewing their Antiquitie, Nobilitie, Patrimony, and Posteritie,*" printed in Gent. Magazine, May, 1826, p. 418; it appears that the Baynards were of Norman family, the first of whom, Ralph Baynard, built Baynard's Castle, near Paul's Wharf, in London, in the reign of William Rufus. He had grants of land in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. Baynard's Castle was forfeited by some act of felony, and granted to Robert de Clare. From John Baynard of Co. Essex, who died 23 Edward III., [1349,] the Wiltshire branch of the family descended, as exhibited in the pedigree annexed.

Lackham continued in the possession of the Baynards for nine successive generations, until Mary, the heiress (above mentioned) of Sir Robert Baynard, Knight, by marriage with the Hon. James

¹ This statement is made on the authority of the pedigree in the Wilts Visitation, where Elinor, the wife of Edmund Baynard, is described as *daughter and heiress* of Sir John Bluet; but the following extracts furnish the name of an intermediate owner, Peter de Cusaunce, Knight, from which it would appear that Sir John left *two daughters and coheireses*, one of whom by marriage with Peter de Cusaunce conveyed to him the Lackham estate, but dying without issue, it passed into the hands of the other daughter, Elinor, wife of Edmund Baynard:—

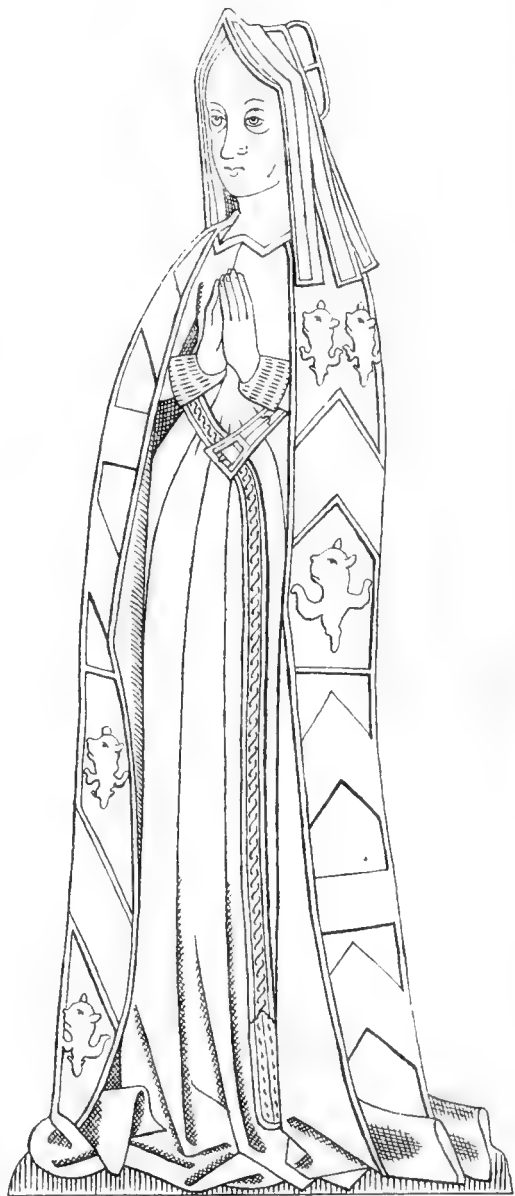
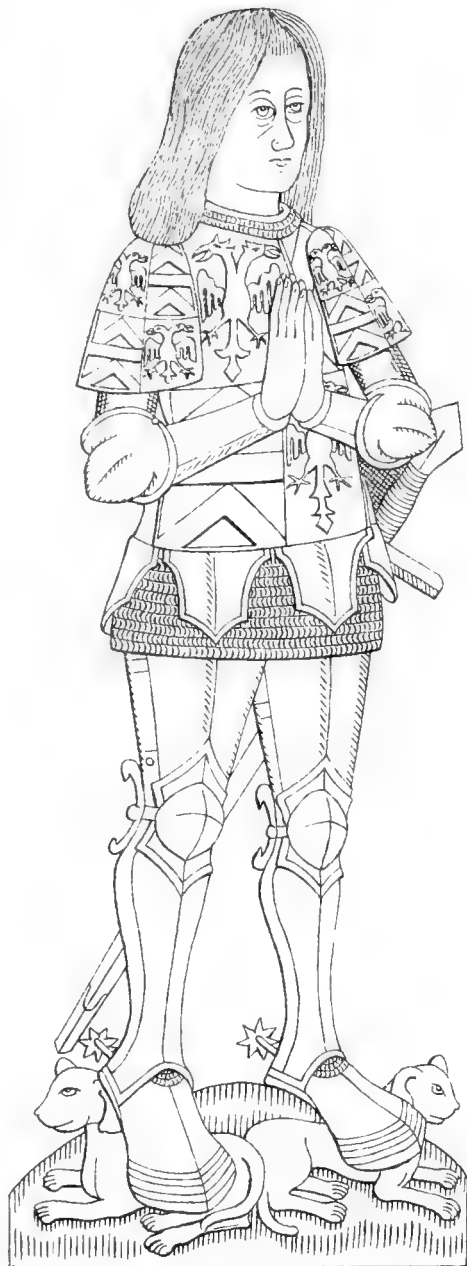
"1346. John de Peyton obtained license to have a chapel in his Manor of Lackham, in the parish of Lacock."—Wyvill Register, Sarum. In the year 1349, the King presents to this chapel "on behalf of the heir of Alianore Bluet, Lady of the Manor"; and in 1352, Peter de Cusaunce presents as "Lord of the Manor of Lackham." Wilts Institutions.

Leland's account of the descent of Silchester, (Co. Hants,) another property of the Bluets, is as follows:—"one of the *Blueths* leavyng no sons, the land not entaylid to the heire [*male or generale*] came by mariage to one *Peter de Cusaunce*, Knight, and after to one *Edmunde Baynard*."—Itinerary vi. 53.

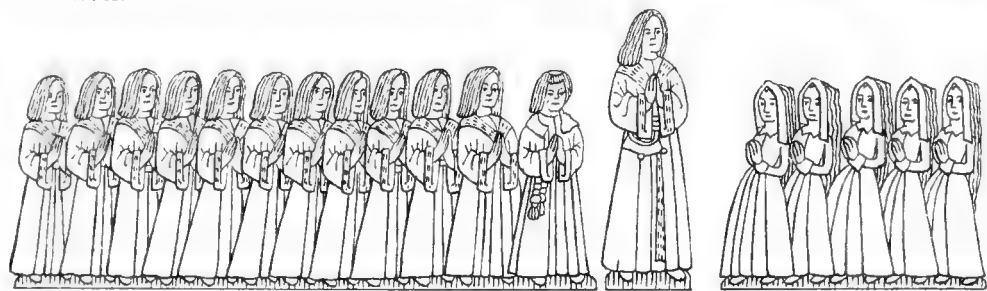
Peter de Cusaunce was Sheriff of Wilts, 1377, and presented to Hilmarton (which he appears also to have obtained by marriage with a Bluet) in 1380.

The connexion of John de Peyton with the Manor of Lackham, unless he held it as trustee for the heir of Bluet, does not appear. The family of Peyton were seated in Co. Suffolk, and, with this exception, the name has not been met with in any documents relating to Wilts.





EDW. KITE, DEL.



MONUMENTAL BRASS IN HAROCK CHURCH, WILTS'.
ROBERT BAYNARD ESQ. (1501.), AND HIS WIFE ELIZABETH.

Montagu, third son of Henry, third Earl of Manchester, A.D. 1635, conveyed it again to the family of Montagu, in whose hands it remained until purchased by Captain Rooke, R.N., the late proprietor.

The first of the memorials referred to, is a fine Monumental Brass in the floor of the Transept, bearing the engraved effigies of ROBERT BAYNARD, Esq., (fourth in descent from Edmund, above mentioned,) and ELIZABETH his wife, daughter of Henry Ludlow, Esq., of Hill Deverill, (*see plate*). Robert Baynard, who died in 1501, is represented in a suit of plate armour, as worn at that period; the head and hands are bare, the hair long; round the neck is a gorget of mail, and a skirt of the same appears beneath the body armour, over which is a tabard, or surcoat, embroidered with arms of Baynard, quartering those of Bluet. A large sword hangs from the left side, and the feet rest on two dogs.

The female figure has the *kennel*, or triangular head dress, which was adopted at the close of the fifteenth century, and a loose mantle bearing the arms of Baynard, quartering Ludlow. The gown, which appears beneath, is cut square to the neck, the sleeves are tight, with fur cuffs, and the end of the girdle forms a long pendant, reaching almost to the feet.

The inscription is as follows:—

“*Hic jacet Robertus Baynard, armiger, vir egregius et legis peritus, in armis bellicis multum strenuus, dapifer precipuus inter primos, pacis conserbator diligentissimus, uxorem habens Elizabeth devotissimam, cum totidem filiis et filiabus subnumeratis; qui obiit xxvj die Augusti Ao Dni mcccc primo. Quorum animabus propicietur Deus, amen.*”

“Here lyeth Robert Baynard, Esquire, a good man and skilled in the law, a very active soldier, one of the best of house-keepers, and a zealous promoter of peace. He had a most loving wife, Elizabeth, with as many sons and daughters as are reckoned below. He died 26 August, A.D. 1501. On whose souls GOD have mercy. Amen.”

Beneath the inscription are the effigies of eighteen children, thirteen of whom are sons, and five daughters. The second son is represented as a priest; the remainder have loose gowns, trimmed at the neck and sleeves with fur; the eldest (whose primogeniture

appears to be distinguished by greater stature), wears a *gypciere*, or external purse, attached to his girdle.

At the corners of the slab, are four shields, bearing alternately the following arms:—

- 1st and 3rd. Quarterly, 1. and 4. Or, an eagle with two heads displayed gules, BLUET. 2. and 3. Sable, a fess between two chevrons or, BAYNARD.
- 2nd and 4th. Quarterly. 1. and 4. BAYNARD, as above. 2. and 3. Argent, a chevron between three fox's or marten's heads erased sable, LUDLOW.

The second memorial is a tablet of wood, originally decorated with colouring and gilt, but now much defaced. It is attached to the east wall of the Transept, and bears in the centre, the following inscription, eulogising the virtues of Edward Baynard, Esq., who died in 1575:—

“Heare lyeth ye Body of Edward Bainarde
Esqvire who for the space of many yeares
yeven to his dyinge day was Jvstice of
Peace and Corvm and sometimes Cvstos
Rotvlorvm and Hygh Sherriffe of the
County of Wiltes: a bovntyfvll friend
to his [bret] hren and sisters and to
his ser [van] ts liberall, and an enemy
to noe man: he lyved to the age of 63
yeares and dyed and was bvryed the 21
day of December 1575.

Lett envy saye what it can,
This was an honest man .
Whoe in his life did many goode,
And to the trveth firmely stode :
Religiovs, wise, and jvst was hee,
And ever lyved worthylic.”

Round the inscription are eight shields of arms, setting forth the following alliances of the deceased and his ancestors:—

- BAYNARD *impaling* Argent, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis sable.
- BAYNARD Azure, two swords in saltire between four fleurs-de-lis or,
BARROW (?)
- BAYNARD Argent, a chevron between three marten's heads erased
sable, LUDLOW.
- BAYNARD Azure, a chevron between three pears pendant or,
STEWKELEY.
- BAYNARD Or, a chevron between three garbs sable, BLAKE.
- BAYNARD Azure, fleury, a lion rampant or, POOLE.

BAYNARD Gules bezantèe, a cross coupèe or, WALSINGHAM.

BAYNARD Party per fess embattled Or and Sable, six crosses patèe counterchanged, WARNEFORD.

The whole is surmounted by a ninth shield, bearing Baynard and Bluet, quarterly, with the crest of Baynard, and date 1623.

The individual thus commemorated, was great grandson of Robert Baynard above mentioned; he was thrice married, and by his third wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Warneford of Sevenhampton, Esq., had issue ten children, the eldest of whom, Sir Robert Baynard, Knight, of Lackham, erected to the memory of his father, and nearly half a century after his decease, the monument here described.

The third and last memorial (which is precisely similar to the above, and erected at the same date,) commemorates URSULA, wife of SIR ROBERT BAYNARD, Knight, and daughter of Sir Robert Stapleton of Wighall, Co. York, Knight, by his second wife Olave, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Sherington of Lacock, Knight, and widow of John Talbot, Esq., of Salwarp, Co. Worcester. The inscription is as follows:—

“ Heare lyeth the Body of the Lady
Ursula Baynard Daughter of Sir
Robert Stapilton of Wyghall in the
Covnty of Yorke Knight, and wife
to Sir Robert Baynard Knight, by
whome [s]hee had issve Edward her
Sonne heare bvryed and Mary hir
Daughter. Shee lyved to the age
of 36 yeares and departed to God
in most firme Fayth in Christ in
the yeare of ovr Lorde God 1623.

God's goodness made her wise and well beseeming,
Discreet and Prvdent, Constant, Trve, and Chaste,
Hir virtves rare wan hir mvch esteeming,
In Covrte and Covntry, still with favovr graste,
Earth could not yelde more pleasing earthly blisse,
Blest wth two babes, though Death brovght hir to this.”

The shields around the inscription set forth the following alliances of the Stapleton family:—

Argent, a lion rampant sable, STAPLETON. *impaling*, Sable, fretty or, BELLEU, or BEAULIEU.

STAPLETON *impaling*, Chequy, or and azure, a canton ermine within a bordure gules, DE RICHMOND.

STAPLETON Barry of eight or and gules, FITZALAN.

STAPLETON Bendy of six or and azure, PHILIBERT.

STAPLETON Ermine, on a fess azure, three fleurs-de-lis or, UFFLET.

STAPLETON Ermine, a lion rampant azure, PICKERING.

STAPLETON Barry of six or and vert, (? azure) CONSTABLE.

STAPLETON Gules, two crosses formée or, each charged with a cross potent sable, between two flanches chequy argent, and azure, SHERINGTON.

On the upper part of the monument is a shield with the arms of Stapleton, quartering Fitzalan, enclosed within a Garter; and above, the crest of Stapleton, with the date, 1623.

The Parish Registers of Lacock, which commence in the year 1559, contain the following entries relating to the Baynard family:—

BAPTISMS.

1560.	Phillippe, sonne of Robert Baynard, ¹ y ^c	ix th of februarie.
1561.	Marie, daughter of Robert Baynard, gent.	xv th March.
1561.	Edmunde, sonne of Edward Baynard, esq.,	ij Januaryie.
1562.	Mary, daughter „ „ „ „	xviiij Januaryie.
1563.	Robert, sonne „ „ „ „	xxvj May.
1565.	Nicholas, „ „ „ „	xiiiij April.
1567.	John „ „ „ „	xxvj Januaryie.
1569.	Giles, „ „ „ „	xxj Januaryie.
1571.	Phillip, „ „ „ „	xxxj October.
1573.	Edward, „ „ „ „	xvij April.
1575.	Beniamine, „ „ „ „	xxij Februarie.
„	Anne, daughter „ „ „ „	viiij July.
1616.	Edward, sonne of Robert Baynard, Esq.,	xix August.
1621.	Mary, daughter of Sr Robert Baynard, K ^t	xxvij March.”

MARRIAGES.

1584.	Edward Perce, gent, and Marie, daughter of Edward Baynard, esq.	ij February.
1614.	Edward Reade, esq., ² and Anne Baynard,	xxviiiij April.
1635.	James Muntague, Esq. and Marie Baynard, daughter of Sr Robert Baynard, K ^t	xj November.”

¹ Afterwards of Silchester, Co. Hants. See Pedigree.

² Of Corsham.—see Pedigree. “*Robert Baynard of Lackhame, and Edw. Reade of Cossam, both of Wilts, Esquires, and Brethren in Law; at their joint Charge repaired with Masons work, barr’d with Iron, and glazed, the upper Window on the East part of the North Cross Ile [of Bath Abbey]. Their Arms are there.*”—*Antiquities of the Abbey Church of Bath.* 8vo. 1723.

LACKHAM.

ns and corrections.

John Bluet,
lts, Knight.

Hill

ANE, m. to William Temy f Rood Ashton, Esq.	Four c (names
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oger Blaake,
p. Wilts.

m. to John ughby, of rs Fiddle, orset.	CICELYM. to 1 Robert White. 2 Thos. Ering- ton, of Hert- fordshir.
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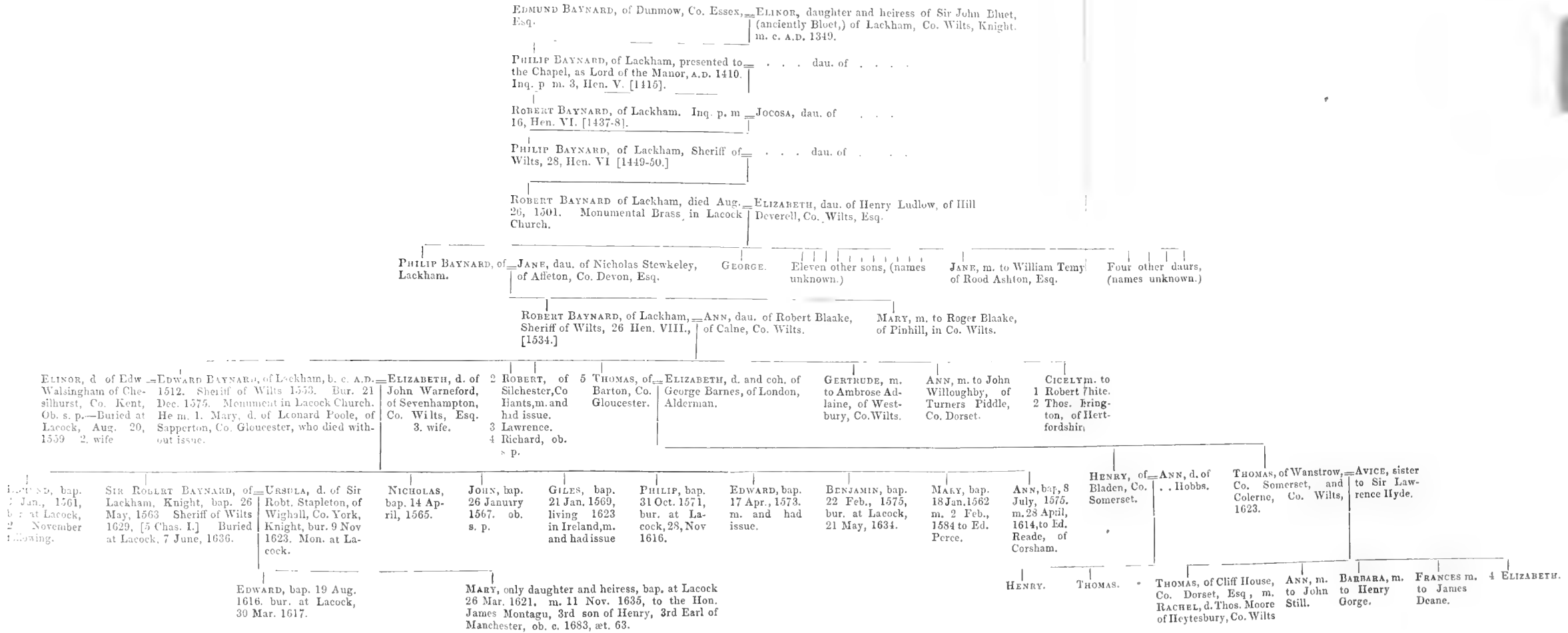
E 3 b 2 f c.	Y, bap. n. 1562	ANN, bap, 8 July, 1575.	HENRY, Bladen, C Somerset.
	to Ed. 1614, to Ed. Reade, of Corsham.		

HENRY.	THOMAS.
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PEDIGREE OF BAYNARD, OF LACKHAM.

From the "Wilts Visitation" of A.D. 1623, (Harl MS. 1443), with additions and corrections.



BURIALS.

- “ 1559. Elynor Baynard, xx August.
1561. Edmonde, sonne of Edward Baynard, Esq. xxvj November.
1575. Edward Baynard, Esquier, xxj December.
1616. Mr. Philip Baynard, xxviiij November.
1617. Edward, the sonne of Robert Baynard, Esq., xxx March.
1623. Ursula, the wife of Sr Robert Baynard, Knight, ix November.
1634. Beniamine Baynard, gent., xxj May.
1636. James Baynard,¹ iiii Januarie.
,, Sr Robert Baynard, Knight, vij June.”

Sir Michael Brickett, Chaplain to Edward Baynard, Esq., was buried at Lacock, on the 7th of May, A.D. 1565.

The Porch of Lacock Church,² which is a late “Perpendicular” addition, was doubtless erected by an individual of the Baynard family, as appears by a shield in the centre of the stone groining of the roof, which bears the arms of Bluet and Baynard quarterly.

The arms of Baynard are also to be seen, together with many others, on the roof of the Cloisters of Lacock Abbey, denoting, perhaps, in this instance also, a benefaction to the building.

¹ This name does not occur in the Pedigree.

² This Porch occupies a rare and curious position, being attached to the west front of a western tower, and quite unconnected with any other part of the Church.

EDWARD KITE.

Devizes, March, 1857.

Earls of Wiltshire.

By G. POULETT SCROPE, Esq., M.P.

IN the times preceding the Conquest, the Saxon dignity of 'Schireman,' or 'Ealdorman' corresponded to the Norman one of "Count," afterwards anglicised into Earl; both being rendered in the Latin of cotemporary Chroniclers by "Comes," and the 'Shire' or 'County' by "Comitatus." The Saxon Earl was in fact the ruler of the shire; who in peace presided, with the Bishop, in the shire-gemot and other Courts of Justice, and in war led the forces of the shire to battle.¹ He received, through his Deputy the "Vice-Comes" or Sheriff (*Shire-reeve*, collector of taxes in the shire) the whole or a portion of the profits, to the King's use or to his own. The best authorities are of opinion that for some time subsequent to the Conquest, the grant of an Earldom conferred the chieftainship and absolute command over the county.² But before long these large administrative and military powers appear to have been withdrawn, except in the case of the Counties Palatine. The chief civil and military authority within other counties was administered by the Sheriff, as the King's officer, not the Earl's. Whatever power the latter exercised was solely by reason of such territorial possessions (Baronies or Knight's services) as he might hold there; and the pecuniary profits of his Earldom consisted in the receipt of "the third penny" of all pleas levied in the county courts. This was his recognized legal perquisite, and paid over to him by the Sheriff. The investiture with the dignity of an Earl was accompanied from the earliest times by the girding on of the sword by the Sovereign

¹ Selden's letter to Vincent, prefixed to his *Discovery of Errors*.

² Dugdale *Preface to Baronage*.

himself in open Parliament, who declared it (the Earldom) "to be held thenceforward as freely by the sword, as he (the King) held England by the Crown." A detailed account of this ceremony on occasion of the Lord Henry Stafford being created Earl of Wiltshire by Henry VIII. in 1509, is still extant in a MS. in the Herald's College.¹

The Saxon Chroniclers make mention of but two noblemen holding the dignity of Ealdormen, or Earls of Wiltshire. The earliest of the two is WULSTAN or Weoxtan, who, in the year 800, the first of the reign of Egbert, and indeed on the very day of his accession to the throne of Wessex, valiantly resisted an invasion of the Mercians under Ethelmund, at Cynesmeresford.² The Chronicle asserts that the slaughter was tremendous, but "the Wiltshiremen were victorious." Earl Wolstan died shortly after of the wounds received in this battle, and his widow, Elburvey, (or Alburga), who was daughter (or more probably sister) of Egbert, thereon took the veil, and founded the Priory of Wilton, of which she became the first Prioress. The chronicle subsequently makes mention of one AETHELM, "*Comes Wiltunensis*," Ealdorman of Wiltshire, as having been employed to carry to Rome the alms-offerings of Alfred and the West Saxons in the year 888. He is also reported, in company with other leaders, to have gained a victory over the Danes at Buttington in 898, and to have died in the same year.³

Edward of Sarisburie is mentioned in Domesday as Sheriff ("Vice-Comes") of Wiltshire; and this office was certainly hereditary in his family together with the Earldom of Salisbury, being enjoyed by his grandson Patrick, and great-grandson William, whose daughter and heiress, Ela, conveyed both by marriage to her husband, William Longespee. But the dignity of EARL OF WILTSHIRE was for the first time after the Conquest created by Richard II, in the 21st year of his reign, (1397), when in open Parliament he conferred it upon his favourite William Le Scrope.

¹ It is printed in full by Mr. Courthope in his edition of Nicolas's Peerage.

² Quere Somerford Keynes on the Isis in the extreme north of the county?

³ Henry of Huntingdon states him to have been slain in a battle with the Danes at Port in Hampshire.

1397. I. SIR WILLIAM LE SCROPE, *first* EARL OF WILTSHIRE, was the eldest son of Richard, the first Lord Scrope of Bolton, Chancellor to Richard II., by Blanch De la Pole sister of Sir Michael De la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. From the depositions taken in the celebrated suit of his distinguished father with Sir Robert Grosvenor for the right to bear a particular coat of arms, we gather that he served with distinction in 1369 in a Crusade against the infidels in Lithuania, and again beyond Venice in the Army under Charles Duke of Duras, afterwards King of Naples; and subsequently in France in the years 1359 and 1363.

The military experience acquired in these foreign services, and the influence of his father and maternal uncle Sir Michael De la Pole, both holding the highest posts in the Government of Richard II. conduced doubtless to his appointment, in 1383, to the office of Seneschal, or Governor, of the Province of Aquitaine. In 1385 he was made Governor of the town and Castle of Cherbourg, and continued during five years to hold both these confidential and important posts. In 1392, while in Aquitaine, he was directed to conclude a treaty of Peace with the King and Queen of Castile, and was also commissioned to receive the homage of the Count of Armignac.

In 1393, Sir William Scrope, who had risen high in the confidence of his Sovereign, was employed about his person, first as Vice-Chamberlain, and in 1395, Lord Chamberlain of the household. In 1394, he was admitted into the Order of the Garter, on the decease of Sir Bryan Stapleton. In 1395, he was sent as one of the ambassadors to France to negotiate the King's marriage with the Princess Isabel; and on the 9th May was empowered to sign the treaty. In 1397 he was made Governor of the Castles of Beaumaris and Queenborough. Three years before, in 1394, he had obtained from the King the grant of the Castle, Town, and Barton of Marlborough, in Wiltshire. And in the preceding year, he had purchased from the Earl of Salisbury, the Sovereignty of the Isle of Man.

In 1397, on the occasion of the Cabal formed by the Duke of Gloucester, the King's uncle, against the Monarch and his

favorites, Sir William Scrope, who ranked high among the latter, took a leading part in the impeachment of the Duke, for which he is severely censured by Walsingham. It has always been difficult to unravel the true moral character of these transactions. Whatever it may have been, the fidelity and attachment of Lord Scrope to the person and interests of his Sovereign are unquestionable, and were rewarded by his elevation, at this period, to the dignity of EARL OF WILTSHIRE, and the grant of many of the estates forfeited by Gloucester's leading partisans. The chief of these, the Earl of Warwick, was committed to the custody of the Earl of Wiltshire and his brother, Sir Stephen Scrope, in his Island of Man.

In the following year, 1398, he was commissioned as one of the ambassadors to negotiate a treaty of peace with France. Being appointed Lord Treasurer, he remained in England to assist in the Council of the Duke of York, during the absence of the King in Ireland, and had likewise in conjunction with Sir John Bussy, Sir Henry Grene, and Sir William Bagot, the charge of protecting the young Queen Isabel, then placed for safety in Wallingford Castle.

The fall of his unhappy master necessarily involved that of the Earl of Wilts from his powerful eminence. Bolingbroke, whose star now rose in the ascendant, could not forgive the part he had taken in repealing the Patent reserving the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster to their owner during his exile. On the landing of Henry at Ravenspur, the Council of Regency, finding that they could not hold London owing to the King's unpopularity there, erected the Royal Standard at St. Albans, and collected there a large force. This army however, through the vacillations of the Duke of York, deserted the King's cause; whereupon Lord Scrope, with Bussy and Grene, fled westward, and took shelter in the Castle of Bristol. Henry, having secured the Metropolis, marched towards Wales, where King Richard had just landed from Ireland, and on his way laid siege to Bristol Castle. It surrendered after four days resistance, and the Earl of Wiltshire with his two companions, although their lives had been promised them in the conditions of capitulation, were beheaded immediately, without trial, on the 30th July, 1399. (*Chronicle of London*, p. 84.)

The high favour in which this nobleman was held by his Sovereign, his fidelity, and the melancholy fate which overtook him in the prime of life in consequence, are alike touched upon by Shakespeare in his historical drama of Richard II. He it is of whom Lord Roos is made to exclaim with indignation,

“The Earl of Wiltshire hath the Realm in farm,”¹

and whose execution with that of his companions, when announced by his brother, Sir Stephen Scrope,² is bewailed so pathetically by the beleaguered King in the celebrated passage,

“Of comfort no man speak ;

Let's talk of graves, of worms, of Epitaphs,” &c.

Richard's regard for the Earl was also manifested by his will, dated 7th April 1399, in which he bequeathed him two thousand marks and a gold cup of the value of £20, and appointed him one of his executors, a post Scrope did not live to fulfil. The Earldom of Wiltshire was, of course, forfeited together with all his estates, on his execution and subsequent attainder. The Rolls of Parliament describe an affecting scene as having occurred at Westminster, when the judgment pronounced against the Earl of Wilts was confirmed,

¹ *Act II, scene 1.* This was not a mere figure of speech. Shakespeare employs the same phrase in several other places ; as where Richard himself, in the last scene of the first Act, is made to say apologetically,

“And for our coffers are grown somewhat light,

We are enforced to *farm our Royal Realm.*”

and in the 1st scene of the 2nd Act, the dying Gaunt thus laments over the state of the island,

“This precious stone set in a silver sea,

This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,

Is now *leas'd out* (I die pronouncing it)

Like to a tenement or paltry farm.” &c.

Fabian's Chronicle states, “In this 22nd yeare of King Richard, the common fame ranne that the King had letten to farm the realme unto Sir William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Busbey, Sir John Bagot, and Sir Henry Grene, Kts.” And Lord Treasurer Burleigh in a formal harangue made before Queen Elizabeth in Council, in the year 1595, upon the expediency of appointing a Commission for the reform of abuses, a written copy of which was presented to the Queen, refers, as to a known and unquestionable fact, to “the perilous precedent of King Richard the Second, in letting the whole realm to farm to the Lord Scrope, his Treasurer.” *Strype Ann. iv. p. 329.*

² This Sir Stephen Scrope was at that time in right of his wife, Milicent, Lord of Castle Combe in Wiltshire, which still is held by his direct descendants.

on the 19th November, I. Henry IV. 1399. His venerable father, Lord Scrope, Richard's late Chancellor, rising from his seat, his eyes streaming with tears, while admitting the justice of the sentence, and deploring the conduct of his son, entreated that the proceedings might not affect the inheritance of his other children; a prayer which the politic King granted in gracious terms on the instant.¹

It does not appear that William Lord Scrope held any other territorial possessions in the county from which he took his title, than the Town and Castle of Marlborough, then however one of its chief strongholds. His two brothers, Roger and Stephen, having married two of the three coheiresses of Robert Lord Tibetot, were at the time in possession of two-thirds of the Barony of Castle Combe, and therefore of extensive fiefs within the county. And this may have been one of the reasons for the selection of Wiltshire as his Earldom.² He himself married Isabel, daughter of Sir Maurice Russell, of Dorsetshire, but had no issue by her.

The arms borne by Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, were, according to a Roll of arms compiled in the reign of Richard II., Quarterly 1st and 4th, the arms of the Isle of Man, with a label of three points argent; and 2nd and 4th, azure a bend or, (his family coat), with a label of three points gules. His crest was a plume of feathers azure, issuing from a coronet or, signifying the sovereignty of Man. His badge was a crab or, being the crest formerly borne by his family, and retained by the Masham branch, while that of Bolton kept the royal plume.

II. BUTLER, EARL OF WILTSHIRE. 1449.

Exactly half a century later, in the year 1449, this dignity was revived by Henry VI., in favour of Sir James Boteler, or Butler, Knight, son and heir apparent of James, fourth Earl of Ormond,

¹ Scrope and Grosvenor Roll.

² The Cathedral Church of Salisbury had the duty enjoined of prayers to be said and sung in it for the prosperity of the Earl of Wiltshire during his life, and the repose of his soul after death, by the will of John Waltham, Bishop of London, in requital for his best and most valuable vestment bequeathed on this condition to the said church.

in Ireland. Ormond then held the important office of Lord Deputy of Ireland, and stood high in the confidence of the Sovereign ; both he and his son being zealous partisans of the House of Lancaster. The former dying in 1452, the Earl of Wiltshire succeeded him as fifth Earl of Ormond. In 1454 he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and was appointed Lord Treasurer, and in the next year elected a Knight of the Garter. The Earl of Wiltshire was with the King in the battle of St. Albans, and fought on his behalf at Wakefield, Mortimer's Cross, and Towton. In the last conflict, which sealed the fate of the Lancastrians and established the supremacy of the House of York, he was taken prisoner, and immediately executed. By the general act of attainder passed in the same year (1461), against the late King and his principal adherents, all the estates of the Earl of Wiltshire were forfeited, and the Earldom became a second time *extinct*.

It does not appear from the evidence yet met with, that Butler Earl of Wiltshire, or any of his family, possessed property within the county. Through his first wife, Avicia, daughter and heir of Sir Richard Stafford, he had come into possession of large estates in the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, including the Isle of Lundy, but of none it is believed in Wilts;¹ and he had inherited through his mother, Joane, widow of Humphrey de Bohun, many manors in Essex, particularly that of Rochford, his chief seat in England, and which afterwards passed to the Boleyn family, to be noticed subsequently. The Arms borne by Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, were those of Ormond ; or, a chief indented azure.

III. STAFFORD, EARL OF WILTSHIRE. 1470.

A few years later the dignity of Earl of Wiltshire was conferred by Edward IV. upon Sir John Stafford, Knight, a grandson of Humphrey first Duke of Buckingham and sixth Earl of Stafford. This noble family had long been connected by property with the county. The elder branch represented by the Duke of Buckingham possessed the Manors of Knooke and Orcheston St. Mary, near

¹ Collect. Top. III. 265. Ralph Butler, Baron of Sudeley, was in 1470 Patron of Upton Lovel, near Warminster. But this was a different branch ; so also were the Butlers of Badminton who presented to the Church of Nettleton.

Heytesbury, those of Clatford, Wexcomb, and Ditchampton near Wilton, the Borough of Bedwin, the Hundred of Kinwardeston, and a Manor in Sutton-Mandeville in the Hundred of Dunworth. The bulk of these estates, forming a portion of the great fee of the Clares Earls of Gloucester and Hertford, had passed to the Staffords by marriage of Margaret Audeley, sole daughter and heiress of Hugh de Audeley, Earl of Gloucester, by his wife Margaret, coheir of Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester, to Ralph first Earl of Stafford, 21 Edward III. They were successively possessed by Hugh his son, and Thomas his grandson, Earls of Stafford, by Humphrey first Duke of Buckingham, and his grandson Henry second Duke, who was beheaded without trial at Salisbury, I. Richard III., 1483, and by Edward Duke of Buckingham his heir, on whose attainder the Manors escheated to the Crown, with the Dukedom and its dependent fees.

A junior branch of the family represented by Sir John Stafford, Knight, seventh son of Humphrey fifth Earl of Stafford and first Duke of Buckingham, became possessed of the important Wiltshire Manors of Warminster and Westbury, by his marriage with Constance, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Grene, of Drayton and Lowick, in Northamptonshire, who had inherited them from his mother, daughter and heir of Thomas Mauduit of Warminster. And it was the heir of this marriage, Sir John Stafford, who was created Earl of Wiltshire, by Edward IV. 5th January, 1470, probably with the view of attaching this branch of so wealthy and powerful a family to the fortunes of the House of York; the Staffords having long been adherents of that of Lancaster. He was moreover made a Knight of the Garter in 1471, but did not live long to enjoy his honors, his death taking place in 1473; when he was succeeded in the Earldom of Wilts, by 2. EDWARD STAFFORD, his son and heir, who dying in 1499, without issue, the Earldom again became EXTINCT. Edward Stafford, Earl of Wilts, was buried in the Church of Lowick, otherwise Luffwick, in the county of Northampton, where his monument still exists.¹ His will is to be seen in Sir Harris Nicolas's 'Testamenta Vetusta,' p. 437.

¹ It is engraved in "Gough's Sepulchral Monuments," vol ii, pl. cxxx. p. 339.

The Arms borne by the Staffords, Earls of Wilts, were, Quarterly, 1. France and England in a bordure argent; 2. Bohun, azure a bend argent cotised between six lions rampant or; 3. Bohun, azure on a bend argent, cottised or, between six lions rampant of the third, three mullets sable; 4. or, a chevron gules, with a crescent for difference.

IV. HENRY STAFFORD, EARL OF WILTSHIRE. 1509.

Very few years were allowed to elapse before the dignity was again revived in the person of Henry Stafford, younger son of Henry, second Duke of Buckingham and seventh Earl of Stafford, and cousin therefore of Edward the last Earl of Wiltshire. He was created Earl of Wiltshire by Henry VIII. on his accession to the throne in 1509. He had been elected a Knight of the Garter by Henry VII. in 1495. He married Muriel, sister and coheir of John Grey, Viscount Lisle, but died without issue in 1523; when the Earldom again became *extinct*.

His father, Henry, Duke of Buckingham, held as heir to Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, the following Manors in Wiltshire, Pool, Manyngford, Upavon, Nether-Avon, Farley Court, and Wokesey. But it does not appear that the Earl himself possessed any estates within the county. He bore the same Arms as the preceding Earls of the same family.

V. BOLEYN, EARL OF WILTSHIRE. 1529.

Within the brief space of six years the Earldom was once more revived by Henry VIII., in the person of his Treasurer of the Household, Sir Thomas Boleyn, (otherwise Bollen or Bullen), of Blickling, in Norfolk, Knight. This Nobleman being son and heir of Sir William Boleyn and Margaret his wife, daughter and coheir of Thomas Butler sixth Earl of Ormond, the brother and heir of James Butler Earl of Wiltshire, above mentioned, might be considered to have some hereditary claim to the dignity, He was created Viscount Rochford in 1525, from Rochford in Essex, which with other large estates in the same county, he had inherited from the Ormonds. Sir Thomas Boleyn was also allied to many others of the nobility. He had married Anne, daughter of Thomas

Howard, Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal; his grandfather, Sir Geoffry Boleyn, who was Lord Mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and coheirs of Lord Hastings. He was himself a person eminent as a scholar and philosopher, the friend of Erasmus, who at his desire wrote several tracts.¹ The ground of his high favour with Henry VIII. was, probably, his being the father of the lovely Anna, who from the moment of her appearance at Court as maid of honour to the unhappy Queen Catherine, had excited the passion of the British Sultan. Sir Thomas Boleyn was himself commissioned to proceed to Rome to obtain the sanction of the Pope to the annulling of the marriage with the Queen, (where it is said he exhibited Protestant tendencies by refusing to kiss the Pope's toe); and probably for his ready acquiescence in the views and wishes of his Royal Master was created by him EARL OF WILTSHIRE, and likewise Earl of Ormond in Ireland, December 8th, 1529. He had been elected Knight of the Garter in 1524; he died 1538, five years after the elevation of his daughter to share the Throne of the Tyrant, and two after her atrocious execution. Her brother George Boleyn Viscount Rochford, having been condemned at the same time, and beheaded shortly after her, the Earldom of Wiltshire became EXTINCT upon the death of his father.

It does not appear that he or his family at any time held any territorial property in the county. A cotemporary MS. document in the British Museum, gives the following description of the standard borne by him as Earl of Wilts in the gorgeous ceremonies of that time: "Per fess sable and gules, both semée of Stafford knots argent, differenced by a crescent gules. The device a swan (derived from the Bohuns) wings endorsed argent, ducally gorged and chained or. Motto, Humble et Loyall." Boleyn Earl of Wiltshire bore for Arms, Or, a chevron gules, between three bulls' heads sable.

VII. PAULETT'S EARES OF WILTSHIRE. 1550.

The next (and last) revival of this dignity was in the person of William Paulet first Baron St. John of Basing, created in the

¹ Strype. c. 6.

reign of Edward VI. Earl of Wiltshire, 19th January 1550, and Marquis of Winchester, 12th October 1551, in which latter dignity the Earldom of Wiltshire has been ever since, and is now merged.

Sir William Paulet, Powlett, or Poulett, Knight, was descended of an ancient family which for a long period were connected with the county by property. William Paulet second son of Sir John Paulet or Poulett, Knight, of Melcombe Paulet in the county of Somerset, had by marriage with Eleanor, sister and heir of Elias Delamere, Sheriff of Wilts in the 2nd year of Henry V., acquired the Manors of Fisherton Delamere, Longbridge Deverill, and other estates in Wiltshire; in which county the elder branch of the family already possessed extensive estates, by the marriage of Sir John Poulett of Goathurst with Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir John Reyney of Rowde and Sherston. Sir John Paulet, son and heir of this first mentioned marriage, died in 1470, leaving his son and heir Sir John Paulet, K.B., who married Alice, daughter of Sir William Paulett of Hinton St. George, Co. Somerset, and had issue,

SIR WILLIAM PAULET, KNIGHT, BORN CIRCA 1483.

The first notice we have of this eminent person is that he held the office of Comptroller of the Royal Household to Henry VIII. in 1533. At this time he must have been of mature age; and being but the younger son of a junior branch of his family, could only have risen so high in the favor of the Sovereign by the exercise of those qualities of sagacity and discretion which distinguished him throughout the latter part of his long career. Having early espoused the principle of the King's supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs, he was commissioned by Henry in the year above-mentioned, in conjunction with Lord Rochford the brother of Queen Anne, to attend the meeting of the Pope and the King of France in the South of France, at which the questions then pending between the Papal See and the King of England were to be discussed. A few years later, in 1539, he was in reward for his services created Baron St. John of Basing, a dignity to which he had something of an hereditary claim, through his great grandmother, Constance de

Poynings, daughter and eventually coheir of Sir Thomas de Poynings, Lord St. John, in the reign of Edward III. In 1544, he attended the King in his expedition to France and at the siege of Boulogne, and having for many years served in the high offices of Lord Treasurer, President of the Council, and Great Master of the Household, he received the last proof of the confidence of the Sovereign in the appointment to be one of his executors, to whom during the minority of the young Prince Edward VI., the Government of the Kingdom was to be entrusted.

In that capacity Lord St. John joined in 1547 in the election of the King's uncle the Earl of Hertford, (immediately created Duke of Somerset), as Lord Protector. But two years later, acting as Lord President, he took the lead in deposing the Duke from that station, and was by the Council of Regency appointed Treasurer in his stead. In the next year 1550, he was created EARL OF WILTSHIRE, and was made Master of the Wards and Liveries, as well as Lord Lieutenant of the County of Southampton in which his chief estates lay, and especially the ancient seat of the St. Johns, Basing, where the Lord Treasurer had erected a strong and stately mansion, reported by Camden to have been the most magnificent possessed at that time by any subject. In 1551, he was raised to the still higher dignity of Marquis of Winchester.

Under that title and exercising the office of High Steward, he presided at the trial of his former friend Somerset, and sentenced him to execution. He had the honour of sumptuously entertaining the young Sovereign both at Waltham and at Basing House in the same year.

It was generally said at the time that "this sagacious nobleman, and his friend the Duke of Northumberland (Warwick), together ruled the Court; he by his counsel and wit, the Duke by his stout courage and proudness of stomach."¹ His counsel appears to have been generally of that very prudent character, which keeps clear of danger by taking always to the strongest side, and is ready to

¹ Strype Index to Annals.

turn in the opposite direction so soon as perils are discerned ahead. Actuated by this characteristic discretion, Lord Winchester, as the intimate friend and ally of Northumberland, took part in his ambitious intrigues for raising his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane Grey to the throne, by virtue of the Patent obtained from the immature and expiring Prince, but stopped short when after the death of the King, he found that the attempt was likely to fail; signed the order to the Duke to lay down the arms levied in her name against Mary, and led the array of the Council of State to proclaim the latter as Queen in the city. As a natural result, he was retained by the new Sovereign in his office of Lord Treasurer. Indeed he soon obtained great influence over that Princess, which it is but justice to him to say, he appears to have wisely and honestly exercised. He persuaded the Queen to refuse to grant away any crown lands without his assent, and introduced much order and economy into the Exchequer, of which he had throughout her reign the control. He was elected by Mary to the Order of the Garter, and appointed her Lieutenant General of the Kingdom south of Trent.¹

On the death of Mary, (1558), he was still continued in the office of High Treasurer by her sister Elizabeth. In 1560, and again in 1569 he splendidly entertained the Queen and her Court at his mansion of Basing; on one of these occasions Elizabeth is reported to have playfully lamented his great age, (he must have been then near eighty), saying "By my troth, if my Lord Treasurer were but a young man I could find my heart to have him for a husband before any man in England." No doubt he would have made a very amiable and acquiescent one.

At length having served in the highest offices of State, (among the rest for more than thirty years as Lord Treasurer,) and sat in the Privy Councils of no less than five Sovereigns, Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, this venerable nobleman died at the advanced age of eighty-seven, at Basing, (where he was buried) on the 10th March, 1571. He lived it is

¹ Strype. Index to Anne.

said by Holingshed, to see the children of his children's children, to the number of one hundred and three descendants of his own blood. "A rare blessing" adds the Chronicle, "to men of his calling."

It is related that being asked by some one "how he had so safely and honourably passed through such tempestuous times, in which so many of all sorts had miscarried?" his reply was, "By being a willow, and not an oak." So long a career of uninterrupted prosperity and honourable employment in exalted positions was, indeed, in those times unexampled, and could only have been exhibited by a character such as he here gives himself, one that would yield always to the storm instead of attempting to oppose it. No doubt there is little of heroism, or even generosity in such a character. And the facility with which Lord Winchester acted in turn as the bosom friend and counsellor of both Somerset and Northumberland, and in due time, when their fortunes changed, not merely deserted, but took the lead in convicting and destroying them, exposes him to the suspicion of treachery and selfish cowardice. But such conduct was perhaps not incompatible with a desire to pursue the course most conducive to the public good. Public opinion at all events seems to have been generally favourable to him. He was the Ulysses of his day; crafty, but wise and prudent, no less in his country's interest than his own. He "feathered his own nest," no doubt, but was no Bird of Prey. He truckled to the truculent tyranny of his master Henry; but it was in fear and trembling that he executed those wrathful mandates—in many of which we must remember he was associated with Cranmer. Certainly a nobleman who could retain the confidence successively throughout the better part of half a century, of Henry VIII., Mary and Elizabeth, must have been a most loyal and submissive, if not a servile subject. Possibly we shall make the nearest approximation to his true character, if we designate him as the most thorough and accomplished "Courtier" which our history can produce. The motto he chose "Ayez Loyaute," expresses probably the feeling that really animated his career.

The Marquis of Winchester was an early supporter of the Reformation. He purchased, or otherwise obtained, Church lands of

the Crown. Among these were the Priory and Lands of Edington in Wilts, which were made over to him in 1549, (3. Edw. VI.) after the execution of Sir Thomas Seymour of Sudeley, the first grantee on the Dissolution.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Capel, Knight, and by her had four sons and four daughters. He was succeeded in his accumulated honours by his eldest son,

1572. John Paulet, 2nd EARL OF WILTSHIRE and Marquis of Winchester, who died shortly after his father, in 1576, and was succeeded by his son and heir,

1576. John Paulet, 3rd Marquis and Earl of Wiltshire, a poet and a man of letters. He died in 1598, and was succeeded by his son and heir,

1598. William Paulet, 4th Marquis and Earl of Wiltshire. This nobleman, like his great grandfather, but forty years later, namely, in 1601, had the honour of sumptuously entertaining Queen Elizabeth at Basing House, for a period of thirteen days, to the no slight impoverishment of the Marquis, who in fact says Stowe, was forced not long after, to sell his house in Austin Friars, London, in order to pay the debts incurred by his costly living at Basing House. Dying in 1628 he was succeeded by his son and heir,

1628. John Paulet, 5th Marquis and Earl, celebrated for his gallant and obstinate defence of Basing House, in the cause of King Charles against the Parliamentary forces. The siege lasted upwards of two years, from August 1643, to October 1645. The Journal of this siege was printed in Oxford in 1645, and is said by Granger to have been one of the most eventful episodes of the Civil War. The Marquis repeatedly declared that "Even if the King had no more ground in England than Basing House, he would maintain it for him to the uttermost." Colonel Gage relieved the garrison twice, but it was finally stormed by Cromwell in person, with the aid of treachery from within. The plunder taken is said to have amounted to £200,000. The house was burnt to the ground, and has not since been rebuilt. All that remains is a heap of

ruins within the very extensive garden walls. The gallant Marquis survived till 1674; but met with no recompense after the Restoration from his ungrateful Sovereign, for the enormous sacrifices his Loyalty had entailed on him. His epitaph in Englefield Church, where he was buried, was written by Dryden. He was succeeded in his honours and titles by his son and heir,

- 1674, Charles Paulet, 6th Marquis and Earl of Wiltshire. This nobleman was of so eccentric a character, that he was styled by Burnet, "The greatest riddle of the age." Granger, however, represents him to have "assumed the character of a madman, as the first Brutus did in the reign of Tarquin," in order to avoid compromising himself by taking that active part in public affairs which his rank and station would have required from him if capable of business, during the arbitrary and cruel reign of James II. He however, under this mask of incapacity, covertly exerted himself in abetting and in organizing the Revolution of 1688, by which that Monarch was driven from the Throne his bigotry and tyranny had justly forfeited; and for his eminent services on that occasion he was created Duke of Bolton in 1689. He in the same year raised a Regiment for the support of William of Orange in the reduction of Ireland. The Duke resided chiefly at Bolton Hall, near Bolton Castle in Yorkshire, from whence his title was derived. He had become possessed of this ancient inheritance of the Scropes, by marriage with Mary, one of the natural daughters of Emanuel, eleventh and last Lord Scrope of Bolton, and first Earl of Sunderland, who on his death in 1630 without legitimate issue, had entailed his vast estates on his natural children, a son who died unmarried, and four daughters, who ultimately inherited the whole between them. Dying in 1699, he was succeeded in all his honours by
1699. Charles Scrope Paulet, 2nd Duke of Bolton, seventh Marquis of Winchester and Earl of Wiltshire, Baron St. John of Basing. This nobleman assisted with his father in the great work of the Revolution, and was one of the persons

- appointed at Exeter, in 1688, to manage the resources of the Prince of Orange as Sovereign of England. He was constituted one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in 1697. In 1706 he was placed on a commission for settling the terms of the Union between Scotland and England. In 1714 he was elected Knight of the Garter, and three years later was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He died in 1722, at the age of 62, and was succeeded by his son and heir,
1722. Charles 3rd Duke, 8th Marquis and Earl. He like his father served in several high offices of State; but perhaps is better known as the nobleman who first raised an actress from the boards of the theatre to the high level of the Peerage, in the person of the celebrated Lavinia Beswick, alias Fenton, who as the Polly Peacham of Gay's *Beggars' Opera*, was then charming the world of fashion. She died Duchess of Bolton in 1760. The Duke himself died in 1754, without issue, when the estates and honours passed to his brother and heir,
1754. Harry Pawlet, 4th Duke, 9th Marquis and Earl, who had before his brother's death represented Southampton in five successive Parliaments. Dying in 1759, he was succeeded by his son and heir,
1759. Charles Paulet, 5th Duke, 10th Marquis and Earl, K.B., who died in 1765, without lawful issue. The honours and estates then devolved upon his brother and heir,
1765. Harry Paulet, 6th and last Duke of Bolton, eleventh Marquis and Earl, &c., an Admiral of the white. This nobleman died in 1794, leaving no male issue, and the Dukedom consequently became extinct.¹ But the Marquisate and Earldom reverted

¹ Bolton Castle, with a great part of the Duke's other estates, thereupon devolved, by virtue of an entail created by the preceding Duke, on Jane Mary his natural daughter, wife of Thomas Orde; who by Royal license assumed the name of Powlett, and, in October 1797, was created Baron Bolton, of Bolton Castle in the county of York. His Lordship died in 1807, and was succeeded by his son William Orde Powlett, 2nd Baron Bolton, and the present possessor of Bolton Castle and Bolton Hall. Thus, it is remarkable, that these large estates so long the property of the Scropes of Bolton, have not been alienated by grant or sale since the time of Edward III., but are still owned by the blood of the

to the next male heir, George Paulet, eighth and only surviving son of Norton Paulet, son and heir of Francis, eldest son of Lord Henry Pawlet, second son of William 4th Marquis of Winchester and Earl of Wiltshire. He died 22nd April 1800, and was succeeded by

1800. Charles Ingoldsby Burroughs Pawlett, son and heir, who died 29th November 1843, leaving as his successor in all honours his son and heir,

1843. John Paulet, present and 14th Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire, and Baron St. John of Basing, in the Peerage of England, Premier Marquis of England, Hereditary bearer of the Cap of Maintenance, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Southampton, and Colonel of the North Hants Militia.

The Arms borne by the Paulets, Earls of Wiltshire and Marquises of Winchester have always been the family coat, viz. : Sable, three swords in pile argent, pomels and hilts or; with which the Duke of Bolton quartered the arms of Scrope (azure a bend or,) within a bordure or. Crest,—a Mailed arm proper, holding a sword, same as in coat. Motto,—“*Ayez Loyaute.*”

Most of the estates in Wiltshire held from an early period by this branch of the Paulet family, were long since alienated. The Manor of Longbridge Deverill was sold by William, first Earl and Marquis, 14th Elizabeth, to William Mullens, from whom it passed to the Ludlows, owners of the adjoining Manor of Hill Deverill.¹

The Manor of Fisherton Delamere continued in the possession of the Earls of Wiltshire down to Henry eleventh Marquis and Earl, and sixth and last Duke of Bolton, who sold it, circa 1778, to Webb Seymour, Duke of Somerset.

Scropes; having twice during that period been transmitted through natural daughters to their present possessor. The Hampshire estates of Basing and Hackwood, inherited from the St. Johns, passed likewise to Lord Bolton, together with those in Yorkshire. The mansion at Hackwood contains numerous portraits of the successive Earls of Wiltshire and Marquises of Winchester of the Paulet blood.

¹ Hoare's Hundred of Heytesbury, p. 41.

On the Ornithology of Wilts.

No. 7.—STRIGIDÆ (*Owls*).

IF the *Eagle* enjoyed distinction as the favourite of Jove, and its plume was sought for by the North American Indian, and by the Highland chief in Scotland, as a mark of nobility: or if the *Hawk* was held sacred by the Turks and Egyptians, and had respect shown to it alive or dead, and is still found embalmed in the mummy pits on the borders of the Nile; not a whit behind hand is the *Owl* in honour, consecrated by the most learned nation of old to their tutelary Deity, the Goddess of Wisdom. And indeed there is a great deal in the appearance, character, and habits of this bird to warrant such a distinction: there is such a remarkably wise expression in its face, it has such a dignified look, its movements are so deliberate, grave and solemn, that we are ready to agree with the Athenians, and to set down the Owl as the very emblem and personification of learning. And yet again, when we examine the bird, and observe the large facial disk, or ruff of feathers encircling the face, giving it the most grotesque appearance; while peeping forth from this circular fringe and almost buried in it, projects the short strong hooked beak: when we observe the large staring eyes, glaring forth so solemnly from their ruff, and the head so large and apparently so out of proportion, the figure before us is at once so grave and so ludicrous, so dignified and so grotesque, that we are in doubt whether to put it down as a very wise or a very foolish bird. But apart from its appearance, very interesting is the whole family of owls, and well worthy of observation: plunderers though they are, and living by what they can murder, and that too not openly and by day, as the *Falconidæ*, but skulking along on noiseless wing, in the silence and darkness of night they are clever fellows too; aye, and noble withal, and

much to be respected; then how sagacious they are, and how much they know: to be sure if you look at one in broad daylight, when the sun dazzles and confounds him, he cuts but a sorry figure, but so would a man, were his powers of vision so keen and so sensitive; but observe him, when the shades of evening have fallen on the earth, how cunning, how thoughtful, how active he seems now, yet not restless or hurried in his movements, but deliberate and calm. All day long he will sit in his snug dark retreat, dozing away the hours of dazzling sunshine, to him so insupportable, snoring and dreaming as owls only can do; but no sooner has the sun gone down and twilight begun, than out comes the owl from its lurking place; gliding along in silence; hunting over the fields; dropping on a mouse, which any vision less keen would fail to discover; bearing it off to its nest; and returning again to its hunting ground; and thus ridding mankind of a vast number of this most destructive of little four-footed vermin. Now to enable the owls to effect this in the twilight, and even the dusk of night, they are furnished with several attributes peculiarly adapted to their requirements: thus their powers of sight and hearing are remarkably acute, as I have before observed; and in addition to this, their plumage is so soft and downy, and their wing feathers in particular so pliant, that in striking the air they offer the least possible opposition, and move along noiselessly, with a slow gentle and uniform motion; in which respect they differ widely from the flight of other birds, the flapping of whose wings may be heard, often at a considerable distance.

But though of such signal service to mankind, and though enjoying such a reputation for wisdom, the poor owl is not looked upon with a friendly eye; on the contrary it is now, and always has been regarded with superstitious feelings by the inhabitants of this, as well as other countries: without doubt, its habits of seclusion by day, its spectre-like and noiseless movements by night, and its solemn appearance are the principal cause of this popular error: then its frequent lurking place, the church tower; its haunts, the churchyard and the neighbouring meadows: its ghostly and silent flittings; its wild unearthly and dismal shriek, coming suddenly on

the belated peasant, combine to startle and terrify him into the belief that something ominous has occurred, and lead him to think that the owl bodes no good, and knows more than he ought, and portends calamity: and this idea is greatly strengthened by the strange pleasure which the bird seems to evince in singling out and hooting at the window of the sleepless and fever-racked invalid, a greeting ever dreaded as the unfailing forerunner of death, but which was only a scream of surprise, with which the bird testified its perception of the light burning in the sick man's room, and to which it was attracted from its hunting fields. Thus the ignorance of man has from time immemorial attributed evil to the owls, and caused them to be regarded with suspicion and superstitious horror, and consequently to be persecuted in every way; and was it not for their habit of keeping close to their hiding places during the day, and only emerging with the declining light, they would probably soon be exterminated from our island, without any regard to their real harmlessness, and the immense benefit they confer on man.

It is very rarely indeed that an owl is seen abroad when the sun is shining, but should one from any cause be driven or tempted from his retreat during the day, it is attacked on all sides, mobbed, persecuted, and pursued by a host of small birds, screaming and chattering, and scolding, who knowing its helplessness at such a time and seizing the opportunity, rejoice to take the common enemy at a disadvantage, and worry him with great gusto.

Like their diurnal brethren of prey, owls reproduce the indigestible parts of the animals they have swallowed, as fur, feathers, bones, &c., in large pellets or castings, many bushels of which may be seen at the foot of the hollow tree, or the bottom of the ruined ivy-covered tower, which they have selected for their abode. Like the hawks too they live in pairs; but rarely drink; carry off their prey in their feet, for which their sharp claws are well fitted; and, like the buzzards and harriers, beat their hunting grounds in regular order, near the surface of the earth. Indeed, if we look back to the family of falcons, we shall see in many respects a gradual approach to the owls in the genera last described, these

marks of similarity becoming more and more apparent as we advance: thus the buzzards, though essentially belonging to the Falconidæ, possess a heavy form, an indolent appearance, plumage soft in texture, downy and loose, flight easy and buoyant, but not swift, and (as the American Naturalist Wilson says), "they are often seen coursing over the surface of the meadows, long after sunset, many times in pairs;" in all these points they betoken a decided approach to the owls, which however becomes yet more marked in the intervening family of harriers, for in addition to all the above-named points of resemblance in flight, plumage, and appearance, these birds possess the form of beak, and the peculiar and distinct disk of close-set feathers, surrounding the face, for which the owls are so noted; add to this, that the skeletons of the harriers and the owls show a close affinity; as do their eggs; and in both the large aperture of the ear is conspicuous. Thus the two families of diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey, the falcons and the owls, approach one another by gradual and almost insensible steps, so smoothly, evenly, and easily does nature pass from one link to another in her great chain, so gentle are the transitions from one genus to another.

The family of owls may be divided into two groups, those which possess horns, and those which have smooth heads: these horns or ears are simply two tufts of feathers on the head, varying in length according to the species; which can be raised or depressed at the pleasure of the bird, according as it is actuated by sudden fear, rage, or excitement of any kind, or is slumbering in repose. There are six species which I am able to enumerate as belonging to this county; the first and last of which are very rare, and only occasional stragglers, the remaining four being sufficiently common: but the largest owl of all, the king of owls, the "Eagle Owl" as British Ornithologists style it, "*Bubo Maximus*," *Hibou Grand Duc*, I regret to say is not entitled to a place in our Wiltshire Catalogue. Of the six species which we possess, three are with, the remaining three without the above mentioned horns or tufts.

Scops eared Owl (*Scops Aldrovandi*), very rarely indeed does this beautiful little bird make its appearance in England, and then only

in the summer is a straggler occasionally seen, which has left the warmth of Italy, and the shores of the Mediterranean for our colder climate: its favourite haunts seem to be the hot countries near the equator, but every summer it is extremely common throughout Italy, and I found no difficulty in procuring a specimen at Genoa. It is described as a late-flying species, seldom leaving its retreat, till after the sun has gone down below the horizon: its cry is said to be a constant repetition of the word "kew," which becomes very monotonous and tiresome to the listener: the colour of its plumage is difficult to describe, each feather being mottled, speckled, barred and spotted, and pencilled with every shade of dark and pale brown and grey; and a remarkably pretty bird it is, and very diminutive, its total length being little more than seven inches: the head is furnished with two little tufts of feathers or ears, each tuft consisting of about seven feathers. Its principle food is insects of various kinds, but it will also occasionally prey on mice and other small animals. I have but one instance to record of its occurrence in Wiltshire, and that alas! is now destroyed, having been pulled to pieces by the grandchildren of its owner; it was killed about twenty years since in the south of the county. I may add, that several other instances of its occurrence in various parts of the county have reached me, but on examination, the species proves in all these cases to have been mistaken.

Long eared Owl (*Otus vulgaris*). Conspicuous amongst its congeners from its long tufts or horns, which measure nearly an inch and a half in length, this handsome species stands forth, as a very type of the family of owls, so complete is the ruff of feathers surrounding the face, so large the orifice of the ear, so buoyant its flight, so thoroughly nocturnal its habits: as in the species last described, nothing can exceed the beautiful pencilled markings of its plumage, the darker shades of brown contrasting with the more delicate tints of the same colour, and the whole blending together and harmonizing with indescribable beauty. It frequents thick plantations during the day, and breeds very early in the spring, in our large woods, preferring the deserted nest of another bird to the

trouble of building for itself; the young, if disturbed, are said to throw themselves on their backs, to hiss violently, to snap quickly with their hooked beaks, strike furiously with their sharp claws, and puff out their down like a turkey cock. Mice and moles constitute their favourite food, but in addition to this, Montagu says, that they will take small birds off their roost. The long eared owl is indigenous to Wilts, and though but sparingly distributed throughout the county, breeds here annually. Mr. Marsh possesses one killed at Gritnam wood, near him, in 1840, and has seen it in the neighbourhood of Salisbury. Mr. Hayward and Mr. Stratton have seen it at Lavington, and Mr. Elgar Sloper, of Devizes, kept one alive, which was taken from the nest at Aldbourne in 1853, where there had also been a nest of these birds the previous year. I have other instances of the occurrence of this owl at Erchfont, and other places.

Short eared Owl (*Otus brachyotos*). Far more numerous than the last, and well known to most sportsmen is this species, which arrives here in October, and leaves us again in spring: unlike its congener, the 'long eared', this owl never enters woods and plantations, or perches on a tree, but prefers the open common, the turnip field and the moor, amidst the long coarse grass of which it makes its nest. It will hunt readily by day, and this habit together with the smallness of its head, and its general appearance, have procured it the provincial name of the 'Hawk' Owl: it is also called the 'Woodcock' Owl, from its arrival and departure occurring simultaneously with that bird. It preys chiefly on mice, and has been known to congregate in considerable numbers, when an unusual abundance of that destructive little quadruped has threatened to ravage a district. It is a bold pugnacious bird, and when wounded will spring at its assailant with great fierceness, leaving unmistakable evidence of the sharpness of its bill and claws. Its horns consist of but four feathers in each, so very little longer than the rest of the plumage on the head, that after death they are difficult to discover: I believe that it is when in repose, and while undisturbed that this bird erects its tufts, and when startled or in fear depresses them, but there are conflicting opinions on the

point. This species occurs frequently throughout the country, and is so often roused by partridge shooters in turnips, and from the long grass by the side of ditches, that it is needless to particularize localities of its capture.

Barn Owl (*Strix flammea*). We now come to the smooth headed or hornless owls, unadorned with the feathery tufts which he have noticed as belonging to the foregoing species: first of these, and by far the most common of British owls is the species now under consideration, the 'Barn' or 'White' owl, which rejoices in a great many provincial names, as the 'Church' owl, the 'Hissing' owl, the 'Screech' owl, &c.; though called *white*, and having a white appearance generally, as it is seen emerging from the Church tower or barn, in either of which it loves to dwell, and hunting over the meadows on noiseless wing, yet when seen nearer, its plumage will be found to be more beautifully marked, and more delicately pencilled than that of almost any other bird: the under parts are pure white, here and there slightly speckled with faint yellow; but the upper plumage, which is of a remarkable softness in texture, is of a dark buff or light yellow colour, the tips of the feathers speckled and spotted with black, presenting a very pleasing appearance. The ruff in this species is very distinct, the mouth and gullet very wide, the ears extremely large, the wings very long and broad, and the flight very buoyant. It feeds principally on mice, of which it destroys an extraordinary quantity, and which it seizes and swallows at once, without any attempt to tear them in pieces with its claws; and is quite guiltless of touching poultry or pigeons, notwithstanding the prevailing opinion to the contrary, and the deeply rooted prejudice to the much maligned bird in consequence. It is probably to be found in every village in the county, though its nocturnal habits conduce to screen it from the vulgar gaze: during the day it reposes with closed eyes in the retreat it has selected, but as twilight comes on it issues forth in silence, making no perceptible noise as it strikes the air with its woolly wings, but ever and anon screeching out its note of joy and wild and startling notes, as it has done since the days of Ovid.

"Est illis strigibus nomen, sed nominis hujus
Causa quod horrendi stridere nocte solent."

the hard breathing or snoring generally attributed to them, seems to belong to the young birds alone, which give audible tokens of their somnolency as you approach their nursery. There is one remarkable habit in the nesting of this species related by Yarrell, Hewitson, and others, and of which Mr. Marsh was on one occasion an eye witness; viz., that it does not lay its full complement of eggs (usually four) in regular daily succession; but that after hatching two eggs, it will lay two more, the latter being hatched in due course by the warmth of their elder brethren; while a third laying often ensues, which becomes hatched as the preceding, the same nest thus containing at one time young birds in three separate stages of advance towards maturity; an admirable provision of nature as Hewitson remarks, whereby the old birds are enabled the more readily to supply the demands of their voracious progeny.

If Ulysses and Æneas are to be accounted especially fortunate in having their wanderings described by such able pens as those of Homer and Virgil, we may in like manner congratulate the 'Barn' owl, in having secured for itself the very able championship of Mr. Waterton, who has laboured most assiduously and with the power which he can so well wield, to defend this much injured harmless benefactor of mankind from the persecutions to which it is exposed at the hands of the wanton, the thoughtless, and the ignorant. Mr. Waterton has likewise induced this species to take up its abode in a place he has especially provided for its accommodation in a ruined ivy-covered retreat at Walton Hall, and here he delighted to watch its movements; and he declares he is amply repaid for the pains he has taken to protect and encourage it by the enormous quantity of mice which it destroys: from him we learn that when it has young, it will bring a mouse to the nest every twelve or fifteen minutes, and that above a bushel of pellets or castings was cleared out from its retreat within sixteen months of its occupation of it, each pellet containing the skeletons of from four to seven mice: he also discovered by constant and close attention to its habits, that it will occasionally catch fish by plunging into the water, and seizing its slippery victim in its claws. As a boy I possessed one of these owls, which I kept in an aviary for a considerable time, and

wishing to see its method of seizing a live bird, I one evening turned two sparrows into its apartment; of these it took no notice whatever, which apparent apathy on the part of my pet, I attributed to the brightness of the evening, but great was my astonishment on the following morning to find one sparrow roosting quietly in a corner, and the other, bold as he was and resolved to the letter to take the bull by the horns, snugly domiciled on the top of the owl's head, actually nestling in the soft long feathers there, while the owl, good easy bird, sat on its perch quite unconcerned, though fasting for thirty-six hours. Macgillivray affirms that it is only to be seen in the enclosed and wooded parts of the country, but I can speak from experience that it frequents no less the wilder and bleaker districts, abounding indeed in all places; and taking up its abode indiscriminately in towers, ruined buildings, ivy-covered and hollow trees.

Tawny Owl (*Syrnium stridula*), very plentiful throughout the county is this species, though not so often seen as the last, but perhaps this may arise from its more retired habits, as it loves the solitude of thick woods, and seldom leaves its lurking place till nightfall; it is more destructive than the 'Barn' owl, not always contenting itself with mice, rats, and moles, but sometimes preying on young rabbits and leverets as well: these birds are very clamorous at night, making the woods and meadows re-echo with their loud and melancholy hootings: Gilbert White declares that at such times their throats swell as big as a hen's egg; and Waterton says that neither in Europe nor America has he ever heard an owl utter sounds so much resembling the human voice as those which our 'Tawny' owl sends forth: that observant naturalist adds "were you to pronounce the letter O in a loud and very clear tone of voice, and then after a short pause, repeat the same letter in a drawling tremulous accent, you would have a tolerably just idea of the hooting of the Tawny Owl: it will some times produce a sharp cry, which sounds not unlike the word 'quo-ah,' both male and female utter this cry." This species occasionally adopts the deserted nest of another bird, but usually lays its eggs in a hollow tree, on the soft bed of its own pulverized castings: Hewitson says, that

like the Barn owl, it deposits its eggs at irregular intervals, the first being sat upon as soon as laid; the young of the same nest differ in consequence very considerably in size. It has been called the *Wood*, the *Ivy*, and the *Brown*, as well as the *Tawny Owl*.

Little Owl (*Noctua passerina*). Rare in England, but very numerous on the continent, especially in the warmer parts of it, is this diminutive species, scarcely larger than the blackbird; it is essentially nocturnal, being quite incapable of moving by daylight, but as night approaches, it becomes extremely active, and shows great dexterity in securing its prey, which consists of mice, beetles, and small birds. Rennie, in his edition of "White's Selborne" says, "I recollect seeing in Wiltshire the remains of a specimen of the rare Sparrow Owl, '*Strix passerina*,' nailed up to a barn door:" but more recently another was killed in the neighbourhood of Chippenham in 1838, and is now in Mr. Marsh's collection.

This closes the list of the owls, found in this county, and with the owls is concluded the account of the first division or *Order*, the Birds of Prey.

ALFRED CHARLES SMITH.

Yatesbury Rectory, Calne, March 3rd, 1857.

Kington St. Michael.

By the Rev. J. E. JACKSON.

THE original name of this Parish was simply Kington. Upon its connection with Glastonbury Abbey it was called Kington Monachorum or Moyne: sometimes, from a Priory of Nuns settled here, Kington Monialium or Minchin Kington (Minchin being Saxon for Nun); and finally (about A.D. 1280) from the Saint to whom the Parish Church was then newly dedicated, Kington St. Michael.

Including the two large Tythings of Easton Piers and Kington Langley, the Parish contains 3950 acres, about 1300 inhabitants, and 220 houses. Easton Piers is in the Hundred of Malmsbury; the rest in that of North Damerham.

It lies about three miles north of Chippenham, the turnpike road to Malmsbury passing between the two villages of Kington St. Michael and Kington Langley, about three quarters of a mile from each. Eastward of this road the soil is chiefly Oxford clay: westward, cornbrash and Forest marble. The adjoining parishes are, on the north, Leigh Delamere and Stanton St. Quintin: on the west, Yatton Kaynell, and Allington (in Chippenham Parish); on the east, Draycote Cerne; and on the south, Chippenham and Langley Burrell. There is a small outlying portion of Kington called Peckingel on the bank of the Avon, between Langley Burrell and the Tithertons: and it has also three or four pieces of detached land between Allington and "The Long Stone," on the Marshfield Road.

As the name denotes, it was anciently crown property. In the year 934 King Athelstan bestowed a large portion of it upon Atheline one of his officers by a Deed,¹ in substance as follows:

¹ Printed in the *New Monasticon*, vol. i., Glastonbury: p. 59. Is the name of this Saxon officer to be recognized in that of the contiguous hamlet of Allington: scil. Atheline-town?

“I, ATHELSTAN, King of the Anglians, raised by the hand of the Almighty to the throne of all Britain, freely give to my faithful servant Atheline a certain portion of land, to wit, 15 cassates (*farms*) in a place called by the natives At Kingtone; to hold it with all rights, &c., thereto belonging, free from the irksome yoke of bondage, so long as he lives, to leave the same for ever at his death to any heir he pleases. If any one (which God forbid) swollen with insolence, shall dare to infringe or curtail in any matter great or small this my writ of gift, let him know that at the last day of Judgment when the Archangel’s trumpet shall sound, he, together with the traitor Judas (called by the Sower’s holy seed, the Son of perdition), and with all impious unbelievers who deny that on the altar of the Cross Christ took away the sins of the world, shall perish everlastingly in fiery torment.

This grant is made in the year of our Lord 934, at the town of Buckingham.

+ ATHELSTAN, King, &c.

+ CONSTANTINE, Viceroy, and many others.”

A few years afterwards, Edmund the Elder, Athelstan’s brother, by Deed dated at Chippenham A.D. 940, gave to his officer Wilfric 30 holdings (*mansiunculas*) at Langley: which is presumed to mean Kington Langley.¹

MANOR UNDER GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

In the same reign (c. 941) the connexion of this manor with Glastonbury Abbey began by a donation of eight hides from the King, and of the 30 *mansiunculae* just mentioned, from Wilfric.²

In 987 the monks received a further and principal gift of 40 manses at Kington from Ethelred II., or the Unready, “to be by them held so long as the Catholic Faith should endure in England.”

It was probably as a fee for this alienation and in order to secure the estate to the Church that a devout Lady, one Elswith wife of a nobleman called Elphean, paid to the crown 40 *manuces*³ of gold.

¹ The Deed, naming the boundaries, is in the New Monast. I. p. 60.

² New Mon. I. p. 4.

³ From *manu-cusa*, coined with the hand.

For the same purpose she also purchased Merton in South Damerham.¹ King Ethelred's grant of Kington is witnessed by (the probable instigator to the gift) Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards Abbot of Glaston, and Oswald Archbishop of York. These donations were confirmed by the Popes, Lucius II. in 1144, and Alexander III. in 1168.²

From the Glastonbury charter and some other sources, a few notices of Kington have been gleaned, possibly interesting to local readers.

The only place under the name of Chintone in Wilts, mentioned in the Domesday survey, is an estate of no great extent then held by Ralph de Mortimer, a large owner in this neighbourhood. It had been held in the reign of the Confessor by one Alwin a Saxon, under the Church of Glastonbury. It is probable that the land alluded to was that afterwards given by the Mortimers to endow the Priory of Kington.³ The principal estate of the Abbey of Glastonbury seems in the Domesday survey to be described under the name of Langleghe.⁴

The wood called Haywood, then much larger than it is now, belonged at this time partly to the Abbey, partly to one William of Haywood (now a farm house adjoining): and between these proprietors many disputes took place, according to documents which John Aubrey has copied.⁵

In other documents it is mentioned that the Abbot of Stanley had 40 acres at the western side of the Parish: and the Abbot of Malmsbury 21 acres, given to his house by William Wayte of Chippenham, and Edith his wife: doing service for the same to the Abbot of Glastonbury as Lord of the Fee.⁶ Thomas Verdon was also a holder under the Church. The Prior and Convent of Monkton Farley (chief landowners in Allington) exchanged 22 acres near Fowleswyke Gate with the Abbot of Malmsbury.⁷

¹ New Mon. Glaston, No. C. and Sir R. C. Hoare's South Damerham, p. 3.

² Do. I. 37.

³ Wyndham's Domesday, p. 389.

⁴ Wyndham's Domesday, p. 109.

⁵ Collect. for N. Wilts, I. 102.

⁶ Malms. Chartulary, No. 218.

⁷ Do. (Jones's) B. Mus. p. 110.

A.D. 1171. The Glastonbury estate here was let to farm at £8. From the small quantity of stock upon it, 24 oxen, 11 heifers, 26 pigs and 250 sheep, it is evident that very little of the parish was then enclosed.

About the year 1200 a violent commotion took place amongst the monks of Glastonbury, in consequence of an attempt on the part of the Crown to unite that Abbey with the See of Wells. After a very long controversy, the matter was settled by the Pope's delegates, who decreed that though the two offices should remain distinct, a portion of the estates of the Abbey should be assigned to the Bishop of Wells. In this Kington was included. The controversy was revived on the succession of Bishop Jocelyn to the See of Wells, and was finally settled in 1218 by the restoration of Kington (with some others) to its former owners; but the Advowson was to remain with the Bishop.¹

A.D. 1235-53. After the recovery of the Manor, Glastonbury Abbey being then under the government of one of its best Abbots, Michael of Ambresbury, Kington partook of the benefits of his administration. A fresh adjustment of Tithe, deranged during the late dispute, gave satisfaction to the inhabitants: a new grange was built, the Church restored, and Abbot Michael gave money to found an obit for himself and a charity to the poor. The charity and obit have of course long disappeared, but the village still unconsciously retains a reminiscence of this benefactor in the name which it bears: having selected from the calendar for its renovated Church one that should be also complimentary to the renovator.

The Historian of the Abbey, Adam of Domerham, says that about this time it was much in debt; an unfortunate predicament to which the improvements at Kington had perhaps contributed. For purpose of relief Abbot Robert of Pederton leased the Manor to one Robert Pentone for his life. The name of the lessee, when quickly pronounced, so nearly resembles that of the lessor as to make the transaction likely to have been a little family affair; for which, confirmation by the Pope was necessary, and was granted by Pope Alexander in 1258.

¹ New Monast. I. p. 5.

In 1266 the King granted to the Abbot and his successors in their Manor of Kington a Market every week on Tuesday, and a Fair there every year for three days, viz. :—on the eve, on the day, and on the morrow of St. Michael. Also Free Warren in all his demesne lands of the Manor of “Kington,” so that no one should enter those lands to hunt therein, or to do ought which to the right of warren pertains, without the consent of the said Abbot or his successor, under a penalty of £10. Witnesses, William (Bitton) Bishop of Bath and Wells; and others. The grant is dated at Kenilworth, 6 Nov. 51 H. III.¹

In 1287 the Manor having again fallen into hand (probably by the expiration of Robert Pentone’s term for life above mentioned), the Abbot and Convent applied to their own use the produce of their grange at Kington. Besides the sum of £160 a year allowed out of their general rental for the uses of the kitchen, the cook was to take 20s. a year out of the Manor of Kington, to be divided between himself and the “Pittancer.” The total annual consumption of grain at the Abbey was 360 quarters of wheat, 338 of barley, and 920 of oats: of which quantity the bailiwick of Kington supplied during the six winter months 240 of wheat and barley and 50 of oats: during the summer 50 quarters of oats a week.

The Abbot of Glastonbury had certain jurisdiction and franchises throughout the scattered Hundred of which North Damerham forms a part. There was a chief Bailiff for the whole Hundred, to whom the Bailiff of North Damerham was responsible. These franchises were granted by charter of King Henry III.²: before which time the four parishes of Kington, Nettleton, Grittleton, and Christmalford (forming the principal part of North Damerham) seem to have been considered as in the Hundred of Chippenham. In 1321 Edmund Gascelyn, Lord of the Hundred of Chippenham formally by deed quitclaimed to the Abbot, all rights and profits of summons and distraint, &c., in these four parishes.

¹ Printed in *New Monast.* I. p. 45: also *Harl. Chart.* 58. J. 22. Many of these notices of Kington are to be found in *Bishop Tanner’s Collection*, *Bodl. Lib. Oxford*; marked T.T. 342.

² *Plac. de Q. W.* p. 802.

The deed was dated Feb. 2, 14 Edw. II.¹ The Abbot's Hundred Court was held at Kington: and Aubrey has preserved a letter of apology for non-attendance, from one John of Artherne, (47 Hen. III.)²

1517-8. From a fine MS. volume in the British Museum (Harl. MS. No. 3961) containing a Terrar of the Glastonbury Estates in the time of Abbot Beere, 1517, the following extracts are taken, relating to their property at Kington. After special perambulation and measurement it was stated on the faithful report of Richard Snell the Præpositus or steward, John Tanner, Wm. Neck, John Kington, H. Gingell of Langley, and others, that

“Richard Snell the Lord's farmer held the Manor House (*curia dominicalis*) and about 320 acres; thereof 20 were in Peckingell mead, 20 in Moreshall, 30 in Ruydon (*Riding*), paying to the Prioress of Kington as Rectress for certain feeding there 8s. 6d. per annum. Also 400 acres in Heywood. A common called Langley Heath, 310 acres, where the Lord and customary tenants intercommoned, with rights of common to Thomas Montague, John Gingell and their tenants in Langley.

“The Freeholders in Kington were John Saunders of Heywood, who held the land late Thos. Bolehide's (*now Bulidge*), paying a couple of geese yearly of the value of 8d.; Thomas Tropenell, and the Prioress of Kington. The Abbot of Malmsbury also held as of this Manor a house in Malmsbury, late William Hall's.

“Amongst the customary Tenants were Isabel Russell, widow, for Syddelyate, La Nayshe, Culverwell; Wm. Neck of Langley, for James's Cross; Robert Colchester, for Stanton's Dene (the hollow between Swinley and Stanton Park); Thos. Stockman, for Peckingham and some land lying beyond the Avon in Kayleway; John Bullock, for Peckingham and Pennicroft, paying 12d. to the Lord and 6d. to the Prior of Bradenstock, and having a bed of hay allowed him; John Kington, for Ellenstubb near Easton lane end; Walter Amyatt, for Friday, Bydellwell and Vernalles cross; Robert Bell, for Hintelthorn, and many others.

“The Guardians of the Chapel of St. Peter at Langley held for 90 years half an acre of land round the said Chapel paying 2d. a year. The inhabitants of Kington had common in Heywood from 3 May to Feb. 2. The Lord's farmer to pay 3s. 6d. to the Vicar of the Parish Church, though the Abbot disputed the payment and considered that the Prioress was liable. It was particularly to be observed about the common called Langley Heath, that the farmer of the Lord of Langley Burrell and the Rector there claimed rights of common utterly unknown to the Abbot: also that the same Lord of Langley Burrell claimed XII^d a year for a right of cad from Pekinghull Mead to the Abbot's land in Kington,

¹ Printed in Aubrey's Coll. for N. W. I. 110.

² Coll. for N. Wilts, I. p. 106.

by what title was unknown. And the Prioress had the right of erecting gallows within that part of the Manor where her lands and those of the Abbot were intermingled."

AFTER THE DISSOLUTION.

In 1536 (27 Hen. VIII.) on the attainder of Abbot Whiting, an enquiry was made into the value of the Manor by Richard Pollard and Thomas Moyle :

"It was found to be worth in rents, free and customary, £23 17s. 3d. The Demesne farm £3 7s. 8d., besides 28s. for the Fee of Richard Snell, Bailiff there. Other casualties including 53s. 8d. for sale of wood, £5 0s. 1½d. Fines of land 20s. There was a wood of 300 acres (Haywood) chiefly of scrubbed and lopped oaks worth to be sold £142. The Timber of great oaks £20. 25 men in the Manor ready to serve the King, and two Bondmen both body and goods at the King's pleasure." (*Val. Eccl.*)

1540. (32 Hen. VIII.) Whilst the Manor was in the hands of the Crown the following return (in the Augmentation Office) was made of its profits and outgoings, by Richard Snell the Lord's Farmer and Bailiff.

"*Freeholders* paying quit rents, John Saunders, 8d. for the price of 2 geese for a tenement at Haywood, late Bolhides. Thomas Tropenell, for land late Baring's 5s. 9½d. The late Abbey of Malmsbury's land 10 pence.

"*Customary Tenants.* Richard Snell, 67s. 8d. for the Demesne Court, viz. : The Hall, Chamber, Kitchen, Grange, Barton, Dovecot, and Croft on the north side of the Court: besides having to repair all the houses in Kington, and to provide meet hay for the horses of the steward and their officers there, as well for the holding of the Courts as for the good governance of the Lordship. 10s. from the Toll of the Fairs there holden this year on the Feast of St. Michael. Total £23 6s. 3½d.

"*Lifeholders.* 16 pence for the rent of all shrouded oaks and other trees growing on the Lord's common called "Langley heath," and 10s. for the Agistment of the cattle of the Lord's Tenants in the wood called Heywood. Also for fees at the Courts, Heriots, and Strays. Total income £32 15s. 2d.

"The outgoings in wages to the steward and King's officers at the Courts of Kington, Grittleton, &c., as well as for the good governance of the Lordship, 53s. 2d. The Manor house and "Pounfold" were also repaired at the King's expense."

The Manor then became the property of the family who had been for some years its stewards, viz. :

SNELL OF KINGTON.

This name is an old Wiltshire word signifying "*sharp.*" "Roger commonly called Snell" of Allington, near Chippenham, occurs in

the list of the Vicars of Malmesbury, in 1312.¹ By what peculiar display of dexterity the Vicar of Malmesbury had earned the *cognomen*, does not appear; but, if Aubrey's tale be true, it was one that fitted the Ex-bailiff of the Abbot's Manor of Kington exceedingly well. For he mentions a tradition as current at that time in the village, that the Bailiff, foreseeing the Fall of the Abbeyes, and as a necessary consequence, the termination of his own services, had followed the example of another unrighteous Steward on the eve of dismissal, by providing for himself at his Master's expense. He forgot (so the story went,) to settle with the Abbey for the latest arrears of rent, and poor Abbot Whiting having something else to think of than any balance there might be to his credit in his Bailiff's books, Snell used that money in buying the estate. The purchase was made in 1543, for £803 17s. 2¼d.

By Letters Patent dated 22 April, 35 Hen. VIII. (1543), the King granted to Nicholas Snell of Mychels Kyngton, gentleman, all the Manor of Kyngton with all rights, together with Haywood (220 acres), late part of the possessions of the Abbey of Glastonbury, to hold to him and his heirs for ever, paying yearly at Michaelmas £3. 8s. 4¼d. to the Crown, and an annual fee of 16s. 8d. to the Steward.²

The village would no doubt gladly cherish any malicious joke against their new landlord; first perhaps because he had been the Steward and was now the Squire, but chiefly because, for his own benefit, he deprived them of certain usages to which they had been accustomed. The Abbot's Park, or Demesne in hand, in which was a large carp-pond, or rather several ponds in train, lay west of the Church and Court-house, "extending round to the ditch in a close called Ryding, north of the said house." This seems to have included the present Lodge farm, Haywood farm, and about 40

¹ Wilts Instit.

² See orig. grant, 35 Hen. VIII., Roll 121, part 3. In the Chapter House Fines, and in Harl. MS 760, p. 29, Sir Edward Darell is mentioned as having died in 1519 seized of the Manor of Kington St. Michael, leaving William his son and heir. Possibly this may refer to some other part of the Parish. The Abbot's estate certainly belonged at that time to the Snells.

acres now Captain Clutterbuck's. The feeding was common to the Abbey tenants, and they also had certain parcels of land in the Westfield then unenclosed, between Kington and Draycote. The new owner wishing to enlarge his prospect and grounds shut them out of the Park and took away their Westfield allotments. "So," says Aubrey, "heretofore they had been able to keep a whole plough, but since, having only work enough for half a plough, they lived poorly and needily:" and probably wished the Abbot back again.

The first of this Kington family of Snell came from Biddestone, having married a Keynell, of an ancient house from which Yatton takes its name. After the step from Steward to Landlord, they were returned to Parliament, married well, and were Knighted. Nicholas the purchaser, was Sheriff of Wilts 1565: M.P. for Chippenham 1555, for the County 1557, and for Malmsbury 1570. He rebuilt the Court-house at Kington, which still remains, in a decayed condition, but presenting at the back (which was formerly the front) some architectural features not without elegance, in the Italian style then newly in fashion. Over the entrance on a stone shield is a cross flory, the arms of his family.¹ His grandson Sir Thomas Snell married a daughter of Sir Robert Long of Draycote. He was in the Navy, "a good astrologer," says Aubrey emphatically, "and a Captain in the Iceland voyage." He died 1612. His only son and successor Sir Charles Snell was one of the early associates of Sir Walter Raleigh: but on what sort of footing, and for what particular object, (not very creditable to so eminent a name,) we are informed by the same authority. "Sir Walter's companions in his youth were boisterous blades, but generally those

¹ The House is now the property of Mr. Coleman. The west front is surmounted by a very large carving in stone six foot high, representing birds eating out of a basket on a human head. Perhaps an allusion to the dream of Pharaoh's butler, (Gen. xl. 17.) previous to his "head being lifted up from off him," and applicable here to the then recent and similar fate of Mr. Snell's predecessor and late master, Abbot Whiting. It was at this house Aubrey saw one of his wonders. "Having spoken of mists it brings to my recollection that in December, 1653. being at night in the Court of Sir Charles Snell's house at Kington St. Michael, there being a very thick mist, we saw our shadow on the fog, as on a wall, by the light of the lanterns, about 30 or 40 foot distance or more." *Nat. Hist. of Wilts*, p. 15.



SNELL OF KINGTON ST. MICHAEL.

Arms, Quarterly gules and azure, over all a cross floy or.

WILLIAM SNELL=FLORENCE d. and coh. of
of Biddeston, Co. Wm. Kennell of Bid-
Wilts. deston.

RICHARD SNELL=JOAN, da. of Nicholas
of Kington, Reeve Marsh of Easton, Wilts.
to the Abbot of
Glaston.

3 ANNE=NICHOLAS SNELL of Kington, =1. ALICE d. of George Pyc=2. MARY d. of FRIDESWIDE
bur. at K. 1573 Esq., M.P., Sheriff 1565. of Oxford. *Arm*, Sable Wm. Cleveland =Thos. Barksdale.
Buried there 1577. Purchased 3 escallops or. d. 1569. of Keevil, Wilts.
Kington.

2. SUSANNA=JOHN SNELL=KATHARINE THOMAS SNELL=ELIZABETH EDMUND LONG of=SUSAN re- JOAN, wife of EDITH, wife CICELY, GYLE
bur. 1570. of Kington, dau. of John of Lockswell, d. of John Titheron, Kel- married Hugh Wm. Cleveland =Thos. Barksdale.
Esq. Buried 1587. Warneford of Sevenhampton nr. Chip. Bur. at Chip. 1607. Stone, Glo. loways son of Barret, of Ti- therton Luc- cas, (Wilts, Vis. 1623.) of Edmund Stokes of Bol- den. of Richard Kington, of Cors- ham.

SIR THOMAS=ANNE dau. of HENRY. MARY, mar. at Kington ELIZABETH AGNES mar. RICHARD, =JUDITH d. of EDWARD =MARGARET
SNELL Kt., Sir Robert Long 1582, to John Berkeley married at at Kington, f Locks- Wm. Bayliffe of Fox- d. of Rich.
of Kington, of Draycote and Wraxhall, liv- Their son Maurice mar. at K. 1614, Barbara d. 1593. at King- Worsley, Esq., 1596. ell, bur. of Monkton, ham 1623
ur. 1612. ing 1610. at K. 1614, Barbara d. Young, Worsley, Esq., 1596. t Chipp. Bur. at Chip. of Potterne
ur. 1612. ing 1610. at K. 1614, Barbara d. Young, Worsley, Esq., 1596. t Chipp. Bur. at Chip. of Potterne
ur. 1612. ing 1610. at K. 1614, Barbara d. Young, Worsley, Esq., 1596. t Chipp. Bur. at Chip. of Potterne

1. CHARLES SNELL, HENRY =PENELOPE, old- CHARLES=BARBARA, 2nd NICHOLAS GASTELL=MARY, 3rd sister SUSAN, JOHN SNELL s. and h.=KATHERINE ANNE. THOS.=ELIZ. d.
of Kington, born NEWMAN est sister and STOKES. sister and coh. Gent., bur. at K. ing. and coh. sister d. unm. of Alderholt, Co. Dors. d. of Philip of Robt.
90, d. unmar. bur of King- died in her brother's life- 1662, æt. 84. 1588, bur. at K. 1661, æt 74, M.L. and of Box, Wilts, Pleydell, of Co. Glouc. of Stratton
K. 25 Nov. 1651. ton. her brother's lifetime. time. time. proved 1662. MARGARET.

that had wit, except otherwise upon designe to gett them engaged for him: as for instance Sir Charles Snell of Kington St. Michael, in North Wilts, my good neighbour, an honest young gentleman, but kept a perpetual sott. Sir W. engaged him to build a ship (The Angel Gabriel) for the designe for Guiana, w^h cost him the Manor of Yatton Keynell, the Farme at Easton Piers, Thornhill and the Church Lease of Bps. Canning, w^h ship upon Sir Walter's attainder was forfeited."¹ Sir Charles was further "famous for having till the Civil Wars as good hounds for the hare as any were in England for handsomeness and mouth (deep-mouthed) and goodness, and suited one another admirably well."² He was the last male owner and died unmarried and intestate in 1651. Upon his death the Manor of Kington descended to his three sisters and heirs-at-law, or their representatives. A partition was made in 1656. The three sisters were Mrs. Penelope Newman, Mrs. Barbara Stokes, and Mrs. N. Gastrell.

The eldest, Penelope, having died in her brother's lifetime, the representatives claiming her third at the partition, were the families of Sadler, Coleman, and Edward Stokes. The Sadler's share, lying at Allington and Peckingell, is now the property of their descendant the Rev. Isaac Sadler Gale. Mr. Walter Coleman of Langley, inherits his ancestor's portion.

The second sister Barbara, wife of Charles Stokes, also died in her brother Sir Charles's lifetime. In 1679 this undivided one third was sold by her grandson John Stokes for £5500, to the Trustees of the marriage of John Lawford, Esq., of Stapleton, Co. Glouc., and his wife Jane, daughter of Sir William Duckett. In 1713 it was again sold, to Mr. Ayliffe White, of a family formerly of Langley Burrell and Grittleton. His grandson (of the same names,) dying in 1826, his estate was purchased by Mr. R. H. Gaby, Mr. N. Atherton, and Mr. W. Whitworth. Mr. Atherton's house and lands were again sold (1856) to Captain Hugh Clutterbuck, second son of the late Thomas Clutterbuck of Hardenhuish, who now resides at Kington. The Lodge farm, late Mr. Whitworth's, has

¹ *Lives of Eminent Men*, II. 514.

² *N. H. of Wilts*, p. 60.

descended (1857) to his son-in-law, William Peel, Esq., of Swindon Lodge, near Manchester.

The youngest of Sir Charles Snell's sisters, Mary the wife of Nicholas Gastrell, was living at the time of the partition in 1656. Her third share descended entire to her great grandson Jonathan Power, Esq., of Kington St. Michael, who died unmarried in 1748. Mr. Power's estate was apportioned under an Act of Parliament in 1783 amongst his four sisters. Haywood farm, the share of his eldest sister Margaret (wife of Wm. Clifford), is now the property of her descendants the Misses Mascall of Allington. The share of his second sister Elizabeth, Mrs. Gilpin, has since passed into various hands. The share of his third sister Rebecca wife of John Knott, was purchased by the late Joseph Neeld Esq., of Grittleton. And that of the fourth sister, Mrs. Sarah Coleman, including the old Grange or Manor House north of the Church, now forms a further part of the property of Mr. Walter Coleman of Kington Langley.

All the above were included in the estate formerly belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. The House in which Captain Clutterbuck lives is said by a doubtful tradition to have been a summer residence of the Abbot: and the hill near it, south of the Church, is still called "the Tor Hill," after the more celebrated one of that name at Glastonbury.

SWINLEY. (Swine-lea.)

Is a Farm on the N.E. side of the parish, divided from Stanton St. Quintin's by a grassy hollow called Stanton Dene, along which runs the boundary brook. It was held under Glastonbury by the Fitzurse family. A William Westbury, Hen. VI., had land here as also at a neighbouring farm called Whitman's (now Whitelands). Some Estcourts "of Swinley" were buried in Kington Church, 1706. The property was purchased by the late Mr. Neeld of Grittleton.

MORESHALL.

A smaller farm than the last, between Swinley and Leigh Delamere: probably takes its name from some ancient owner. An

Alice *More* was Prioress of Kington in 1431. Aubrey says it belonged to Kington Priory, but in the Schedule of the Estates of that House, only a field or two appear under this name. In 1700 it belonged to a Mr. Chapman; and in 1856 it was bought from the family of Burt by the late Mr. Neeld.

LANGLEY, OTHERWISE KINGTON LANGLEY.

This hamlet is scattered over the high ground which forms the south east side of the Parish, and is traversed by 30 acres of common forming a pretty village green, skirted by farms, cottages, and gardens, and commanding an extensive view. The name of the Parish is prefixed to that of the hamlet, in order to distinguish it from Langley Burrell adjacent. Sometimes, for the same reason, it was called North Langley.

It has been already stated (p. 37,) that 30 households with their land were given here by the Anglo-Saxon King Edmund the Elder, to his officer Wilfric, about A.D. 940. The grant, which is a fair specimen of the style used in old monastic charters, (or at least in documents pretending to be such,) runs thus in translation:—

“† O Cross! that rulest over all Olympus, glorious foundation of the Throne of CHRIST our Lord, my Alpha and Omega, bless with thy mark the beginning, middle, and end of this writing. More brilliant than the stars and holier than all other gifts in the sight of CHRIST, thou hast endowed with largest privileges the Royal House of Edmund King of the Anglo-Saxons. This, Wilfric enriched by Sovereign bounty, is able to proclaim with truth, so that by the characters of this writing to all it may be made known:—viz., that the said King, under favour of GOD, in the nine hundred and fortieth year since the Virgin Mother presented her Divine progeny to the world waiting for the Holy Spirit, and in the second year of his reign, endows the said Wilfric with 30 tenements at Langley to himself and his heirs. . . . Let all therefore now ponder the wise saying of a Christian writer, ‘Render O ye rich, unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the thing that are God’s. Do works of piety and justice and you set an example to the Catholic

Church.' Confirmed by King Edmund to Archbishop Wulfhelm at the well known place called Chippenham."

By this favourite, on whom Grittleton and Nettleton were also bestowed, Langley was transferred to Glastonbury Abbey.

LANGLEY FITZURSE, OR FITZURSE FARM.

Under the Abbey a portion of Langley was held at the Conquest by Urso, founder of the Fitzurse family, who also held under the same Lords, Clapcote in Grittleton, and Swinley above mentioned, by service and payment of scutage. In 1221 his descendant Jordan Fitzurse, tired of paying scutage, and wishing to make his estate independent of the Monks, resisted their claim, but finally submitted. Some Deeds (copied by Aubrey) refer to transactions between this family and the Abbey, touching certain mills and ponds; and now and then a quarrel with the neighbouring lord of Langley Burrell about boundaries and rights of feeding.

From whatever other amiable qualities the Fitzurse family may have derived its name, a good affection towards Churchmen clearly was not one of them, if it is true, as always has been stated, that Reginald of that ilk was one of the assassins of Thomas á Becket.

Their principal tenement here is still recognized in the name of Fitzurse farm, now an ordinary house on the north side of the village green, but formerly one of greater pretension. In Aubrey's time it was an ancient building with a great hall; and a moat, of which there are some traces.

In Edward VI. it had passed into the hands of Thomas Montagu, one the Abbot's tenants; and from his representative William Montagu, Esq., it was bought about 1580 by Sir Owen Hopton, Kt., of a Suffolk family, Lieutenant of the Tower.¹ It came to Sir Ralph Hopton of Witham Friary, Co. Som., created, for his loyalty to Charles I., Baron Hopton of Stratton, Co. Cornwall.² He died

¹ Proceedings in Chancery, vol. II., p. 18. in a suit by Wm. Montagu against Sir Thomas Tasburgh and others, to discover deeds relating to this property, which had been settled (by Thomas Montagu) on him and his brothers.

² Sir Ralph was nearly blinded by an explosion of gunpowder at Marshfield after the battle of Lansdown; and was carried to Chippenham and thence to Devizes.

in 1652 leaving no children; and his uncle Sir Arthur Hopton, on whom the Barony was entailed, having predeceased him, his (Sir Arthur's) four sisters became his coheiresses,¹ from whom, or from whose representatives, it was bought in the middle of the 17th century by Mr. Bampfield Sydenham. From him it descended to the late Mr. Sydenham Bailey, to whose children it now belongs.

The greater part of the Glastonbury lands in Langley, now belong to Mr. Walter Coleman, whose ancestor obtained them by marriage with one of the representatives of one of the three sisters of Sir Charles Snell, the grantee at the Dissolution; as already mentioned.

In 1765 an estate in Langley belonging to Mrs. Maynard, who then resided at the old Manor House in Kington, was purchased from her Trustees, Charles Viscount Maynard, Dr. Thomas [Bishop of Winchester], and the Rev. Wm. Butler, by Sir James Long of Draycot. This is now the property of Viscount Wellesley.

A property of the Gingells, customary tenants under the Abbey in 1273, was sold in 1664 (being then worth £100 a year) to Samuel Martin.

At the Dissolution a large part of Langley, called "The Heath," was unenclosed. It is named in Abbot Beere's Terrier, as measuring 310 acres: and was common both to the Abbey tenants and the owner of Fitzurse Farm.

ST. PETER'S CHAPEL, KINGTON LANGLEY.

This stood about the middle of the village, on the north side of the road: but had been converted into a dwelling before 1670. In Abbot Beere's Terrier (1517), it is stated that the wardens of St. Peter's Chapel at Langley, held of the Abbey for 90 years half an acre of ground, paying 2d. a year.

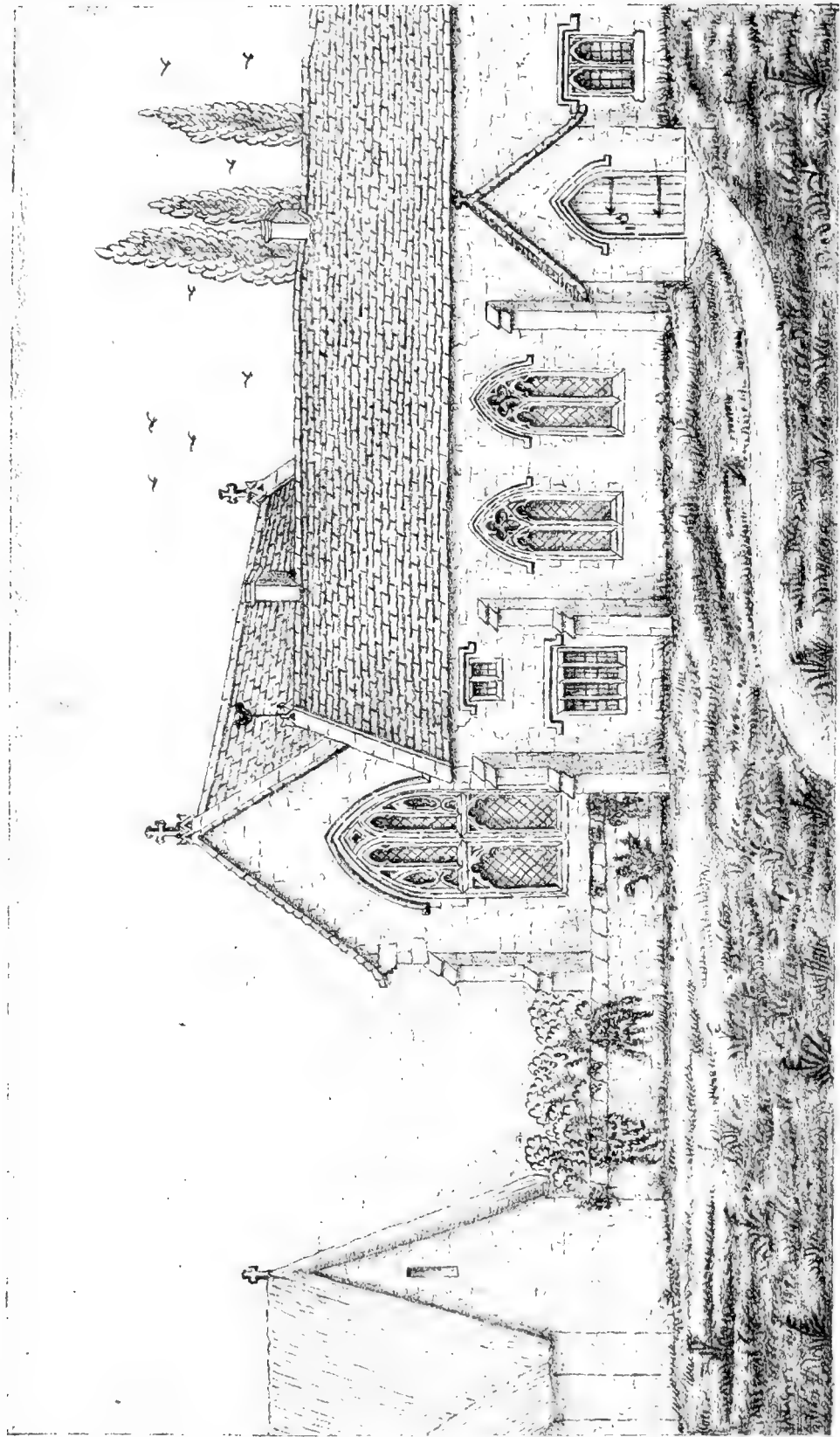
The village Revel used in old times to be kept on the Sunday following St. Peter's Day (29th June), and was, Aubrey says, "one of the eminentest Feasts in those parts. Old John Wastfield of Langley told him that he had been Peterman at St. Peter's Chapel in

¹ So the Peerage. But the Wilts Visitation, 1623, (see "Butler,") mentions Mary a daughter of Sir Arthur Hopton, and widow of — Gurney, of Co. Som., who married William Butler of Langley, son of Thomas Butler of Hanger, in Bremhill.

the beginning of Q. Elizabeth's reign." The "Peterman" seems to have been the person chosen by the parish at the festival of the Dedication of the Chapel, to collect money for charitable purposes. Such was the primitive custom at the yearly village feast, founded probably on a still more ancient precept: "Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared." [Nehem. viii. 10.] These rural meetings, when dissociated from the religious character, lost one element of respectability; and a Wake or Revel (from the French *reveiller*, to waken), signifying originally a vigil, or night-fast, observed before the day of Dedication, is now obliged to be defined in our dictionaries, as a feast with loose and noisy jollity. Sometimes it leads to worse, and in the year 1822 Kington Langley Revel was the occasion of, what Aubrey might have called, one of the eminentest *riots* in those parts. Some offence having been given to the villagers at the feast by a party of young men from Chippenham, several meetings were afterwards held for the purpose of planning revenge, and it was ultimately resolved that a grand attempt should be made on the 7th of September. Accordingly in the course of that evening about 30 or 40 men assembled at Chippenham, and about half-past 10 o'clock commenced their outrage by appearing in the street armed with bludgeons, and attacking all who came in their way; Mr. Joseph Hall, a saddler, was so severely bruised as to expire within a few hours. Mr. Reynolds, a brazier, died shortly afterwards. Constables were knocked down and beaten, and in short not less than thirty-one men, women, and children were more or less wounded.

The hamlet contains a population of about 600 and is a mile and a half from the Parish Church. This distance from Clerical superintendence and the wholesome discipline of Church and School, having been found to produce the usual ill effect of ignorance and irreligion, testified by numerous and increasing cases brought before magistrates and boards of guardians, as well as by Sabbath breaking and irregularities of various kinds, the attention of the neighbourhood was called to the subject in the year 1853. By the exertions of some gentlemen, and especially Mr. E. L.





ST. MARY'S PRIORY, KINGTON ST. MICHAEL, WILTS.

[RESTORED FROM A SKETCH TAKEN BY JOHN AUBREY, ABOUT A.D. 1660.]

Clutterbuck of Hardenhuish, subscriptions were raised, and a new Church, bearing in recognition of the old Chapel the name of St. Peter, was built, and consecrated by the late Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, on Thursday April 19th 1855. The site and £50 were given by Mr. Walter Coleman; £200 by the late Mr. Neeld of Grittleton; and the sums of £100 each by Mr. Clutterbuck, the late Rev. R. Ashe of Langley Burrell, Viscount Wellesley, and Mr. Sheppard. By further subscription a School has since been added, and a resident Curate is provided by the Vicar of Kington St. Michael's. Langley was sometimes called Langley Fearn (1513), or Langley Fernhill (1660).

ST. MARY'S PRIORY.

About three quarters of a mile north of Kington Church by the footpath leading to Leigh Delamere, in a pleasant open pasture-country, a very old farmhouse, with a heavily coped garden wall on the eastern side, is the present representative of Priory St. Mary's. It was a House of Benedictines, for a Prioress, Sub-Prioress, and eight or nine Nuns, reduced to four at the Dissolution. Bishop Tanner quotes an authority to prove that it existed before A.D. 1155,¹ but neither the exact year of foundation, nor name of the Founder, have been positively ascertained. It was attributed in Aubrey's time to the Empress Matilda, mother of King Henry II., the founder of the neighbouring Abbey of Stanley near Chippenham. This may have been the case; but the charters of St. Mary's Priory, in which her name does not occur, seem to point out another person, one Robert of Bryntone, or as he is also called, "Robert, son of Wayfer of Brintone." Whether projected or not by some previous benefactor, he at least was the first to set the House up ("*locum constituit*"), by a gift of Tithes (in Dorsetshire) for maintenance: and the Nuns held the site by sufferance until it was formally assured to them by another of the family, Adam Wayfer of Brintone. The gift was confirmed by Sir Hugh de Mortimer, whose family, as already stated, held an estate in this

¹ "Pardon, monialibus de Chinton."—Rot. Pip. 2 Hen. II., *Wiltshire*.

parish, of the Abbey of Glaston.¹ In the Martyrology of the Priory, a day was set apart for commemoration of "Adam de Wayfer and the Mortimers, who gave us all our land in Kington."²

Besides the land, they had also the Rectorial Tithe, and presented to the Vicarage. The Rectory originally belonged to Glastonbury Abbey, but under the arrangement before alluded to (p. 39,) it was transferred to the See of Bath and Wells, and then given to the Nuns by Robert Burnell, Bishop.

Their estate lay chiefly about the House; including more than now forms the Priory Farm. Amongst their outlying property were the granges of Studley near Calne, and Cadenham, with Tithes there and at Redmore, given by Alexander of Studley; the Rectory of Twerton, near Bath, by Wm. Malreward; a Manor at Great Somerford, (held by a chief rent under the Earl of Arundell at the Dissolution,) given by Richard de Heriet;³ land at Bradley, near Alton, Hants, by Petronilla Bluet; Tithes at Stures and Sanford, Lazarton and Stapleton, near Stourpayne, Dorset, by Wm. of Harptree and Roger Villiers; besides certain tenements at Malmsbury, Sherston Parva, Uffcot, Leigh Delamere, (where a small field adjoining the Rectory garden still bears the name of "The Minchery,") Calne,⁴ and Boyton, Co. Wilts; Cam and Dodington, Co. Gloucester. To stock their home farm, Wm. de Longespee, Earl of Sarum, gave them by will in 1225, 100 ewes and 6 cows. The coppice between the Nunnery and Easton Piers

¹ The Priory continued to pay a chief Rent to Glastonbury till the Dissolution. (*Val. Ecc.*)

² The Brimpton alluded to is in Berkshire, a few miles south of Reading. In one of the Priory Charters (No. 7), several places in that neighbourhood are named as of the estate of Mortimer, and at Brimpton itself the fourth part of a Fee held under Edmund de Mortimer belonged to these very Nuns, (I. p. M. IV. 87.) Though little is known of this family of Wayfer, still as they assumed the name of "Brintone" from their residence, it is clear that they were territorial clients there as here, of the great House of Mortimer. Their name is also met with in that capacity, in Salop. In later times a Roger Mortimer, who died 1336, married a daughter of Sir Robert de Wafre; and in A.D. 1349, a Richard Wayfer was Rector of Luckington, about six miles from Kington.

³ The Nuns had also some Tithe in Little Somerford.

⁴ For their land and Tithe there, they paid an acknowledgement of two pounds of wax per annum to the Churchwardens of Calne.

was given by the owner of that Manor, Sir John of Easton, to pray for the souls of himself and family.

Below this coppice, and beyond a rivulet south of the Priory, in a field called the Minchin meadow were their fishponds. And on the east side of the House was a large ground called the Nymph Hay,¹ where the Sisters with their young scholars used to take exercise. In his remarks upon Nunneries as places of education, Aubrey thus describes their appearance:—

“The young maids were brought up, (not at Hackney, Sarum Schools, &c., to learn pride and wantonness,) but at the Nunneries, where they had examples of piety and humility, modesty and obedience, to imitate and practice. Here they learned needlework, the art of confectionary, surgery, [anciently no apothecaries or surgeons: the gentlewomen did cure their poor neighbours: their hands are now too fine]; physic, writing, drawing, &c. Old Jacques, who lived where Charles Hadnam did, could see from his house the Nuns of the Priory of St. Mary’s, Kington, come forth into the Nymph-Hay with their rocks and wheels to spin, and with their sewing work. He would say that he hath told threescore and ten, but of Nuns there were not so many, but in all, with Lay-Sisters, as widows, old maids, and young girls, there might be such a number. This was a fine way of breeding up young women, who are led more by example than precept: and a good retirement for widows and grave single-women to a civil, virtuous, and holy life. In the old hedges belonging to the Priory were” (and still are) “a good number of Barberry trees, which t’is likely the Nuns used for confections. Their last priest² was Parson Whaddon,

¹ Now corrupted into “Empty.” Names, like the coin of the realm, suffer by currency; and every parish map is rich in riddles which it is by no means easy to solve. Such as “Izell’s” from *East-hills*, “Vanity-field” from *Walnut-tree-field*, “Marriage Park” (near Malmsbury,) from *Mauduit’s Park*, “Crawlboy’s wood” from an old Norman name *Croile-bois*. A copse on Bedwyn common planted whilst Lord Ailesbury was travelling in Sicily, and called, in order to mark its age, the “*Sicilian*” plantation, is now “Thistle-hand.”

² The Priory had a Priest to perform Divine Service from the time of its foundation, with a stipend of £5 6s. 8d., nearly equal to the whole Tithes of the Rectory £6 13s. 4d. (*see Vul. Eccl.*)

whose chamber is that on the right hand of the Porch with the old fashioned chimney.”

There is an engraving of the remains of the Nunnery in the *Gent. Mag.* 1803, p. 717. On the eastern side of it was a square Court, the north wing of which was a Chapel. This had a Norman doorway, but transomed windows.¹ It fell to decay soon after the Dissolution, but a few arches were standing in 1800. In the terraced garden freestone coffins have been occasionally found; and in one grave which, by the chalice discovered in it, had been that of a priest, a stone of the thickness of a grinding stone having in the centre a heart held between two hands.

The Editors of the *New Monasticon* had never met with any impression of the Seal of this Priory.

NAMES OF PRIORESSES OF ST. MARY'S, KINGTON,

Collected from Deeds, Registers, and the Book of Obits kept in the Nunnery.

A.D.

	ELEANOR	Mentioned in Aubrey's MSS.
c. 1280.	CLARICIA	Priory Charter, No. xi. (<i>see infra.</i>)
	. . . EDITH OF BRISTOW . .	Book of Obits, 26 Dec.
	. . . AMICE	Do. do. Nov. 10.
	. . . CHRISTINA CHARLTON .	Do. do. January 4.
	. . . CECILIA	Lambeth Reg. Reynolds.
1319.	JOAN DUREDENT . . .	Resigned 8 March, 1325. Obit kept 21 Mar. [Lamb. Reg. Reynolds.]
1326.	DIONYSIA "of Horsehill under Chobham, in Surrey."	A Nun of Bromhale, near Windsor; made Prioress by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lamb. Reg. Reynolds.
	. . . ISABEL HUSEE	Obit kept 27 March.
1349.	LUCIA PAAS	
1431.	ALICE MORE	Late Sub-Prioress, Obit kept 2 Ap.
1434.	JOAN DONYTON OR DYNGTON.	Obit 21 March.

¹ Aubrey has preserved the pattern of this window in his unpublished MS. called "*Chronologica Architectonica.*"

- . . . SUSANNA Obit 23 May.
 . . . ALICE HANKERTON . . . Do. 11 June.
 . . . CHRISTINA NYE . . . Died 1454. Obit kept 2 Dec.
 1454. ALICE LAWRENCE . . . Resigned 1492. Sarum Register.
 1492. KATHARINE MOLEYNS . . . A Professed Nun of Shaftesbury,
 elected 2 April. Sar. Reg.

The Names of the Nuns at Kington in the time of Katharine Moleyns, Prioress, were

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Joan Bristow. | Joan Hodges. | Agnes Burnell. |
| Alice Mershefeld. | Christina Westbourne. | Mulier Chynne. |
| Alice Lawrence. | Christina Woodland. | Alice Hawkins. |
1506. ALICE STAUNTON . . . A Nun of this house: appointed
 Prioress by the Bishop, by lapse.
 Audley Reg. Sarum.
1511. CICELY BODENHAM . . . Afterwards Abbess of Wilton.

About this time happened the abduction of a Prioress by a very troublesome clerk at Castle Combe, as related in Mr. Poulett Scrope's History of that parish, p. 297. Sir John Scrope (who died 1517) in a supplication to the Archbishop of Canterbury, sets forth at great length sundry grievances endured by him at the hands of *Sir Thomas Kelly*, curate under *Sir Ingeram Bedyll*, the Rector: amongst which "he prayeth to be recompensed for his wrongful trouble and vexation that he hath had by the menes of the said Thomas Kelley, that *robbed the poor Monastery of Kyngton, and carryed away the Prioress* of the same." Cicely Bodenham was of a family settled at Bodenham in the Hundred of Downton. In the stained Chancel window, given by herself to Kington Church, Aubrey says there was remaining in his time, the greater part of her Picture in her cope and robes.

1534. ELIZABETH PEDE . . . Val. Eccl.
 . . . MARY DENNIS

Of an old family at Pucklechurch. She was the last Prioress, and was pensioned with £5 a year. Aubrey's statement that "she died in Somerset within the memory of man," is corroborated by a note written on the fly-leaf of a Manuscript in Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford, [No. cexx. fol. 3. b.] "This boke was appertaining to

Marye Dennis sometyme Ladie Abbess of a certain Nunnery in Glostershyre [*read, Wiltshire*]: She dyed in Bristowe 1593, a good olde maide, verie vertuose and godlye: and is buried in the church of the Gauntes on the Grene.”

The Convent was subject to the authority of the Bishop of Sarum both as Diocesan and Visitor. Under his license they elected their own Prioress, and presented her to the Bishop. If any thing in the election was found to have been uncanonical, it was annulled, and the Bishop then nominated. If properly conducted, it was confirmed, a mandate was issued to the Archdeacon to install the new Prioress, and a formal declaration of submission by her and the Convent was duly made, signed, and sealed with the mark of the cross.¹ The Nuns did not like the visitation of the Bishop and his Officers; and were desirous of having for their Patron the Abbot of Glastonbury: he being the Head of the First House of *Regulars*, of the same Religious Order as themselves (Benedictine), and moreover their own Landlord in chief. A curious story is told in some Deeds in the Registry at Sarum,² of a bold attempt to dispense with the Bishop's right of superintendance, made by one of these Ladies, Dame Alice Lawrence, Prioress in 1454. She permitted a certain Irish Franciscan friar, whose name is lost, to forge a Latin document purporting to come from Rome, by which the Priory was released from the inspection of the Diocesan, and transferred to the care of the Abbot. Of course as soon as the Bishop's right was denied, he applied to Rome, and the fraud was discovered. Dame Alice was quietly admonished to send in her resignation: but as she was considered to have been the dupe of the Franciscan friar, her sentence was lenient, and she was allowed to continue in the House in the rank of a Nun.

The following is the substance of the Latin Deeds that relate to this transaction:—

1. THE FORGED DOCUMENT: *purporting to be a Rescript from Pope Innocent VIII., A.D. 1490, addressed to the Abbot of Glastonbury,*

¹ See “Audley” and “Mortivale” Registers.

² “Langton” Register.

transferring to him from the Bishop of Sarum, the rights of Visitor over Kington Nunnery.

“Innocent, &c., to our beloved son, the Abbot of St. Mary of Glastonbury of the Order of St. Benedict, in the Diocese of Wells, greeting :

“The circumspect anxiety of the Holy See is cheerfully directed to such measures as may usefully administer to the wants of Religious Persons. And to such as are most eminent for virtue and merit, it more particularly extends the favour of its protection.

“On behalf of our beloved Daughter Alice Lawrence, the Prioress, and of the Convent of St. Mary of Kington, of the Order of St. Benedict, in the Diocese of Sarum, a Petition lately sent to us sets forth, that, whereas it hath been the ancient custom for the Bishop of Sarum to visit that Monastery for the purpose of reforming manners and correcting vices ; his suite of horsemen and attendants upon those occasions is so great, that the means of the Monastery are unable to bear the expense thereby occasioned. That this hath happened, not once only, or in the regular course of the Visitation of the Diocese, but as often as he likes. That the Cells and other private apartments, appropriated to prayer and the use of the Nuns, are required for the accommodation of a number of secular attendants : and that the Bishop at pleasure supplies the Monastery with a chaplain of his own nomination, whensoever and whomsoever he may chuse.

“And whereas it has been further represented unto us, that, if the Convent is withdrawn from the visiting jurisdiction of the Bishop, and is placed under that of a Prelate Regular for the correction of faults and instruction in morals, the Prioress and Convent will be able to serve God more securely and quietly, and the frequent offences that arise out of its subjection to secular persons will in future be avoided :

“We therefore, desiring to entertain this application favourably, and exonerating the said Alice from all penalties, &c., &c., do hereby order, that you (the Abbot) summon the Parishioners of Kington and all others whom it may concern, and inquire diligently into the truth hereof. And if these allegations are founded on

truth, that you forbid, by our authority, all opposition on the part of the said Parishioners: and that you collate and assign unto the said Alice the Priory whereunto belongeth cure of Souls, the annual value whereof doth not exceed, as she declareth, 36 marks sterling: and that you do induct her into corporal possession thereof, and when inducted, protect her, in all her rights until her death.

“No previous grant or privileges to the contrary withstanding, whether made to the Priory, or the Bishop and Chapter of Sarum: as to election, &c., &c.

“And that the said scandals, occasioned by the superintendence of secular officers, may for the future be put an end to, we decree that the Convent be exempt from all Episcopal Jurisdiction whatsoever, and be forthwith subject to your’s.

“Likewise, we empower you once every three years, or more frequently, if desirable, to visit the said Monastery for the correction of morals; reforming whatever may seem to you to require reformation. And if our Reverend Brother the Bishop of Sarum shall again interfere with the same, let him know that he will incur the wrath of the Almighty, and of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

“Given at Rome 28th June, A.D. 1490, and the 6th of our Pontificate.”

The Bishop of Salisbury having apprized the Court of Rome of the Forgery, received the following instructions:—

2. *The Pope to the Bishop of Salisbury.*

“To our venerable Brother greeting. Whereas we have lately received a copy of certain Letters purporting to have been issued by us at the instance of Alice Lawrence, Prioress of Kington, and have carefully inspected the same: which Letters it is your desire should be recalled and pronounced to be, as they most palpably are, surreptitious: whereof a copy is now enclosed to you with these presents:

“We, being anxious to investigate the matter thoroughly as we are bound to do, bid you endeavour by every means to obtain possession of the original Letters themselves and send them to us, and also ascertain by whom the despatching of them was contrived,

with such other information as you can procure. Also that you compel any person detaining them, or otherwise offering impediment, to give them up and bear testimony to the Truth, under pain of Ecclesiastical censure. For which purpose, if need be, you will call in the aid of the Secular power.

“Given at St. Peter’s, Rome, under the Seal of the Fisherman, 27 July, 1491.”

3. *The Answer of Thomas Langton, Bishop of Salisbury, to the Pope.*

“Most Holy Father: After our humblest commendation and devout kisses of your Holiness’s blessed feet; I received your Letter enclosing the copy of the document purporting, &c., and conveying your Holiness’s orders. Whereupon I so proceeded against the Prioress and other suspected parties, as to obtain possession of the original document, which I herewith send to your Holiness. The name of the person who hath contrived this matter I have not been able to discover; excepting that he is said to be a certain Irish Friar, of the Order of St. Francis. But if I shall be able to discover where he is, whether in England or in Ireland, I promise my best exertions to arrest and detain him until I shall receive your Holiness’s further instructions. Our Lord whose Vicegerent upon earth you are, have your Holiness in his blessed keeping.

“Given at London, 10 Novemb., 1491, by your most devoted Son, Thomas Langton, Bp. of Sarum.”

4. *Alice Lawrence, the Prioress, being compelled to resign, the Bishop of Sarum appoints a new Prioress.*

“Thomas, by Divine permission, Bp. of Sarum, to our beloved Daughter the Lady Katharine Moleyns, Nun of the Monastery of Shaftesbury of the Order of St. Benedict, greeting. Whereas the Priory of Kington is vacant by the free resignation of Alice Lawrence; and the Sub-prioress and Convent have voluntarily solicited me, and conveyed to me as the Ordinary and Diocesan all their power in nomination of a successor; we, therefore, having heard of you a good report, &c., do elect you Prioress thereof, and by these presents depute to you in the Lord, the care and administra-

tion of all goods spiritual and temporal: reserving the rights and dignity of us and our Cathedral Church. In witness whereof we have affixed our Seal, at our Manor of Remmesbury, 9 April, 1492.”

Then follow two other Mandates, one to the Archdeacon of Wilts for installing the New Prioress; and the other to the Subprioress and Convent, to receive and obey her.

LIBER OBITUALIS.

THE BOOK OR KALENDAR OF OBITS OF KINGTON ST. MARY'S PRIORY.

Being a Register of Founders, Brethren,¹ Sisters, and others, Benefactors, whose names were appointed to be mentioned in the Prayers of the Convent upon the Days of their respective Deaths. Drawn out anew by KATHARINE MOLEYNS, Prioress there: in Lent 1493. (9 Hen. VII.)

(To the Obituary are prefixed copies of the following Formularies.)

I. “The ORDER to resseyve Brothers and Sisters and the suffrages of the Religious there.

II. “The ORDER to resseyve a Minchin there.”

(The above are too long for insertion. The next is translated from the Latin.)

III. “Commendations to prayer in the Conventual Chapter for Benefactors living or dead.”

“FOR THE LIVING.”

“I commend to you, amongst the living, the Chief Pontiff and all the Cardinals, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bp. of Sarum our Ordinary, the Bishop of Winton, the Abbot of Glaston, the Abbess of Shaftesbury, and all our Convent: specially them that labour and serve in our Church. Likewise the well being of all who give a helping hand to our Lord. Likewise” [A. B., the particular person whose Obit was kept].

¹ The Chaplain was the only “Brother” resident in the House: but it was the custom to pay to influential friends, lay as well as clerical, the compliment of making them Honorary Brethren: or, as the phrase ran, “admitting them into the Fraternity of the Convent.” See in the Book of Obits, under January 12.

² From the Manuscripts of John Moore, Bishop of Ely, purchased at his decease by King George I., presented by him to the University of Cambridge, and now in the Public Library there. A list of ancient and forgotten names is not perhaps in itself of much importance; but as a sample of a class of Monastical Records not often met with, a “Book of Obits” may not be wholly void of interest.

"FOR THE DEAD."

"I commend to you, amongst the deceased, the souls of the Bishops of Sarum: of Reginald, late Bishop of Bath," (Fitz Jocelyn, 1191.) "of Savaric," (1205.) "late Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, of Robert Burnell, late Bp. of Bath" (1292.) "of Adam son of Waifer of Kyngton, of Roger and Sir Hugh Mortimer: likewise the souls of all whose goods have been bestowed to the benefit of our House, and whose names are contained in the following Kalendar: likewise the souls of all the faithful deceased."

THE KALENDAR OF OBITS.

JANUARY.

- iv. For the soule of Christine Charleton, late Prioress of Kyngton.
- vii. For the soules of Adam sonne of Waifere of Kynton,¹ Roger Mortymer, and Sir Hugh Mortymer, that gave us all our lands in Kyngton.
- viii. For the soules of the Bps. of Saulesbury, our special Benefactors and Ordinaries.
- ix. — of Reynold Bp. of Bathe,² that gave us our Parsonage of Twyverton: and for the soules of Savary late Bp. of Bathe and Glaston: and of Jocelyn late Bp. of Bathe, that confirmed to us, by their writing, the same.
- x. — of Robt. Burnell late Bp. of Bath, that gave us an Acre of lande in Kyngton and the Parsonage there.
- xii. — of John Buttelar of Badminton magna,³ who was admitted into the Fraternity of this house.
- xiii. — of Maud Osprynge.
- xv. — of Maister Wm. Barker, late Parson of Sherston.
- xvii. — of William of Salford and of Edith his wife, and of John Clayfield.
- xxi. — of Mary, late Lady of Eston.⁴
- xxii. — of Geffrey of Bathe.
- xxvi. — of William of Abyngdon.

¹ The Founder of Kington Priory.

² Reginald Fitz Jocelyn, d. 1191. But in the Priory charter No. viii. Wm. Malreward is named as the donor of Twerton.

³ The Butlers were anciently owners of Badminton.

⁴ Easton Piers, contiguous to the Priory Estate.

FEBRUARY.

- v. — of Wm. Rowdon.¹
 vii. — of Sir John Delamere, Kt.² and Johan his wyfe.
 xii. — of Elys of Milborne.
 xvi. — of Clemence Husee, Minchin of Kyngton.
 xviii. — of Sare of Sellye.
 xix. — of Hawyse of Lobenam.
 xx. — of Rafe Blewet.
 xxiv. — of Wm. Eston.
 xxviii. — Joan Durdeyne, Mynchyn of Kyngton.

MARCH.

- i. For the Soules of Harry Hardyng.
 vii. — John, late Abbot of Malmsbury. — of Harry, late Monke of Bath. — of Agnes, Sub-prioress of Kynton.
 xii. — of Agnes Wellyshote: Mary Willys. — Agnes Wyngton, Minchen here.
 xiv. — of John Persay. — John Bradeley.
 xv. Memorandum: That the Altar in the Church of Kyngton was dedicated in honour of the Holy Mother of our Saviour, by Ralph [*meaning probably Robert*] Bp. of Sarum, on 15th March, A.D. 1435.
 xviii. For the Soul of Maister Rych of Abingdon. — and of Walter Herryss.
 xix. — Julian Byshop.
 xxi. — Joan Dyngton, late Prioress here.
 xxiii. — Mawde Nethelton. — Isabel Warrener.
 xxiv. — Peter de Eston. — Robert and Geffrey.
 xxv. — Sir John Mortimer, and Harry. John Baker³ of

¹ Probably Rowdon in Chippenham Parish.

² Of Leigh Delamere: living about A.D. 1290. He witnesses the Priory charter, No. xi.

³ In the Obituary at the foot of the page of "March," are the following entries:
 "In the days of Dam Kateryne Moleyns Prioress here, John Baker gave to this House at Minchyn Kyngton,

A Bone of St. Cristopher closed in cloth of gold, a noble Relyke.

Thys boke, for to be their Mortiloge.

A Boke of Seynts Lyves yn Englishe.

A Spruse Table and a Cubbord that be in their parlor.

Briggewater, and Joan his wife were admitted Brother and Sister of this house on Lady Day, A.D. 1498. (*see below, Jun. 27.*)

xxvii. — Isabell Husye, late Prioress of Kyngtone. — Rafe Melkesham.

xxviii. — Julyan Hayes: Symon of Overton: Thomas Mounte, Chanon of Wells.

xxx. — Henry Grafton.

APRIL.

i. For the Soules of Johan Ingram.

ii. — Alice More prioress of Kington: William Bradley and Margaret Montforde.

v. — William Beames.

vii. — Johan Malesyn.

x. — Johan Berleye: Agnes Browne.

xi. — Johan, Prioress of Kington, — of Sybil Dyxton: of Herry Beauforde (The Cardinal and Bp. of Wynchester) who died A.D. 1448.

xii. — John Rose, and Agnes his wife.

xiii. — Thomas Whittokesmede; of Roger Beverley, and Alice his Wyfe.

xx. — Jordan of Holdesweyl. — Thomas Bek.

xxiv. — Thomas Devant.

xxvi. — Charile of Bytton: of Vincent Farthyn.

MAY.

i. For the Soules of Maude Culham.

ii. — Cristyne Cogan.

iv. — Henry of Harnhull.

The mendyng and renewyng of an old Mas Boke of theirs.

A Fetherbed, a bolster, a Pylow, and 2 fair Coverlettes: The half of the money that was paid for the Ymage of Seynt Savyor standing upon the Auter for their quire. And for the Ymages of St. Mighel and St. Kateryne in St. James's Chapell. Also the Aulter Cloth of the Salutacyon of oure Lady, being in St. James's Chapell: and 3 yards of Canvass annexed thereto to lye upon the Auter. A Tester and a Seller (*i e, a celler or canopy, ciel de lit*) that hangeth over my Lady's Bed. A Grail. A fair Matyns Boke, with Dirige and many good Prayers. A dozen of round powter dishes with heires." (*cars?*)

- vii. — Dame Johan of Eston : Alianore Baverton.
- viii. — John Thornebyry.
- ix. — Alexander Stodeley.¹
- x. — Sir Robert Huys.
- xi. — Geffrey Scott and Isabell his wife.
- xiii. — Walter Frary (or Tracy).
- xiv. — John Bradeley.
- xxiii. — Susanne, Prioress of Kington. — Raynold Jacob.
- xxvii. — Agnes Walyngford.
- xxviii. — Moryce, Monk of Farlye.

JUNE.

- vii. For the Soules of Richard Comene.
- xi. — Thomas Knapp and Avice his wyfe. Also of Dame Alice Hankerton, Prioress of Kington.
- xiii. — Adam Milton.
- xvii. — Philippe of Sutton.
- xx. — Rafe of Eston.
- xxi. — John Milton and Alianor Barle.
- xxiv. — Dame Cristina Westbourne.
- xxvi. — Gilbert Derby.
- xxvii. — of Richard Elys Baker,² Joan his wife, Thomas Baker, and Johan his wyfe : John Baker, and Joan, Margaret and Joan, his wyves. John Vicary, and Agnes his wyfe. Richard Clopton, and Alice his wyfe. Maister Will. Baker, late Parson of Petworth in Sussex.
- xxix. — of John Zenar (?)

JULY.

- i. For the Souls of Alyce Original;³ and Johan Grafton.
- vii. — John le bon.
- viii. — Margery Combe. — Adam Wellishot.
- xiii. — Robert Helys.

¹ The Donor of Tithes, &c., at Studley, Cadenham, &c., see Charter x.

² An instance very rare at so early a period, of *two* Christian names.

³ So spelled in the MS. copy from which this is taken, in the writing of Mr. James Gilpin, Recorder of Oxford, and a native of Kington. The real name was perhaps Elias Orescueil, a benefactor. See Charter xiii.

- xvii. — Hawys of Abyngdon.
- xix. — Nicholas Dyraunt ?
- xx. — Thomas Martyn.
- xxiii. — Robert Russell and Margaret his wyf.
- xxvii. — John Byret ?

AUGUST.

- i. For the Soules of Martyn Wynterburne, Symon Fraunceys, and John Hawyse.
- viii. — Walter Boldry and Joan his wyfe.
- x. — Walter Charleton.
- xi. — John of Laverton.
- xii. — Agnes Milton.
- xiii. — Isabell Fryng, Robert Streffe and Alyce his wyfe, Mr. Wm. Streffe, Chanon of Sarum; of Crystine Joan, and Joan.
- xv. — Robert Turle; John Horton.
- xviii. — Wm. Apilforde and Sara his wyfe.
- xxij. — Gaffrey de Boys.
- xxiv. — Johan late wyfe of John Baker.
- xxvi. — Margaret Vyse: and Thomas her husband.
- xxxi. — John Heyway and Isabell his wyfe.

SEPTEMBER.

- i. For the Soules of Joan Overton.
- ii. — Jordan le Warre: Mr. Robt. Bluntesdon.
- iii. — Mary Excester: Wm. Evesham: and Cristine his wyfe.
- vii. — Richard Hawkesbury, Monk of Malmesbury: Johan late wyfe of Richard Elys Baker.
- xi. — Walter Jewne.
- xiv. — William of Sutton.
- xvii. — Maute of Abyndon. — Johan Nele.
- xviii. — Sir Richard Awringe.
- xxi. — Roger Helys. — and Katerine Wilkyns,
- xxii. — Ide Cosyn.
- xxiii. — Roger Stodeley. — Alexander Welyngton.
- xxvii. — Wm. Wykam, late Bp. of Winchester.
- xxviii. — Rosa Hylle, and John ———.
- xxix. — Isabell of Westrop. — John Coldam.

xxx. — Katerine Hundredere ?

OCTOBER.

- ii. For the Soules of Hely of Stodeley and Thos. Malemeys.
- vi. — Richard Spenser.
- vii. — Hugh Rementon.
- xi. — John of Welitton.
- xiv. — Sir Water Clopton, Kt.
- xvi. — Nicholas Samborne, — and Nicholas his Son.
- xviii. — Richard Tomelyne, Vicar of Kyngtone.
- xxiii. — Margaret Selyman : — Katerine Swindon.
- xxviii. — Elys of Calne.
- xxix. — Maude Rementon.

NOVEMBER.

- i. For the Soules of Gilbert Overton.
- ii. — Margaret Baker: John Welliscote, — Gilbert Berewyke.
- iii. — Alice Boydon.
- vii. — Richard Inveyne (?)
- viii. — Alice Turneys, — Johan, wyfe of Thos. Martyn.
- x. — Amice Prioress of Kington, — Sir Hugh Mortymer. — Dunage Sottacre. — of Perys. — of Haveryng. — of Johan Martet.
- xi. — Lady Joan Bristow.
- xiii. — Geffrey Abbot of Glaston : (Fromont died 1322.)
- xiv. — Luce, Byshop of ———.
- xix. — Joan, wyfe of Thos. Baker of Lamport. — Sir Rob. Charleton Kt.
- xxi. — John Scutte.
- xxiv. — Edward of Pury. — Elene atte Pury.
- xxvi. — John Bradeley. — Roger Stodeley.
- xxviii. — Agnes Comerweyle.

DECEMBER.

- i. For the Soules of Thos. Tanner.
- iii. — Isabel Burley.
- v. — Kateryne, wyfe of Nicholas Fortresbury.
- vi. — Edmund Husee.
- vii. — Thos. Wyleshete. — Joan Wynterburn. — Cristine Nye, Prioress of Kington, who died A.D. 1454.

- viii. — John Kynsman, Husbonman, — and Lady Alice Hare.
- xi. — John Hance.
- xii. — Gyles Bp. of Sarum, (G. de Bridport, consecrated at Canterbury 1256, died 1262.)
- xiv. — Ely, late wyfe of Alexander Stodeley.
- xvi. — William, Vicar of Kington. — Dame Alice Hardyng, Mynchyn of Lacock.
- xviii. — Mr. Robert Gray.
- xix. — Alice Mann.
- xx. — Sir William of Lomene.
- xxi. — Margaret Burley.
- xxii. — John Adeneyte.
- xxiii. — Agnes Delamere.
- xxiv. — Sir — Turketill: Edith, a Mynchyn here.
- xxvi. — Edythe of Bristow (Prioress).
- xxx. — Robert of Lomene.

THE KING'S ALMSWOMEN AT KINGTON PRIORY.

Connected with the Priory, and perhaps forming part of it, was a dwelling for two pauper women, for whose maintenance the Prioress received annually six marks from the Crown. Of the origin of the charity there is no account. It may have been this Royal bounty that gave rise to the tradition mentioned above, of the Priory itself having been founded by the Empress Matilda. The House for the two paupers was built in 1221, (6 Hen. III.) as appears by a writ to the Treasurer of the Exchequer to pay 40s. "for the construction of one in the Priory of Kington for the use of the two Elcemosinary Damsels dwelling there during the King's pleasure." In the Close Rolls about this date, are orders for timber to be taken out of Chippenham Forest for this purpose; and also for payment of the six marks. And in 1223 a writ was issued to the Constable of Devizes (who was ex-officio Warden of Chippenham Forest) "commanding him that without delay, he do at once cause to be carried to Kinton for the use of the two Damsels residing there by the King's command, 20 cartloads of burl-wood" [Bruel, *copse*]. "And we much wonder that our precept heretofore sent by us relating unto this matter has not been carried into effect."

CHARTERS OF ST. MARY'S PRIORY.¹I. *Robert of Bryntone gives Tithes at Ewerne Stapleton, near Stourpayne, Co. Dorset.*

“To Jocelyn² Bishop of Sarum, and Adelelm Archdeacon of Dorset, Robert de Bryntone, greeting. I and Eva my wife, with Emma her sister, have granted the church of Iwerne for ever, and whatever else in the said church belongs to us, with all liberties &c., as Aluric the Priest held them: Witnesses, Richard the Canon: Robert de Huntsland: Richard son of Coloman: Robert of Aeford: Wyger: Robert of the Gate: and the whole Halimote. Farewell.”

II. *Confirmation of a grant of Lazarton,³ or Lacerton near Stourpayne, Co. Dorset, which had been made to the Nuns by Robert de Brintone, Eva his wife, and Emma her sister, about 1142-1184.*

“Jocelyn, Bishop of Sarum, to Adelelm Archdeacon of Dorset: I confirm the grant of the Church of Lazarton, which Robert de Brinton, &c., gave to the Nuns of Kington; and because it is poor, I release it from all payments, except synodals. Witnesses, Humfrey the Canon: Walter the Canon: Duncane the Chaplain.”

III. *Adam (Weyfer) of Brimpton gives all his land at Kington St. Michael.*

“Omnibus, &c. To all the faithful in Christ, &c., Adam de Brinton greeting. Know that I have granted to God and St. Mary, and y^e Nuns of Kyngton, All the land in that vill which the s^d Nuns hold of me, in pure and perpetual alms: free of all secular demands and services. And this I do for the good of my soul, and those of my Father and Mother, of my predecessors and successors. And I and my Heirs will warrant the same unto the said Nuns, free of all service to y^e Crown: specially that for $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Knights Fee, w^h they are wont to do unto me. Sealed with my seal. Witnesses, Richard, Canon of Sarum: Walter, Chaplain: H. Bigod: Robert de Brolett, Alexander his son, and Roger Poltemore; with many others.

¹ Translated from the Latin Deeds printed in the New Monasticon, (vol. iv. p. 398) and there described as having been taken (with the exception of No. II.) from the Priory Register, formerly in the possession of John Aubrey Esq., of Easton Piers.

² Bishop A.D. 1142.—1184.

³ The Prioress of Kington presented twice to Lazarton, viz.: in 1339 and 1348. Afterwards the Bishop of Sarum “*jure devoluto*.” Lazarton Rectory, worth five marks per annum, being too poor to maintain its own Rector, was annexed to Stourpayne in 1431; the Prioress consenting to receive in lieu of her rights a pension of 6s. 8d. per annum. This pension, after the Dissolution, continued to be paid out of Stourpayne to the Long Family who had purchased all the Estate of Kington Priory. (See Hutchins, Dorset, I. 106, 107.)

IV. *Sir Hugh Mortimer*,¹ *Lord of the Fee, confirms No. III.*

“Hugh de Mortymer to all his Barons and Men, French and English, in England. Know that I have granted to God, St. Mary, and the Nuns of Kington serving God there, in pure and perpetual alms, for the salvation of my Soul, and that of my Father, my Mother, and Roger my Brother, All the land which Adam de Bryntone holds of my Fee in the same vill: he granting and confirming the same by Deed; which R. the son of Weyfer of Brintone gave to them when he founded the Place. To be free from all claims so far as concerns my Fee, &c. Witnesses, R. the Chaplain: R. de Brinton: Wm. Rudele: Aluric le Chamberlein: and others.”

V. *Petronilla Bluet gives land at Bradley near Alton, Hants.*

“I Petronilla Bluet, wife of Wm. de Felcham give to God, St. Mary, and the Nuns of Kington, all my land in Bradley, to be held as I have held the same of Thomas son of Wm. de Salemonville, viz.: paying 5 shillings a year for all services, save that to the Crown for $\frac{1}{2}$ a Knight's fee. And because I bought that land of the said Thomas to be held by hereditary right, I make God and the Church of Kington St. Michael's and the Nuns my Heirs to hold the same of the said Thomas by the services aforesaid. Sealed with my seal. Witnesses, Ralph Bloet, Ralph his son; Ralph Bloet, son of Walter Bloet; Richard de Hierierd, Robert Fitzpayn, Roger his son; Wm. Briwere, Peter de Seudamore, Rob. de Berkley, John de Warre, Helias de Stodeley, Gilbert, the Chaplain: Robert, Chaplain: Walter the Clerk, who drew this Deed: and others.”

VI. *Richard de Heriet gives Tithes at Somersford, (between A.D. 1194 and 1203.)*

“Richard de Heriet in the presence of the Lord Herbert Bp. of Sarum, and of William of St. Mary's Church, Archdeacon of Wilts, gives to God and St. Mary and the Church of Kington and y^e Nuns there, the Church of Somersford; for the health of his soul: &c.”²

VII. *Roger de Mortimer*³ *gives Tythes at Stratfield Mortimer, &c. : (before A.D. 1206.)*

“Roger de Mortimer for the good of his soul and that of the Lady Isabella

¹ The Mortimers (*De Mortuo Mari*) a great Norman Family related to Wm. the First, naturally had large possessions assigned to them at the Conquest. Sir Hugh died 1227. His elder Brother Roger (ancestor of the Earls of March) in 1215. Their Mother was Matilda Longespée.

² Herbert Prior Bp. of Sarum 1194—1217. William, Archdeacon of Wilts died about 1203. In Hen. III. “The Prioress of Kington held in Sum'ford $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Knight's Fee of Godfrey Sifrewast: He of the Earl of Sarum: He of the Crown.” (*Test. de Nev.*)

³ Roger Mortimer (grandfather of Sir Hugh and Roger, in Deed IV.) died 7 John (1206): having married for his second wife, Isabella, sister and heir of Hugh de Ferrars. Stratfield Mortimer is south of Reading: on the borders of Berks and Hants. By Biselec is probably meant *Riseley* in that neighbourhood.

his wife, for the souls of their Parents and successors, gives to God, St. Mary and the Nuns of Kington, &c., All the Tythe of Bread and Herrings of his house, of Biselee, of Stratfield and of Worthe.

“Witnesses, Philip de Mortimer, Wm. de Mortimer, Henry de Hillford, Ralph the Chaplain, Thomas, Clerk: Robert Corbet, Ernaldo de Boseo, Hankin de Camerà, Ralph de Guerces, &c.”

VIII. *Grant by Wm. Malreward, of the Church of Twerton.*¹

“Know all present and future generations that I Wm. Malreward have given the Church of Twerton, free of all services to Kington Monastery and the Nuns: saving Episcopal rights. Witnesses, Thomas de Erlega, Archdeacon of Wells, Richard, Archdeacon of Bath: Ilbert, Precentor of Wells.”

IX. *Confirmation of No. VIII., by Godfrey Malreward.*

“To all children of Holy Church, &c. Godfrey Malreward son of Godfrey M. greeting. Know that I have examined the grants of my great grandfather Wm. M., and of my grandfather Godfrey M. made to the Nuns of Kington, of the advowson of Twerton; and I confirm the same. Witnesses, John, Abbot of Keynsham, Master Henry de Cerne, &c.”

X. *Grant of Alexander of Studley, (about A.D. 1280.)*

“A. de Studley gives, &c., the Grange which the Nuns have built in his Barton of Studley, and the site where the Grange is built: And in his Barton of Cadenham a place to build another Grange in, viz.: Between his Grange and Whitmere. Also he grants to the Nuns all his Tithes of Studley, Redmore, and Cadenham, to receive the same at the Door of his Grange, and to have a Store at his Mill to deposit the same. Witnessed by John de St. Quintin, Henry de Cerne, Adam Delamere, Thos. Burell, Henry Kaynel.”²

XI. *R. Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, gives an acre of land at Kington; and the Rectory.*

19 Edw. I. (1290.) “Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, grants to God and the Church of St. Mary of the Nuns, and to Claricia Prioress, in free alms, one acre of land in Kington St. Michael in the East Field, in the ploughed ground called ‘Goldshawe,’ between the land of the Prioress on the East, and land of Richard Carpenter on the West, with the Advowson of the Church.

¹ The Church of Twerton, near Bath, was valued in 1318 at 6 marks; a vicarage was ordained in 1342. The Vicar to pay to the Prioress 100 shillings yearly: and as often as he should fail, to forfeit one mark to the building of Bath Abbey. (Wells Reg. and Coll. Som. iii. 348.) In the Priory “Book of Obits,” Reginald (Fitz Jocelyn, 1174) is named as the donor of Twerton Parsonage: and in Harl. MS. 6964, p. 22, the Rectory is stated to have been appropriated to the Nuns 12 May 1322.

² The concurrence of witnesses to this Deed is curious; showing the origin of the names of the five Parishes, Stanton *St. Quintin*, Draycote *Cerne*, Leigh-*Delamere*, Langley *Burell*, and Yatton *Kaynell*.

Witnesses, John Delamere, Godfrey de Wrokeshale, Henry de Cerne, John Maudit Knight, Richard Pigot, Roger de Cumb, Reginald Croke, and others.”¹

XII. *Wm. Harptree of Harptree, Co. Som. grants Tithes at Stourpayne, Co. Dorset.*

“Wm. son of John of Harptree, with consent of Matilda his wife and their heirs, grants to the Nuns the Tythes of Corn in Stures and Sanford, and the Tenth of ‘meat not bought’ there.” (Quære, of stock bred and killed by himself?) “Witnesses, Richard Abbot of Keynsham, Wm. Abbot of Kingswood, &c.”²

XIII. *Grant of Roger de Villiers, at Stourpayne.*³

“Roger de Villiers gives the second Tythes of his demesne lands at Stures and Sanford, and 10th of ‘meat not bought’: respecting which a Plea was moved between him and the Nuns before commissioners appointed by the Apostolic See, viz.: Albert, Prior of Brhuperia⁴ and Dean of Christianity of the same Province: To hold the same, in as full manner as they had been given by his uncle Richard, son of Elias de Orescueil, to the said Nuns. Scaled, &c.”

THE PRIORY AFTER THE DISSOLUTION.

At the Dissolution the whole Priory Estate, including Kington Rectory, was granted (30 June 1538), to Sir Richard Long, younger brother of Sir Henry Long of Draycote who had been its chief Seneschal.⁵ The Rectorial Tithe of Kington continues now to be part of the property of that family, represented by Viscount Wellesley. The House and lands about it were afterwards sold in 1556 to John Taylor of Castle Combe.⁶ Isaac Taylor (brother of John, Vicar of Kington) resided there in 1570. His daughter

¹ This Deed (printed also twice in the old Edition of the Monasticon, I. 534 and II. 889.) is the first in which the name of Kington *St. Michael* appears to be found.

² See Valor Eccl. I. 269. The Harptrees of East Harptree, Co. Som. (under which manor Stourpayne in Dorset was held), afterwards took the name of Gournay. Coll. Som. iii. 587.

³ See Hutch. Dor. I. 107. There is no mention, in the Val. Eccl., of this as belonging to Kington Priory.

⁴ Probably meant for Beaurepaire (*vulgò* Baruper), near Basingstoke.

⁵ Rot. xxx. 30. Hen. VIII. But by an Inquisition at Warminster 19 Dec. 3 and 4 Phil. and Mary (1556-7), on the death of Henry Long of Draycote, (elder brother of the grantee), it was found that the said *Henry* held the Rectory of Kington St. Michael, by the 20th part of a Knight's fee under the King: and that Robert was his son and heir. (Harl. MS. 757. f. 243.)

⁶ Rot. cxiiij. 3 and 4 Phil. and Mary.

Eleanor married Thomas Lyte of Easton Piers, and was great grandmother to John Aubrey. In 1628 it was sold by John Taylor to Thomas Tyndale Esq., (then late of Eastwood Park near Thornbury), and Dorothy (Stafford) his wife. Mr. and Mrs. Tyndale lived here and were buried at Kington Church.¹ In 1677 Mr. Thomas Tyndale third son of the purchaser, sold the Priory to Mr. Richard Sherwin, who had bought Aubrey's Estate at Lower Easton Piers a few years before. In the middle of the last century the Priory belonged to the family of Hale of Locksley, Co. Herts.; and in 1796, at the sale of Mr. Wm. Hale's Wiltshire Estates it was bought by the present owner, Mr. Sutton.

The Chartulary or Register Book of this Priory is missing. In 1620 it was in the possession of Sir Wm. Pole.² Sir Robert Long had it in Aubrey's time 1670.³ Tanner refers to Sir Robert's volume as in the hands, first of John Aubrey, then 1695 of his brother William, and afterwards, of Mr. Rogers of Chippenham.

EASTON PIERS, OR PERCY.

This is a small hamlet of four detached farms, forming the North-western division of the Parish of Kington St. Michael. The tything is not in the Hundred of North Damerham, but of Malmsbury; the reason of which is, that Easton Percy was not held under the Abbey of Glastonbury. The principal house is the "Manor Farm." The others are "Upper Easton Percy," a little further west. Beyond that and nearer Yatton Keynell, "Cromwells": and on the southern slope below the Manor House, and nearest to Kington, "Lower Easton Percy."

The Tything occupies a well wooded grassy ridge, running east and west between Kington St. Michael and Yatton Kaynell: parallel with the Parish of Leigh Delamere on the north. The soil is chiefly such as belongs to the siliceous sandstones of the Forest Marble, yielding healthy dry pasture. It is on as high ground as

¹ An elaborate Pedigree of this Family was privately printed by their descendant the late George Booth Tyndale Esq., of Lincoln's Inn Fields.

² Collect. Top. et Gen. I. 207.

³ Note on back of Title page of Aubrey's original MS. Coll. for N. Wilts, Ashm. Mus.

any in the neighbourhood: and is traversed through its full length by a very narrow winding lane crossed by gates, and overshadowed by steep banks and old picturesque trees. Aubrey speaks of "other old ways now lost, but some vestiges left:" amongst them, "a way by the Pound and the Manor House leading northwards to Leigh Delamere, and southwards to Allington; but of that no sign left." This however, for some part of the distance northwards, still continues to be used as a bridle path through the fields; and at each end, both under Easton Manor House, and at Leigh Delamere, traces of the lane are distinct.

Easton Percy appears to have stood in ancient times, on the margin of a large unenclosed district. "It butted upon Cotswold,¹ which is a ploughed campania: and mem: that fourscore years ago" (which would be about A.D. 1590,) "from Yatton Kaynell town's end to the Parson's close adjoining Easton Grounds all was common: and Yatton and Easton did intercommon, and put in cattle equally. Between the two parishes of Easton Piers and Castle Combe much hath been enclosed in my remembrance, and every day more and more,² so also, between Kington St. Michael and Dracot Cerne all was common field: and the west field of Kington, between Easton Piers and Haywood, was enclosed in 1664. The North part of Wilts was in those days admirable for field sports:" a species of celebrity which it still retains; enclosures, stiff fences and gates, to the contrary nothing withstanding.

Easton Percy had once a Chapel, a grave yard, and village cross. The Chapel was taken down about A.D. 1610. "It was but small:³ and had a Turret for two Tintinnabula as at Leigh Delamere, Corston and Brokenborough. The toft where it stood is still called "Chapel-hay," near to the Mannor House. They did bury here." (*Aubrey.*) "Chapel-land" is still the name of a ground about 100 yards N.W. of the Manor House. At the upper end of it, an unevenness of surface marks the site of the building; and in digging holes for planting, human bones are occasionally found.

¹ Aubrey. The district now so called is many miles distant from Easton.

² Nat. Hist. of Wilts, p. 101.

³ And so its perquisites. "A.D. 1416. Allowance to the Clerk for stipend, 4d."

The name of one of the Incumbents appears in the Sarum Registry. In 1319 "John de Gyvleton" (no doubt, for "Yeovilton" the Family to whom, as will be seen, the Estate then belonged,) was presented to the Chapel of Easton Piers by Ralph de Cromhale Patron.¹ "The Font Stone was serving" (in Aubrey's time,) "at 'Cromwells' for cattle to drink."

The Cross stood at "the crosse way by the Pound, at the entrance into the Lane which heretofore went to Lye Delamere, close to the Mannour House."

MANORIAL HISTORY.

In the Reign of King Edward the Confessor, the Saxon owner was one Oswald. At the Conquest it was part of the fee of Drogo de Fitz Ponz, of Seagry and Alderton, and was held under him by Gislebert. In Hen. III. Walter de Clifford held it under the Crown: Patrick Chaworth under him: under Chaworth, Henry Kaignel, and Philip de Lye; the latter by grand serjeanty of being the King's bowbearer. John of Eston, had $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Knight's fee. The Tything bore the name of Easton only until its connexion with the family of Piers, now commonly spelled Percy;² which addition appears to have been made about A.D. 1250.

To John Aubrey's partiality for his native nook of Wiltshire ground, we are indebted for the means of ascertaining its history at this period. His undigested "Collections for North Wilts" contain a number of ancient Latin documents relating to it, taken from the Title deeds of the farm, then his own. These occupy sixteen pages in Sir Thomas Phillipps's printed copy, pp. 69-85. Many of them being without date and all without arrangement, the labyrinth is not easily unravelled; but the substance seems to be this.

The proprietor about the year above mentioned, 1250, was Piers, or Fitz-piers: using more frequently, after the fashion of the times, a surname from the property, De Eston. The first is Sir John, who gave to the Nuns of Kington a coppice and other ground

¹ Wilts Instit. p. 17.

² That *Piers* and *Percy*, if not one and the same name, were similarly pronounced, would appear from Falstaff's quibble; "Well, if Percy be alive, I'll pierce him." 1. Hen. IV., A. 5. Sc. 3.

between Easton and the Priory. John, his son, was succeeded by Sir Peter de Eston: he, by his daughter Joan, mentioned as Lady of the Manor in 1332: Edmund de Easton, clerk, occurs in 1345, (the seal to his Deed dated at Oxford, bearing a cross engrailed, with an illegible inscription); and Walter Eston in 1483. In the Kalendar of Obits kept at St. Mary's Priory (printed above), several benefactors of this family are registered: as, January 17, Mary late Lady of Eston; May 7, Dame Johan of Eston, and others. Who they were might have been discovered in a MS. volume (had it been forthcoming), referred to by Aubrey, "The Leiger Book of Tropenell at Col. Wm. Eyre's at Neston: where mention is made of Pierse and his coat, azure 5 milpecks or fusils. This MS." he adds "is the best key to open the knowledge of the old and lost families, which is my search."¹

Piers was succeeded by De Yeovilton of Somersetshire. In a Deed of about 1300, Wm. Seward of Easton grants his tenements, &c., to John de Yeovilton and Joan his wife: and in 1306 the Manor suffered a recovery to Philip de Paunton² and his wife, who was probably of the Yeovilton family. In 1361 Peter de Yeovilton being about to go into foreign parts, conveys his Estate at Easton, with Speckington and others in Somersetshire and Devon, to Nicholas de Yeovilton and Richard his son, upon condition that if he returns home safe, he is to have possession again. In 1396 Sir Robert de Yeovilton was owner of Easton.³ Margaret, heiress of the family, married Thomas Pain of Painshay, Co. Devon. Katharine Pain married John Sturton of Preston, and their daughter Alice Sturton was wife of William Daubeney (ancestor of Henry Earl of Bridgewater). The estate thus came to his son Sir Giles,

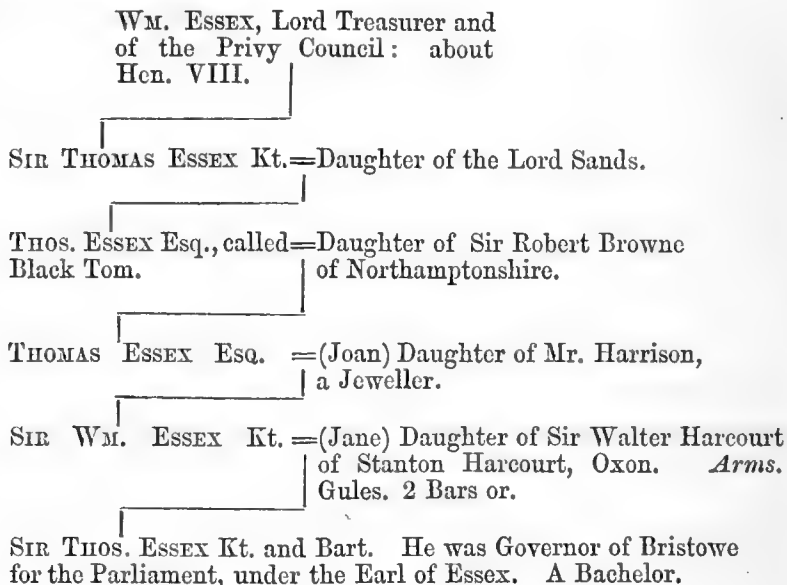
¹ Coll. for N. Wilts, p. 68.

² Of Dorsetshire. In 1299 Philip Paunton was of Charborough. In 1337 Juliana Paunton; the reversion to Nicholas de Ivelton (Yeovilton). In 1389 Richard Yeovilton. (Hutchins. II. 184. 186.)

³ Probably the Easton Knight, of whom an exploit is preserved in the parish annals of Castle Combe. (Mr. P. Scrope's Hist., p. 249.) "Roger Young, junior, dwelt in Castle Combe as a clothier in the time of King Edw. III., and a certain Knight, Sir Robert Yevolton, in the time of K. Rich. II., came by force of arms to beat Robert Young then dwelling in C. Combe: and the said Knight fled into the Church of that place for safety of his body."

afterwards Lord Daubeney of Petherton, Co. Som., and his wife Elizabeth (Arundel). Having been one of the opponents to the designs of Richard Duke of Gloucester, Lord Daubeney was deprived of his lands, and in 1483 (1 Richard III.) Easton was granted to Ralph Willoughby, but was afterwards restored. Lord Daubeney before his death in 1507, sold it to Thomas Essex; in whose family it remained about 57 years.

The Pedigree and Arms of Essex are given by Aubrey (Coll. I. 86) as follows:



Arms. 1. Azure a chevron engrailed ermine between 3 eagles displayed argent. (ESSEX.) 2. Sable, a chevron argent between 3 crescents ermine. 3. Gules, a fleur de lys argent. 4. Per fess dancetteè argent and gules. 5. Ermine.¹

In 1564 Edward Essex and Anne his wife sold Easton to Sir Robert Sackville, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations in the reign of Hen. VIII. Sir Robert Sackville the purchaser, was the father of Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst, first Earl of Dorset, a statesman and poet in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King

¹ Aubrey gives no authority for the Pedigree and Arms above described. The Arms do not correspond with those assigned to Essex of Bewcot in Berks, [*Extinct Bart.*] but the Pedigree is nearly the same.

² Chap. House Fines.



PEDIGREE OF LANGTON OF EASTON PERCY, WILTS,

[From the Title Deeds, and Thos. Gore's MSS.]

Arms. Quarterly, or and gules, a bend sable.

JOHN LANGTON, sen., of the Parish of St. = ALICE.

Nicholas, Bristol, merchant. Bought Easton Peyree, 1618, and settled it, with land at Brokenborough, and Thornhill Grange in the parish of Westport St. Mary, upon his son John, at his marriage.

JOHN LANGTON, elder son = JOHAN BURREWS, dau. of Mrs. WILLIAM LANGTON.
and heir, m. 27 Jan. 1625. | Mary Butcher, widow, of Bristol.

JOHN LANGTON of Doynton, Co. Glouc. = ELIZABETH Esq. By will dated 8 Dec. 1660, he devised Easton Percy to his widow Elizabeth and his sister, Johan Lewis, for 80 years. They afterwards released it to Sir Thomas Langton.

MICHAEL = ELIZABETH MEREDITH LANGTON.
of Southwood, Co. Glouc.

THOMAS GORE Esq., = MARY MEREDITH bapt. 5 June 1640, at of Alderton, (The St. Nicholas Church, Bristol. Mar. at Antiquary). Died 1684. Bur. at Alderton.

SIR THOMAS = . . . WILLIAM LANGTON, Rector of Dyham, Co Glouc. Founder of "Langton's Charity" in that Parish. Died 7 August 1668.

THOMAS LANGTON of Brislington, Co. Som., Esq. Will dated 14 August, 1696.

ROBERT LANGTON, = ANNE.
only brother and heir, sold Easton Percy to Mr. White of Grittleton, 1704.

JOSEPH EZEKIEL JOHAN LANGTON. LANGTON. LANGTON.

= THOMAS LEWIS of St. Peters, Monmouth, had two Brothers, John and Hen.

JOHAN LEWIS, dau. and heiress.

James I. In Nov. 1574, Lord Buckhurst sold Easton to John and Thomas Lyte, then tenants under lease: and in January 1575, they sold the Manor House and Farm to John Snell Esq., father of Sir Thomas, of Kington St. Michael's. After an interval of 48 years Sir Charles Snell, son of Sir Thomas, in the year 1623 sold¹ the Manor Farm and House to John Langton of Bristol, merchant, in whose family it remained until the year 1704. A Pedigree of the Langtons, deduced chiefly from the Title Deeds, is annexed.

On the 28th March 1704, the Manor was again sold, (with lands in Kington and Yatton,) by Robert Langton and Anna his wife, to Walter White Esq., of Grittleton, for £3325: on whose death without issue in 1705 it passed, by marriage of his youngest sister and coheirss Elizabeth, to Richard Salwey Esq., of the Moor, Co. Salop. He died in 1712. In 1796 this Estate, the Priory of Kington and the Down Farm, all being then the property of Wm. Hale Esq., were sold by auction, when the Manor Farm was bought by Mr. Collett, then tenant, whose son is the present owner and occupier.

The Manor House is very large and well built, in the old Wiltshire style so common in this neighbourhood, with bold gables, ornamented freestone chimneys, and casement windows. In 1630, soon after it had passed from the Snells to the Langtons, all the older house then standing was taken down and rebuilt, except the Hall and some smaller portions. The parts rebuilt by the Langtons are distinguished by dates and initials. On one chimney "I L. A L. 1630." (John and Alice Langton): on another "T L. 1664." (Thomas Langton): and on the west front "I L. 1631." (John Langton). The older part which they did not take down, is still left, and forms a north wing. Its principal window, described by Aubrey as of "peculiar old fashion," is of six lights, divided by stone mullions and crossed by one transom. Above it is another, once of like size, but now partly blocked up. The two stand out in bold projection under a sloping tiled roof. The other windows in this more ancient portion, being of ecclesiastical style with cinquefoil

¹ Sir Charles's reason for selling is mentioned above p. 45. The succeeding links in the history are taken from the original documents in the author's possession.

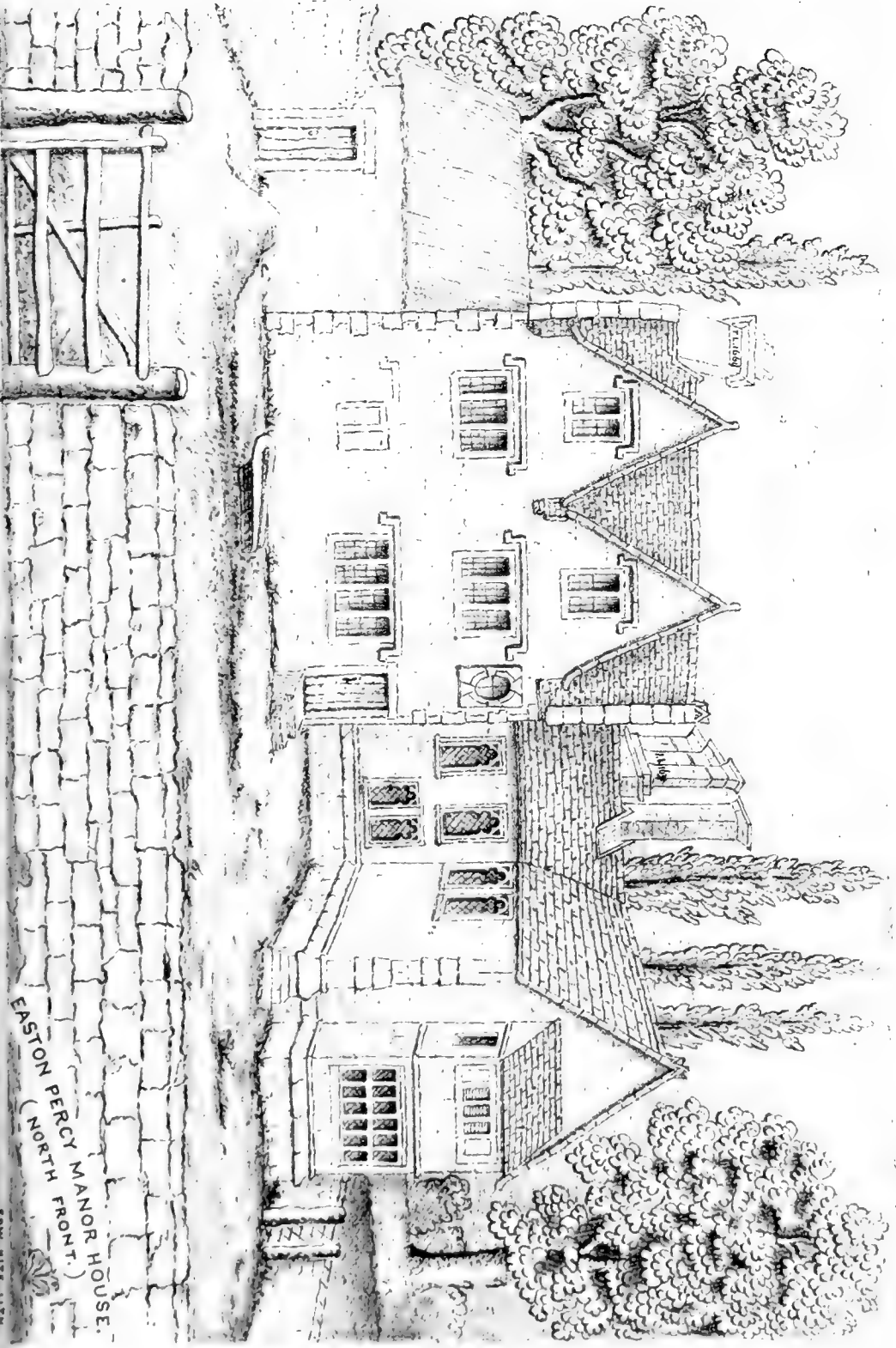
heads, and its angles being flanked by bold buttresses with a substantial moulding running all round, about a yard from the ground, the wing looks not unlike a chapel; but it was the original hall. The room is paved with freestone, in lozenge. It was once wainscotted with carved oak panel: and a few relics of better days, such as stag's antlers, &c., still linger on the walls, as if to declare that it was not always filled with piles of sacks, cider-presses, and other farm house gear, as it is now. The whole house indeed, is one of the many warnings which every county, not omitting Wiltshire, presents, of the "base uses" that await a godly residence. For such is its loneliness and perilous state of dilapidation, that it seems to want but one thing more, which is, to be fixed upon as the scene of a tragical legend or ghost story. It is very little known, and if any reader, on mysterious fiction bent, will select a gloomy day, or visit it at nightfall, he will be grateful for the suggestion. Yet the situation is one of the best in the neighbourhood, and the views (did the dense screen of trees permit any) extensive; northward over Stanton Park and Leigh Delamere; on the south, across a prettily wooded lawn to Lower Easton in the foreground, and the Calne Hills in the distance. Aubrey mentions that "Hérons bred here in 1580 before the great oaks were felled down near the Manor House."

LOWER EASTON PERCY.

When Thomas Lyte sold the Manor in 1575 to Mr. Snell, he retained part of it, and built a house on the brow of the hill above the brook, facing south east.¹ In that house (afterwards destroyed) John Aubrey was born.² He was of the younger branch of the Aubreys of Llantrithyd in Glamorganshire, but his father Richard, of Broad Chalk in South Wilts, having married Deborah granddaughter of Thomas Lyte of Easton Piers, John Aubrey succeeded to this Farm as his mother's inheritance. The Lytes were brought hither from Somersetshire by the Yeoviltons, and may have been

¹ The sloping ground in front now called "Bounds" formerly "Brown's Hill," is mentioned by Aubrey as opposite the house in which he was born. (N. II. of Wilts, p. 49.)

² A memoir of him will be found in a later page.



EASTON PERCY MANOR HOUSE.
(NORTH FRONT.)





PEDIGREE OF LYTE OF EASTON PERCY.

Arms. Gules; a chevron between 3 swans argent: a mullet sable for difference.

RICHARD LYTE=JOAN GALE of
of Lyte's Cary, Sutton Benger,
and of Didmar- bur. at K. St.
ton. (Wilts Vis. M. 1563.
1623.)

JOHN LYTE mar. =ELEANOR July 1567. (P.R.) POWER of Sold Upper Eas- Stanton ton Piers 1574. Farm.	ALICE=JOHN LYTE, DEEKE. mar. 1576. P.R.
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THOMAS LYTE sold =ELEANOR, (first wife) d. of =ELIZABETH,
E.P. Manor Farm Isaac Taylor of the Priory, (second wife)
1574: and built mar. 1568. Died 1582. Bur. at Kin.
Lower E.P. Bur. (Wilts Vis.) 1597.

JOHN LYTE bap. 1569.	NICHOLAS= LYTE bap. MARY b. 1568. 1573.P.R. SARAH b. 1571.
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JOHN bur. 1659.	ISRAEL ANNE, JANE, LYTE= BROWNE. b. 1571. b. 1579. SIMON, 1659. Bur. 25 Feb. bur. 1584. 1659. MARGARET, ELEANOR, bur. 1570. bur. 1575.
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ISAAC LYTE bap. 26 Dec. 1612. = Alderman of London. <i>Founder</i> <i>of the Almshouses at Kington.</i> Will dated 15 Feb. 1672. Prov. 21 Aug. 1673 in P.C. of C.	BENJAMIN, MARY, b. 1610. (Twin with ANNE, b. 1604. Isaac) died SARAH, b. 1606. inf.
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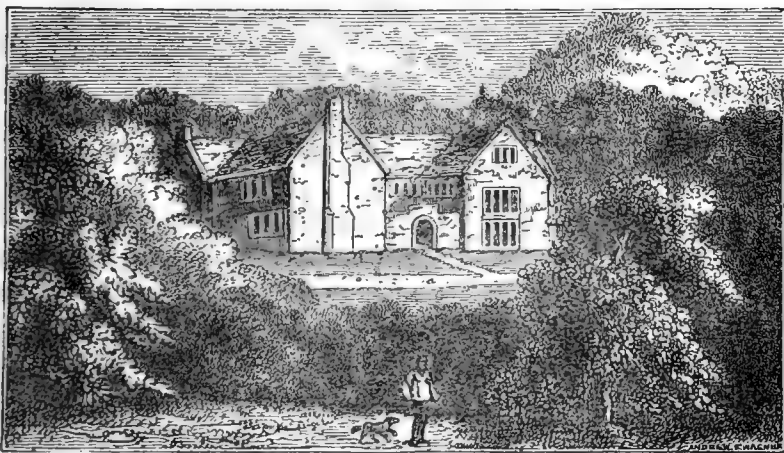
RICHARD AUBREY =DEBORAH LYTE, Esq. of Burleton, sole d. and h. m. at K. 15 June 1625. bur. 25 Ap. 1686. P.R.	WILLIAM, THOMAS. ANNE, ISAAC bur. 1629. d. Oct. 1707. 1628. ISAAC bur. 1632.
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FRANCIS =ELIZABETH.
GOODENOUGH.

JOHN AUBREY Esq., the Antiquary,
born at Lower Easton, bap. at K. 12
March 1625-6.

related to them. The village of Lyte's Cary in that county, named after the family, is close to Yeovilton and Speckington. The account given by Aubrey of his mother's family, is, that they held Easton Piers either in lease or by inheritance 249 years; "from Henry VI. The father of Thos. Lyte who purchased, had £800 per ann. in Leases: viz., all Easton, except Cromwell's farm, (£20): and also the farm of Didmarton and Sopworth."

Of his home Aubrey has preserved a sketch in one of his MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.¹ "From the garret a delicate



Lower Easton Piers. The birth-place of John Aubrey, (*destroyed*.)

prospect. The garden was laid out in the Italian style, upon three different levels, each raised upon the other, and ascended by flights of steps with a *jet d'eau* in the lowest. About it were groups of trees, a pillar and volant Mercury, &c., &c." The ground still retains some marks of this arrangement. In a bedroom on a chimney were two escutcheons. 1. Arms of Lyte, (see Pedigree;) over this "Isaac Lyte" (Aubrey's grandfather) "Natus 1576" (the

¹ The name of this MS. is "Easton Piers delineated: or Designatio de E.P. in com. Wilts, per me [heu] infortunatum J. A., Reg. Soc. Socium. A.D. 1669." It consists of 19 oblong quarto leaves, with outline views of the house, gardens, and environs of Easton Piers; from one of which the wood cut is copied. The old House seems to have been altered (perhaps by Aubrey himself) into an Italian Villa, of which he has also preserved a sketch. Mr. Britton remembered a ruinous dwelling here, the windows and doors taken away, walls covered with ivy, floors fallen in and much decayed, the whole shut in, as it is now, by orchards and gardens.

same year in which the house was built). 2. Arms of Browne of Winterbourne Basset. An eagle displayed sable, legged gules: on its breast a crescent or. Over this, "Israel Lyte" [his grandmother.]

Lower Easton Piers was sold by Aubrey in his day of adversity to Mr. Richard Sherwin.¹ In 1796 it formed part of Mr. Hale's property (mentioned above, p. 77.) and was sold in 1796 to Mr. Skeate, whose representatives are now the proprietors.

UPPER EASTON PIERS.

This is a small farmhouse with about 98 acres attached, lying westwards of the Manor House, between it and "Cromwell's." It was severed from the principal estate in 1574 by sale from John and Thomas Light of Easton Piers, to Nicholas Light of Leigh Delamere. About a century afterwards it belonged to Mr. Benjamin Hinde, an attorney, steward to Sir Charles Snell, and son of Richard Hinde, Vicar of Kington St. Michael. It has continued in this family about 300 years, being now the property of the Rev. Thomas Lowe, Vicar of Willington, Sussex, in right of his mother, Susannah coheirress of the late Thomas Hinde, D.D., Rector of Ardeley near Bicester. The Doctor's great grandfather was the Rev. Richard Hinde, Rector of Grittleton.

CROMHALE'S.

Commonly called Cromwell's, is a small tenement of 30 acres with a house, bounding on Yatton Keynell, and takes its name from ancient owners. Ralph de Cromhale, Chaplain, has been already mentioned as Patron of Easton Chapel in 1319. It seems never to have been part of the principal manor.

A small holding adjoining Cromhale's (now Mr. Butler's) belonged in 1300 to the estate of the Keynell family, from which the parish of Yatton takes its name.

THE VICARAGE.

Two names only remain of the period during which Kington had its Clerical Rector resident, appointed by the Abbot of Glastonbury;

¹ On the back of the MS. account of his Villa, Aubrey has written, "Nunc mea, mox hujus, sed postea nescio cujus."













viz. : William St. Faith (*de Sanctâ Fide*) for 50 years from c. 1173 ; and Jordan Cotel.¹ Soon after that time the Tithes were appropriated, and a vicarage ordained. The advowson (as before stated), was awarded after the Glastonbury quarrel to the Bishop of Wells, who gave the Tithe of the Rectory and right of presentation to the vicarage, to the Prioress of St. Mary's. In temp. Hen. VIII., both were purchased by the Longs of Draycote, to whose representative, Viscount Wellesley, they now belong.

Amongst former Vicars of whom any thing more is known than their mere names, were, 1612—1663, Richard Hind² of Ch. Ch. Oxon, afterwards Rector of Boddington, Co. Northamp., and of Grittleton, where he was also Patron. Benjamin Griffin, 1712—16, who built vicarage houses here and at Colerne. William Harrington, of the Kelston family (near Bath), vicar 34 years, died 1751. From 1751—77, John Scrope D.D., also Rector of Castle Combe, and for three years before his death owner of that estate : a scholar, and author of some works on divinity.³ From 1779—1824, Edmund Garden ; died in his 93rd year, having been nearly 60 years Reader to Gray's Inn. To the present Incumbent, the Rev. Edward Charles Awdry, appointed in 1856, the Parish is already indebted for his prompt determination to restore

THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL.

How and when it obtained this name has been mentioned, p. 39. It consists of a Chancel, Nave with north and south aisles, a Tower at the west end, and south Porch, (*see plates.*) The Chancel arch is of the 12th century ; and one of its windows is enriched with Early English Tooth-moulding, very delicately worked. The east

¹ "Cotel had some estate in Kington Parish ; according to the Legier of Tropolnell : and beareth gules, bend or."—(Aubrey.)

² Thus mentioned by Aubrey. "Mr. Thos. Hobbes told me, that Col. Charles Cavendish who had travelled over Greece, told him that the Greeks doe sing their Greek. In Herefordshire they have a touch of this singing. Our old divines had. Our old vicar of Kington St. Michael, Mr. Hynd, did *sing* his sermons rather than reade them. You may find in Erasmus that the monks used this fashion, who mocks them, that sometimes they would be very low, and by and by they would be mighty high, *quando nihil opus est.*" (Aubrey's Lives. vol. ii. p. 274.)

³ History of Castle Combe. p. 352.

window was of temp. Hen. VI., and formerly (in Aubrey's time) contained three figures in stained glass, bearing the names of Thomas Nye¹ ("in the habit of a lawyer like Judge Littleton at Worcester"): his wife Margaret, and Christine Nye. The latter was Prioress of Kington and probably gave the window. The one next to it, on the south side, contained the figure of another Prioress, Lady Cicely Bodenham. The Nave arches are Early English; and some aisle windows once had slender marble shafts of that date. In the south aisle, where the east window is Decorated, are the usual signs of a private altar.² The north aisle was cheaply rebuilt in 1755, when an old Norman door was destroyed. Against the angle of the Chancel outside is the projection commonly called a "Lychnoscope." The original Porch, long since destroyed, had a head over the doorway, called by tradition King Ethelred's: whose figure, with that of his Queen, was once on a window of the south aisle. Of these Aubrey has preserved drawings. The present inner door has Norman shafts, surmounted by a flat-headed arch of the 15th century. The tower, formerly Norman and supporting a spire, was in great peril of falling when Aubrey made his sketch showing large cracks in the walls. Referring to the previous case of Calne steeple in 1645, he predicted a similar catastrophe here. "Such will be the fate of our's at Kington: one cannot persuade the Parishioners to go out of their own way."³ And so it came to pass. The parishioners went on in their own way, the gaping walls in theirs; till the great storm of 1703 put an end to the discussion by blowing the whole down. The tower was rebuilt, but in meagre style and without spire, in 1725.

On one of the original bells had been the legend "*†. Sancte Michael ora pro nobis.*" Another ("a daintie little one") was stolen in 1649. The present peal of six was cast by Abraham Rudhall in 1726. The first rings out "Prosperity to the Parish"; the

¹ A Herman Nye was Rector of Crudwell in N. Wilts, 1445.

² On the cieling of the South Aisle, formerly painted and gilt in panels, were remaining c. 1670, on shields; 1. A saltire cross, 2. The Pope's arms, 2 keys in saltire and a cross in pale. 3. Azure, a stag at gaze or. 4. A Porteuillis or. 5. A Marshal's bolt, or fetterlock.

³ Nat. Hist. of Wilts, p. 99.

second "Peace and good neighbourhood"; the third "Prosperity to the Church of England"; the fourth "Wm. Harington, vicar". Fifth, the date only. Sixth, "Jonathan Power and Robert Hewitt, Ch-wardens."

One Adam Milsham "an old wealthy bachelor, and a native of Kington," invested part of his wealth in the year 1639 in the purchase of a Clock and Chimes: and by his will left £10 more to be applied to the repair of the latter. But in the meanwhile a smith, being parish clerk "in the troublesome days," converted the iron of the musical accompaniment to his own use. So, in 1708, the Parish did the same with the Legacy.

The present silver chalice bears the date of 1571, and is probably the one given by Nicholas Snell Esq., but it has lost the family crest, (a demi-talbot) originally on the cover. Mrs. Harington (the vicar's wife) gave in 1755 a silver paten.

The Registers commence Oct. 6, 1563, John Tayler, vicar. The entries for 1663 appear to be missing, but otherwise the volumes are fairly preserved. In 1582 is this memorandum, "Here the Plague began 4 May," and "6 August. Here the Plague rested." Out of eighteen persons who died of it, eight were of one family, named Kington, John Aubrey's tenants at Lower Easton Percy. The entries of his Parents' burials are in Aubrey's own writing.

MONUMENTS.

Many have been removed or destroyed during alterations: but of their names and some of their inscriptions Aubrey has left copies. In the Chancel, near the middle, were

A.D. 1577. The Right Worshipfull NICHOLAS SNELL Esq.

1612. SIR THOMAS SNELL.

1651. "Here underneath this stone lieth interred the bodie of SIR CHARLES SNELL Knight who decessed the 24th day of November in the yeare of Lord 1651 aged 61."

Against the east wall there is an old painting of the Arms of this family. *Quarterly, 1 and 4. Gules and azure, over all a cross flory or: SNELL. 2 and 3. Sable, on a fess or between six arrows three blackamoors' heads. KEYNELL.* (This is the coat given to Keynell by Aubrey, and it is on the stone screen in Yatton Keynell

Church. The Heralds give a different one.) Below was once written

“*In memoriam Caroli Snell Militis, qui obiit Nov. 24. 1651.*” The words “*In cruce victoria*” are still left.

Next to the above interment :

Arms. *On a lozenge, barry of 6 gules and argent, a chief or.*

ENGLEFIELD. *Impaling, Sable, on a bend cotised 3 lions passant.*

BROWNE.

“Here under this stone lyeth the bodie of the late DAME JANE ENGLEFIELD, widowe of Sir Francis Englefield Bart., deceased: eldest daughter of Anthony Browne Esq. eldest son to Henry Lord Viscount Mountague of Cowdray in the Countie of Sussex. She departed this life the 17th September 1650 aged 75 years. Of your charitie say one Ave and a Pater-noster.”

The last line is remarkable in a *Church* so late as 1650. This Lady was of FASTERNE near Wotton Basset. One of her granddaughters married a Thomas Stokes Esq., (a name connected with this Parish,) which may account for her interment here. (see Extinct Barts. “Englefield.”)

In S.E. corner. 1652. (John Aubrey’s Father.)

“Hic jacet quod reliquum est RICHARDI Awbrey Armigeri, qui obiit 22 die mensis Octobris, MDCLII.”

It was Aubrey’s intention to erect a little tablet of white marble “about an ell high or better,” to both his parents, but this was never done. The inscription prepared by him was as follows:—

“P.M. RICHARDI AWBREY Armig. filii unici Johannis Awbrey de Burlton in Agro Heref.: filii tertii Gulielmi Awbrey L.L.D^{ris} et e Supplicum libellis ELIZ. REG. Mag^{ri} viri pacifici et fidelis amici. Uxorem duxit DEBORAH Filiam et hæredem Isaaci Lyte de Easton Piers, per quam suscepit tres superstites Johannem, Gulielmum, et Thomam, filios. Obiit xxi^o die Oct^r. A.D. 1652. Ætat: 49.”

Of his father Aubrey adds that “Alexander Brome hath an Elegie on him in his poems, (his Christian name having been omitted); which he made at the request of his next neighbour and friend Mr. Isaac Lyte late Alderman of London, my kinsman:” (and Founder of the Almshouses at Kington). At the time of writing this Epitaph his mother was living, as he adds, “I would have a blank of two lines for my mother.” He has also left on a scrap of paper lying amongst his MSS. at Oxford, an inscription for a monument to himself, from which, as he did not die until 1697, it would seem that he expected an earlier death. The memorandum consists of a shield, bearing six quarterings, “Aubrey, Einon,

Morgan, Danvers, Blount of Mangotsfield, and Lyte: or else thus, Aubrey, Danvers, Blount, and Lyte." "Consule Mr. A. W. de hiis." (*Ask Mr. Antony Wood about these.*)

"Heic situs est, Johannes Awbrey, Filius et hæres Rich. Awbrey de Easton Piers in Agro Wilt. armig: Reg. Soc: Socii. Obiit A^o Dni 168 . . . Die mensis . . . A^o Ætatis suæ 6 . . ."

At west end of Chancel,

1664. Arms. *Argent, on a fess gules between 3 garbs sable a martlet of the first: TYNDALE. Impaling, Or, a chevron gules charged with a crescent; a canton ermine. STAFFORD.*

"Here lyeth the body of DOROTHY late wife of Mr. Thos. TYNDALE and daughter of William Stafford Esq^r: who departed this Life 20 July 1664 aged near 72."

"Here lieth the body of THOMAS TYNDALE Esq. who departed this Life 13 Feb. 1671 aged 84 years and seaven months."

Monuments remaining. CHANCEL.

On a hatchment against S. wall. Arms of GASTRELL. *Checky argent and sable, on a chief or 3 bucksheads couped of the last. On an escutcheon of pretence, SNELL quartering KEYNELL. Crest. A demi-lion gules gorged with a chaplet vert.*

• *Memento Mori.* Under those two stones lye the bodies of NICHOLAS GASTRELL gent., who departed this life the 15th and was buried the 20th day of February A.D. 1662, aged 83 years and 7 moneths." "Also the body of MARY his wife who departed this life the 22^d and was buried the 23rd day of October A.D. 1661, aged 73 years and 5 months."

Against the E. wall a white marble tablet.

"BENJAMIN GRIFFIN, M.A. of New Coll. Oxford, Vicar of Kington St. Michael: Died 26 Nov. 1716, in his 39th year. His widow was 5th daughter of Sir Wm. Leche." "Also M^{rs}. ROSE BAVE, widow of Mr. Francis Bave Alderman of Bath. She died 24 July 1734 aged 62." "Also M^{rs}. HESTER WHITELOCK widow, 4th dau. of Sir Wm. Leche. Died 21 Sept. 1735, aged 71." .

Arms. *Sable, a chevron between 3 dolphins argent. GRIFFIN. Impaling Ermine, on a chief indented gules 3 crowns or. LECHE. Crest; A hand grasping a snake.*

North wall. A Hatchment. *Sable, on a bend gules 3 buckles or between 3 pheons argent. STUBBS. Impaling, Sable, a cross saltire argent, DUCKETT. Crest; an arm in armour holding a lance. Under the Chancel Arch, on a gravestone, THOMAS STUBBS Esq.¹ of Kington*

¹ His name as donor is on the pillars of the Church yard gates.

St. Michael, March 1705-6 aged 53. (His wife was daughter of Wm. Duckett Esq. of Hartham, and was buried at Corsham 20 January 1712 aged 55).

NAVE. Gravestones *destroyed.*

ISAAC TAYLER of the Priory, brother to John Tayler, Vicar.

Near the Font, THOMAS LYTE of Easton Piers, great grandfather (maternally) of John Aubrey. Buried 13 May 1627, aged 96.

By him under a black marble his son ISAAC LYTE, 1659, (Aubrey's grandfather.) This inscription is still visible, but is partly concealed by a pew.

Mrs. ISRAEL LYTE his wife 1661, (Aubrey's grandmother;) daughter of Thomas Browne of Winterbourne Basset.

Gravestones *remaining.*

On a black stone very much worn, the Arms of Clifford. *Checky, a fess.*

“ Margaret mes B Died 19 . . . 1766, aged 53.”

(Probably Margaret daughter of Wm. Clifford and Margaret Power, and wife of James Barrett.)

“ JONATHAN DEEKE of Langley, Clothier, and Grace his wife, who having lived together in matrimony above 57 years departed this life 1699, He July 23, aged 86. She Aug. 16, aged 83.

I went before as t'was my place to do,
And I in mine soon followed you.
Nor life nor death can separate us two,
We'll hand in hand to Heaven go.”

“ Mrs. REBECCA KNOTT June 1760, aged 68.” (sister and coheirress of Jonathan Power.) “ JAMES KNOTT, gent. 1766, at 36.” JAMES POWER Junr. Gent, 1715, aged 34.” “ JAMES son of Nathaniel POWER and Rebecca GASTRELL : Nephew and sole heir to James son of Nicholas Gastrell and Mary his wife youngest sister and coheir to Sir Charles Snell Kt. Lord of this Manor. Died 1705, aged 44.” ELIZABETH wife of James POWER senr and daughter of Jonathan Deeke of Langley in this Parish, Clothier: died October — aged 67.” “ JONATHAN POWER Gent. 1748. The stone placed by his sister Mrs. Sarah Coleman.”

Against second column (N. side).

“ WM. COLEMAN Esq. of Langley in this Parish, 1738 aged 63. SARAH his wife 1767, aged 74.”

NORTH AISLE. On Tablets against the walls.

“ DOROTHEA ANNE dau. of Walter COLEMAN of Langley Fitzhurst Esq. and Thermuthis his wife, 1825, aged 4 years.” “ THERMUTHIS wife of Walter

COLEMAN, and dau. of Robert Ashe of Langley Burrell Esq., 1825, aged 47. WALTER COLEMAN Esq., 1845, aged 67."

"ISAAC GALE of Bulidge, 1792, aged 66: and ELIZABETH his wife, daughter of Richard Michell of Langport, 1806, aged 70."

Arms. *Quarterly, 1 and 4, Azure, a fess argent fretty sable. GALE. 2 and 3, Sable a lion rampant. — On an escutcheon of pretence, Gules a chevron or between three swans. MICHELL.*

"ISAAC SADLER GALE 1841, aged 68. Also Catharine his widow, died at Harrow 1855."

"JAMES GASTRELL gent., son and heir of Nicholas Gastrell and Mary (Snell), 1678, aged 54."

On a shield: *Or, a boar passant sable. Crest; a pine branch with fruit.*

"JAMES GILPIN, born in this parish in 1709. and descended from the Snells sometime Lords of the Manor. He was educated at Westminster School and elected thence to Christ Church Oxford in 1728. He afterwards settled at The Temple, and was appointed Registrar to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, Auditor of their accounts, and Recorder of the same City. He died the 14th December 1766, and was buried in this churchyard."¹

"ROBERT GLENN gent. 1775, æt. 74. Elizabeth his wife 1796, æt. 84."

"SYDENHAM TUCKER 1771, aged 58." Upon this monument

Arms. *Vert, a chevron gules charged with a mullet, between 3 rams argent.* The same on a gravestone on the floor.

"FRANCIS WHITE of Langley, 1707, æt. 73. HANNAH his 1st wife, had 11 children, 3 died young: 8 survived, viz.: Francis, John, Elizabeth, Grace, Ayliffe, Thomas, James and Lydia. AYLIFFE WHITE 1761, aged 90. ELIZABETH his wife 1758, aged 59. FRANCIS their son 1761, aged 34."

"SARAH wife of John PROVIS of Chippenham, dau. of James and Sarah Mascall: Sept. 1813 in 35th year."

SOUTH AISLE.

(*Destroyed.*) "JOHN POWER of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, a Practitioner in physic, 1647." (Buried, says Aubrey in his MSS., face downwards.) "NICHOLAS his brother."

(*Remaining.*) "MARY, wife of Wm. ALEXANDER of Great Somerford 1735, æt. 56." "ANNE, wife of May PINCHIN Gent. of Langley Burrell, Feb. 1721. She was one of the daughters of Richard Estcourt Gent. of Swinley in this Parish." (the rest hidden by a pew.) Arms of Estcourt.

"GEORGE EASTCOURT of Swinley, 1712. aged 29 (?)"

"DANIEL YEALFE Schoolmaster of Kington 48 years, vestry clerk 50 years, Parish clerk 16 years, 1779, aged 70. Mary his wife 1778 aged 85."

"JOHN son of Harry and Jane HITCHCOCK of All Cannings, 1820, aged 32. J. C. HITCHCOCK of Andover his son, 1841, aged 28."

¹ A portrait of Mr. James Gilpin is in the possession of the Misses Mascall of Allington, owners of Heywood Farm. He was a collector of Notes for the history of his native Parish, a small MS. volume of which came, through the late Mr. Britton, into the hands of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society.

“RICHARD HUMPHREYS Vicar of Kington St. Michael and Rector of Draycote Cerne, 1711, aged 55. ANNE his wife, 1727, aged 68.”

“JAMES MASCALL 1821, aged 80. SARAH MARTHA his wife 1821, in 79th year.”

“WM. TANNER of Langley Fitzurse, 1849, aged 63.”

PORCH. Against the Wall.

“JOSEPH HINE youngest son of Richard Hine, Clerk” (and Vicar.) (rest illegible.)

CHURCH YARD. In Aubrey's time there were tombs to

“RICHARD HINE, Clerk, and ANNE his wife. He was Vicar 50 years and upwards and died 1663 aged 78. She 1666 aged 73.” ADAM MILSHAM (who gave the clock and chimes) under a tomb “the second from the South Porch towards the East.” Buried 9 March 1642 aged fourscore yeares and upwards. *Citò præterit ætas.*”

Also on the South side,

“1664.

Under this tombe here doth reside, as you may well remember,

The bodie of SIMON NECK who died the 4th of November.

His age was 78 yeares, then his wife was 59,

Who dyed the last of May 47 and here she doth lye by'n.”

“Honest old JOHN WASTFIELD a freeholder at Langley, 1644, above 80 years.” (Aubrey.)

On the south west side of the Church yard is a raised tomb with the following inscription, now nearly effaced.

“Here lieth the body of WILLIAM HARINGTON Vicar of this Parish 34 years: who departed this life July 13, 1751, in the 64th year of his age.” (with some verses, “The trumpet shall sound,” &c.) “Also SARAH his widow, died July 28, 1753, aged 59.” He was son of John Harington of Kelston, Co. Somerset, by his fourth wife Helena, dau. of Benjamin Gostlett of Marshfield, Co. Glouc.: and was baptized at Kelston. His wife Sarah was dau. and coheires of Thos. Harrison of Bath, and had no issue.

“Mrs. MARY WEBBE, 29 May 1773, aged 80.”

Eastward of the Porch is a tomb to JOHN YEALFE; on a shield, *a chevron between 3 caps (?) each surmounted by a cross pattee.*

South side.

“The Rev. EDWARD ROWLANDSON, 18 years Curate of this Parish. Died 11 June 1854, aged 51.” [Son of Michael John Rowlandson D.D., Vicar of Warminster. He was a Michel Fellow of Queen's Coll. Oxford, and in the second class *Lit. Hum.* 1823.]

KINGTON CROSS

Anciently stood at the turn leading down to the Priory. Aubrey says that “here in those days was a little market Fridays for fish, eggs, butter, and such small gear. Perhaps chiefly for the Nuns. The Michaelmas Fair was famous for ale and stubble geese.”

CHARITIES.¹

I. WOODRUFFE'S: A.D. 1664. Wm. Woodruffe of the Parish of Chippenham, yeoman, by Will dated 1 Sep. 1664, gives unto the Minister and Church-wardens of the Parish of Kington St. Michael's for the time being, a yearly Rent charge of 30 shillings: whereof ten to the Minister of Kington for preaching a Sermon on the 18th Sept. (o.s.) *in remembrance of God's mercy in preserving him in a wonderful manner from Drowning at Peckingell Bridge on the 18th Sept. 1656.* The Minister to excite the people to be mindful of mercies received, and to be thankful for the same. The other 20s. to be distributed yearly on the 18th Sept. amongst the poor people of the said Parish of Kington where there shall be most need.

The premises chargeable were a messuage, and pasture called "The Great Heth" two acres, which W. W. purchased of Samuel Unkles; and a "six acres Close" purchased of Edward Crook. All in Tytherton Lucas. A close of pasture in Chippenham called "the Breach" purchased of Wm. Bailiffe of Monkton Esq., six acres: Sheldon's Leaze eight acres: and Pipsmore twenty-five acres, lying in the Parishes of Chippenham, Langley Burrell, and Hardenhuish, purchased of Sam. Gage Chandler and Benj. Flower, Clerk: all which premises the said W. W. by Indenture of Feoffment dated 6 Nov. 1656, conveyed unto John Ely of Chippenham, Gent, and Peter Gale of Avon, yeoman, and their heirs, to the use of the said W. W. for life sans waste: and after his decease to such uses as W. W. by will in writing under his hand and seal should appoint. W. Woodruffe died 20 Jan. 1668. [In the Commissioner's Report the lands in Titherton Lucas are not noticed: those in Chippenham Parish are stated to be part of the Ivy House property, out of which the Rent charge is annually paid.]

2. LYTE'S ALMSHOUSE, A.D. 1675.

This stands on the west side of the village street, and bears the following inscription under a shield of the Founder's Arms. "Isaac

¹ See Charity Commissioners' Report No. 28, p. 329. The account of Woodruffe's Charity is taken from the MSS. of Mr. James Gilpin, a Barrister, and by him extracted from Parish Evidences, now apparently missing.

Lyte, born in this Parish, Alderman of London late deceased, built this Almshouse and endowed it A.D. 1675." He resided at Mortlake in Surrey, and by his Will, proved 21 Aug. 1673, bequeathed "six hundred pounds to be laid out in building an Almshouse in the Parish of Keinton in the C^o. of Wilts where I was born, for the maintenance of Six poor men to be from time to time nominated and appointed by the Minister, and Churchwardens, and the major part of the most sufficient men in that Parish. And my Will is, that the money be received by Richard Poole and Mr. Jonathan Dyke, and by them to be first laid out for the use aforesaid." A site for the House and piece of land for gardens, were conveyed to Trustees in 1674 and again in 1707: in which year also an interest in 50 acres in the Parish of Corston was vested in the same parties under the charitable trusts in Lyte's Will. In 1730 the whole premises were again assigned to Trustees: of whom Mr. Isaac Sadler Gale of Bath considered himself surviving representative in 1811. Partly with his own money, partly with the funds of the Charity, he put the Almshouse in proper order, and then claimed the nominations; but the claim was resisted by the Parish authorities. The land at Corston has been for many years in the possession of the Earl Radnor: the tenant paying only £20 a year to Kington Almshouse. Why this sum was fixed upon there is no satisfactory explanation: and the Commissioners in their Report mark the case as one proper for the consideration of the Attorney General, but nothing has been done. The Almshouses form one building, consisting of six tenements of two rooms each.

NEWMAN'S (OR SADLER'S) c. A.D. 1680.

The founder of this Charity was Miss Dorothy Newman, eldest niece of Sir Charles Snell. She died unmarried before 1680, giving £200 to the Poor. Her representatives were her three nieces, Dorothy Sadler wife of Wm. Coleman, Meriell Sadler, (afterwards wife of Isaac Gale), and Margaret Sadler, (afterwards wife of Thos. Stokes). In 1680 each of the three settled a rent charge on certain lands to maintain the charity. Two of these are now payable by Mr. Walter Coleman of Langley, and the third by the repre-

sentatives of Mr. Isaac Sadler Gale. Six pounds a year distributed in bread on St. Thomas's day.

4. TAYLOR'S, A.D. 1729.

A Rent charge of 20s. a year under the Will of Mr. Thomas Taylor dated 18th Sept. 1727, now payable out of land in Langley belonging to Viscount Wellesley. Distributed in bread amongst the poor on St. Thomas's day.

5. BOWERMAN'S, A.D. 1730.

Mrs. Sarah Bowerman by Will dated 6th Dec. 1730, gave £5 a year for ever, payable by the Trustees of Christ's Hospital, London, to the Schoolmaster at Kington St. Michael towards the education of poor children.

6. WHITE'S GIFT, A.D. 1821.

Mr. Thomas White of London, by Will dated 21st January 1821, gave to the Minister and Churchwardens for the time being £200 for the better maintenance of the poor inhabitants of the Alms-houses. The Dividends on £259 7s. 4d. Three per cent Reduced Annuities are accordingly so applied.

AUBREY AND BRITTON.

In the annals of a country parish it is a rare thing to find even a solitary name that has earned for itself more than local and temporary celebrity. The builder of a Church, a great House, or a School, or the Founder of a Charity, may, with the help of a monument, prolong for a few years the fact of his connection with the place; but even this kind of reputation, sometimes expensively purchased, dies away by degrees. One generation enters whilst another makes its exit, and like wave after wave spreading out upon the shore, each absorbs imperceptibly the traces of the last.

But in the chronicle of Births in this parish, are written *two* names, now known far and wide beyond its limits. Born, as to time, within 146 years; as to distance, within a mile, of each other; JOHN AUBREY and JOHN BRITTON have obtained a place amongst English literati as the earliest labourers in the neglected field of Wiltshire Topography: and the latter, for works of a more general

kind. In the present memoir they are accordingly entitled to especial notice.

JOHN AUBREY F.R.S.

Without committing the error either of over-rating or under-rating Aubrey, whatever else he might be, he was certainly an original.¹ Though his writings present a strange farrago, they have nevertheless preserved many curious facts that otherwise would have been lost. His notes and memoranda of persons and places jotted down at the time and on the spot, whether on horse-back, or in a village church, or at the tables of his friends, have now become, through lapse of years, useful to antiquaries and genealogists: affording a clue to accurate information if not conveying it themselves. To method and finish he makes no sort of pretension, but simply tells what he saw or what he heard, whenever and wherever it fell in his way. His anecdotes if not always historically correct in every particular, are probably as near the truth as most anecdotes. At all events they are told without any malicious colouring, with much good humour and quaint simplicity. To be critically severe upon Aubrey, considering his character and occupations, and the various domestic distractions under which he followed them, is simply ridiculous. Yet he has been very harshly dealt with; by no one more than Antony Wood, who, after 25 years acquaintance, could find it in his heart thus to describe his deceased, but to the last, forgiving friend. "He was a shiftless person, roving and magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crazed: and being exceedingly credulous would stuff his many letters sent to A. W. with folliries and misinformations which would sometimes guide him into the paths of error."² The circumstance which is believed to have provoked so splenetic an effusion, was this. In the second volume of his "Athenæ Oxonienses," Wood had been bold enough to put forth an undisguised intimation that the late Chancellor (Lord Clarendon) had not scrupled to receive bribes for preferment. For this *scandalum magnatum*

¹ See some account of him in Vol. I. p. 32.

² Ath. Oxon. Bliss's Edit. Life, p. lx.



Engraved by C.F. Waastaff, from a Drawing by Faithorne in the Ashmolean Museum

CHRISTOPHER FAITHORNE



proceedings were taken against him. He was fined and degraded, and the volume containing the alleged libel was publicly burnt. Smarting under this disgrace Wood poured the vial of his wrath upon Aubrey, from one of whose private letters he had adopted this charge against the Chancellor. But he ought rather to have been angry with himself for having been so imprudent as to adopt and print what it was quite in his power to have suppressed. The offensive passage that led to so much trouble occurred in Wood's "Life of Judge Jenkins," in which he said: "After the restoration of King Charles II. t'was expected by all that he (Jenkins) would be made one of the Judges in Westminster Hall, and so he might have been, would he have given money to the then Lord Chancellor." The original letter from Aubrey to Wood from which the latter borrowed this statement—almost word for word, is preserved in the Ashmolean Library. It is dated London, January 16, 1671. After other memoranda for the "Life of Judge Jenkins," Aubrey continues thus: "T'was pitty he was not made one of the Judges of Westminster Hall, and he might have been, (*he told me,*) if he would have given money to the Chancellor: but he scorned it . . . Mr. T. H. Malms^{br.}" (Thos. Hobbes of Malmesbury) "told him (Jenkins) one day at dinner, that that hereafter would not show well for somebodie's Honour in History." The story therefore against Clarendon, whether true or false, was Judge Jenkins's own: and if Wood chose to print it, he had no one but himself to blame for the consequences.

One or two other critics have echoed A. Wood's abuse, and amongst them, Dr. Farmer in his Essay upon the learning of Shakspeare. Aubrey had preserved a few anecdotes (and it is to be wished he had collected more) of the early life of the great Dramatist. These Dr. Farmer scouts, but rather unjustly; for Aubrey only repeated what "he had been told by some of the neighbours at Stratford." He was a truthful man and no inventor: generally gave his authority for his stories, and though perhaps they may be sometimes such as we are unwilling to believe, still they were the current stories of the day. Aubrey was born only nine years after Shakspeare died: near

enough, one would suppose, to have enabled him to gather a multitude of facts that now would have been invaluable. That he has not done so, considering his propensity that way, perhaps was owing to lack of such materials: which if it were the case, only increases the mystery that surrounds the name of Shakspeare.

Aubrey may have been credulous and not free from superstitions shared by men of finer intellect than himself: but it is owing to this very credulity that he has left us many things characteristic of the times. He was, it is said, regarded as a good Naturalist. He certainly noticed the iron ore at Seend near Devizes, only now, after 200 years, beginning to be worked.¹ He made many other clever remarks on Geology, long before the principles of that Science were systematically laid down: pointed out mineral springs that became afterwards, and for a while, popular: and though much of his "Natural History" may read very oddly at the present time, it seems to have been fully up to the mark of the Science of his own. The same may be said of his Antiquarian gatherings. He used his eyes and pen when others were blind and idle. The ruins of Avebury are not known to have been mentioned by any English writer till his attention had been accidentally called to them. In

¹ "Seend (*vulgo Seene*) is a very well built village on a sandy hill, from whence it has its name; *sand* being in the old English called *send* (for so I find writt in the records of the Tower): as also Send, in Surrey, is called for the same reason. Underneath this sand (not very deep, in some place of the highway not above a yard or a yard and a half), *I discovered the richest iron ore that ever I saw or heard of*. Come there on a certain occasion (at the Revell A.D. 1666), it rained at 12 or one of the clock very impetuously, so that it had washed away the sand from the ore; and walking out to see the country, about 3 p.m., the sun shining bright reflected itself from the ore to my eyes. Being surprised at so many spangles, I took up the stone with a great deal of admiration. I went to the smith, Geo. Newton, an ingenious man, who from a blacksmith turned clock-maker and fiddle-maker, and he assured me that he has melted of this ore in his forge, which the ore of the Forest of Dean, &c., will not do.

"The reader is to be advertized that the forest of Melksham did extend itself to the foot of this hill. It was full of goodly oaks, and so near together that they say a squirrell might have leaped from tree to tree. It was disafforested about 1635, and the oaks were sold for 1s. or 2s. per boord at the most; and then *nobody ever took notice of this iron ore*, which, as I said before, every sun-shine day after a rousing shower, glistened in their eyes. Now there is scarce an oak left in the whole parish, and oaks are very rare all hereabout, so that this rich mine cannot be melted and turned to profit." (Nat. Hist. of Wilts, p. 21.)

January 1649, his 24th year, being out hunting with Lord Francis Seymour near Marlborough, the hounds ran through the village of Avebury: "In the closes there (he says) I was wonderfully surprised at the sight of those *vast stones of which I had never heard before,*" (though within 15 miles of his home) "as also of the mighty bank and graffe about it." He left the company, and having examined the place, rejoined them at Kennet. Upon subsequent visits he made his notes. And until that time, this extraordinary monument, which if, whilst yet entire, it had been made national property and protected from injury, would have been now the most extraordinary one in the world, does not appear to have been even named in any English book extant.

Aubrey's "Lives of Eminent Men," originally written in aid of Antony Wood's labours, were published (with some suppressions) for the first time at Oxford in 1813, by Dr. Bliss and the Rev. J. Walker; in a work called "Letters from the Bodleian." They refer for the most part either to contemporaries and personal acquaintances of his own (and he seems to have known every body,) or to persons of a certain public station who, immediately before his time, had pronounced their "Valeté et plaudite" upon the stage of life. In these "Lives" there is nothing elaborate or artificial. They are merely memoranda of character and manners, without concealment of the bad or exaggeration of the good: anecdotes, odd sayings and doings, all naturally told, and such as more dignified biographers would hardly have introduced. But it is this very *naïveté* which makes them the more amusing. Aubrey's "eminent men" are not drawn in full ceremonial costume to produce an imposing effect, but in their every day dress, and sometimes in their undress. In his description something is sure to be found, not to be found any where else: and much as he has been reviled by stiff critics who would fain make the world believe, that wise men and heroes were heroes and wise men at all hours of their lives, his anecdotes are in the main perfectly credible. Slips of memory in names of person or place may be frequent: and there is inaccuracy in trifling facts: but as no two persons ever tell the same story in precisely the same words, Aubrey's aberrations in narrative are not

peculiar. A writer of the present day, Mr. Charles Knight, has taken a more generous view of the "Lives"; a work which, it should always be remembered, was never revised or prepared for the press by Aubrey himself. "There are few books that I take up more willingly in a vacant half hour than the scraps of biography which Aubrey, the Wiltshire Antiquarian, addressed to Antony à Wood. These little fragments are so quaint and characteristic of the writer: so sensible in some passages and so absurd in others: so full of what may be called the Prose of Biography, with reference to the objects of historical and literary reverence, and so encomiastic with regard to others whose memories have wholly perished in the popular view, that I shall endeavour to look at them consecutively as singular examples of what a clever man thought of his contemporaries, and of others famous in his day, whether their opinions accord with, or are opposed to our present estimate."¹

Aubrey having been at first and for a long time known as a writer, only by his "Miscellanies," a collection formed in days when Astrology was popular, and therefore containing much that is fantastic and irrational, no wonder that he obtained in later times the reputation of a dreamy visionary. But though he tells us in that book what foolish things other people believed and reported, it does not follow that he really believed them all: any more than that any writer who should now transmit to future times the spirit-rappings and table-turnings of the present day, would be obliged to have faith in those tricks himself. His turn of mind being no doubt superstitious, and his fancy leading him to such studies, he appeared to be more so than probably was the case. But letting all infirmities pass, his true merit is this. In days when there were neither books, nor students, nor societies, nor taste for English antiquities, he was a pioneer single-handed in that department: and for what he did, according to the best of his ability, his name deserves to be held in kind remembrance, especially in the County of Wilts.

A list of his various writings, some published and others still in manuscript, is given in Mr. Britton's Memoir of him, published by the Wiltshire Topographical Society in 1845, p. 83. The

¹ "Once upon a Time," vol. I. p. 296.

Monumenta Britannica" mentioned there (p.89) as missing, has since been discovered in the Bodleian Library. A fourth edition of his "Miscellanies" has appeared during the present year¹ with the addition of the Preface designed by Aubrey for his History of Wilts, and printed in "Curl's Miscellanies" 1714.

He was a thoroughly unsettled and unlucky man. His whole inheritance (at one time £700 a year) was consumed in paying debts and defending actions transmitted with his estate. He lived chiefly at Broad Chalk, sometimes at Easton; kept terms in London, and spent much time riding over Wiltshire in search, now of "Antiq.", now of a wife. The one he found; the other, not. Through sundry mishaps, his

" — course of true love never did run smooth.
For either it was difference in blood,
Or else misgraffed in respect of years,
Or else it stood upon the choice of friends,
Or, if there were a sympathy in choice,
Law, death or sickness did lay siege to it."

In this reference to Lysander's catalogue of obstacles,² the change of reading (acknowledged in Italic type,) is specially required for Aubrey's case; his principal suit to the fair sex in the person of Mistress Joan Sumner of Seend, having been suddenly extinguished by a suit at law, the full particulars and cause whereof are lost to curiosity. His assiduities also to others invariably ended in disappointment. Just at the interesting moment the "natal star" was always found to be in provoking opposition, and so it came to pass that he never lived to pay for license or be *called* in church.

His birth-place and family connexion (on his mother's side) with Kington St. Michael's have been mentioned above (p. 79). The "Accidents" of his life will be most properly given in his own words, copied from loose and vague notes amongst his MSS., forming all that is left of his

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

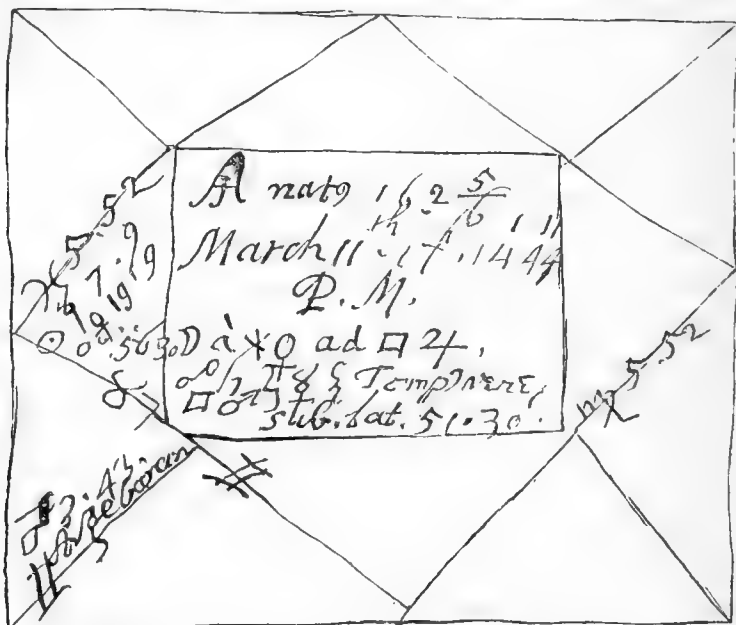
I.A.

"To be interponed as a sheet of wast paper only at the binding

¹ 12mo. Russell Smith, Soho Square, 1857.

² Midsummer Night's Dream, Act. 1.

of a booke. This person's life is more remarqueable in an Astrologically respect for his escape from many dangers in journeys both by land and water, than for any advancement of learning, having, from his birth (till of late yeares) being labouring under a crowd of ill directions. He was borne at Easton Pierse (a hamlet in the parish of Kington St. Michael), in the Hundred of Malmsbury, in the Countie of Wilts, (his Mother's inheritance, D. and H. of Mr. Isaac Lyte,) about sun-rising on March 12 (St. Gregory's day), A.D. 1625.¹ In an ill hour, Saturn directly opposing my ascendant—in



Horoscope of his Nativity, (from his own sketch.)

my Grandfather's chamber I first drew my breath: very weak and like to dye, and therefore christened that morning before morning prayer.

¹ A mistake has sometimes been made (amongst others, by the Editor of "Notes and Queries, vol. I. p. 13) about Aubrey's birthday; arising from a passage in his "Miscellanies" ("Day-Fatality"): "I shall take particular notice here of the 3rd of November, because it is my own Birthday, &c." But the early pages of the "Miscellanies" including this passage are stated by Aubrey himself to have been copied word for word from "Observations by John Gibbon" (Blue-Mantle), printed 1678; (and also Harl. Misc. viii. 300, 8vo). The 3rd November was therefore John Gibbon's birthday, not Aubrey's. He was certainly baptized at Kington (see *Parish Register*) on 12th March: and in allusion to this day he frequently subscribed his name in letters to his friends as "J. Gregorius."

"1629. About 3 years old I had a grievous ague, I can remember it. I got not health till eleven or twelve. This sickness nipt my strength in the bud. Longævous healthy kindred. When a boy—bred ignorant at Eston [eremiticall solitude]: was very curious: his greatest delight was, to be with the artificers that came there, joyners, carpenters, cowpers, masons, and understand their trades. *Horis vacuis*, (at leisure hours) I drew and painted. Did ever love to converse with old men as Living Histories; cared not for play.

"Anno 1633. I entered into my Grammar at the Latin School at Yatton Kaynell, in the Church, where the Curate, Mr. Hart, taught the eldest boys, Virgil, Ovid, &c. The fashion then was to save the forules of their bookes with a false cover of parchement, sc. old manuscript, which I was too young to understand; but I was pleased with the elegancy of the writing and the coloured initials. I remember the Rector (Mr. Wm. Stump, great gr. son of Stump the Cloathier of Malmsbury,) had severall manuscripts of the Abbey. He was a proper man, and a good fellow, and when he brewed a barrell of special ale, his use was to stop the bunghole (under the clay) with a sheet of manuscript. He said nothing did it so well, which it grieved me then to see. I remember having learnt the Alphabet from a Horn book, now extinct.

"1634. Afterwards I went to School to Mr. Robert Latimer, a delicate and little person, Rector of Leigh Delamere—a mile—fine walk—who had an easie way of teaching: and every time we asked leave to go forth we had a Latin word from him, which at our return we were to tell him again. This in a little while amounted to a good number of words. Zeal to learning extraordinary: but memory not tenacious. Mr. Latimer, at 70, wore a dudgeon,¹ with a knife and bodkin, as also my old grandfather Lyte and Alderman Whitson of Bristowe, which I suppose was the common fashion in their young dayes.

"Here was like covering of bookes. In my grandfather's days

¹ A small dagger. "It was a serviceable dudgeon, either for fighting or for drudging." Hudibras. Properly the root of box of which handles were made. (Halliwell). The handle, in Macbeth; "on thy blade and dudgeon."

the manuscripts flew about like butterflies. All musick books, account books, copy books, &c., were covered with old manuscripts, as wee cover them now with blew or marble paper; and the glovers at Malmsbury made great havock of them: and gloves were wrapt up no doubt in many good pieces of antiquity. Before the late warres a world of rare manuscripts perished hereabouts: for within half a dozen miles of this place were the Abbics of Malmsbury, Bradenstoke, Stanleigh, Farleigh, Bath, and Cirencester.

“This summer 1634, (I remember it was venison season, July or Aug.) Mr. Thos. Hobbes¹ came into his native country to visit his friends, and amongst others he came to see his old Schoolmaster, Mr. Latimer at Leigh Delamere, when I was then a little youth at school in the church, newly entered into my grammar by him. Here was the first place and time that I ever had the honour to see this worthy learned man, who was then pleased to take notice of me, and the next day came and visited my relations. He was a proper man, briske, and in very good equipage: his haire was then quite black. He stayed at Malmsbury and in the neighbourhood a weeke or better; twas the last time that ever he was in Wiltshire.²

“When a boy, never riotous or prodigal:—of inventive and philosophical head: my witt was always working, but not to verse.—Exceeding mild of spirit, mighty susceptible of fascination.

¹ The “Philosopher;” a native of Malmsbury, author of *Leviathan*, &c.

² Some biographers have said that Hobbes and Aubrey were school-fellows. This is clearly wrong, as Hobbes was born in 1588, 37 years before Aubrey: but they had the same Master, though at different times and places. Mr. Latimer in early life kept a private school in Westport, Malmsbury, when Hobbes was his pupil. In 1609 he became Rector of Leigh Delamere. Against the base of the East Wall of the Church outside, on a stone (removed from the inside when it was rebuilt in 1846) is the following inscription. “Here lyeth Robert Latymer, sometime Rector and Pastor of this Church: who deccased this life the 2^d day of November A.D. 1634.” The Rectory house was taken down and rebuilt on the same site in 1639: and underwent the same process again in 1846: but under the floor of the study in which this memoir of Kington St. Michael’s and Aubrey is now written by one of Mr. Latimer’s successors, are buried the two floors of the former houses; the lowest (of plaster) would probably be that on which Aubrey as a boy repeated his Latin words, or got his slice of the venison with which the Philosopher’s visit to Leigh Delamere appears to have been celebrated.

“T’was my unhappiness in half a year to lose this good enformer (Mr. Latimer) by his death: and afterwards was under severall dull ignorant teachers till 12; 1638: about which time I was sent to Blandforde School in Dorset; W. Sutton B.D.: who was ill-natured. Here I recovered my health and got Latin and Greeke.

“1638. Here also was the use of covering of bookes with old parchments, sc. leases, &c., but I never saw any thing of a Manuscript there. Hereabout were no Abbeys or convents for men. Anno 1647, I went to Parson Stump out of curiosity, to see his Manuscripts, whereof I had seen some in my childhood: but by that time they were all lost and disperst. His sons were gunners and souldiers, and scoured their gunnes with them: but he showed me severall old deedes granted by the Lords Abbotts with their seals annexed, which I suppose his sonne, Capt. John Stump of Malmsbury hath still.

“I was always enquiring of my (maternal) Grandfather (Isaac Lyte), of the old time, the Roodloft, ceremonies of the Priory, &c. At 8 I was a kind of engineer and fell then to Drawing, beginning with plain outlines in draughts of the curtains: then on to colours; being only my own instructor. Copied pictures in the parlour, in a table-book. At 9, a portraiter and was passable. Was wont to lament with myself that I lived not in a city, where I might have access to watchmakers, locksmiths, &c. Not much care for grammar. Strong and early impulse to Antiquities. Tacitus and Juvenal. Look’t through some logique and ethiques. A musical inventive head: ideas were clear.

“1639. My uncles nag ran away with me, Monday after Easter, and gave me a very dangerous fall. About this time my grandfather Aubrey dyed, leaving my Father, who was not educated to learning but to hawking.

“1642, May 3. Entered at Trinity Coll. Oxon. Peace. ‘Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.’ But now did Bellona thunder: and as a clear sky is sometimes overstretched with a dismall black cloud, so was the serene peace by the Civill War through the factions of those times. ‘Amovêre loco me tempora grato.’ In August following, 1643, my Father sent for me home for feare.

‘Religio Medici’ first opened my understanding, I carried it to Easton, with Sir Kenelm Digby. In Feb. following (with much importunity) I gott my Father to lett me go to beloved Oxford againe, (then a garrison pro Rege). I got Mr. Hesketh a priest, Mr. Dobson’s man, to draw the Ruines of Oseney 2 or 3 wayes before t’was pulled downe: now the very foundation is digged up.

“April and May. The small pox at Oxford. Left that ingeniose place, and for 3 years led a sad life in the country.—where I conversed with none but servants and rustiques, (to my great greefe, for in those days fathers were not acquainted with their children) and soldiers quartered. *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.* It was a most sad life to me then, in the prime of my youth, nott to have the benefit of an ingeniose conversation, and scarce any good bookes. Almost a consumption. This sad life I did lead in the country till 1646, at which time I got (with much adoe) leave of my father to let me goe to the Middle Temple.

“1646, April 16. Admitted. But my Father’s sickness and business never permitted me to make any settlement to my study. My fancy lay most to geometry. My studies in it were on horseback, &c., so I got my Algebra: Oughtred in my pocket, with a little information from Edw. Davenant D.D. of Gillingham, Dorset. [See Lives II. 296.] My father discouraged me. My head was never idle: alwaies working: and even travelling (from 1649 to 1670 was never off my horseback) did gleane some observations, of which I have a collection in folio of two quire of paper, some whereof are to be valued. If ever I had been good for anything ’twould have been a Painter. I could fancy a thing so strongly, and have so cleare an idea of it.

“June 24 following, Oxon was surrendered, and there came to London many of the King’s party, with whom I grew acquainted (many of them I knew before). I loved not debauches, but their martiall conversation: was not so fit for the messe.

“November 6. I returned to Trin. Coll. in Oxon, again, to my great joy: was much made of by the Fellows, had their learned conversation, look’t on books, musique. Here and at Middle Temple off and on I for the most part enjoyed the greatest felicity of my

life, (Ingeniose youths like rosebudds imbibe the morning dew.) till

“1648, Dec. Xmas eve, I was sent for home again to my sick father, who never recovered: where I was engaged to look after his country business and solicit a law suit.

1649-50, April. My Mother fell from her horse and brake her arm the last day of April, when I was a suitor to Mistress Jane Codrington.

“1651. About the 16 or 18 April I sawe that incomparable good conditioned gentlewoman, Mistress M. Wiseman, with whom at first sight I was in love.

“Oct. 21. My Father died, leaving me debts £1800: and law proceedings £1000. Began to enter into pocket mem. books philosophicall and antiquarian remarques A.D. 1654 at Llantrihid.

“Sept, 1655, or rather I think 1656, I began my chargeable and tedious lawe suite on the entaile at Brecknockshire and Monmouthshire. This yeare and the last was a strange yeare to me. Several love and law suites.

“1657. Nov. 27. Obiit Domina Kasker Ryves, with whom I was to marry: to my great losse.—£2000; besides counting one of her Brothers £1000 per ann.

“A^o. . . I made my Will, and settled my estate on Trustees, intending to have seen the Antiq. of Rome and Italy, and then to have returned and married. But (Diis aliter visum est superis) viz. . . . to my inexpressible grief and ruine hindered the designe . . . But notwithstanding all these embarrassments, I did, *pian piano* (as they occurred) take notes of Antiq., and having a quick draught have drawn landskips on horseback symbolically, as on the journey to Ireland A.D. 1660.

1659. March or April: like to break my neck in Ely Minster: and the next day riding a gallop there, my horse tumbled over and over, and yet I, thank God, no hurt.”

[After visiting Ireland and being nearly shipwrecked at Holyhead, he sold his Burleton estate in Herefordshire to Dr. F. Willis: then the Manor of Stratford,¹ in 1661 and 1662. In 1663 he was elected F.R.S. In June 1664, he went to France, was very ill at

¹ Probably Stretford near Locominster.

Orleans, and returned in October. Another bad fall from his horse, Monday after Christmas.]

“1665. Nov. 1. I made my first address (in an ill hour) to Joan Sumner. She lived with her Brother at Seend. The next year was still more unlucky. 1666. This year all my business and affairs ran kim kam: nothing tooke effect, as if I had been under an ill tongue, treacheries and enmities in abundance against me. 1667. December. Arrested in Chancery-lane at Mistress Sumner’s suit.”

In February following he obtained with some difficulty a verdict against her, with £600 damages, in a trial at Salisbury; but the amount was reduced to £300 on a new trial at Winchester. In 1669, March 5, this trial came on; lasting from 8 to 9. One Peter Gale maliciously contrived to arrest him just before, but the trick failed. He attributed the result of the trial to the “Judge being exceeding made against him by my Lady Hungerford, (of Corsham).”¹

In 1669-70, after being owner 17 years, he sold his Easton Piers Farm; and his interest in the farm at Broad Chalk. The latter had belonged to the Abbey of Wilton: and was held by the Aubreys as lessees under the Earls of Pembroke. To Antony à Wood on the 2nd October 1669, he writes “I shall be the next weeke at Easton Piers, where I should be glad to heare from you by the Bristowe Carrier in Jesus College Lane, to be left at Michaell’s Kington.” It was during this visit that he made the Drawings of his Villa referred to above, (p. 79). On the 28th April following he was again there, and perhaps for the last time of residence, the Farm being transferred to the new owner, Mr. Sherwin,² at Lady Day 1671. Aubrey

¹ In his letters to A. Wood, Aubrey names another person as a chief in the conspiracy to defeat his advances to Mistress Sumner. “Dec. 1668. The person that you mentioned in your letter that is now Lancaster Herald, his name is Chaloner, whose character I have heard of by one of his neighbours that liveth at the Devizes. He hath been an officer in the army, a bustling man for the world: of great acquaintance with the Gentry and one that understandeth his trade well. He will not stick to ask enough” (for the resignation of his place). “He is one that the Office” (of Heralds) “and I think every body hates, or ought to do, if they knew him as well as I doe: for he hath been the *boutefeu* (firebrand) to sett my dame and me at variance.”

² Also purchaser of the Priory. He left both during Aubrey’s life time to a daughter and heir. N. II. of W. p. 119.

looked upon this as an ominous event; noted the day and hour, and drew a horoscope. "25 March 1671. One P.M. Possession given by Jonathan Rogers to Mr. Sherwin;" and in his *Nat. Hist. of Wilts*, p. 119, ("Fatalities and Places") thus alludes to the sale. "Several places in this county have been fortunate to their owners. Contrarywise there are some unlucky. Easton Piers hath had six owners, since the reign of Henry VII.: where I myself had a share to act my part. One part of it called Lyte's Kitchen hath been sold four times over since 1630." He appears to have realized by the sale of Easton and Broad Chalk less than he expected by "£500, plus £200 goods and timber."

Having now been obliged, from "debts, lawsuits, oppositions, refusals, and perpetual riding," to part with the whole of his property "I absconded as a banished man. Ubi? In monte Dei videbitur."¹ I was in as much affliction as a mortal could be: and never quiet till all was gone;² submitted myselfe to God's will: wholly cast myselfe on God's providence. I wished Monasterys had not been put down, that the Reformers would have been more moderate as to that point. Fit there should have been receptacles for contemplative men. If of 500 but one or two. What a pleasure t'would have been to have travelled from monastery to monastery. The Reformers in the Lutheran Countries were more prudent than to destroy them, as in Alsatia, &c. Nay, the Turks have monasteries: why should our Reformers be so severe? Providence rayseed me (unexpectedly) good friends: the Rt. Hon.

¹ i.e. "Where? In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." Alluding to the meaning of the name "Jehovah-jireh" (Gen. xxii. 14.) viz., "The Lord will provide."

² In his unpublished letters to Anthony Wood (preserved in the Ashmolean Museum) Aubrey "still harps" upon his favourite maternal acres.

1671. "I am much beholding to you for the honour that you are pleased to let my name live. Pray putt in my beloved Easton Pierse—where and to what estate I was born. If heaven had pleased I might have enjoyed it." In another "I humbly thank you for the honour that you intend me by inserting my name in your living and lasting History. I desire you to name me of Easton Pierse: to contradistinguish me from other John Aubreys: it being the place where I was born, and my Mother's inheritance which my cruel Fate enforced me to part with. A most lovely seate it is."

Nicholas Earl of Thanet, with whom I was delitescent" (in retirement) "at Hethfield in Kent, near a year. Edmund Wyld Esq., R.S.S., of Glazely Hall, Salop, tooke me into his arms, with whom I most commonly take my diet and sweet otiums. Makes me lethargique."

"A^o. 1671 : having sold all and disappointed as aforesaid of moneys I received, I had so strong an impulse to (in good part) finish the Description of Wilts, in 2 volumes in folio, that I could not be quiet until I had done it, and that with danger enough, 'tanquam canis e Nilo,'¹ for feare of crocodiles—i.e. catchpoles. And indeed all that I have done and that little I have studied, has been just after that fashion : so that had I not lived long my want of leisure would have afforded a slender harvest. A strange fate that I have laboured under, never in my life to enjoy one entire moneth—(once at Chalke in my absconding)—or 6 weeks otium for contemplation."

Besides Mr. Wyld and the Earl of Thanet he had other friends who gave him shelter and hospitality, viz.: at Lavington, the Earl of Abingdon, to whose first wife (by descent from Danvers) he was related: and at Draycot, Sir James Long. Of this gentleman he always writes in terms of great respect as his "ever honoured friend." A similarity in tastes and pursuits appears from their correspondence, as well as from the frequent recurrence amongst Aubrey's papers of "Quære Sir J. L."² He had also in the neighbourhood of Easton a great coadjutor in Thomas Gore Esq., of Alderton, a

¹ "Like a dog by the Nile": Running and lapping for fear of being caught.

² "I should now be both orator and soldier to give this honoured friend of mine, a gentleman absolute in all numbers, his due character. Only son of Sir Walter Long: born at South Wraxhall in Wilts, Westminster Scholar; of Magd. Coll. Oxon. Went to France. Married a most elegant beauty and wit, dau. of Sir E. L. 25 æt. (Dorothy d. of Sir Edw. Leach of Shipley, Co. Derby.) In the Civil Wars Col. of horse in Sir F. Dodington's brigade. Good swordsman: admirable extempore orator: great memory: great historian and romancer: great falconer and for horsemanship. For insects exceedingly curious, and searching long since in natural things. Oliver, Protector, hawking at Hounslow Heath discoursing with him fell in love with his company, and commanded him to wear his sword, and to meet him a-hawking: which made the strict cavaliers look on him with an evil eye. Seripsit "History and causes of the Civil Warre." [Lives. II. 433.]

country gentleman of independent fortune and good education, whose fancy lay towards genealogical pursuits, chiefly Heraldry: on which subject whenever Aubrey is at a loss, his intention to consult the Alderton oracle is expressed by a "Mem. to ask T. G. de hoc."

In a curious folio manuscript history of his own family by Mr. Gore (now in the possession of Mr. Poulett Scrope), it is mentioned that at some period before the year 1664 Aubrey had mortgaged his estate at Broad Chalk to Thos. Gore and his brother Charles, as Trustees to their sister Anna, afterwards wife of John Scrope Esq. of Castle Combe.¹

Another literary friend from whose society he found much comfort in the latter part of his life, was Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Tanner, a native of Market Lavington, author of the *Notitia Monastica*. Tanner was only 22 years old at Aubrey's death, but he had already shown so many qualifications for undertaking an important historical and topographical work, as to lead Aubrey to express the hope that in him the County of Wilts might find a proper historian.

The following is his own list of the persons with whom (besides those already mentioned) he had been most intimate.

A. Ettrick of Trin. Coll. Oxford. Francis Potter, Rector of Kilmington near Mere, of whom, as a very ingenious mathematician and mechanic, Aubrey gives a long account in his "Lives,"

¹ At a later period the friendship between T. Gore and Aubrey appears to have been worn threadbare: for of his former colleague, Aubrey in his fatal year 1671, writes thus, (to A. Wood). "Pray remember me to Mr. Browne," (a clerical antiquary and friend). "If he writes or sees Mr. Gore, let him not tell him that he saw me: for he is a fiddling peevish fellow, and something related to my adversaries." Again, in the same year when absconding, "I writ a line to Mr. Gore a little before I went into France (that is, to Kent) to quare some things: and to know what the Heralds did, &c., and told him that I correspond with you and that you could send a letter to me. If he should not assist me he were an ill-natured cur, for he hath made me as much his slave as Sir Browne." Finally, in 1680. "Pray write to the cuckold at '*Alderton, alias Aldrington*' to enquire, &c., &c. But he is a yare man and afraid of my queries as many people are when we want to preserve the memories of their Relations." Aubrey here alludes to Mr. Gore's preciseness in expression, certainly carried to a wearisome excess; for every time he names his own parish in the MS. family History above referred to, (and the name occurs a dozen times in every page) he invariably reiterates his "*Alderton alias Aldrington.*"

vol. ii. p. 496. Jo. Lydall of the Middle Temple. Sir John Hoskins Bart., grandson of the celebrated Winchester versifier Serjeant Hoskins.¹ Edmund Wyld Esq. of Glazely Hall. Robert Hooke of Gresham Coll. (Lives ii. 403.) Thos. Hobbes, (Do. ii. 592, a very long memoir written at Hobbes's special request). Antony Wood. Bishop Seth Ward, of Sarum. (Lives ii. 571.) Dr. Wm. Holder. (Do. ii. 397.) Sir Wm. Petty "my singular friend." (Do. ii. 481.) Mr. Charles Seymour (Lord S. of Trowbridge). Sir Lionel Jenkins.

His notes of his own life conclude thus: "I now indulge my genius with my friends, and pray for the young angel's rest, at Mrs. More's near Gresham College."² He survived the loss of his property 26 years: and after the usual course of declining health, died suddenly at Oxford on his way to Draycote, and was buried in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene.³ The entry in the Register stands thus "1697. John Aubrey, a stranger, was buried June 7." Without either brass or marble there or elsewhere, to preserve his memory, the name of the good-natured Antiquary of Easton Piers has nevertheless flitted from tongue to tongue: and the well worn condition of his manuscripts in the Ashmolean Museum bears ample witness to the homage of his votaries.

Several portraits of him were made at different periods of life. The only one now known is a miniature by Faithorne, preserved at Oxford, taken in 1666 when he was 40 years old, an engraving of which accompanies this Memoir.

¹ The writer of this Memoir has ventured (in "Notes and Queries" vol. vi. p. 495) to claim for this "Serjeant Hoskins" the authorship of the verses on the *Trusty Servant*, so well known to all Winchester Scholars. And this, on the authority of Aubrey, who in one of his letters to A. Wood (Oct. 27, 1671,) (amongst a great number lately arranged in the Ashmolean Library) mentions the "*picture of the Servant, and the Latin Verses at Winton, done by The Serjeant when he went to school there, but now firmly painted.*" Hoskins was at Winchester School in 1584 and died 1638. He was well known for his dexterity in Latin and English Epigrams and Epitaphs, as well as satirical poetry: for the exercise of which talent he was refused his degree and expelled the University of Oxford. Aubrey frequently alludes to him as "The Serjeant;" and as all the Serjeant's manuscripts came at his death to his grandson, Sir John Hoskins, Aubrey's intimate friend, Aubrey would have the best authority for his statement. For a memoir of the Serjeant see Chalmers's Biog. Dict.

² "In Hammond Alley, Bishopsgate street, the farthest house." MS.

³ He left no Will: and in the Letters of Administration taken out by his brother William he is described as "Bachelor."

JOHN BRITTON F.S.A.

This name, familiar for half a century to the architects and artists of Great Britain, at length occupies its place in the Obituary of meritorious men. His life supplies one instance more of perseverance against difficulty, crowned with success. Not that his incessant labour led to much ultimate result as to any accumulation of worldly means: for at that *desideratum* he failed to arrive. He failed, because he was no selfish saver or worshipper of money for its own sake. It was in his sight a thing to be used: and the use to which he applied it was that of improving, in his own department, the taste of the age in which he lived. In this respect he was eminently successful: for by long-continued liberal efforts made with that object in view, he has secured for himself a name of authority in the remembrance of his country.

Of his early life, his struggles with adversity, and his many literary works, an authentic account may be found in his "Autobiography," the employment of his declining years, almost to the very day of death. Occasionally diffuse, it is upon the whole a curious and instructive memoir, showing (in his own words) "how much may be effected by zeal and industry, with moderate talents and without academic learning." Some things which as an autobiographer he could not, without breach of modesty, say of himself, may now be said of him by others. And it is the testimony of those who knew him well, that he had an active and penetrating mind, remarkable power of arrangement, an excellent memory, a kind heart, and a moral character free from reproach. He was simple in his habits, fond of children and a favourite with them; a great lover of Natural History, and an advocate of mercy to the humblest animal. In stature he was short; in figure slender: a ready and amusing speaker: of great vivacity and cheerfulness even to the last. Devoted to the Antiquities of his country, particularly his native county, he excelled in architectural illustration addressed to the eye. In this branch of Art, through tact in appreciating skill, he was the means of bringing into notice some of our best modern engravers.

John Britton's life commenced on the 7th July 1771; under

circumstances which without the aid of a Horoscope may safely be pronounced to have been as unpromising as well could be. He was born in a cottage (represented in the wood cut), still standing at



John Britton's Birth-place.

the angle formed by the main street of Kington St. Michael with the lane that leads to the Church.¹ He was the fourth of ten children, but eldest son, of Henry and Ann Britton, without inheritance or much prospect of it. His father's occupation included various branches of petty village business. He was baker, maltster, shopkeeper and small farmer: and a single room 14 feet wide by 6½ high, with a heavy beam across the ceiling and a floor of stone, served for parlour, kitchen, hall, and nursery. Under-housed, over-stocked with children, and encumbered with many trades without success in any, the father sank into poverty. John received instruction at a dame's school, and having mastered the "Chris-

¹ He was baptized August 4th by John Scrope, Vicar, (*Par. Reg.*) The marriage of his parents Henry Britton and Ann Hillier, on 10th January 1765, is registered at Norton about 5 miles from Kington St. Michael's. Her family were at that time tenants of Maidford Farm in that parish: and in the first cottage going from Maidford to Norton Church, Mr. Britton (as he told the writer) learned his A B C.

cross Row" (like Aubrey, in the now rare horn-book), was removed for two years to a Mr. Moseley, a Baptist minister at Fosscoote in Grittleton, thence to schools successively at Yatton Keynell, Draycote, and Chippenham. At thirteen he was taken away from education to carry loaves about on horseback to neighbouring villages. The mother was active and managing, and strove hard against misfortune: but bad debts, cheating millers, rivals in trade, and the heavy family, were too much for her, and she died broken-hearted. The father became idiotic; John's brothers and sisters were dispersed amongst relatives: and his own destiny was to be taken to London in October 1787, by an uncle Samuel Hillier, who after employing him for some time in his own house as a foot-boy with horses to clean, apprenticed him for six years to a Mr. Mendham of the Jerusalem Tavern, Clerkenwell. There, having paid no apprentice fee, he was not initiated into the deeper mysteries of the craft, but only into the duties of helper to a common porter, in bottling, corking, and binning wine.



The Jerusalem Tavern wine-cellar.

To his dismal life of ten hours a day in the Clerkenwell wine-vaults, with the choice, when his work was over, of either remaining

in the cellar or associating with the workmen, Mr. Britton always looked back, as he well might, with utter abhorrence. He learned nothing from the business, not even in what part of the world Oporto or Madeira were, lost his health, was afraid of complaining, and was only upheld through the period of legal imprisonment by the smiles of a young person in the establishment, with whom of course he fell in love. But even this cordial failing to restore him, his master at length gave up about half a year of his services, presented him with two guineas instead of twenty promised, and turned him out into the world to provide for himself. He had then two uncles in London, to whom he had been taught to look for friendly assistance. Both were living in genteel comfort, but at neither of their houses could he obtain even shelter from the weather, or a meal.

Before his first visit to London he had never seen a Dictionary, and knew nothing of geography or history : though as a boy he had been fond of books whenever he could get them. His self-education was continued underground and clandestinely. He would take an occasional half hour in the morning between seven and eight o'clock to look at the sky, breathe a little fresh air and visit two book stalls in the neighbourhood. His purchases were chiefly medical works, and those of Dr. Dodd, Ray, Smollett, Fielding and Sterne, &c. These he read by candle-light in the cellar at half hours abstracted from official duties, so that the tale of bottles to be corked had to be made up afterwards all the faster. One of the few acquaintances formed at this time was a Mr. Essex father of the present painter in enamel. From him books were borrowed, and at his house Britton first met his future friend and coadjutor in many literary undertakings, Mr. E. W. Brayley, then apprenticed as an enameller to Mr. Essex. In a memoir of his colleague published in the *Gent. Mag.* Dec. 1854, Mr. Britton says ; "From this unpromising association and from fortuitous circumstances, ultimately sprang a crop of literary works which cannot fail to astonish the reader who calculates their amount in volumes, pages, variety of subjects, extent of labour in research, travel, embellishment and manual writing." As may reasonably be supposed they

commenced in the most humble departments of literature. The first partnership speculation was a song called "*The Powder Tax; or a Puff at the Guinea Pigs,*" written by Brayley and sung by Britton publicly at a club held at the Jacob's Well, Barbican, where a motley assemblage of smokers and tipplers met once a week to hear theatrical repetitions. The new ditty was encored, printed, and more than 70,000 copies sold by a song-dealer, who pirated this first publication of the two young authors.

The period between the release from the wine-cellar and the adoption of literature as a profession, embraced about seven years of privation and vicissitude, occasionally relieved by employment that produced a bare livelihood. In very poor and obscure lodgings at eightpence a week he indulged in study, often reading in bed during the winter evenings to save the cost of firing. When the finances were in tolerable order he frequented "Free and easy," "Odd-fellows," and "Spouting clubs;" though never allowing his expenses to exceed sixpence a night at any of these choice associations. The next step was to Debating Societies, private theatricals and lectures, the last being rare.

But the first and all absorbing object after leaving Mr. Mendham's service was to undertake a journey on foot to Plympton in Devonshire, to renew with matrimonial intent the attachment formed for the goddess of the wine-cellar. Mr. Britton describes this toilsome journey and its result in a very amusing manner. The fair but faithless Dulcinea, some years older and apparently much wiser than himself, declined the suit, and he set off home again in a state of mental misery. At Bath he failed in obtaining an engagement as cellar-man at the White Hart Hotel, and returned to the metropolis shoeless, shirtless, and almost penniless. A short engagement at the London Tavern was followed by another as clerk to a widow in Smithfield; but the knavery and hypocrisy of the establishment disgusting him, he accepted a situation in the office of a Mr. Simpson, Attorney, in Gray's Inn, where he remained for three years at the wages of fifteen shillings a week. The business not being overwhelming gave him plenty of time for excursion in lighter walks, the drama, novels and poetry: and his income,

small as it was, was sufficient to provide a decent lodging, clothes, food, and the luxury of books. For about ninepence a day during these three years, he dined at an eating-house in Great Turnstile, Holborn : where, amongst other characters, he met with the eccentric Sir John Dinely one of the poor Knights of Windsor, the noted Chevalier D'Eon, and Joseph Ritson the Antiquary.

His employer, the Gray's Inn Attorney, dying in 1798, a fresh engagement was made with Messrs. Parker and Wix, Solicitors, of Greville street, Hatton Garden, where he obtained twenty shillings a week, an augmentation of income peculiarly cheering, the new connexion being in other respects also very satisfactory. He now became member of a Debating Society in Coachmakers' Hall, and at the Shakesperian Theatre, Tottenham Court Road, not as a prominent orator, but as prompter and occasional helper in scenes. But at another club, the Jacob's Well, he rose to be a leading star by recitation of comic tales, prologues, and characters written by Peter Pindar, George Colman the younger, and others. These always amused and were often received with vociferous applause. Debating clubs at the close of the last century were a marked feature in London life ; the excitement produced by the French Revolution was at its height, and the young men of the day hung upon the lips of the professors of democracy. Many of these were mere mob-orators, some were Government spies, some earnest politicians of ability ; and of this class Mr. Britton has preserved some interesting reminiscences. In such a school no wonder that he contracted a propensity to express himself rather too strongly of those whose taste or views might not always be the same as his own : a habit that tinges now and then the writings even of his latest years. But

“ Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu.”¹

His taste fixed on the drama, and in the winter of 1799 he was engaged by a Mr. Chapman at three guineas a week to write and sing at a theatre in Panton street, Haymarket, on the plan of the “Eidophusikon” of De Louthembourg, a very popular entertainment

¹ Hor. E. I. 2. 69. “ A vessel, well
“ With liquor seasoned, long retains the smell.”

which under this difficult and therefore attractive name, exhibited exquisite scenery by that painter with the various effects of sunshine and gloom, morn, mid-day, night, thunder, lighting, &c.¹ Mr. Chapman's imitation presented less of the sublime and more of the miscellaneous; including, as it did, John Britton's monologue, the musical glasses, and a learned dog. This temple of the Muses being destroyed by fire in 1800, others were resorted to, and a large acquaintance was formed in histrionic society of every grade, from writers and actors down to mountebanks and clowns. Many are his anecdotes of these persons. Through the interest of the more distinguished actors, the Kembles, Bannister, Young, and others, he was supplied with orders for the theatre, and at that time believed it was impossible to be tired of reading plays or seeing them represented on the stage. The playhouse seemed the most fascinating place of rational amusement in the world, and he was on the eve of becoming an actor. The fascination fortunately passed away: the accounts of struggle and privation endured by friends who had embarked in that line damped his ambition, and he renounced the stage as a profession.

But for what was he fitted? Since emancipation from the Clerkenwell vaults his life had been one of uncertainty: and though fond of reading and eager for information, he had not dared to think of literature as a means of livelihood. Two or three juvenile essays slipped into the letter-box of a Shoe Lane periodical had indeed been printed, and their appearance in type was gratifying. He followed them up with comments on players, clubs and theatricals. For these a place was found in the "Sporting Magazine," published by John Wheble of Warwick Square, who proved a kind friend and was the cause of his becoming, ultimately and for life, an Author. A sixpenny pamphlet called "*The Thespian Olio*," was the first book of which he was the Editor. Then followed a daring speculation (involving the risk of £15, a sum never hitherto in his possession at one time), the "*Odd Fellows' Song Book*," price one shilling! Of this 500 copies were printed and actually sold, bringing in a trifling profit. He then became connected with John

¹ See a description by W. H. Pyne in "Wine and Walnuts."

Fairburn a bookseller in the Minories, and wrote for him "*Twelfth Night Characters*," to be printed on cards and drawn out of a bag, for the amusement of evening parties on that Festival. The hint was borrowed by others, and afterwards grew to an extensive trade. The next effort was in 1799, "*The Life and Adventures of Pizarro*," a compilation that gave him his first taste of the difficulties of authorship, and for this, his maiden essay, he received ten pounds. Great was his self-satisfaction at beholding a superior edition, price five shillings!

But the turning point of his career had arrived: and a direction was now given to it from which he never afterwards swerved. As frequently happens, a trifling incident gave the bias. Amongst the articles contributed by him to the pages of Mr. Wheble's *Sporting Magazine* had been an anecdote of Britton's juvenile days, relating to a fox in his native village of Kington St. Michael. With 15 or 20 couple of the Duke of Beaufort's hounds almost at his brush, the animal had rushed into an open cottage at the foot of a hill in the village street, and jumping into a cradle where a



Little Red Riding Hood at Kington.

baby was asleep, crept under the clothes. The mother being in the garden and hearing the hounds in full cry towards her door, ran in

to protect the child; its strange bedfellow was discovered and handed over to the less tender nursing of the huntsman.

The insertion of this Wiltshire anecdote in Mr. Wheble's periodical happened to turn the conversation upon that county, when the Editor told Britton that some years before, when living at Salisbury, he had conceived the idea of publishing a work in two volumes, to be called "The Beauties of Wiltshire," but had been prevented from continuing it. He now suggested the thought to the contributor of the fox story, urged him to undertake it, and offered pecuniary assistance. Being at the time without any sort of tie or profitable occupation, Britton caught eagerly at the suggestion; the more so as it would give him again and again the opportunity of revisiting and exploring his native county. Such was the *real* beginning of his literary life.

The task was accepted; without any previous qualifications whatever for performing it, other than those of ardour and perseverance. He knew nothing of the labour required for real topography, had never studied works upon the subject, and those he now looked into seemed dry and uninviting. Warner's "Walk through Wales" appeared to be more to the purpose, and taking this for his model he commenced a pedestrian tour. Armed with a few maps and books, a limited wardrobe and an umbrella, he rambled several hundred miles about the Midland Counties, passing through Wiltshire on his return. His whole expenses during several months amounted only to eleven pounds sixteen shillings and ninepence! Of this his first excursion Mr. Britton retained to the last a very vivid and minute recollection; and has devoted no less than 100 pages of his "Autobiography" to notices of the different places he visited, and the literary or otherwise eminent persons to whom he obtained introduction. One of these notices, presenting at the same time a fair sample of the general style of his book, will be more particularly acceptable to Wiltshire readers. It describes his reception at Bowood.¹

"Up to the age of twenty-six, I had never conversed with a nobleman, or scarcely with a gentleman in the higher ranks of

¹ Autobiography, vol. i. p. 353.

society, and had never visited any of the wealthy mansions of the great personages of the land. I certainly had been admitted into the studios of a few artists, and also into the wine-cellars of Sir William Chambers, in Berners Street and at Whitton Park; and I had spent two days with Mr. Scrope and his aged mother, at Castle Combe, as will be noticed hereafter; but the last event occurred immediately after my emancipation from the wine-cellar, and before I undertook my Quixotic journey to Plympton, already noticed, or had any notion of literature as a profession. Otherwise my intercourse with aristocracy and intellectual beings was as 'rare as snow in June, or wheat in chaff.' It is true that I was from boyhood ambitious to be in the company of my elders and superiors in knowledge; and a little of the rust and rudeness of village life and menial manners had been rubbed down, if not polished, by partiality for debating societies and private theatricals, which were popular in London at the beginning of the present century. I must frankly acknowledge that I was as unfitted for communion, and unqualified to converse, with princes or nobles of the land, as with utopian autocrats or celestial monarchs. I approached the house, through a lodge and park, which inspired awe and wonder; I rang the bell to the domestic part of the premises with hesitation and doubt; I asked incoherent questions about the Marquis, the house, &c.; the porter was perplexed and called the footman, who consulted the valet, and he appealed to the butler, who good-naturedly construed my meaning and wishes, and introduced me to his noble master, who was seated in a well-filled and spacious library, and who appeared to my dizzy vision like something super-human. Without a card, or prospectus of the work which was the ostensible object of my visit, I was requested to explain who I was, and what was the nature of my inquiry and intentions. Unprepared to explain what I had no distinct notion of myself, I related something of my short and uneventful career, and the reasons for attempting to write about my native county; told of my friendless and forlorn circumstances, love of reading, and the arts; desire to acquire knowledge, and qualify myself to accomplish the task I had undertaken with some degree of credit to myself, and not discredit

to my friends. From persons at Chippenham and from public report, I had been led to consider the Marquis as naturally high, stern, and haughty to strangers, and with this impression I approached him with a full recognition of the embarrassed situation of poor dear Goldsmith, in his interview with the Duke of Newcastle. Fortunately I found him very different from anticipation, for he was bland, courteous, and affable. Hence I was soon relieved from all painful restraint, and told my "round unvarnished tale" of birth-place near Bowood, of being parentless, friendless, and almost homeless, but ambitious to do something to mitigate those misfortunes.—After I had been indulged and honoured with nearly an hour's most exciting converse, his lordship called his librarian, Mr. Matthews, directed him to provide me with such books and maps as might be useful, allot me a bedroom, and send a person to show me the house, the pleasure-grounds, the cascade, the park, and other objects. Relieved from the painful suspense of doubt, anxiety, and alarm, my heart expanded, my mind was exhilarated, and every thing, scene, and person, seemed super-naturally exquisite and charmed. Had his lordship repulsed my first overtures, and sent me from his house with cold pride or indifference, it is probable that 'The Beauties of Wiltshire' would never have appeared before the public, nor its author ever have become known in the annals of literature. To Lord Lansdowne, therefore, am I indebted for the condescension and kindness he manifested towards an unknown and very humble person; who has laboured hard from that time to the present in the fields of literature and art to produce a succession and amount of books, which may be considered to equal, if not surpass, those of any other English author, in quantity and quality of embellishment, typography, and in varied matter and manner of their miscellaneous contents."

Half a guinea a week was his allowance from Wheble for writing the "*Beauties of Wiltshire*." It appeared in two volumes in 1801. After all it contained only an account of a few places, chiefly in the south of the county, and was not a book likely to bring any reputation to its author. Of this no one was better aware than the author himself in after life; but the circumstances

under which it was composed are sufficient apology for its deficiencies. A third volume relating to North Wilts, and far superior to the former, appeared after the more mellowed experience of twenty-four years.

In 1800 he had made another walking Tour in company with his friend Brayley, preliminary to a larger work for which they had jointly engaged, "*The Beauties of England and Wales.*" Between the 8th June and 20th September they travelled 1350 miles. So little were they aware of the nature of their undertaking, that this work was at first announced to be completed in six volumes within three years. Eventually it grew to twenty-six; but only the first eight were written by the original authors. "The history of this once popular publication" (says Mr. Britton), "in progress for nearly twenty years, would involve a curious and rather lamentable exposition of the "Quarrels of Authors" and their dissensions with publishers, as well as certain caprices and forbearances of the latter. My own personal share and miseries in this drama were often painful, always perplexing and oppressive. At length the authors separated, and engaged with the booksellers to be responsible for the writing of certain counties and volumes." Mr. Britton wrote Lancashire, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire for the ninth volume: Monmouth, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, and Wiltshire.

In 1805 he showed Josiah Taylor, the architectural bookseller, some drawings of ancient buildings which the conductors of the "*Beauties of England*" had not thought calculated for its pages. After some consultation it was agreed to commence a new quarto work entitled the "*Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain.*" A plan was digested, a prospectus written, Longman and Co. engaging to take a third share and be the publishers. It extended to five quarto volumes, and brought before the public 365 engravings representing a great variety of old buildings, as well as many historical and descriptive essays by several pens. This work gave rise to a new school of artists, both draftsmen and engravers, as well as to many rival publications. It appeared in numbers, Mr. Britton receiving £30 per number for the first four volumes, with £10 additional for such numbers as were reprinted to meet an increased demand. The fifth

volume requiring much greater research, his remuneration was increased to £50 a number: and the total so charged by him amounted to more than £1800 during a period of 21 years. The sale of the four volumes was profitable throughout. The fifth, the most elaborate, barely paid its own expenses. The final balance-sheet after sale of stock, copper-plates, &c., showed a net general profit of about £9800 (from 1805 to 1826), the author's share of which was about £3266.¹

In 1814 he commenced his magnificent work the "*Cathedral Antiquities of England*," the Cathedral of his native county being the first. The whole was finished in 1835, containing in fourteen volumes, folio and quarto, with 311 engravings, an elaborate illustration of these noble English Edifices. The author was allowed £50 a number, but the work proving unprofitable, he reduced it to £30.² The production of these truly valuable volumes was carried on throughout under his immediate superintendence, many of the artists working in his own house and being trained to their task by himself. No one who has not been practically concerned in the preparation of an illustrated book for the press, can form any just idea of the immense amount, not only of capital, but of time, labour and mental anxiety which these must have required.

He continued the course of persevering and laborious authorship now specially his own,—that of architectural and topographical description and antiquities. To dwell on these in detail would occupy too much space. A list of his works is therefore appended, taken from the second volume of his "*Autobiography*."³ His

¹ A fine large paper copy of the "*Architectural Antiquities*" with choice proof impressions of the plates, and the whole of the original drawings, making eight volumes, was prepared for the late John Broadley, Esq., who paid Mr. Britton £500 for the set. This copy was subsequently bought at an auction by the late Joseph Neeld, Esq., and is now in the Library at Grittleton House.

² On many costly publications in which he was concerned, considerable loss was sustained. Of such works the purchasers are comparatively few, whilst the expenses are enormous. The Drawings supplied for the "*Cathedral Antiquities*" cost on an average about seven guineas each: whilst to the engraver, Mr. Le Keux, was frequently paid thirty to forty pounds for a single plate: in one instance (Bishop Bronscombe's monument in Exeter Cathedral) £52 10s.

³ The greater part of this volume was prepared by his friend and assistant, Mr. T. E. Jones.

enterprising and active mind was incessantly at work, either in fulfilling old engagements or projecting new ones; in collecting materials for histories never to be completed, editing the compositions of others, contributing to periodicals, sorting, indexing, and arranging the contents of his own drawers and portfolios, and not least of all, in a very large correspondence. Besides all this, he acted for many years as Registrar of the "*Royal Literary Fund*," and Honorary Secretary to the "*Wiltshire Society*" a charitable Institution founded in 1817. To the *Russell Institution*, the *Graphic Society*, the *Architects' and Antiquaries' Club*, and other associations of similar kind he gave much of his attention; and was one of the founders of the *Geographical Society*. In Wiltshire he was well known as a chief promoter of its first Topographical Society, and as a constant attendant upon the meetings of the one which exists at present.

It will be doing no injustice to the worth of this most indefatigable gentleman, to repeat now that he is no more, an opinion of his literary ability pronounced during his life. He was not a man of marked originality or great mental power; but as a careful and diligent writer in a branch of Literature insufficiently treated before his time, he did excellent service in calling the attention of the educated public to our long-neglected National Antiquities: and there can be little doubt that his elegantly illustrated works were a chief exciting cause in bringing about an improved state of public feeling towards those subjects.¹ And when the reader glances

¹ The English Encyclopædia. C. Knight, Art. Britton. The true point of Mr. Britton's merit is justly seized in the following passage of an address by Digby Wyatt, Esq., delivered at a general meeting of the Royal Institution of British Architects. "The pictorial illustrations of our national monuments at the close of the last century were of the most loose and imperfect description. Since the careful prints of Hollar, scarcely any engravings of architectural subjects had appeared worthy of notice or reliance; and the early productions of the Antiquarian Society presented the only approximation to accuracy. James Basire, Rooker, and Lowry, were the fashionable engravers of such subjects, and John Carter, and Fowler, who illustrated stained glass and ancient mosaics, almost the only trustworthy draughtsmen. It was mainly through Britton's energy that a reformation was effected. His activity and enthusiasm soon gathered about him all those rising men whose names are now so familiar to us. He saw from the improvements which had been effected, mainly by Stothard, and

once more at our woodcut of the miserable hovel in which John Britton was born and reared, and recollects the obstacles in the face of which he toiled from youth to age, relying on his own energy and industry in struggles with the world; he will take up the volumes of the "Autobiography" with an increased respect: and will lay them down concurring in the remark made by Southey on the very case; "Details of this kind carry with them an interest to which no fiction can attain, and the memoirs of a man who, from such circumstances and under such difficulties, made his way to a station of respectability, is one of the most useful and encouraging lessons that can be placed in the hands of the young."

The origin of the two volumes of which the "Autobiography" consists was this. On the 74th anniversary of his birthday a number of his friends invited him to a dinner at the Castle Hotel, Richmond, when eighty-two gentlemen were present. It was determined to mark their esteem for him by a permanent testimonial, and a "Britton Club" was formed to carry out the project. The testimonial, at his own suggestion was eventually made to take the form of an "Autobiography," which he was to prepare and print with the fund, amounting to £1000. These marks of respect and cordial reception testify the general esteem in which he was held, and his power of making and retaining friends; contrasting

Heath, the engraver, the capabilities of copper plate engraving; and speedily brought to bear upon the long neglected antiquities of the country, that artistic ability through the exercise of which they could alone be popularised. Samuel Prout, Frederick Mackenzie, Edward Blore, George Cattermole, W. H. Bartlett, R. W. Billings, Henry Shaw, and many more, were at various periods induced to bestow their earnest efforts upon the proper delineation of those views which were so successfully transferred to copper by the brothers, John and Henry Le Keux, and other engravers, for the most part pupils of Basire. Public attention was captivated by the excellencies of the engravings of the Architectural Antiquities of the land, and the excitement which at first took the form of vague admiration, has in our time reached its happy consummation in profound investigation into the true principles upon which they depended for grandeur and effect, and in a wise and wholesome spirit of conservancy. For much of this, the country is deeply indebted to that friend we have so lately lost. His labours were incessant, his memory extraordinary, his system admirable, his clearness of understanding, and liveliness of fancy in no common wise vigorous, his affections warm, his habits exemplary. Had he been less honest he might have been far richer; had he been more selfish he would never have benefited his country as he unquestionably did."

strangely with the coldness which he frequently complains of having met with when labouring to attract attention in earlier days.

He was twice married but had no family. His residence during the latter part of his life was in Burton street, Tavistock square. When Mr. Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer his literary services were recognized by the grant of an annual pension of £75 : not excessive when compared with other bounties of the kind, but still an acceptable addition to the limited circumstances under which he closed his life. This he did, on Thursday the 1st January 1857, in his eighty-sixth year, and was buried at the Norwood Cemetery on the Thursday following: a Deputation from the Institute of British Architects, with many other friends, attending his remains to the grave.

By economy in other things he had formed a very extensive collection of books, prints, and other articles in the class of topographical literature. So inconveniently large at one time had this become that closets and shelves became crowded whilst his purse collapsed. In 1832 he disposed of a large quantity, sufficient to make a sixteen days sale. The rest have been sold by auction since his decease: that portion of them which related to his native county having been previously secured by the "Wiltshire Archæological Society."

J. E. J.



A CLASSIFIED LIST
OF
THE LITERARY WORKS
OF
JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A.

With the Dates, the number of Pages and Prints: and the amount paid for
Drawings, Engravings, Paper, Printing, &c.

CLASS I. WORKS BY J. BRITTON.

TITLE.	Vols.	Date.	Pages.	Engs.	Amt. pd. £.
1. The Beauties of Wiltshire	2	1801	668	15	—
2. Ditto. Vol. III. Also printed to form a separate Work, with title of "Topographical Sketches of North Wiltshire"	1	1825	440	16	500
		1805 to 1818	450	279	13,088
3. The Architectural Antiquities Great Britain	4	1818	450	279	13,088
4. Ditto. Vol. V. Also forming a separate Work, with the title of "A Chronological History of Christian Architecture in England," with copious Lists, Tables, Glossary, Indexes, &c.....	1	1818	324	86	4,004
		to 1826			
5. Historical Account of Corsham House, Wilts	1	1806	108	1	70
6. The Pleasures of Human Life; or the "Miseries" turned Topsy-turvy	1	1807	239	8	90
7. Catalogue Raisonné of the Cleveland Gallery	1	1808	158	2	150
8. Historical and Descriptive Account of Redcliffe Church, Bristol.....	1	1813	40	12	419
		1814 to 1835	1388	311	19,008
9. The Cathedral Antiquities of England.	14	1835	1388	311	19,008
10. The Rights of Literature, (pamphlet).....	1	1814	77	—	30
11. Norwich Cathedral Vade-Mecum	1	1817	32	4	40
12. Historical and Descriptive Account of Fonthill Abbey, Wilts.....	1	1823	85	11	600

TITLE.	Vols.	Date.	Pages.	Engs.	Amt.pd. £.
13. Historical and Descriptive Account of Bath Abbey Church	1	1825	220	10	612
14. The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, illustrated by a Description of the House, &c. of Sir John Soane...	1	1827	60	29	638
15. Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy (Pugin and Le Keux)...	1	1828	40	80	1,700
16. A Brief Account of the Colosseum, London	1	1829	8	9	—
17. Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities..	1	1830	103	83	2,800
18. Descriptive Sketches of Tunbridge Wells..	1	1832	148	13	252
19. A Dictionary of the Architecture and Archæology of the Middle Ages		1832 to 1838	512	40	1,620
20. History, &c. of Cassiobury Park, Hertfordshire	1	1837	32	34	400
21. Account of the London and Birmingham Railway	1	1839	26	37	—
22. Account of Toddington, Gloucestershire ...	1	1840	70	31	400
23. Historical and Descriptive Notices of Windsor Castle	1	1842	12	42	—
24. Remarks and Suggestions on Redcliffe Church, Bristol, in an "Appeal to the Public, by the Churchwardens, &c."..	1	1842	26	5	—
25. An Essay on Topographical Literature, the National Records, &c., with Glossaries*	1	1843	66	—	—
26. Memoir of John Aubrey, F.R.S.*	1	1845	130	3	—

CLASS II. WORKS OF WHICH J. BRITTON AND
E. W. BRAYLEY WERE JOINT AUTHORS.

27. The first eight Volumes of the Beauties of England and Wales. J. B. wrote the Accounts of the Counties of Lancaster, Leicester, and Lincoln, Vol. IX.—of those of Monmouth, Norfolk, Northamp- ton, Vol. XI., and Wiltshire, Vol. XV.	11	1802 to 1814	7150	315	—
28. Memoirs of the Tower of London	1	1830	374	20	—
29. History of the Ancient Palace and Houses of Parliament, Westminster	1	1834 to 1836	476	48	—

* These works were published by the first Wiltshire Topographical Society.

TITLE.	Vols.	Date.	Pages.	Engs.	Amt.pd. £.
CLASS III. OF THESE WORKS J. BRITTON WAS EDITOR, AND WROTE PORTIONS OF THE LITERARY MATTER.					
30. The Fine Arts of the English School	1	1812	126	24	3,144
31. The Public Buildings of London, from } Drawings by A. Pugin }	2	1825 to 1828	718	144	3,360

CLASS IV. J. BRITTON EDITED THE FOLLOWING, IN
THE OWNERSHIP OF WHICH HE WAS INTERESTED.

32. Magazine of the Fine Arts	1	1821	480	6	200
33. Specimens of Gothic Architecture, engra- ved from Drawings by Augustus Pugin } }	2	1823 to 1825	144	114	2,872
34. Picturesque Views of English Cities, from } Drawings by G. F. Robson }	1	1828	16	32	2,010
35. A Narrative of Memorable Events in Paris, in 1815. Written by Mr. T. R. Under- wood: edited and published by J. B. . }	1	1828	298	—	191
36. Anstey's "New Bath Guide," with Pre- face and Notes }	1	1830	252	8	150
37. A Map of the Borough of Marylebone: } two large sheets }	1	1835	—	1	420
38. The West Fronts, Ground Plans, and } Interiors of Fourteen English Cathe- drams: two large plates, in aquatint .. }	—	1829	—	2	60

CLASS V. J. BRITTON REVISED AND CORRECTED THE FOLLOWING WORKS,
BUT HAD NO SHARE IN THE OWNERSHIP.

TITLE.	Vol.	Date.
39. British Atlas. 58 Maps of the Counties of England and Wales, } and 21 Plans of Cities and Towns. }	1	1802 to 1817
40. The Picture of London	1	1832
41. Wild's Lincoln Cathedral	1	1837
42. Carter's Ancient Architecture	1	1837
43. Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting	1	1838
44. Brayley and Ferrey's Christ Church	1	1841
45. Aubrey's Natural History of Wiltshire*	1	1846

CLASS VI. THE FOLLOWING ARE CONTRIBUTIONS BY J. BRITTON TO
THE VARIOUS SERIAL WORKS REFERRED TO.

46. The Articles relating to the Topography of England, Wales, } and Scotland, in <i>Rees's Cyclopædia</i> }	—	1802 to 1819
---	---	--------------------

* Published by the first Wiltshire Topographical Society.

TITLE.	Vol.	Date
47. The Annual Review: the Notices of all Works on Topography . . .	7	1802 to 1808
48. Havell's Picturesque Views of Nobleman's and Gentleman's } Seats, with descriptive Letter-press }	1	1816 to 1824
49. Accounts of Bath and Bristol, for Jones's Illustrations of those } Cities, from the Drawings of T. H. Shepherd }	1	1829
50. Account of Edinburgh, for Jones's Illustrations of that City . . .	1	1830
51. Account of Cornwall, for Fisher's Illustrations of the County, } from the Drawings of Allom, Bartlett, &c. }	1	1832
52. The British Magazine: a Series of Articles, being "Historical } Notices and Descriptions of Christian Architecture in England }	—	1834
53. Fisher's Portrait Gallery; Memoirs of Sir John Soane, and of Sir } Jeffrey Wyattville, to accompany their Portraits in this Work }	—	1834
54. The Penny Cyclopædia: the articles Avebury and Stonchenge . . .	—	1835 1842

TOTALS FROM THE PRECEDING LIST: VIZ.—

57 <i>Volumes</i> , besides <i>Essays</i> .	
Amount of <i>printed Pages</i>	17,254
Number of <i>Engravings</i>	1,867
Amount of <i>Monies expended</i>	£50,328

* * *In addition to the above the following unpublished:—*

Eight Lectures on the Architectural Antiquities of all Nations; illustrated by nearly 300 large Drawings. Read by the Author at the London Institution, &c.

A Lecture on Railways. Read at the Literary Institution, Bristol. 1833.

A Memoir of John Carter, Author of works on the Ancient Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting of England. Read at the Institute of British Architects. 1837.

Erratum. Page 92, line 24. For "deceased" read "ill-used."

THE
WILTSHIRE
Archaeological and Natural History
MAGAZINE.

No. XI.

OCTOBER, 1857.

Vol. IV.

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BELL & DALDY, 168, FLEET STREET; J. R. SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON, Printed by J. Sturges, at the Black-Swan in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1724.

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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

“MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS.”—*Ovid.*

On the Mammalian Drift of Wiltshire and
its Fossil contents,

By Mr. CUNNINGTON, F.G.S.;

Read before the Society at the Annual Meeting at Warminster, August, 1856.

IN the first number of our Magazine, occurs the question, “What remains of Mammalia have been found in the superficial Drift of Wiltshire?” As no geologist has hitherto given us any information on the subject, I am induced to lay before you such facts as I have been able to collect, with the hope that they may prove interesting.

Were we to take a geological tour through Wiltshire, we should see a great variety of Rocks or stratified beds, of Chalk, Sand, Clay, Limestone, &c., probably a greater variety than in any other county, for we have not fewer than fourteen or fifteen distinct strata. We should find in them vast numbers of shells, corals, and other remains of animals, mostly of *marine* origin, which in ages of inexpressibly remote antiquity, inhabited this portion of Europe. With these however, we have on the present occasion nothing to do.

Overlying all these strata, and scattered *thinly* over the hills, but accumulated sometimes to the thickness of many feet in the *valleys*, we find what geologists call “Mammalian Drift.” The age of this deposit although geologically recent, is when compared

with any historic period, immeasurably remote. The Post-Tertiary deposits of England are much more extensive than they were formerly supposed to be, and comprise several distinct sets of superficial strata. Their relative age has not yet been satisfactorily determined, but the beds which we have more especially to describe are considered by Sir Charles Lyell to be of the same age as that great sheet of ochreous gravel which is spread out over the valley of the Thames, (above the deposits of Grays and Ilford,) and which extends eastward from above Maidenhead, through London, to the sea, a distance of 50 miles.¹ Before going into any detailed account of the Animals of this period, I will endeavour to give a general idea of the Drift itself, and more particularly as we find it in our own county.

This gravelly deposit is composed of the broken up fragments of the subjacent strata, mixed with flint, sand, and clay, and containing layers of pebbles, which have been rolled and bouldered by the action of water out of their parent rock. It does not contain a single admixture of any far-transported fragments; and there is abundant evidence to prove that the deposit was gradual, occupying a long period of time.

This Drift is not only to be found scattered at intervals over the valleys of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also all over the northern parts of Europe and Asia, and the river plains of North America; presenting every where the same features, and containing similar organic remains. In our own county—in the broad and fertile valley of the Avon, from Tetbury, passing by Malmsbury, Christian Malford, Kelloways, Chippenham, Lacock, Melksham, Broughton, Bradford, and so on to Bath—and in the narrow valleys that intersect our wide and undulating downs, such as the valley of the Wiley, of the Nadder, and of the River Bourn, we have repeated and instructive examples of the Drift.²

It varies in thickness from 5 to 30 feet, and in many places contains the bones and teeth of gigantic, extinct, *land* Animals, such

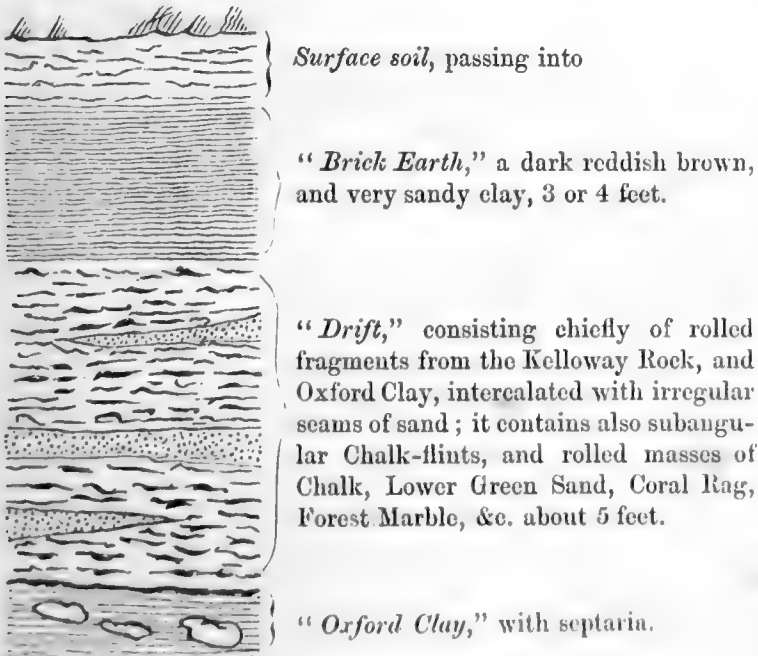
¹ Lyell's Supplement to the 5th edition of Manual of Geology, 1857.

² In the Map of Wiltshire coloured by the Ordnance Survey, and published this year (1857), these valleys are distinguished by a light yellow tint.

as the Elephant, Hippopotamus, Rhinoceros, &c., &c., which were deposited in it during the progress of its formation; whence its name. From the circumstances of its origin, the Drift necessarily consists of very varied materials, and in a county containing such a variety of strata as Wiltshire, we might reasonably expect to find a corresponding variety in the character of this deposit. On examination this proves to be the case.

At Chisenbury, Netheravon, Bulford, and in many of the neighbouring villages, it is composed of small fragments of hard chalk, flints, &c., constituting a rough calcareous gravel; and a similar kind of Drift occurs in most of the narrow valleys of the chalk tracts.

In the valley of the Avon, in the northern part of the county, where the rocks are much varied, the Drift contains fragments of many kinds. Thus at Broughton Gifford, which place I had the pleasure of visiting last month with my friend Mr. Prestwich, (Treasurer of the Geological Society,) under the guidance of the Rev. J. Wilkinson, it may be described as follows; and this furnishes a good example of what may be found in many parts of this interesting district.



Section of the Drift at Broughton Gifford.

At this village the Drift gravel has been extensively dug for ballast for the Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth Railway.

On minute examination of the Drift sand from Broughton Gifford I have discovered several species of *Rhizopods*, or Forameniferous shells. (These are the very minute, though exceedingly beautiful shells of a low form of polypi.) They have probably been washed out of other strata, as they exhibit traces of having been rolled. Professor Rupert Jones has kindly assisted me in the determination of the species, and the following is a list of these fossils.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Textularia concinna</i>. 2. <i>Bulimina Murchisoniana</i>. 3. <i>Globigerina cretacea</i>.
(this is abundant.) 4. <i>Rosalina ammonoides</i>. 5. <i>Cristellaria rotula</i>. 6. A variety of <i>C. rotula</i>, with raised ribs, and translucent, (perhaps <i>Robulina cultrata</i>) occurs in many recent seas, and fossil from the Oolites to the Tertiaries. 7. A pretty little <i>Operculina</i> which occurs recent on the coast of Norway and Skye. | } | <p>These have been derived from the Chalk.</p> |
|---|---|--|

Rhizopods occur also at Melksham; as yet they have not been found in the other localities in the county.¹

We now come to the most remarkable feature of the Drift, viz.: its wonderful fossil remains of mammalian animals.

The common occurrence of large fossil bones was noticed by Camden in his "Britannia," 1607. He suggested that they might be some of the Elephants brought over to this country by Claudius, A.D. 43.² They were for ages popularly believed to be the bones of giants, and this is not surprising, when we consider how slow has been the progress of Comparative Anatomy; and we learn from Professor Owen, that the thigh bone of the *Ursus Spelæus* or Great

¹ At the base of some of our Chalk hills, as at Roundway and Manningford, beds of white earthy clay are deposited which have been washed out of the chalk. They contain numerous fresh water and land shells, and at Manningford are covered with a layer of peat. Although they are most probably of the same age as the Drift, their exact relation to that deposit has not yet been determined.

² Camden's *Britannia*, Vol. I. p. 138, Gough's edition.

Cave Bear, so closely resembles that of the human subject, as to be frequently mistaken for it by the unpractised anatomist.

The subject attracted more attention at the beginning of the present century, and was studied particularly by Dr. Buckland, and the results published by him in 1823, in his *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*. This book contains elaborate and admirably illustrated accounts of the various phenomena of the Bone Caves, especially of the celebrated cave of Kirkdale, in Yorkshire. All these phenomena, together with the present form and structure of hills and valleys, and the accumulations of the loams and gravels constituting "the Drift," Dr. Buckland considered as bearing undeniable evidence of a recent and transient inundation—the Noachian Deluge, and he applied the term "Diluvial" to the results of this great convulsion. But the progress of science was rapid, and in about ten years from the publication of that work, the Professor in his address to the Geological Society, relinquished his theory, and magnanimously recanted what he acknowledged to be a geological heresy.

Since the publication of these views, our leading geologists have interested themselves much in the study of the older rocks, whilst this subject has been comparatively neglected, until within the last few years. Now however, all the publications of the Geological Society give evidence of the interest felt in this branch of the science, and papers by Murchison, Prestwich, Lyell, Austen, Morris, Trimmer, and others are constantly revealing new and remarkable discoveries.¹

Many interesting facts have been established; amongst others, that it is mostly, if not entirely in the gravel of the *valleys*, that the bones of the large Mammals occur; they do not appear in the Drift of the *hills*.

Thirty-two different species of these fossil animals have been found in England, but only the following seven species have hitherto been discovered in Wiltshire:

¹ Mr. Prestwich has lately made some very interesting observations on the Drift in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, particulars of which were published in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society in May, 1855.

LOCALITIES.

1. *Cervus elaphus*, *Red Deer*, . . . Fisherton, Westbury.
2. *Bubalus moschatus*, *Musk Buffalo*, . Freshford, near Bradford.
3. *Bos primigenius*, *Great extinct Ox*, . Christian Malford.
4. *Bos longifrons*, *Long-fronted Ox*, . Fisherton, Salisbury.
5. *Elephas primigenius*, *Mammoth*, . Bradford, Westbury, Christian Malford, Foxham, Great Bedwyn, Broughton Gifford, Fisherton, Salisbury.
6. *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, *Two horned Rhinoceros*, Bulford, Bradford, Westbury, Broughton Gifford.
7. *Equus*, *Horse*, Fisherton, Salisbury, near Chippenham.

The bones of these Mammalia have been studied by that eminent naturalist, Professor Owen. We may confidently depend on his conclusions, and his descriptions are so graphic that I cannot do better than quote from them.

“At the period indicated by these superficial deposits, gigantic Elephants of nearly twice the bulk of the largest individuals that now exist in Ceylon and Africa roamed here in herds, if we may judge from the abundance of their remains. Two horned Rhinoceroses of at least two species, forced their way through the ancient forests, or wallowed in the swamps. The lakes and rivers were tenanted by Hippopotamuses as bulky, and with as formidable tusks as those of Africa.

“Three kinds of Wild Oxen, two of which were of colossal size and strength, and one of these maned and villous like the Bonassus found subsistence in the plains. Deer as gigantic, in proportion to existing species, were the contemporaries of the old Uri and Bisons, and may have disputed with them the pasturage of that ancient land. One of these extinct Deer is well known under the name of the Irish Elk, by the enormous expanse of its broad palmed antlers; another had horns more like those of the Wapiti, but surpassed that Great Canadian Deer in bulk. With these were associated the Red Deer, the Rein-Deer, the Roebuck, and the Goat. A Wild Horse, a Wild Ass, or quagga, and the Wild Boar

entered also into the series of British Pliocene hoofed Mammalia. To these must be added the Musk Ox, which was not known as a British fossil until last year.

“The Carnivora, organized to enjoy a life of rapine at the expense of the vegetable feeders, to restrain their undue increase, and abridge the pangs of the maimed and sickly, were duly adjusted in numbers, size, and ferocity, to the fell task assigned to them in the organic economy of the Pre-Adamite World. Besides a British Tiger of larger size than that of Bengal, there existed a stranger feline animal (the *Machairodus*), which from the great length and sharpness of its sabre-shaped canines, was probably the most ferocious and destructive of its carnivorous family.

“Of the smaller felines, we recognize the remains of a Leopard or large Lynx, and of a Wild Cat. Troops of Hyenas, larger than the fierce *Corcuta* of South Africa, which they much resembled, crunched the bones of the carcasses relinquished by the nobler beasts of prey, and doubtless often themselves waged the war of destruction on the feebler quadrupeds.

“A savage Bear, surpassing in size the *Ursus ferox* of the Rocky Mountains, found its hiding place, like the Hyena, in many of the existing limestone caverns of England.

“Wolves and Foxes, the Badger, the Otter, the Fomart, and the Stoat, complete the category of the Carnivora of Britain.”

We will now speak more particularly of the extinct animals hitherto found in *Wiltshire*, remarking by the way, that although our list is not a long one, other species will doubtless turn up, when more attention is given to the subject.

Are there no sporting gentlemen present willing to look after such game?

First then the Mammoth. The distribution of this gigantic animal is most abundant in the county. Cuvier was the first to prove that it differed specifically from the two recent species, viz.: *Elephas Indicus*, and *Elephas Africanus*. This fact which was announced by Cuvier in 1796, was at the foundation of all his remarkable discoveries. It opened to him, he says, new views of the theory of the earth, and induced him to devote to this great work

the energies of his subsequent life. Many ladies and gentlemen present have doubtless seen his most interesting museum at Paris. It would appear that the Mammoth formerly ranged over the whole of the Northern Hemisphere, as high up probably as latitude 70°, but its remains have never been found in the Southern Hemisphere or in the Tropics. It was specially provided with protection against the severity of a climate colder than that in which its living representatives exist. On this subject Professor Owen says, "Had our knowledge of the Mammoth been restricted as in the case of almost every other extinct animal, to its bones and teeth, it would have been deemed a hazardous speculation to have conceived that the extinct fossil Elephant whose remains are so abundant in the frozen soil of Siberia, had been clad like most existing quadrupeds adapted for such a climate, with a double garment of close fur and coarse hair.

The wonderful and unlooked for discovery of an entire Mammoth (among the ice-blocks at the mouth of the river Lena, in Siberia), shewing the Arctic character of its natural clothing, has however settled this question, and proved that like the Rein Deer, and Musk Ox, it was capable of existing in high Northern latitudes." The extraordinary fossil Mammoth referred to, was covered with reddish *wool*, interspersed with coarse, long, black hairs. From this peculiarity of its organization, as well as from the structure of its teeth, which are better adapted, on account of the greater closeness of the enamel plates, than those of the recent Elephant for crushing the woody branches of trees, it is inferred that it was quite possible for this animal to have existed as near the pole, as is compatible with the growth of hardy trees and shrubs.

That the wood of the coniferous trees, (including all the fir tribe which are so common in cold climates,) was the food of the Mammoth, has been lately proved by a Russian philosopher, who examined with the microscope some fragments, partially masticated, adhering to the teeth of one of the Siberian specimens. Thus one branch of science is continually throwing light upon another.

One word as to the size of this animal. The old bull Mammoth was at least one third larger in all his dimensions, than the largest

existing Elephant. But says Broderip,¹ "no human eye beheld him as he stalked silently along in his might over desolate tracks, where corn now grows, and the busy hum of civilization is heard." Six or seven feet is the average length of the tusks in living Elephants, although instances have occurred of a much greater length. A tusk has lately been found in the Drift near Stroud, nearly fifteen feet in length. What must have been the size of the entire animal? It is now in the Museum of the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester. The huge monster to which this tusk belonged, if not a native of Wiltshire, was certainly a near neighbour.

The recent Rhinoceros, as is well known, inhabits the hot climates of the Old World, where it leads a tranquil and indolent life, wallowing in the borders of lakes and rivers, and occasionally bathing itself in their waters. The remains of the fossil species have been found in the ice of the shores of the Lena, and although the woolly covering of its body was not seen, yet Professor Owen infers from the hair which covered the legs, that it was furnished with a warm covering of this kind, like the Musk Ox, and other animals which have on their legs short hair unmixed with wool. The teeth do not present such differences as would lead us to expect that the fossil animal differed materially from the recent; and it is concluded by the naturalist before cited, that as it could not dispense with succulent vegetable food any more than its existing congeners, the well clothed individuals who might extend their wanderings northward, during a brief, hot, Siberian summer, would be compelled to migrate southward to obtain subsistence during the winter.

Their bones and teeth have been found in most places which have furnished remains of the Mammoth.

The Musk Ox or Buffalo is on the contrary an inhabitant only of the coldest regions of North America, and derives its name from its possessing a strong musky odour. It appears larger than it really is, from the profusion of long matted woolly hair with which it is covered.

Three instances only have occurred of the discovery of this

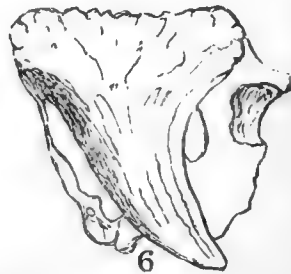
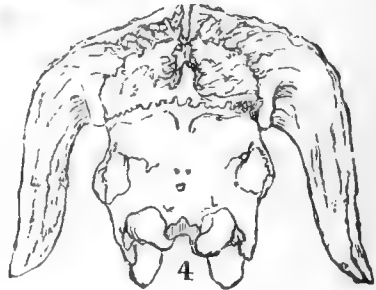
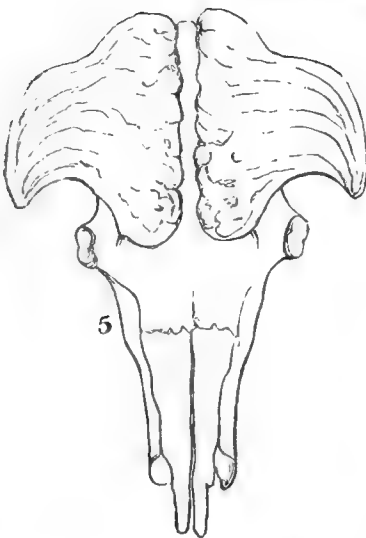
¹ *Zoological Recreations*, p. 325.

animal in Great Britain. The first was found at Maidenhead, last year. An elaborate description of it, was published in the *Geological Journal* for May last, by Professor Owen, and its geological position described by Mr. Prestwich. No sooner had this notice appeared, than two other specimens were found, one at Bath, the other at Freshford in this county.

These latter are in the possession of Mr. Moore, of Bath.



Skull of *fossil* Musk Buffalo.



W. C. S.

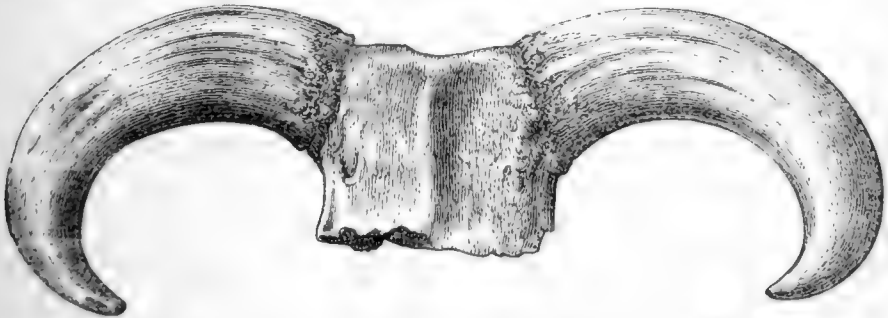
Skull of *recent* Musk Buffalo.

1 I am indebted to the Council of the Geological Society for the loan of these wood cuts, which accompanied Mr. Owen's paper.

Figure 1 is a back view, fig. 2 a top view, and fig. 3 a side view of the *fossil* cranium. These may be compared with the corresponding representations of a *recent* skull, shown in figures 4, 5, and 6.¹

The *Bos primigenius* deserves some notice, as much attention has been attracted to it during the past month by the sale of some horns of this animal which were found at Melksham by the late Mr. Phillips, and which were described by Mr. Woods in a Monograph published in 1839. They have been purchased by the inhabitants of Melksham, and are now to be seen in the Market hall at that town.

There can be little doubt that this creature lived not only in the time of the drift, but that it continued an inhabitant of this country within the historic period. Cæsar speaks of a kind of Ox called *Urus*, in magnitude little inferior to the Elephant, of the colour and shape of the Ox, and possessing such strength and swiftness "that it spared neither man nor beast." A pair of horns of this animal were found in an ancient British barrow at Cherhill, near Calne; thus proving that it was cotemporaneous with the ancient inhabitants of this country; although it has been extinct for many centuries.



Horns and portion of Cranium of *Bos primigenius* from Cherhill. 1

The *Bos longifrons* although existing during the Drift period, continued to live on until more recent times, and it was in all probability the species domesticated by the aborigines of Britain, before the Roman invasion.

What inferences may be deduced from these facts?

¹ The above wood cut is from a photograph by Taylor. The horns are now in the possession of T. H. S. Sotheron Esteourt, Esq., M.P., who has liberally expressed his intention of presenting them to the Society, as soon as a suitable Museum is provided in which they may be preserved.

First.—There is good evidence to prove that our Island was at that period united to the Mainland, and that no channel existed as a barrier to the wanderings of vast herds of wild animals, which then held undisputed possession of the entire Continent; the Drift on the opposite coast of France closely resembles our own, and is found to contain precisely similar animal remains.

Second.—It is difficult to come to any conclusion as to what were the climatal conditions of Great Britain during the period of which we have been speaking. Evidence is certainly in favour of the opinion that the mean temperature was much lower than at present. The majority of the animals of the drift, such as the Musk Ox, Rein Deer, *Ursus arctos*, Beaver, &c., now inhabit sub-arctic regions, whilst others were furnished with such clothing as enabled them to endure excessive cold. (Of these the woolly Elephant, and woolly Rhinoceros are examples.) And although the occurrence of the Hippopotamus may be adduced in favour of a contrary opinion, yet the other facts are too weighty to be easily set aside. This is nevertheless one of the difficulties of Geology, which further investigation alone can enable us to remove. We must not omit to mention that, associated with the remains of these cold-climate Mammals, there frequently occur abundance of land and fresh-water shells of the same common species as those now living in this country. Examples may be seen at Fisherton and in other places in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, as described in Mr. Prestwich's paper before cited.

Third.—The animals must have lived and died where their skeletons are found; this is proved beyond all question by the extraordinary abundance of their fossil remains. We are informed that from one limited tract of sea bottom on the Norfolk coast, the fishermen engaged in dredging for oysters, brought ashore in the course of 13 years, no fewer than 2000 Elephants grinders, besides great tusks, and numerous portions of skeletons. I have myself seen parts of 20 or 30 Wiltshire Elephants within the last two years.

This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact noticed by Mr. Owen, that of the Deer horns which are found, few compara-

tively occur attached to the skull; the larger number are the *shed* horns which were annually dropped whilst the animals were alive: the proportion of the horns being at the rate of about four or five pairs to every skull.

Fourth.—The bones of these *extinct* animals are never found associated with the remains of man, or his works. This constitutes a marked distinction between the Drift proper, and those more recent deposits, forming the Alluvium of valleys and peat bogs, which always *overlie* the gravels of which we have been speaking.

The animal and vegetable remains found in lakes, rivers, and bogs, and in the fossiliferous caves, would alone furnish ample materials for a lengthened disquisition.

It is well known to geologists that the world has been preparing for the use of man during a vast number of ages—for so long a period indeed, that our minds are incapable of appreciating its duration. The mountains and hills which diversify and adorn the earth's surface, have been built up almost grain by grain at the bottom of ancient oceans, countless myriads of animated atoms once living in those seas, having contributed their minute skeletons to form what are now our highest mountains. Veins of the various metals have been deposited in the rocks. Vegetation as luxuriant as that of the tropics, once flourishing on our islands, has been consolidated into coal, the source of our greatest comforts, and of our greatest wealth. But these bare rocks would have been incapable of producing the rich crops of grain, which at this season of the year, enrich and beautify our country. To constitute a good soil, it is necessary that it should contain a considerable variety of mineral ingredients. This final adaptation of the earth's surface to the use of man, may with propriety be noticed in connexion with our present topic of address, to which it legitimately belongs.

During a long period subsequent to the Tertiary era, yet prior to the creation of man, when lands now covered with rich crops, were submerged beneath the deep, the *débris* of strata broken up by the action of glaciers and icebergs were brought to our shores, and scattered over the surface. Added to this, the gradual wearing away of the rocks by frosts and rains, the action of the sea

upon the coasts, and the deposition of silt by rivers (then probably larger and broader than at present) were the combined agencies employed by an All-wise and Beneficent Creator, to produce that admirable admixture of sands, clays, chalk, and other matters which form our fertile surface soil.

It has been frequently stated in the course of this paper, that vast periods of time have been occupied by the various changes which have affected the earth's surface; and the more fully we become acquainted with facts of geology, the more fully will this conviction follow. The mass of evidence which combines to prove the great antiquity of the earth is so irresistible, and so unshaken by any opposing facts, that none but those who stumble at the wondrous period occupied in that great work, which the history of the earth as illustrated by the discoveries of the geologist compels us to admit as an undisputable fact, can for a moment conceive the present state of its surface to have been the result of only six thousand years of existence. Those observers and philosophers who have spent their lives in the study of geology, have arrived at the conclusion, that the formation even of those strata which are nearest the surface, must have occupied vast periods, probably millions of years, in arriving at their present state. But let us contemplate time as it relates to the Infinite Creator, and not to ourselves, and we shall be no longer alarmed at that which the history of the earth demands. As astronomy shows the wondrous and uniform manifestation of a Divine creative power through the immensity of space, so also does geology in the multiplied illustrations still preserved for our instruction, and presented to our observation in the rocks around us; exhibiting alike the one great and glorious purpose of Almighty goodness, and the same unvarying demonstration of Almighty power.





Bell Turret.

E. W. Godwin, del.

Biddesstone St. Nicholas, Wilts.

Edw. Kile, lith.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

Church of Biddeston St. Nicholas, Wilts.

By E. W. GODWIN, Esq., Architect.

THE village of Biddeston although comprising the rectory of St. Peter with the vicarage of St. Nicholas, possesses only one Church, the older foundation, (that of St. Peter,) having been destroyed some years since, so completely, that now not one stone stands upon another, and indeed, not one relic of it I believe exists except the turret, which, slightly altered, stands in the garden attached to Mr. Scrope's house at Castle Combe.

The Church of St. Nicholas consists of a Nave, Chancel, and South Porch, with a bell turret over the Chancel Arch. A second Chancel was added some years since, which has at first sight an ancient appearance, from being built of old materials. It is evident that a Church was erected here in the 12th century. All that now remains of it is the inner doorway of the Porch, the Font, and the lower part of the bell Turret. It is this latter feature which attaches such peculiar interest to the little Church at Biddeston. For being of that picturesque form which, to use the words of the Rev. J. L. Petit, "has at first sight the appearance of steeples, whose substructure affects the ground plan of the building," of which examples are to be seen at Leigh Delamere, Corston, Acton Turville, and West Littleton; and, being also of a date far anterior to any existing specimen, it cannot fail to be of more than ordinary value. The method of its construction proves on examination to be remarkably simple. The wall is first crossed by a block of masonry projecting, in the form of a corbel, east and west; upon these two corbels and upon the tabling of the wall rest (oblong planned) piers, with a kind of nook shafts or moulded angles, which piers give support to the *cardinal* sides of an octagonal spire or conical roof, the diagonal faces being supported by

small convex corbels which spring from each side of the four piers. The whole is then strengthened by being divided by a stone partition running east and west. I would remark here that the spire is of much later date than the other part of the turret, probably of the 15th century. The Doorway (*plate II.*) with its simple square head and arched tympanum, upon which is carved in low relief the well known form of the Norman cross, is unfortunately deprived of its shafts, and is so completely coated with whitewash that the carving on the capitals, which still exist, and on the circle surrounding the cross can with difficulty be determined. The last example of Norman work,—the Font—is equally simple in its character. It is of an inverted conical form, with a single chevron surrounding the upper part, and is painted in imitation of granite. The Chancel has an “Early English” lancet window north and south, a two-light “Decorated” low side window in the south-west corner, and a blocked up lancet window of the same date in the north wall; the latter has had an ogee trefoiled head, but the cusps have unfortunately been cut off.

The west window of the Nave, which now answers the purpose of a doorway to a gallery, has a *returned* hood-moulding of a sectional form indicative of “Decorated” work. It appears to have consisted of three lights, but the jambs and arch are all that now remain. The reparation of this window, and the removal of the unsightly screen and steps before it would, at a very little cost, annihilate the only egregious barbarism the exterior of the Church presents.

The interior of the Church possesses nothing of interest beyond the Font already noticed, a north doorway partially blocked up (having a very bold “Early English” hood-moulding with the returns broken off), and the Chancel Arch. This, though of a semicircular form and of a thickness equal to that of the wall which supports the turret, is moulded in the style of the 15th century, which circumstance would seem to indicate that either the old Norman arch has been soffit-cased, or that the wall has been carefully shored up for the insertion of this later arch in the exact *position* of the old one which from decay or defective workmanship



Font.



S. Doorway.

E. W. Godwin, del.

Edw. Kite, lith

Biddesstone St. Nicholas, Wilts.



may have rendered such an act—however much to be regretted—absolutely necessary. As I have before stated, the great charm attached to the little Church which I have attempted to delineate, rests chiefly in its ancient bell turret, and as it is the earliest known example of its class, we may perhaps be allowed to digress for a moment to enquire briefly into their origin.

Previous to the erection of the Church of St. Nicholas at Biddeston, there existed at the other end of the village a Church dedicated to St. Peter. It was taken down about ten or twelve years since, but before its destruction most complete drawings and measurements were taken, from which we learn that it contained scarcely one stone upon another of a date antecedent to the 15th century; in other words, that the building presumed to have been founded in the early ages of the Saxon Heptarchy, having perhaps weathered the storms of 500 winters, became matter of history, and that somewhere about the year 1430 the Church of St. Peter was rebuilt. This building consisted at the time of its final demolition of a Nave and South Porch, with a turret on the west wall. A blocked-up arch in the east wall of the Nave, and another in the north wall, with a piscina attached to the latter, proved the former existence of a Chancel and Chantry Chapel. The Chapel had been destroyed when the Church was rebuilt, for under the blocked-up arch a three light window had been inserted of the same date as the other “Perpendicular” work. This Chapel arch and its piscina were of the 13th century. Now in an illumination of the *Saxon MS.* of the “Benedictionale of St. Æthelwold” there is a representation of a kind of Tower Turret (in which are hung 5 bells), and the form of the open part in which the bells are suspended is by no means unlike that of Biddeston. Again it will be seen that although “that of St. Nicholas is in point of style much older than that of St. Peter” there is nevertheless such a close similarity, as to induce the opinion that the one was copied from the other. But the peculiar characteristics of these turrets as well as those in the neighbourhood differing so much from what we know of Norman work, imply an earlier origin, and “that they must be referred to the fashion of a time and not of a

locality, and that time must be the Saxon." We infer therefore that the turret of St. Nicholas is simply a copy of the original Saxon design, which was executed in the old Church of St. Peter.

To Mr. Pugin's "Examples of Gothic Architecture" I am mainly indebted for the information concerning the destroyed Church of St. Peter.

EDWARD W. GODWIN.

Colerne, August 16th, 1855.

Biddeston is in the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol, Archdeaconry of Bristol, and Deanery of Malmsbury.

AN ACCOUNT OF

Ditchridge Church, Wilts.

By E. W. GODWIN, Esq., Architect.

DITCHRIDGE is a small village near Box, in the county of Wilts, diocese of Gloucester and Bristol, and lower division of the Deanery of Malmsbury.

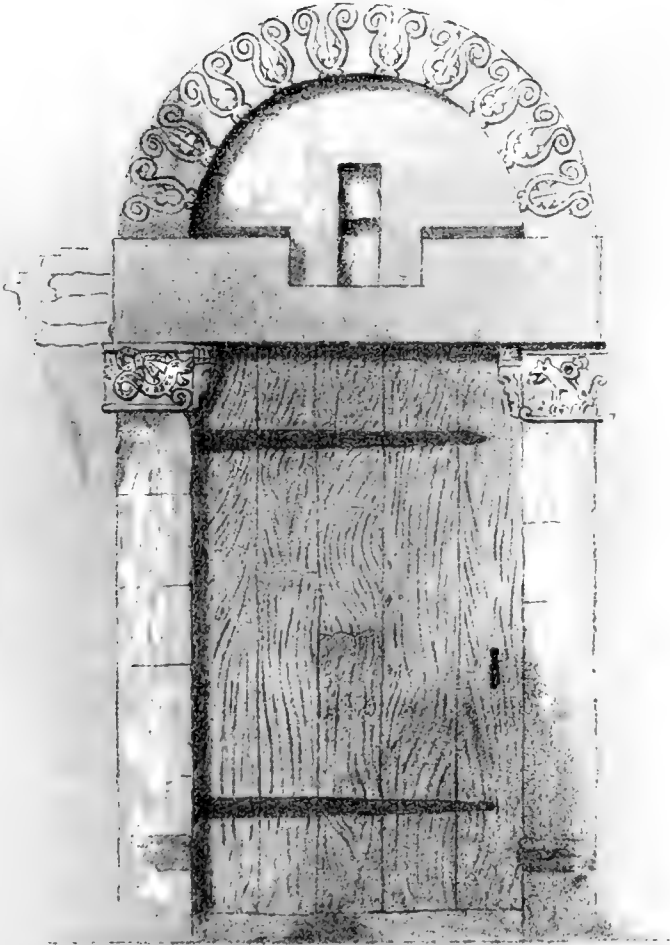
Comparatively speaking perhaps no Church in the Deanery presents greater attractions to the archæologist than the little Church at Ditchridge. It consists of a Nave, Chancel, and South Porch, and has a bell gable over the Chancel arch.

The Nave is "Norman" with the usual complement of later additions and alterations, a square headed "Perpendicular" window at the west end; a doorway of the same date on the north side, (now partially blocked up;) a two-light "Decorated" square-headed window on the same side with a roll hood-moulding, and a pointed "Decorated" two-light window in very bad repair; some late buttresses, a "Decorated" Porch, and a modern two-light window on the south side.¹

The Chancel, Chancel arch, and bell gable were built in the 13th century, but the windows are insertions of the 15th century.

The inner doorway of the Porch is shown in elevation *Plate I*. A description would therefore be unnecessary. We may remark, however, the sculpture on the west impost (the dragon with long intertwined tail, with a pearly line along the whole length), as

¹ The buttresses on the north side are modern.



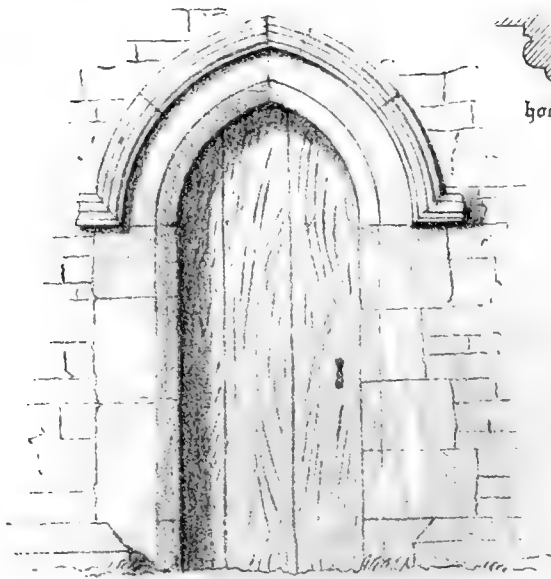
S. Doorway.



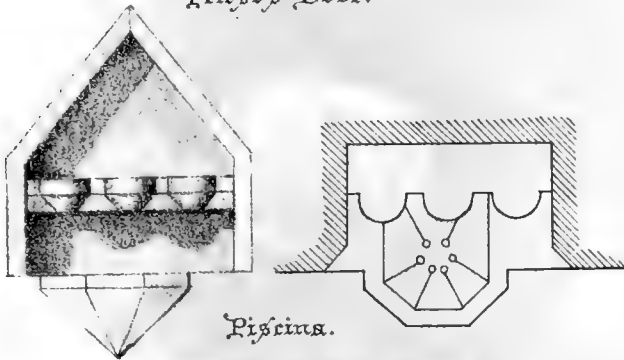
Sculpture on W. Impost of S. Door.



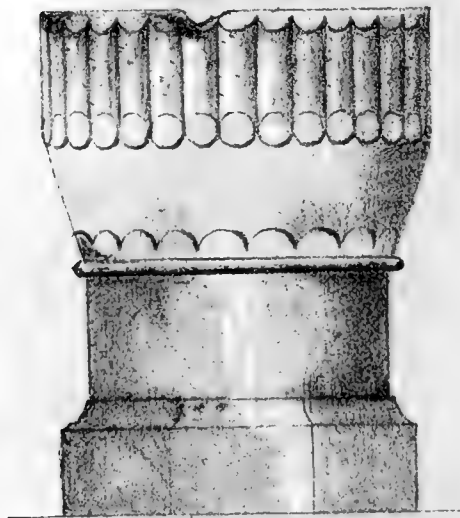




Priest's Door.



Piscina.



Font, c. A.D. 1100.

similar to fragments in Westminster Hall and Canterbury Cathedral, date 1097; the foliated ornaments in the arch are almost entirely concealed by the roof of the Porch. Between the first two buttresses to the east of the Porch is a very small semicircular-headed recess, which has the appearance of a small "Norman" window, blocked upon the inside. The Priest's door (*Plate II.*) has a bold hood-moulding, which appears by the returns being broken off, to have been continued as a string-course round the Chancel.

The first thing that strikes us on entering, is the unusually small width of the Chancel arch, (being only 5 feet 7½ inches, which has the appearance of being even less from the square form of the piers, which are more than half the span of the arch in thickness). The arch itself is doubly recessed and chamfered, the inner order rests on moulded corbels, the members of which are scarcely distinguishable so thoroughly choked as they are with whitewash and plaster. There is an "Early English" piscina in the south wall of the Chancel, having a rather singular "credence" shelf, see *Plate II.* In the north-east corner of the Nave are the stairs to the roodloft, they are of the 15th century. The Font has a circular basin and stem resting on an octagonal base or plinth, the basin is enriched with billet, pellet, and scallop ornaments. There are one or two open seats of late date at the west end of the Nave. The roofs over the Nave and Chancel are concealed by plaster ceilings. We come now to the mural paintings lately discovered; the portion exposed is between seven and eight feet high, and extends from the north window about twelve feet westward. In the central compartment is a colossal figure of St. Christopher, a mermaid holding a mirror is introduced in front of the Saint's staff: the compartment to the right, representing a monk, or priest, holding a lantern, and standing in the entrance of a church, apparently forms a portion of the same subject. The figure in the compartment to the left is intended to represent St. Michael holding the scales of judgment, the image of Sin is very expressive; the letters "ECCLE: A" in this compartment have no connexion with the subject, but probably refer to some text of Scripture now destroyed,

inasmuch as the ground work of the letters is a fragment of the first coat which concealed the mediæval pictures. The wavy pattern of the borders which separate the compartments is very bold and effective, but it is to be regretted that further means are not taken to remove more of the plaster and whitewash, which probably conceals other mural paintings of similar character.

EDWARD W. GODWIN.

Composition for Estates, in Wilts,

By F. A. CARRINGTON, ESQ.

MR. HUME in his "History of England" under the date of 1655, says:—

"In concert with the King a conspiracy was entered into by the Royalists throughout England, and a day of general rising appointed.

"In one place alone the conspiracy broke into action. Penruddock, Grove, Jones and other gentlemen of the west entered Salisbury with about 200 horse, (March 11,) at the very time when the Judges* and Sheriff† were holding the assizes. Then they made prisoners, and then proclaimed the King. Contrary to their expectation they received no accession of force, so prevalent was the terror of the established government. Having in vain wandered about for some time, they were totally dismayed, and one troop of horse was able at last to suppress them. The leaders of the conspiracy being taken prisoners, were capitally punished. The rest were sold for slaves and transported to Barbadoes.

"The Protector resolved to keep no longer any terms with the Royalists.

"He issued an edict with the consent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from that whole party, in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expenses to which their mutinous disposition continually exposed the public.

"Without regard to compositions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, all the Royalists, however harassed with former oppressions, were obliged anew to redeem themselves by great sums of money, and many of them were reduced by these multiplied disasters to extreme poverty; whoever was known to be disaffected, or *even lay under any suspicion, though no guilt could be proved against him*, was exposed to the new taxation.

"In order to raise this imposition, which commonly passed by the name of decimation, the Protector instituted twelve Major-Generals, and divided the whole Kingdom of England into so many Military Jurisdictions. These were assisted by Commissioners, had power to subject *whom they pleased* to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the Protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the Protector himself and his council. Under colour

* Lord Chief Justice Rolle and Baron Nicholas.

† Colonel Dove.

of these powers the Major-Generals exercised an authority still more arbitrary and acted as if absolute masters of the property and person of every subject.

“All reasonable men now considered that the very mask of liberty was thrown aside, and that the nation was for ever subject to military and despotic government, exercised not in the legal manner of European nations, but according to the maxims of Eastern Tyranny.”

The “former oppressions,” to which Hume alludes, took place under an ordinance of the Parliament of March 31st, 1643, when the following sums were exacted from Wiltshire, as appears from “*A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates.*”

“London: Printed for Thomas Dring, at the Signe of the George, in Fleet Street, neare Cliffords Inne, 1655.”

It has the following dedication:—

“To those Noble Persons that are concern’d, the Stationer humbly dedicates the ensuing pages.

“Protesting that he hath no desire to revive your past misfortunes, or to involve you in newe ones; could he harbour a just fear, this black legend should be more gladly sacrificed to the flames, than offered to the world. He knowes you too Generous to gather solace from the sufferings of others, or else, to shew you that your affliction is not solitary, would be a sufficient excuse to patronize this publication.

“’Tis a melancholy thing to reflect upon crimes, but not alwaies so upon losses; since it may be necessitated to imbrace the last, out of a conscience to evade the first. This Book is but an Index to a greater Volume; such as have been scourged by the times, used to number many such lashes as these. But ’tis not for us of the lowest sphear to censure or moderate in those intricate contests, which our home divisions have engendered: our inconsiderableness has redeemed us from sharing Enigmaes, those works upon which the greatest Reasons and Estates have dash’d and perished. You yourselves best know your own engagements: But in (*Thesi*) this may be received as sober truth, that he happilie consults his Treasure, who honestly loses or piously expends it; yea more, every drop of blood that is shed in a good cause shall commence a Ruby in Heaven.

“The meanest of those that serve and honour you,
“T. D.”

Then follow the names,¹ residences, and sums to be paid; those here extracted being that portion of the catalogue which relates to Wiltshire.

	£	s.	D.
“Arundell, Will. Horningsham, Wilts	0333	06	08
Aldworth, Rich., of Hinton Pipard, Wilts, Gent.....	0200	00	00
Bennet, John, Pithouse, Wilts.....	0065	00	00
Bowrman, Andrew, Stratford, Wilts.....	0125	00	00

¹ Printed, without the preface, in Fellowes’s “Historical Sketches of Charles I.”

	£	s.	d.
Bing, Rob., Aliawns, Wilts, Doctor of Divinity	0087	00	00
Bennet, John, Southington, Wilts	0150	00	00
Baron, Hartild, of Meire, Wilts.	0001	13	04
Button, Sir Wm., Bart. of Shaw, Wilts.	2380	00	00
Chandler, Robert, of Wilton, Wilts.	0050	00	00
Clark, Henford, Wilts, Esq.	0178	10	00
Danby, Henry, Earl of; per Acton Drake, Exor.	2159	06	01
Davy, Rich., Easton, Wilts, Gent.	0170	00	00
Ernle, Edw., Ashlington, Wilts, Gent.	0400	00	00
Eyre, Robt., West Chalfield, Wilts, Esq.	0420	00	00
Estcourt John, of Newnton, Wilts, Gent.	0008	08	04
Fisher, John, Chute, Wilts.	0045	00	00
Fisher, Will., of Ludington, Wilts, Gent.	0235	00	00
Georges, Sir Theobold, Ashley, Wilts	0209	00	00
Goddard, Richard, of Sarum, Wilts, Esq.	0862	00	00
Goddard, Richard, of Swindon, Wilts, Esq.	0413	00	00
Hertford, Marquesse William.	8345	00	00
Henchmau, Humphry, of Salisbury, Wilts.	0200	00	00
Hunt, Thomas, Enford, Wilts, Gent	0220	00	00
Hawkins, Henry, Chipenham, Wilts.	0038	15	00
Hall, Sir Thomas, of Bradford, Wilts.	0660	00	00
Ioy, Benjamin, of Titherton, Wilts, Gent.	0028	00	00
Kitson, John, of Seemington, Wilts.	0045	00	00
Kent, Will., Boscomb, Wilts, Esq.	0572	00	00
Lowe, George, of Calne, Wilts, Gent.	0336	00	00
Long, James, of Draycot, Wilts, Esquire.	0810	00	00
Mompson, Sir Giles, Sarum, Wiltshier	0561	09	00
Manning, Henry, Salisbury, Wilts	0003	06	08
Narborne, Walter, Studley, Wiltshire, Esq.	0380	00	00
Penruddock, George, of Broadchalk, county Wilts, Esquire, with £110 per annum settled	0100	00	00
Penruddock, Sir John, of Compton Camberline, County Wilts, Knight	0490	00	00
Potten, William, Stradford, Wilts, Gentleman	0108	06	00
Penruddock, John, Compton, Wilts, Esq.	0066	10	00
Peirce, Richard, of Devizes, Wilts, Drap.	0426	00	00
Philips, Robert, of Salisbury, Wilts	0003	06	08
Richardson, Richard, of Boreham, Wilts.	0045	00	00
Smith, Sir Walter, Great Bedwin, Wilts, with £40 per annum settled on the Ministry	0685	00	00
Spencer, John, of Lindhampton, Wilts.	0200	00	00
Sadler, Thomas, of Salisbury, Gent.	0134	00	00
Stourton, Lord William	0556	06	06
Seymour, Lord Francis, and Charles his son	2725	00	00
Sevyor, John, of Salisbury, Wilts, Gent.	0054	03	04
Say, William, of Ashton Caines, Wilts, Yeoman	0063	00	00
Topp, Edward, of Stockton, Wilts, Gent.	0500	00	00

	£	s.	D.
Tidcomb, Michael, of Devizes, Wilts	0217	00	00
Thinn, Sir James, of Longleace, County Wilts, with fifty pounds per annum settled	3100	00	00
Townson, John, Brumhil, Wilts, Clerk	0320	00	00
Wallis, Edward, of Trowbridge, Wilts	0050	00	00
Windebank, Sir Thomas, of Haines, Wilts.	0810	00	00
Yerbury, Edward, of Trowbridge, Wilts, Gent	0190	00	00
Young, John, Durnford, Wilts, Gent	0635	00	00
Yerbury, John, of Trowbridge, Wilts	0001	13	04

The entire list contains the names of 3197 persons, residing in all parts of England, of whom 258 had to pay £1000 or more, but it must not be supposed that the sums here specified were the whole of the losses of the Wiltshire nobility and gentry on this occasion, as there is no doubt that those who were actively concerned forfeited their whole property, and were not allowed to compound.

In order to shew the present value of the amounts paid, it may be proper to mention that Bishop Fleetwood in his "Chronicon Preciosum," states that the market price of wheat in 1655, was £1 13s. 4d. a quarter, and of malt, £1 per quarter.

The originals of the two papers following, are in the Library of the British Museum, Additional MS., No. 6508, p. 141.

"Gentlemen,

"I delivered both my letters for the county of Wiltts to the Comittie, there is but one Comittie in the county, thay receved itt verey—and tould me thay would put the ordenance in execution speedly. The parties I delievered my letter is Mr. Hill of Salsbery, and Mr. Good of the same place, and Mr. Marten, father and sunne both of Malbercy, the soliet is Mr. Frinch, dwells at Warmester. Mr. John Poulton is sequestrator and colector, Mr. Hill is Trer. new, Mr. James Godward father and sunne was, Mr. Ditton was, and Mr. Gess and Mr. Stokes, thes ware Trers. when the Comittie ware devided into seaverall Parties—in the county—my letters has sett them together by the eares. One wth an other tha begine to impech one another, somme of them will be hard put to give accoumpt, I cannot discover what monies thay have by them, thay say none: there will be a mater of 2000 pounds in Rents to come in new. I have sent you a note of the last information I could gett: somme of them have greet accoumpts to give, thare Comitie of Accoumpts never acted as yett, soe I conceeve thay have greet accompts to give. I am gon ffor Sumersetshere, soe in haste, I Rest

"Yours in what I may in this my sarvice,

"Malbercy, the 23 of September, 1648.

HUGH JUSTICE."

"Information given by Capt. Humphrie Dimocke at Malbercy: he dwell att London, but was there new: the information was given him by Mr. Langbridge, dwells in Malbercy: their information is about Malbercy.

“ A ferme att Al Cannings of Mr. Goddards of Salisbery sequestered, it was left to his wife to receive the Rents, it beinge about £80 per anum, and noe benefite to the state.

“ Sir John Glanvill’s estate beinge sequestered, and orders from above to sell the stocke and to let yestate : nothinge done therein.

“ My Lord Semer’s estate beinge wourth 3000 pounds and great parte of itt quilt Rents, was let for £400, since the Cuntery was in the Parlements power.

“ That Mr. Moris of Badberey beinge proved a delinquent by six witnesses or more, and his land worth 160 pounds a yere besides his stocke worth 1000^l p., yett was not sequestred.

“ Mr Will. Ficher of Lidington beinge a Commissioner and Trer. for the King’s party, and a charge proved by Mr. Edward Goddard and John Langbridge, yett M. Ficher was not sequestred, his estate wourth 200^l p. anum.

“ Mr. Browne of Shefford beinge proved a papist, and in Armes, his estate worth £200 p. anum, was let at micheallmas last at £70 to Mr. Browne’s baley, and £1000 profered for his stock, and secuiritie for the munies, was sould to his baly for £400 p.

“ Mr. Henery Hedges of Wanberey beinge proued a delinquent, was not sequestred but comepounded for £20 p. anum heaveing besides his stocke.

“ A maner of Lord Caselhaven’s, a Rebell in Ierland, beinge sequestred, was let to his Ladey for £80, yett nothinge pade.

“ That a charge of delinquencie beinge brought to the Comitte against Mr. Staples a counselor, beinge in Armes, yett nothinge was done against him.

“ Mr. Goddard of Swindon, a Commissioner for the Kinge, was fined £20 by the Comittie, he heavinge £600 p. anum.

“ A charge of delinquencie beinge brought against John Woodard, baley to Mr. Browne a papest, the Comittie toke noe notice of the said charge, though the wittnesses ware free houlders, and men of good reput, he beinge worth £1000.

“ There beinge £200 proffered for Mr. Browne’s farmes att Lurgesall for this yere, the Comittie of Salberey let for £60 p. to his lady.

“ That Mr. Langley beinge a Leftenant in the King’s armie, compounded for £20, beinge worth £80 p. anum, besides his stock and never sequestred.

“ John Brunson of Ogborne beinge proved a delinquent and sequestred, and compounded for £20, beinge worth £70 p. anum besides his stocke.

“ Sir Will. Master estate at minsall, (Mildenhall) tenanted to Mr. Hulber of Malberey, noe accoumpt this 3 yeres.”

Addressed on the outside

“ For the Trers. for Sequestrat, sitting at Gildhall, London, theis with speed.”

Docketed in another hand writing,

“ Wilts, 23^d Septem., 1648, Hugh Justice.”

It should be observed that the Decimation of the Estates of the Delinquents in 1655, after the revolt of Penruddock and Grove was a much more serious matter than the Sequestration and Composition of 1643, which was by an ordinance of the Parliament of April

1, 1643, dated Scob. Ord. March 31, set out in Rush. Coll. vol. 5, p. 309. In 1648, July 27, the composition of Serjeant Glanville is mitigated, (vol. 7, p. 1205;) and there is a vote of the House of Commons Oct. 30, 1648, that Lawyers, Clergymen, and Scholars should compound at a full third, and that Feb. 2nd then next, should be the last day for compounding. The Penruddock and Grove revolt was at midnight on Sunday, March 11, 1654-5.

The Letters next following (No. 1 to 6), on the subject of the "new taxation" mentioned by Hume, viz.: that which took place after the Penruddock rising, on March 11, 1654-5, are contained in the collection of State Papers of John Thurloe, who was Secretary of State to Oliver Cromwell, and to Richard his son. This collection was discovered in the reign of King William III. in a false ceiling in the garrets belonging to Secretary Thurloe's chambers, No. 13, in the old Square, Lincoln's Inn, (near Lincoln's Inn Chapel,) by a clergyman, who had borrowed these chambers during the long vacation of his friend, Mr. Thomlinson, the owner of them. This clergyman soon after disposed of these papers to John Lord Somers, then Lord Chancellor, who caused them to be bound in 67 volumes in folio. They were published in 1742, Thomas Birch, M.A., F.R.S., being their Editor.

*No. I. The Commissioners for the County of Sarum to the Protector.*¹

"May it please your Highness.

"In obedience to your commands, we this day waited upon the right honourable General Disbrowe, who having communicated to us your orders and instruction for the securing of the peace of the Commonwealth, we humbly resenting* them as most just and reasonable, and much conducing to the end specified, did and do most cordially engage ourselves in the work, and both in this and all things else shall be ready to obey your Highness's command, who are,

"Your Highness's most humble and faithful servants,

JOH. DOVE.	JA. HELY.
HUM. EYRE.	WM. LUDLOWE.
NIC. GREENE.	J. REDE.
ED. SCOTTON.	RICH. HILL.
ISAAC BURGES.	WILL. BLISSETT.
THO. EYRE.	

"New Sarum, Dec. 7, 1655."

¹ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 4, p. 295

* Probably "respecting" is meant.

No. II. Major-General Disbrowe to Secretary Thurloe.¹

“SIR,

“I have given his highness a brief account of my proceedings here, where we had a full appearance and a general resolution to carry on the work, Mr. Grove only desiring time to consider of it, which can be no impediment to it. Each of the Commissioners desire the printed instructions under Mr. Scobel’s hand for their indemnity, which I cannot but join with them, if it may be without prejudice. I have only added three more, John Dove, Richard Hill, and James Hely. The persons in the inclosed paper² are ordered to be summoned at a time and place prefixed, where I shall endeavour to be. As often as you can, pray let me hear from you, and what intelligence you have will be kindly accepted by

“Your hearty friend and servant,

“Sarum, Dec. 8, 1655.

JOHN DISBROWE.”

No. III. Major-General Disbrowe to the Protector.³

“May it please your Highness.

“I have in pursuance of your orders given notice to the Commissioners of Wilts, and yesterday had a meeting with them, and made known your Highness’s instructions to them, where little else was done, by reason night came on. But this morning we met again, and had a full appearance, save Mr. Grove, who craved some time to consider of it. The others are very industrious and clear in the work, only they desire your highness’s favour in affording each of them a paper of instructions, under Mr. Scobell’s hand for their indemnity: and have ordered the persons within mentioned to be summoned upon Monday, seven-night, when I propose (if the Lord please) to be present.

“I have alsoe dispatcht letters to the Commissioners of Dorsett, and intend to be with them upon Wednesday next, in order to the setting that work on foot, and from thence to return hither at the time appointed. Mr. Sheriff of Wilts presents his service to your highness, and begs your nomination of Mr. Thomas Grove who I adjudged very fit, and must also make it my request, he being honest and able, tho’ tender. I have no more at present to trouble your highness with, save to sign myself as I am,

“Your lordship’s humble servant,

“Sarum, 8 Dec., 1655.

JOHN DISBROWE.”

No. IV. Inclosed in the preceding. Mr. Thomas Grove to Major-General Disbrowe.

“My Lord,

“Being very unfitt by reason of my present weakness and distemper of body for any business, I shall humbly begg your honour’s pardon for my not waiting on you this morning, having a longing desire (if the Lord please) to be in my owne house againe and not to be surpris’d with sickness in an inne. I must ingeniously confess that had I been in a fitt capacity for business, I intended to

¹ Thurloe’s State Papers, vol. 4, p. 300.

² This paper is not printed with this letter.

³ Thurloe’s State Papers, vol. 4. p. 300.

have made it my humble request to your honor in private that you would please to affoarde me a little time of consideration before I acted in this, for indeed I cannot undertake any business of consequence till I have had some serious thoughts about it, and have debated it with mine owne weak judgment, that soe my conscience may be cleerly satisfide in what I doe. For the grounds of this designe I can not be more fully satisfide than I am allready, viz., that the old enimies have their old hearts and their old hatred still, and that they will be ready upon all occasions to disturb the peace and quiett of this commonwealth, and that it would be a very great happiness and blessing to all the godly and quiet people of these nations to have them suppress'd or removed; but there may be some scruple in the manner of doing this. I shall not (upon hearing the rules once read) entertain any exceptions, hartely wishing there may be none. But if the Lord please to give me health, I shall with my best care and diligence speedily peruse and examine the instructions, and then if it be cleer to me that the way and manner be as righteous and warrantable as the thing is good and desirable, I shall as cordially act in it as any man in England. And this is a christian liberty which I cannot but be confident to obtain from General Disbrowe. Soe humbly begging your lordshipp to pardon whatever you find amiss in these lines which were written in much haste and paine, and earnestly begging the blessing of God upon you in this and all other your great affaires, I rest

“Your lordship’s most humble servant,

THO. GROVE.

“The White hart, the 8th of Dec., [1655].

“For the honourable generall Desbrow at the three swans in Sarum.”

No. V. Major-General Disbrowe to the Protector.¹

“May it please your highness.

“I have received your letter in reference to the Lord Seymour, and have purused his to your highness, wherein I find no more than any cavalier in the West of England shall pretend for himself. I must confess I should be glad of a real change, but I humbly conceive that without some publicque declaration to the world by him of the alteration of his spirit and principles, and of his real in-gagement to the present government, it will but open a door and give occasion to the enemy to cry out of our partiality, especially if favour and respect shall be shown to him and denyed to others, that will doe as much if not more than he hath done. If his spirit be such as he can cordially close with the people of God (as Capt. Burges seems to hold forth), he will not be ashamed to disown that interest wherein he formerly engaged, and for satisfaction of friends manifest his integrity to the publicque. However for the present the Commissioners understanding your highness pleasure, seem willing to let him alone until they may be ascertained whether there be any difference betwixt him and his former practiees. Yesterday we proceeded upon taxing 7 or 8 of this county, amongst whom was Sir James Thynne, who was at the first a little averse and did plead as much innocency as my Lord Seymour, but at last having no refuge was constrained to comply, and I think of them 8 which we have already dealt with, all the sum will amount to 6 or £700 per ann. There are four more to appear

¹ Thurloe’s State Papers, vol. 4, p. 324.

this morning, and then I intend for Blandford, to attend the Dorsetshire gentlemen and soe to Marlborough, where there are 20 more to be summoned. In my last I gave Mr. Secretary a list of some names for Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorsett to be sheriffs, and have presented your highness with three for Wilts, the two former being of the last parliament, and signinge the requisition. For Gloucester I must crave leave till I come upon the place, I am,

“Your highness’s humble servant,

“Sarum, Dec. 18, 1655.

JOH. DISBROWE.”

No. VI. Major-General Disbrowe to Secretary Thurloe.¹

“SIR,

“I have bin attending the work in Dorsetshire where there were 20 summoned, amongst which is Sir John Strangeways, Sir Gerard Napper, and Sir Hugh Windham; one pleading his integrity, another his innocency, and the third showed much frowardness and averseness; but after I had dealt very plainly and indeed roundly with them, they with the rest fairly submitted and are contented to bear the additional tax, proportionable to their estates. I doubt not but it will turn to a good account, though it is probable some will trouble his highness with their applications, for in the country they are known too well, and the commissioners are very unanimous and active in it, only some are of opinion that by their present instruction they cannot rate any man for both together that hath not full £100 per ann. real, and £1500 personal estate, and have drawn up a letter to the council craving a resolution therein, but the account you gave (if past the council) will determine that, in making persons that have either £50 per ann. real, or £500 personal, or with either sum together, such an estate shall be lyable to this additional tax, and will not only yield a considerable revenue to the publick, and rejoyce the hearts of the well affected, but be a means to break and prevent the designes of our enemys.

“I came yesterday from Blandford to Sarum, and from thence this day hither, where there are 24 summoned to attend upon Monday next.

“I desire you to give order that William Fry of Yarty, and Edward Cheek of Gabriells, Esq., may be added to the commissioners of the peace for Dorsetshire. I have only this further to add, that Robert Hipsley, Esq., may be sheriff of Wilts, in the room of Col. Dove, (if it be not too farr past,) which is the desire of him who is

“Your real friend and servant,

“Marlborough, Dec. 22, 1655.

JOHN DISBROWE.

“Pray present my service to his highness, and let him know that after this meeting I shall give him a full account of my proceeding hitherto.”

Mr. Waylen in his “History of Marlborough” has published some very interesting documents, as to the amount charged on Charles the son of Lord Seymour, and the way in which he escaped the payment of it.²

¹ Thurloe’s State Papers, vol. 4, p. 336.

² Waylen’s History of Marlborough, p. 237.

He also shews from another document¹ that Sir John Glanvill of Broad Hinton, Knight, was fined £2320, but his name does not appear in the printed list from which the foregoing extracts were taken.²

F. A. CARRINGTON.

The Royalist Composition Papers in the State Paper Office (2nd series, vol. 18, page 595,) contain valuations of the property of the Marquis of Hertford, part of which he possessed for life, and part in fee simple, and a great deal of correspondence and minutes is on the subject. The following entries relate to the Composition he was to pay.

“9th March, 1646. Fine as tenant for life onely, £9570. Fine as tenant in fee, £16,783.”

On the same page. “12 Jan. 1647. Upon the motion of Mr. Rich in the behalf of the Lo. Marquesse of Hertford, it was ordered by the Lords and others at this comittee, that his Lordship’s fine should be reduced and made certain, and his estate for life allowed of, and the additions in his particular set forth according to the Articles of Oxford and the proceedings and rules of this comittee, to and with all other men that come in vpon the sayd Articles. According to which order the sayd Lord Marquesse fine at a tenth is £3345.”

From other documents in the same volume, in the State Paper Office, it appears that the Marquis’s estates were in settlement, and that he was to be charged on a life interest on the whole value of the property, at £9570, which was mitigated to £3345.

It seems strange that the ordinance for sequestering the estates of the Royalists, was made in 1643, and yet persons were compounding in 1647.

The fact was, that long after 1643, the Royalist party was in many parts of England the strongest, and Lord Seymour entertained King Charles the First at Marlborough Castle, on the 10th of April, 1644, (the day when the king reviewed his army, 9000 strong, on Aldbourne Chace,) and again for five days, beginning the 12th November in the same year, (Gutch’s Collect. Cur. vol. ii. 432-39.) And neither the Marquis of Hertford, his son, Lord Seymour, or his grandson, Charles Seymour, were declared Delinquents till after the capitulation of Oxford, on the 24th of June, 1646, in which all three were included.

¹ Waylen’s History of Marlborough, p. 239 :

With respect to this gentleman, the following is an extract from Rushworth’s Collections, vol. 7. p. 1205. “Thursday, July 27, 1648. The House considered the case of Serjeant Glanville, reported from the committee appointed to consider thereof.

“The House ordered ‘that the 5th part of the land of the said Serjeant Glanville should be accepted of for the 5th and 20th part of the estate.

“That the bail of the said Sarjeant should be discharged, and himself likewise from all imprisonment.”

² It is very much to be regretted that several of the most interesting works relating to Wiltshire are so rare. Mr. Russell Smith, its publisher, states that of Mr. Waylen’s “History of Marlborough,” only 250 copies are printed. Of our President’s admirable work on Castle Combe, only 150 copies, I believe, were printed for private distribution. The “Sarum Institutions,” and Aubrey’s Collections for a History of North Wilts, both privately printed by Sir Thos. Phillipps, Bart., are equally scarce. Though I ought not to omit mentioning that Sir Thomas Phillipps very kindly gave me a copy of the latter, with very numerous illustrations by Lady Phillipps. Still the consequence of these limited editions is that those works are hardly ever to be seen, and even more difficult to be obtained.

F. A. C.

[CONTINUATION OF PAPER ON CHURCH BELLS,]


*From Vol. III. p. 184.***Bells of the County of Wilts,****WITH THEIR INSCRIPTIONS.**

By the Rev. W. C. LUKIS.


Deanery of Chalke.

[Omitted in List given in Vol. II. p. 211.]

Compton Chamberlayne, 3.

1. Anno Domini. 1614. R. P.
2. G : P : R : * John Porter Francis Foord C. W. 1656. W  P.
3. Honour the King, I. W. 1616.


South Damerham, 5.

1. 1666. F. F. †
2. G. Tiller and H. Butler, Churchwardens. James Wells, fecit. 1803.
3. [Illegible.]
4. Mr. Edmund Bound and Mr. Thos. Welstead, C^h Wds. W  C. 1739.
5. I was cast in the yere of Plague, Warre, and Fire, 1666. F. F : E. D. Mr. John Sallam, Giles Yardley, Edward Foord, Churchwardens.

Deanery of Wylie.

[Omitted in List given Vol. II. p. 338.]

Mere, 6.

- 1.2. W. C : T. T : C. W : T. P : Anno Domini, 1665.
3. Anno Domini, 1660. W. B : W. H : C. W : D. I  L.
4. Messieurs Phillips and Mitchell, Churchwardens. J. Kingston, Founder, Bridgewater, 1828.
5. ✠ STELLA MARIA MARIS SUCCURRE PIISSIMA NOBIS. †
6. Mr. Giles Forward and Mr. Giles Jupe, C^h W^{ds} 1747. William Cockey, Bellfounder.

• G(eorge) P(enruddocke,) R(ector.)

† Francis Forster, Bellfounder.

‡ This bell bears 2 shields—one charged with a Bend dexter ; the other, with Cross Keys between a mitre, pastoral staff, a chalice, and another figure.

Stourton, 6.

1. I. T. L. Anno Domini, 1657.
2. Wm. Cockey, Bellfounder, 1728.
3. God be our guyd. R. B. 1624.
4. O Lord accept this bell of mee,
To call thy people unto thee.
The gift of W^m Maidman of Gasper. S^m Lambe, Thos. Hurl, C^h W^{ds} 1728.
5. Geve God the glory. 1624.
6. C. & G. Mears, Founders, London, 1827.

Deanery of Potterne,

[Omitted in the List given Vol. II. p. 355.]

Monkton Farleigh, 3.

- 1.2. Thos. Cottle and Daniel Taylor, C^h Wardens, 1783. W^m Bilbie, Chewstoke, Somerset.*
3. Daniel Webb, Esq. John Tosier, fecit. 1724.

South Wrazall, 6.

- 1-5. No Inscription.
6. Mr. Thos. Collet, Churchwarden. Abra^m Bilbie, fecit, 1769.†

Trowbridge, 8.

- 1-7. James Wells, fecit. 1800. S^t Waddon, Rich^d Casswell, C^h Wardens.
8. May all I summon to the grave,
The blessings of a well spent life receive.
James Wells, Aldbourn, Wilts, fecit, 1800.

Winkfield, 3.

1. Drawe neare to God. 1607. W. P.
2. ✠ Anno Domini. 1611. W: D: R: P. A. A. S.
3. ✠ SANCTA LUC. O. PRO NOBI.

Winsley, 3.

1. ✠ SANCTE TOMA ORA PRO NOBIS. H. I.
2. ✠ T. Bilbie F. 1756. Mr. David Salter C^h Warden.
3. ✠ SANCTA MARIA.

Limpley Stoke, 1.

W. P. I. A. F. 1596.

Westwood, 4.

2. ✠ SANCTA ANNA. T. R.
- 3-4. ✠ SANCTE THOME ORA PRO NOBIS. H. I.‡

* The first bell probably bears the same inscription as the second; but these two being on the lower floor of the Tower unhung, the second placed over and enclosing the first, I could not see the inscription.

† All six were cast together.

‡ These three inscriptions were said (vol. II. p. 349,) to be illegible. I have decyphered them since my first visit to the bells, and it is singular that the third and fourth bear the same inscription.

THE

Guild of Merchants, or three Trading Companies FORMERLY EXISTING IN DEVIZES.

A GUILD, was a company of persons associated together for some particular object, as, the furtherance of a benevolent purpose, or the protection of trade; of the latter kind was the Guild of Merchants formerly existing in Devizes, of which it is proposed to give some account in the present paper.

The privilege of possessing its own Guild of Merchants was first granted to Devizes by King Edward III., as appears by the following clause in his Charter to the Borough, bearing date at Westminster May 27th, in the 45th year of his reign, [A.D. 1371.]

“Concessimus etiam prædictis Burgensibus nostris de Divisis Gildam suam mercatoriam, &c.”¹

It is somewhat remarkable that nothing has been met with relating to the history of this Body during the two centuries following its incorporation. The next notice occurs in the Herald's Visitation of the County, taken A.D. 1565 [7th Elizabeth], and is a memorandum accompanying a drawing of the arms borne by the Guild,² *see plate*.

“These be the Armes appertaining and belonging to the Fellowshipe and Corporacon of the Burgesses and Merchants Adventorers, Clothiers, Weauers, Drapers, and Taylors, and others vseing any Art or Facultie within the Towne and Borough of Diuises, which

¹ “We have granted also to our aforesaid Burgesses of Devizes their own Guild Merchant, &c.” A similar privilege was granted to the Burgesses of Marlborough by King John. See his Charter printed in Waylen's “Marlborough,” p. 97.

² In the Visitation the Arms only are given, the crest and supporters are here added on the authority of “The Booke of Constitutions of the Borough of Devizes,” an illuminated manuscript of A.D. 1628, in the possession of A. Meek, Esq., Town Clerk of Devizes, (a rough copy of which will be found in the British Museum, Lansdowne MSS. No. 230.), and the motto from a painting of the arms preserved in St. John's Church, and probably of about the same date.



The Arms of the Venizes Guilds.

CONFIRMED BY WILLIAM HARVEY, CLARENCEUX, AND REGISTERED
IN HIS VISITATION OF WILTSHIRE, A. D. 1565.



Armes, I, Clarencieux, King of Armes, haue Ratified and Confirmed to all those of the said Corporacon before mentioned, and to their successors for euer. And at this p^{re}sent Visitacon, Edward Haynes, Mayor, was cheife head and g^{ou}vernour, Willm. Battye and Richard Denny, Wardens of the Clothiers and Weauers, Willm. Preston and John Smith, Wardens of the Drapers and Taylors, John Chappell and Thomas Fizall,¹ Wardens of the Mercers, &c. In witness whereof I haue hereunto subscribed my name, &c.”

From this it appears that the Guild then consisted of three several Fraternities, including the following trades—1st, Clothiers and Weavers; 2nd, Drapers and Tailors; and 3rd, Mercers. Each Fraternity was governed by two senior officers, or wardens, and the whole presided over by the Mayor of the Borough.

About half a century later, A.D. 1614 [12 James I.], the Guild was wholly remodelled—the Fraternities before comprising it were altered to 1. Drapers; 2. Mercers; 3. Leathersellers; and the various trades included under each of these divisions, re-arranged; each Company was to have, from that date, its separate master, two wardens, and two yeomen elected annually on the 5th November.

As the regular history of the Guild, so far as it is at present known, commences at this period, it is proposed to give an abstract of the various laws prescribed for its government by the Mayor and Burgesses of the Borough, and contained in two MS. volumes, formerly belonging to the Drapers and Mercers Companies;² as an illustration of the manner in which the trade of Devizes, a town described by Fuller as “the best and biggest for trading in the Shire,” was protected and regulated in the 17th century.

The following extract from the Wilts Visitation of A.D. 1623 [21 James I.], may first be added as showing the state of the Guild nine years after its re-arrangement.

¹ William Stratton of London, eldest son of . . . Stratton of Bremble [Bremhill], in Wilts, married Christian, daughter of Thomas Fitzsall of the Devizes. See Pedigree of Stratton in the Wilts Visitation of 1623.

² These two volumes are now in the possession of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, the former was presented by A. Meek, Esq., Town Clerk of Devizes, and the latter by the Rev. E. J. Phipps, Rector of Stansfield Suffolk, late Rector of Devizes.

“At this present Visitation 1623 was John Allen,¹ Mayor, cheife head and governour, Edward North,² Maister, John Batt³ and John Iles,⁴ Maister Wardens of the Clothyers, Weavers and Drapers; Nicholas Barret Maister, John Hoop⁵ and Marmaduke Bird, Wardens of the Company of Mercers; Thomas Clarke Maister, Christopher Pulleyn and Henry Deane, Wardens of the Company of Lethersellers.”

THE BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS OF THE FRATERNITY OF THE DRAPERS.

This volume, which consists of nearly one hundred pages, is written on vellum, and bears the following title:—

“BURGUS DE DEVIZES. The Booke of Constitucons, Decrees, Statutes, and Ordenaunces for the Ffraternitye Companye and felowshippe of the DRAPERS, wth in the foresaid Boroughe of *Devizes* had, made, enacted, established, concluded and agreed upon, (amonge other things) by John Allen, gentleman, Maior of the foresaid Boroughe, John Kent, gentleman, Townclarke of the same Boroughe, Robert Drewe, gentleman, (and others) Chief Burgeses and Counsailors, Thomas White, Robert Wayte, (and others) Chiefe Burgeses and of the Comon Counsaile of the same Boroughe. *At a Generall Assembly* or Court of Comon Counsaile of the Maior and Burgeses, &c., holden in the Guildehall there, the 17th daye of June, 12th James I.” [1614.]

It begins with a confirmation by the Mayor, Town-clerk, and Burgesses of the various Constitutions therein contained for the government of the Guild, and is addressed to all Justices of the

¹ John Allen, draper, was buried in St. John's Church, September 18, 1624.

² This name should apparently be *Northey*. Edward Northey, sen., was Mayor of Devizes in the years 1612-22 and 30, and Edw. Northey, jun. in 1635.

³ A John Batt, clothman, Mayor of Devizes 1595, buried at St. John's, Mar. 27, 1600. This was probably his son.

⁴ John Eyles, of the Devizes, mercer, living in 1645, the name occurs as Mayor in 1650. John Eyles *the elder*, and John Eyles *the younger* were both buried in 1662. Their descendants afterwards resided at Southbroom. John Eyles, of Southbroom, was Sheriff of Wilts in 1716.

⁵ John Hope, Mayor of Devizes 1640. Edward Hope, also thrice Mayor, was one of the Devizes tradesmen, who, during the Protectorate, issued his own token. In the floor of St. Mary's Church are flat stones bearing inscriptions to several later members of the same family.

Peace, and all the King's officers within the Borough as well as the Burgesses and inhabitants, setting forth that whereas the Mayor and Burgesses by ancient custom, and by divers grants and confirmations of sundry the Kings of England, have and enjoy, among other privileges, a Guild of Merchants, and whereas the King (James I.) by Letters Patent, bearing date at Westminster, July 10th, in the 3rd year of his reign, hath not only confirmed to them their former privileges, but granted them power to make new ones from time to time. At a general assembly held in the Guildhall, June 17th, 1614, it is ordained that the Guild of Merchants shall be divided into three several fraternities, companies, or fellowships, whereof the first shall be called *The Fraternity of the Drapers*, the second, *The Fraternity of the Mercers*, and the third, *The Fraternity of the Leathersellers of the Borough of Devizes*; and that persons exercising the trades of clothiers, weavers, woollen-drapers, tailors, hosiers, fullers, shearmen, spinsters, coopers, carpenters, masons, tilers, joiners, cutlers, smiths, and ironmen within the Borough, shall, before the 1st of November next, require their freedom of the said Company, and require their names to be entered in the Book of Admissions of apprentices and freemen thereof, by the clerk appointed for the purpose, and also in the Book of Admissions of apprentices and freemen of the Borough remaining in the custody of the Town-clerk; and all such persons as have served, or shall serve, seven years as an apprentice with any of the Fraternity, the same only shall from time to time for ever be reputed as belonging thereto. And that the Company shall have power to choose from among themselves annually, on the 5th of November, a Master and two Wardens, who shall enquire into and correct all defaults, deceits, falsities, trespasses, and misdemeanors committed by any of the brethren concerning either of the aforesaid trades. And the Hall of the Mayor and Burgesses called the Weaver's Hall, shall be used for all public meetings of the Fraternity. And for the better execution of the premises, the Mayor and Burgesses appoint Edward Northey to be Master, and Robert Flower and Alexander Webbe, Wardens, until the 5th November following.

Then follow the Ordinances of the Fraternity (eighteen in number), of which a brief abstract is here given:—

- I. The Master, Wardens, and Fraternity to meet annually on the 5th November, and attend the Mayor of the Borough to the Church of the Parish in which he dwells,¹ in “decent and comely order, and there abide untill th’ende of deivine Prayer or Sermon;” afterwards to assemble in the Weaver’s Hall and elect a Master for the year following. The Master thus chosen to elect an “honest and fit person of the company” to be his Warden. The Fraternity by their most assents to elect a second Warden. These newly elected officers to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, as well as that prescribed for their respective offices. If either should die during the year, the two survivors, with the residue of the Fraternity, to meet within 14 days after his decease, and proceed to elect from among themselves one other honest and fit person to fill the vacant office.
- II. The Master, Wardens, and Fraternity on the aforesaid day of election to choose from among themselves two fit persons to be yeomen of the Fraternity; these to take the necessary oaths as above.
- III. The Fraternity to meet in the Weaver’s Hall on three other days during the year besides the day of election, to be called Quarterly Meetings, viz.:—March 24th, Midsummer-day, and August 5th. The Master and Wardens to overlook on these days all persons exercising any of the trades comprised by the Fraternity, and to correct and reform all deceits or defaults committed by any of them, by punishing the offending parties according to their good discretions. The Master and Wardens, with consent of the Fraternity, on these days of Quarter Meeting to constitute any new ordinances, or change or repeal, upon urgent occasion, any of those in force.

¹ The manner in which this ceremony was conducted does not appear. The Company of Tailors at Salisbury in their processions to and from Church, were preceded by Morris Dancers and Drummers, which gaitics the Mayor of Salisbury in 1611, Bartholomew Tookyc, a zealous puritan, endeavoured to abolish. See *Archæological Journal*, IX. p. 103.

- IV. Any person being elected to the office of Master, Warden, or Yeoman, and refusing to fill the same, to forfeit, for Master, four marks; Warden, forty shillings; Yeoman, twenty shillings. The Master, Wardens, and Fraternity to elect another person in the room of him so refusing.
- V. No person of the Fraternity to receive more apprentices than by the laws of the Realm he may lawfully do, nor suffer a son or servant to serve in any of the trades included by the Guild, above the space of six months, unless before the end of that term he present him before the Master and Wardens of the Fraternity, to be bound by indenture. The indenture to be made by the Town-clerk, and by him entered in the Book of Admissions of apprentices of the Borough, and within a month after to be entered in the Book of Admissions of apprentices of the Fraternity by the clerk of the same. The Town-clerk not to receive, for making and entering the indenture, more than two shillings, and the clerk of the company fourpence. Any person taking such son or servant contrary to this ordinance, the same being proved before the Master, to forfeit forty shillings to the use of the Fraternity.
- VI. The master of every apprentice who has faithfully served in any of the above trades, to present the said apprentice at the next Quarter Meeting after the expiration of his term, before the Master, Wardens, and Fraternity to be admitted as a free brother of the same, and to exercise the trade within the Borough where he hath served as apprentice. And for his admission to pay to the Master three shillings and fourpence, and to the clerk for the entry thereof, fourpence. The Master and Wardens at the suit of their newly elected brother, to make certificate thereof to the Town-clerk under their hands and seals. And upon such certificate the Town-clerk to make an instrument in writing, to be signed and sealed by the Mayor, testifying his freedom of the Fraternity. The Town-clerk to receive for this instrument eightpence, and the Mayor for his seal to the same, fourpence.
- VII. Every person of the Fraternity to pay quarterly the sum of

one penny, in the name of quarteridge money, to be collected by the Yeomen at the Quarter Meetings, and delivered to the Master to be employed to the public use of the Fraternity.

- VIII. If a journeyman in either of the trades should resort to the Borough, and there desire to be retained by any of the Fraternity, the said person within six days after employing such journeyman, to cause his name to be entered in the Book of Admissions of apprentices and freemen of the Fraternity. And for the entry thereof to pay to the clerk twopence, and to the Master at the end of every quarter, so long as he continue to be so employed, twopence. Any person of the Fraternity refusing to comply with this ordinance, to forfeit two shillings and sixpence.
- IX. If a journeyman or hired servant retained by any of the Fraternity, depart from his master without a lawful discharge, none other of the Fraternity (having notice thereof) to receive such servant into his employ, until he obtain some certificate of lawful discharge from his former master, and the license of the Master and Wardens of the Fraternity.
- X. If any apprentice, journeyman, or hired servant behave himself disobediently and stubbornly towards his master, being of the Fraternity, and will not be reformed, or if any of the Fraternity deal hardly with, or evil entreat his servant, both parties to be called before the Master and Wardens to take such order between them as the case may require.
- XI. If a difference arise between any of the Fraternity concerning the trades incident thereto, the party aggrieved to make relation of the same to the Master and Wardens, who by the advice of two or three most discreet persons of the Fraternity, called unto them for the purpose, shall publicly on hearing the complaint and answers thereto, end the controversy between them according to their discretions. If this course fail, the case to be referred to the Mayor; and failing of success, the aggrieved party to be at liberty to take his remedy by due course of law. None of the Fraternity to act contrary to this ordinance, upon pain of forfeiting for every offence, twenty shillings.

- XII. The Weaver's Hall, appointed by the Mayor and Council of the Borough for the public meetings of the three Fraternities, to be maintained and repaired at their equal cost. The Companies to take precedency as they are named, and every brother according to the date of his admission—the Master and Wardens presiding over all. The Yeomen on receipt of instructions from Master and Wardens to summon the brethren to the Hall on the days of quarter meeting, and as often as occasion require, and failing this, to forfeit, for each default, ten shillings. A brother absenting himself, without reasonable excuse, to forfeit one shilling.
- XIII. No foreigner or stranger, not being a Burgess or inhabitant of the Borough and free of the Fraternity, to sell within the Borough, except on fair days, any commodities appertaining to either of the trades included by the Fraternity other than corn, grain, victuals, wool, woollen or linen yarn, woollen or linen cloth of their own making, upon pain of forfeiture for every offence, forty shillings.
- XIV. No person of the Fraternity to entice the apprentice or hired servant of another from his service before his term expire, without the consent of his master, and the Master and Wardens of the Fraternity, upon pain of forfeiting forty shillings. Nor any apprentice or hired servant to leave his service before the expiration of his term, without a similar penalty. Every such servant to be re-delivered by the Master and Wardens of the Fraternity into the hands of his master, to fulfil his time of service. And if they cannot within twenty days after complaint made to them, take some order therein, the case to be referred to the Mayor of the Borough.
- XV. None of the Fraternity to presume at any time to speak any despiteful or unseemly words, or otherwise misbehave themselves towards the Master and Wardens, or any of the brethren, upon pain of forfeiting, on proof of the same by one or more witnesses at a general meeting, such sum as shall be thought meet by the Master and Wardens.
- XVI. The Master of the Fraternity to deliver yearly on the day of

election, to the new Master and Wardens an account in writing of all sums received and expended by him during his year of office, and also the sum remaining in his hands, upon pain of forfeiting £10. And also to deliver *this Book of Ordinances*, and all other books or documents concerning the Fraternity, upon pain of forfeiting £40. The new Master upon receipt of *this Book* to cause all the ordinances therein to be distinctly read in the Weaver's Hall, before the whole Fraternity, to the intent that every brother may take due notice of them, upon pain of forfeiting £5.

XVII. All fines to be levied and received according to the true meaning of the ordinances here recited. And for non-payment, it shall be lawful for the Master and Wardens, assisted by a constable or bailiff to distrain for the same. The half of such sums taken by distress or otherwise (except fines for admission, and quarteridge money,) to be paid within eight days to the use of the Mayor and Burgesses of the Borough, and the other half to be bestowed to the public use of the Fraternity, in such a manner as shall be decided on by the whole or greater part of them.

XVIII. If any of the aforesaid ordinances be executed contrary to the laws of the Realm, such part thereof to be void—Or if any question arise touching the meaning of any clause in either of them—Or if any person complain to the Mayor that they be troubled in body, goods, or otherwise by reason of them, contrary to the laws of the Realm, by misunderstanding the true meaning thereof, the same to be from time to time discussed and decided by the Mayor, Town-clerk, and Burgesses of the Borough. In witness whereof, we, the aforesaid Mayor, Town-clerk, &c., have to these presents set our hands and common seal, 17th June, 12 James I. [A.D. 1614.]

Decreed, confirmed, and subscribed by us:—

JOHN ALLEN, Mayor.	WALTER REUE.	ROBERT FFLOWER.
JOHN KENT. ¹	ROBERT MORRES.	JOHN STREETE.

¹ A Pedigree of Kent will be found in the Wilts Visitation of 1623. John, the individual here mentioned, was son of Roger Kent of Copenhall, Co.

THOMAS WHITTAKER.	STEPHEN FLOWER.	XPOFER CLARK.
JOHN THURMAN.	ROBERT DREWE. ¹	ROBERT BATMAN.
ALEXANDER WEBB.	RI. FLOWER. ²	RICHARD DURNFORD
THO. LEWEN.	NICHOLAS BARRETT.	JOHN ERWOOD.
EDWARD HOPE.	EDWARD LEWES.	GEORGE MORRIS.
☞ signu EDW. BAYLIE.		

Then follows :

1. "The Othe of Supremacye to be taken by the Master, Wardens, and free brethren of the said Fraternity of Drapers."
2. "The Othe of Allegiaunce to be taken by the said Master, Wardens, and free brethren of the said Fraternitye."
3. "The Othe of the Master of the said Fraternity of Drapers."
4. "The Othe of the Wardens of the said Fraternity of Drapers."
5. "The Othe of the Ycomen of the foresaid Fraternitye."
6. "The Othe of a Brother or freeman of the foresaid Fraternitye of Drapers."

A.D. 1651. At a general assembly held in the Guildhall, on the 5th of March, before the Mayor, Recorder, Chief Burgesses, and Common Council of the Borough, all the Constitutions before ordained were ratified and confirmed, excepting so much of the same as concerned the Oaths and the administering of them to the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Fraternity.

Cheshire. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Wyatt of Calne, Wilts, by whom he had issue three sons, and a daughter. He filled the offices of Mayor, Town Clerk, and M.P. for Devizes, died on the 1st of October, 1630, aged 72, and was buried in St. John's Church, where there is a Monumental Brass to his Memory.

¹ A Pedigree of this family will also be found in the Visitation of 1623. Robert, here mentioned, was the eldest son of John Drew, of Southbroom, by his wife Elinor, daughter of Wm. Cooke of Lacock. He married Jane, daughter of Alderman Jackman, of London, by whom he had issue six sons and five daughters.

² Richard Flower, (son of Stephen Flower of Devizes, gent,) Mayor of Devizes 1604-11-20, buried at St. John's Oct. 30th, 1624. His brother, Thomas Flower, of London, draper, by will dated at Stoade in Germany, where he died July 31st, 1605, bequeathed to the Poor of the Borough £10, to be distributed at the discretion of his brother Richard, and John Pierce his brother-in-law, (having married his sister Eleanor.) Also other £10 towards paying the Town.

(Signed)

JOHN SLOPER, Maior.	STEPHEN WHITE.	JOHN MUNDEY.
JOHN STEVENS.	WILLIAM WHIT.	JOHN FREEME.
JOHN TILTON.	JOHN WORSBALL.	JOHN FFIDSALL.
EDWARD PIERCE.	WILLIAM FILKES.	WILLIAM BANCROFT.
THOMAS CLARKE.	JOHN WHITE.	ROBT. INGS.
RICHARD WEBBE.	WILLIAM SANFORD.	RICHARD STREETTE.

A.D. 1717, [4th George I.] At a quarterly meeting of the Fraternity held in the Weaver's Hall, on the 5th of August, it was resolved that on account of many inconveniences which had arisen from the custom of choosing the Master on the 5th of November, the said day of election should for the future be held on the 5th of August.

(Signed)

JOHN SKEATE, Master.	HUGH GOUGH.	JOHN NIGHT.
JAMES CLACKE	THOMAS WALDON.	MOSES RAWLINGS.
JOHN HOWARD } Wardens.	CHR. J RICHARDS,	WILLIAM LA. . DEEN.
THO. MASSEY.	his marke.	EDWARD PHILLIPS.
THO. CLARKE.	THO. GIFFARD.	ROBERT CADBY.
AMBROSE ZEALY.	SAML. HARRIS.	WM. P PRICE,
JAMES PHILLIPS.	THOMAS TRIMNELL.	his marke.

EDWARD SLOPER.

A.D. 1721, [8th George I.] A Thomas Phillips was Master of the Fraternity, as appears by his name written within the volume.

A.D. 1740, [4th George II.] The tradesmen of Devizes appear at this date to have been suffering from the inroads of a class of persons known in the present day as "Hawkers," who according to the laws of the Guilds, were strictly prohibited from "uttering their merchandizes" within the Borough. An entry in the volume recites the ordinance No. XIII., and states that the bye-laws before ordained for enforcing the same having proved ineffectual, it is ordained, by the Mayor, Recorder, and Chief Burgesses at a Council held on the 3rd day of September, that, if any person after the 23rd of October following, not being free of one or other of the Guilds, shall, unless in open fairs, expose for sale by retail any goods, or use any trade contrary to the above-mentioned ordinance, he shall forfeit the sum of £1 for every such offence. And it is

further ordained, that no persons who shall be admitted to their freedom in any of the Guilds, other than such as be born or serve an apprenticeship within the Borough, shall, by virtue of such freedom be entitled to any exemption from payment of Picage, Stallage, and other accustomed tolls and payments to the Mayor and Burgesses, usually paid by persons frequenting the markets and fairs within the Borough.

As this entry has no signatures attached, it seems doubtful whether at so late a date it was ever very strictly enforced.

THE BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS OF THE FRATERNITY OF THE MERCERS.

This volume, as appears by a memorandum (in Latin) at the end, was written in August, 1614, by an individual named Benedict Browne. It is, with one or two exceptions, an almost exact copy of that which belonged to the Drapers; there are several blank spaces at the commencement, evidently intended for some kind of illumination, which was never completed.

The trades included by the Fraternity are specified as mercers, grocers, linen drapers, haberdashers of small wares, haberdashers commonly selling hats and caps, vinters, innholders, bakers, brewers, apothecaries, barbers, surgeons, chandlers, painters, brasiers, and glasiars.

At the end of the volume are the following entries, evidently bearing somewhat of a Puritanical cast:—

“Lawes and orders by the generall consent of Mercer’s Societie
die Martij xxvijth Anno. Dom. 1620.”

“The daye aboue it was ordered and decreed by the greater pt of the fraternitye y’ henceforth euey Brother that cometh not to the Haulle in Decent mann’ and in his Clocke, if he hath anney one, shall forfeite to the companie xij^d for euey sutch Default.

“It was also concluded the same day that Whereas in former times it was concluded that none of the companie should sill anney wares on the Saboth day, *other then for necessitye*, it is nowe fully agreed on that from hence-forth, none shall vse anney pt of their misteries and trades y’ doe conserne the fraternitie on the saide

saboth day *except it be for necessities sake*, vpon paine of forfeiture of x^s for euery sutch offence.

“Notwithstandinge a Constitucon given and graunted to vs by the maio^r and chiefe Counsellers and Comon Counsell^{rs} of this boroughe, that the maister and Wardens wth other inferior officers should be elected and chosen on the monday after midsomer day, we nowe wth a generall consent of the wholle fraternitie doe for diu^{rs} causes and consideracons macke choise of this day, the wensday after midsommer day, beinge the xxvjth day of June, 1622, and doe decree also that from henceforth it shall continue at the p^rfixed day before ordained in the constitucons, except happen it shall that the licke occasion shall fall out.

“This ixth of August, 1623, Nycholas Barrett, gent, Mr. and John Hope and Marmaduke Burd, Wardens of the Company of Mercers, wth diu^{rs} others of the same fraternitie beinge assembled together in the Haull, made an order, the effect thereof is as followeth:—

“That whereas our King’s Ma^{tie} hath graunted a Charter vnto this Corporacon, by vertue whereof most trades, occupacons, and sciences are knitt into three Companyes as in the bookes of Constitucons it doth and may at large appeare. We therefore the M^r of the fraternitie of M^cers wth diu^{rs} of that fellowshipe doe decree:— That once a weeke henceforeward to meete together at the Haull, or as many as shall thinke fitt soe to doe, for the more increase of Amitie and love together, as alsoe there to question and Conferre of matters Concerninge the trades, that thereby we may be the more inabled to sell as good pennyworths as any of our neighbour townes, the w^{ch} by god’s assistance, we doubt nothing to the Contrary, our meeting therefore betwene our Lady day and Michaellmas to be betwen ffive and six of the Clock every Saturday on the afternoone, and betwene Mich’as and o^r Lady daye betwene ffoure and ffive of the Clock every Saturday in the afternoone.”

Two entries which occur in the volume belonging to the Drapers, are omitted in that of the Mercers, viz:—the confirmation of its contents (excepting the Oaths) by the Mayor, Recorder, and Burgesses A.D. 1651; and the ordinance for altering the day of election, A.D.

1717. The recital of the ordinance No. XIII. prohibiting any person not belonging to one or other of the Fraternities, from exposing goods for sale within the Borough, unless in open Fairs, A.D. 1740, bears the following signatures:—

STEPHEN STREET, Mayor.	ROBT. LAWRENCE.	WM. SALMON. ³
JOHN GARTH, ¹ Recorder.	SAML. PHILLIPS.	JOHN CLARKE.
HEN. FLOWER. ²	JOHN CROOKE.	JOHN FLOWER.
WM. ADLAM.	JOHN MASSEY.	WILLM. ADLAM.
JOSEPH WELLS.	ROBT. FRANKLIN.	EDWD. PHILLIPS. ⁴
RICH. SMITH.	RICH. PHILLIPS.	JNO. WILLIAMS.
ROBT. SLOPER.	STEPHEN POWELL.	

Among the loose papers within the volume, the following may be noticed:—A.D. 1769. An account taken by Thomas Burrough, the then Master, from the representatives of Charles Eden, the deceased Master.

Thomas Burrough, silversmith, Master of the Company, George Paradice, tallow chandler, and Willm. Lewis, baker, Wardens, are bound to Matthew Figgins, baker, in the sum of £66 18s. 0½d. (26th June.)

An agreement by the Master, Wardens, &c., to surrender into the hands of the Mayor and Burgesses, for the sum of £10, all their right, title, and claim to the Weaver's Hall, provided the said M. and B. do by an order of Council, agree, that the Fraternity shall for the future meet in the Sessions Hall, to perform their usual and necessary business. (17th Nov.)

¹ Son of Thomas Garth, Esq., of Harold, County of Bedford, and nephew of Sir Samuel Garth, Knt., author of "*The Dispensary*," and Physician in ordinary to George I. He was chosen Recorder of Devizes, April 17th, 1732; M.P. for the Borough Feb. 26th, 1739, died Dec. 26th, 1764, æt. 63. Monument in St. Mary's Church. A Pedigree of the family will be found in "*Wilts Magazine*" vol. ii. p. 332.

² Henry Flower, Mayor 1719-22-27-34-38. George Flower of Devizes, a later member of the family, was Sheriff of Wilts, 1760.

³ Mayor of Devizes 1753-61-65. His son William who died in 1826, aged 78, was the owner of Southbroom, which property he purchased from Josiah Eyles Heathcote, Esq., son of the Rt. Hon. George Heathcote, by the heiress of Eyles.

⁴ Edward Phillips, clothier, buried at St. Mary's, 1767, in which Church are several flat stones with inscriptions to other members of the same family, two of whom were benefactors to the Poor of that Parish.

Another agreement, that every brother in arrear for his quarter pence, and who shall not have discharged the same by the next general meeting, shall be absolutely expelled the Fraternity.

1770. 9th Jany. An agreement by the Master and seven of the Company, whose signatures are attached, to surrender their right in the Weaver's Hall¹ to Mr. Robt. Neate, for the sum of £13 2s. 6d.

The annual account of the Fraternity for 1769-70, showing a balance in hand of £37 8s. 8d.

Names of twenty-one of the Company who attended dinner at the Antelope, 3rd July, 1770; also of nine others who paid their quarter pence to June 26th, 1769.

Receipt from Francis Bayly, (apparently the clerk of the Company,) to Mr. Thomas Burrough, for the sum of 15s. 4d., being one year's salary due 3rd July, 1770.

Memorandum of the payment by Thomas Burrough to the Members of the Company their respective shares of the Plate belonging thereto, weighing 15 ozs. 10 dwts., and valued at £4 0s. 6d. July 27th, 1770.

The third volume, containing the Ordinances for the Company of Leathersellers, has not been met with, but it was doubtless very similar to those of the Drapers' and Mercers' Companies.

EDWARD KITE.

Devizes, July, 1857.

¹ The Weaver's Hall formed a portion of the block of houses between the Market-place and Wine street, as appears by the following extracts from the minutes of Council, A.D. 1776, (six years after its surrender by the Companies,) for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Waylen.

"1776. Dec. 24. Surrender by Robt. Neate of Lease of premises in Wine street for £279.

"Surrender by James Sutton of tenement in Wine street for £95.

"Lease granted by Robt. Neate of part of premises, comprised in his lease surrendered, and part of Mr. Sutton's, *with part of the Weaver's Hall over the same.* Term 99 years. Fine £280. Rent £42 6s.

"Lease granted to Thomas Godden of part of Mr. Sutton's and Mr. Neate's premises, *and the Weaver's Hall.* Term 99 years. Fine £96. Rent £18 6s. afterwards reduced to £14."

There will, I think, be little difficulty in identifying this as the property forming the north side of Wine street.

The Battle of Ethandun.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "WILTSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL MAGAZINE."

SIR,—Although I should deprecate the practice of prolonged controversy in your work, yet I presume that it is not inconsistent with its plan, that some notice may be taken of propositions in antiquarian research, which are published therein, particularly when they are adverse to those which are generally received. Under this impression I beg leave to bring to the recollection of your readers the statement insisted on by Dr. Thurnam,¹ that the site of the battle of Ethandun is the modern Yatton, and that the opinions of antecedent antiquaries that Edington is the spot where the victory of Alfred was achieved, must yield to the contradictory assertion of Whitaker who first maintained the view which Dr. Thurnam supports. If the point were to be decided by the authority of names, there could be no question as to the verdict which should be given. From Camden to Sir Richard Hoare a list of eminent writers might be produced who are opposed to this, comparatively modern, notion;² but I shall give them no more weight than what is due to the opportunities they possessed of investigating the fact, and their accredited amount of capacity for turning those investigations to a proper account. I will proceed then to notice the arguments of Dr. Thurnam, in the order in which they have been given.

Of these, the first in favour of his hypothesis, is the greater proximity of Yatton to Chippenham, "it being expressly stated

¹ See Wiltshire Archæological Magazine, vol. iii. p. 80.

² It is worthy of remark that Camden states Edington to be the site of the battle, as an undoubted fact; the ancient tradition in its favour therefore, cannot be denied, and it is further observable that Camden appears to have personally investigated the neighbourhood of Chippenham, and that he found or heard nothing there opposed to the popular assignment of the site.

that the Danes had their quarters at that place *both before and after* the battle." This is an observation no doubt in one sense important; but its whole weight refers to a question of time, and it can be tested by no authority or express statement whatever, which either proves or intimates that the "quarters of the Danes were at Chippenham" immediately before, or immediately after the battle.

Asser indeed informs us that they passed the previous winter at that place, which he calls a royal villa, reducing almost entirely to subjection all the people of that country, but the ensuing summer (during which the action occurred¹) would necessarily be devoted to incursions beyond that immediate neighbourhood, which must by that time have been despoiled of all sustenance required for a marauding and foreign army; the inhabitants, as the same writer informs us, being "driven beyond sea, by want of the necessaries of life." There is no natural barrier between Chippenham and Edington which could prevent its occupation, and that of the surrounding country by the Danes, and the fortress of Bratton connected with it would necessarily have been seized by them as a strong hold, and the key of any military operations or predatory expedition. It is not improbable that the Danish host may have returned to Chippenham after the battle, (for they may have as easily marched fifteen miles as five when a treaty was concluded,) but there is no direct inference that they did return there, except the subsequent statement that they left the place the following year.

Dr. Thurnam's next proof is founded on an objection to the relative distances of the places assumed by previous writers to be those mentioned by Asser in the line of march taken by Alfred. He admits, and he can scarcely deny the identity of Brixton with Egbright's stone, but he repudiates both Bucley and Westbury Leigh as the representatives of Æglea, because the one being five miles only, and the other but nine, from Brixton, "these distances seem too short for a day's march, when the king is described as setting forth at dawn, and with the head quarters of the enemy at Chippenham, a distance of at least twenty-five miles." I suggest, however, that in this sentence the ingenious writer in some measure

¹ The 7th week after Easter, Asser; Turner fixes the date on the 11th May.

begs the question. If by head quarters he means the seat for the time being of the Danish government or the sovereign, he may be allowed the expression; but if the term is applied to the army, *that* is the very point in discussion; and it remains to shew, whether good reasons may not be adduced for believing the "head quarters" to have been not "at Chippenham, twenty-five miles distant," but at Edington and Bratton camps, within eight miles of Cleyhill or Bucley, and four miles of Westbury Leigh.

It is difficult, at this period of time, to ascertain the reasons which would determine a leader to make a long or a short day's march, but I will so far anticipate a future observation, as to remark, that as surprize was obviously the plan of Alfred, his progress would be decided with a view, not merely to activity, but to concealment. Both these stations were within the friendly covert of the forest which shrouded the design of the Saxon King, and at Cleyhill was an encampment which would be another security for a night's occupation, sufficiently near to Edington to admit of an action on the subsequent day. That it did *there* take place, Dr. Thurnam can scarcely, with seriousness, deny, for it is the statement of Asser, the only cotemporary historian, who after step by step and day by day tracing the progress of Alfred to Iglea, adds, "the next morning he removed to Edington, and fighting fiercely and bravely in a compact body against the army of the pagans, by divine permission obtained the victory;" the removal and the battle being stated without interruption in this diurnal narrative.¹ It is moreover to be remarked, that this writer uses the term, "*castrametatus est*," to denote the security as well as occupancy for the night, but it is incomprehensible that this progress, even in a slighter form, could be effected in an open plain, in the face of an enemy already in possession of the country.

¹ "*Inde sequenti mane illucente vexilla commovens ad locum qui dicitur Ethandum venit, et contra universum paganorum exercitum cum densa testudine atroeiter belligerans, animoseque diu persistens, divino nutu tandem victoriã potitus, paganos maxima cœde prostravit.*" The use of the participle present I submit substantiates this fact. Dr. Giles translates *belligerans* "and there fought," which might lead to some doubt on the subject; he omits altogether the mode of attack *densã testudine*, probably indicating a sudden onslaught on the camp.

The contradictory quotation from the work of Simeon of Durham, for whose inflated style (and consequently inaccurate expression) an apology is offered, can have no weight: as this author lived in the reign of Edward III., and did not depart this life till 479 years after the victory was gained. But we are further assured that the Danes would not have advanced so far south as Edington, fourteen or fifteen miles from Chippenham, on hearing of the king's approach. I must confess my inability to receive this statement in the light of a self-evident proposition. If the Danes *did* hear of the approach of Alfred, the plain of Edington, supported by the strong fortress of Bratton, would be a spot favourable to the interception of the invading force and to the manœuvres of a superior army, and in choosing such a site for the battle, they would have followed the general, I might almost say, the invariable, example of their predecessors. But there is not the slightest proof that they did hear of the king's approach, and the more reasonable presumption would support the tradition, that whilst they were on some predatory expedition, Alfred, (in the words of old Speed,) "on the suddeine, set uppon the carelesse campe of the Danes, and made thereof a very great slaughter."

Dr. Thurnam next observes, that "even if Edington might be admitted as the site of the battle, we should still demur to accepting the camp of Bratton as the Danish fortress." If this latter observation can be maintained, I will readily yield the question in dispute; and will agree, that the battle could not have been fought at Edington, if Bratton is not to be identified with the fortress to which the Danes afterwards retreated. But so far from admitting the difficulty of that retreat, I presume it to be consistent with the most obvious view of the case. Alfred emerging from the forest and woody tracts, which extended beyond Westbury Leigh, must of course, have attacked, to the north of Bratton; the ridge of down preventing the meeting of the hostile armies in any other direction. Mr. Britton indeed objects to the identity of Bratton, on account of its position between Edington and Cleyhill, which would infer a retreat through the conquering army; but (referring to the map), if we consider that this fortress is separated by the ridge of down

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NOTE.—The reader is requested to substitute the word "escarpment" for "encampment," at p. 181, line 2; and to erase the words "to me" at p. 182 line 5.

from any conceivable march which Alfred could have made, his remark and the inferences which he draws from it, are of no moment. It seems reasonable to suppose that the king, on account of the wooded character of the neighbourhood, advanced due north from Bucley or Westbury Leigh, till he came to a line parallel with Edington, diverging from which direction, he attacked the camp on the western or northwestern side, in which case, Bratton would be sufficiently in the rear of the Danes to permit their retreat to that fortress. I fully admit the difficulty of flight to the southern entrance, and consequently that if there were then no northern approach to Bratton camp, the obstacle would be nearly insuperable. Dr. Thurnam, therefore, with sufficient astuteness adds, "the principal entrance is clearly that on the south side, and it is by no means certain that originally any other existed." The question however to be determined is, not whether a N.E. entrance *originally* existed, but whether it existed at *that time*. Sir Richard Hoare after a very minute inspection, observes, that "this earthwork was first made by the Britons, and afterwards used by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes:" he further states, that "the N.E. point presents an additional earthwork, like a small detached camp." Now there is here, I think, evidence to shew that this entrance was not broken through in modern times: but that it was an approach formed with care, on the principles of ancient fortification, the place of admission being guarded with appropriate defence: or advantage being taken of a strong outwork in forming a subsequent entrance. And hence, although we may agree with Dr. Thurnam, that "earthworks were not usually weakened by approaches on the side of a declivity," yet where such an approach was deemed expedient, the "weakness" which it occasioned was counteracted by powerful out-works, and the entrance guarded with proper security. Nor does it appear improbable that an approach on the side of Chippenham might have been made even by the Danes themselves, either for a convenient communication with that place, or for the temporary purpose of its connection with the camp at Edington.

It may tend to determine the ancient military character of this entrance, if I add, that the outer line of entrenchment is extended

to that outwork. After this great battle, which determined the fate of England, we must conclude that such earthworks were rarely used, much less subject to additional castrametation. With these facts in view, which sufficiently indicate a means of retreat for the Danes to this entrenchment by its N.E. entrance, I confess my inability to comprehend the force of Dr. Thurnam's deductions, in the following passage, (p. 76). "The narrative of Asser seems, however, decidedly opposed to our assuming Edington and Bratton Castle as the sites of these important events. The description of the fortress, and the booty of horses and cattle found outside, appear to point, not to a stronghold hastily thrown up, or resorted to under the pressure of events, but clearly to a place of security where they had been some time encamped." If a "strong fortress, with double ramparts and a large outwork" can be "hastily thrown up," there may be some truth in the remark; but how it could be made in the face of the accompanying plan of Bratton, I am at a loss to know. The writer continues; "That the Danes had advanced to meet Alfred and give him battle, seems evident; but it is not probable that they would have encumbered themselves with stores of horses and cattle." To this statement I beg to object, that the first, is a gratuitous conclusion, and by the way, inconsistent with the lengthy encampment, of which we were informed in the preceding sentence, that "horses" were necessary to a predatory military fort, and that "spoil" was the daily fruit of Danish occupation.

But it is urged, that "Alfred could scarcely have maintained a successful siege in the vale below, the Danes possessing free egress to the south." I should have thought, however, that considering the great slaughter which preceded the flight, the victorious army of Alfred would be quite sufficient to *blockade* both entrances against any attempt of escape, from their reduced and disheartened enemy.¹

¹ "The king, with vigorous judgment followed the northmen to their fortress, and contrary to their hopes, encamped himself strongly *round it*. By this decisive measure he cut them off from all reinforcement, and confined them to the scanty subsistence which happened to be in their station. *Whilst the siege* lasted the strength of Alfred augmented in *proportion*, which destroyed in the Danes every

The figure of a white horse, the ensign of Saxony, and the recognized monument of Saxon victory, on the western encampment of Bratton Castle, is a feature so corroborative of the battle of Ethandun, that we must not be surprized at the attempt to convert it into a modern work, and that Dr. Thurnam should hint "equo ne credite Teucrici,"—more especially as Mr. Wise has mentioned a report, that it was made during the last century. But it appears that this author himself gave little credit to that version, for he adds, "Yet still, I think it may deserve the enquiry of others, who have more leisure than myself, how the common people came to be so fortunate in the choice of their ground, and whether the authors of it had not preserved the tradition of some older horse, and of some more ancient tradition, now forgot." The reasonable inference, therefore, to be drawn from this report, seems to be, that it referred to a renewal of the figure, and not to its original formation, more especially as another renewal was made in 1778, subsequently to Mr. Wise's publication. Sir Richard Hoare, who had better means of collecting oral information, observes, that "although some authors have doubted the originality of the figure, yet, *early and long tradition* seems to confirm it." It is a fact recognized by Mr. Wise, and I believe all other antiquaries, that the white horse of Berkshire is the undoubted memorial of the victory of the Saxons, obtained over the Danes at Æscesdun, in that county. Would such a mark of renown then, be wanting to the site of the crowning victory of Ethandun? But at Bratton, in the nearest vicinity of Edington, adapted to the purpose, I may say, "Hic bellator equus campo sese arduus infert," and without further remark, I leave its absence at Yatton to the inference of your readers.

The order of Dr. Thurnam's paper now brings us to the orthography of the site in dispute, and the writer states, that "the name of Yatton will give us little difficulty." Difficulty is a comparative term, dependent on the amount of capacity possessed by the person who encounters it; and I may observe with sincerity, from the

hope of emancipation, &c."—Turner's Ang. Sax. 2-91, quoting Asser 34, Flor. Wig. 317, Sax. Chron. 85. This fortress the author, rejecting the dictum of Whitaker, identifies with Bratton Castle, 2. 86.

perusal of Dr. Thurnam's very valuable contributions to your Magazine, that his estimate of it will vary much from that of many of his readers. I must profess myself, with humility, to be one of those, and am impressed with the opinion, that the name of Yatton appears to me one of the greatest stumbling blocks in the way to the conclusion proposed. The deduction of Yatton from the Ettone of Domesday Book, shall not be here contested; although it seems nothing more than the *gate* (or street) *town*, the Saxon *gate* being softened into *yate* throughout Gloucestershire, the neighbouring county. Yet with this concession, in what way are we to account for its imperfect curtailment, and for its entire difference in orthography and sound, from every known variety of name which has been used by every writer, to designate the site of Alfred's victory? Dr. Thurnam says, there is enough of hill or down to warrant the composite term of Etton-dun, but over-looking this apparent tone of hesitation, and admitting that there is "ample verge and room enough," has this compound ever appeared in writing, or (perhaps) in common parlance, before his ingenuity had fabricated it? Would it ever be lost or discarded, if, under the circumstances of the case it had ever been in use? Whilst the whole rescued kingdom resounded with the glorious name of Ethandun, would its inhabitants be content with the puny abortion of Ethone, and have excluded the very termination which identified the site of the engagement? As well might we expect an Englishman to abstract a letter from the name of Waterloo, or a syllable from that of Trafalgar. Further, we cannot resolve this objection into the carelessness of a rustic population, for writers have, it seems, continued it even to cotemporary times.

I am indebted to Dr. Thurnam for the important information, that Ethandun appears in all its integrity in the Will of Alfred, having been probably purchased by that monarch; and this fact leads us to the inevitable conclusion, that the final syllable was even then incorporated in the designation of the territory or estate, and not arbitrarily connected with another termination, to suit a particular purpose. So again, the same Ethandun occurs in the Saxon chronicle; a slight softening identifies it with the Edendune

of Domesday, and its popular recognition is daily stamped, not in Yatton, but in Edington. Moreover, the last mentioned document supplies us with the veritable "Simon Pure"; and Ettone, (not Edendune) as Dr. Thurnam truly says, is the representative of Yatton. Let him produce a document where the ancient name of Ettone stands forth as the site of the battle, and then he will have contributed greatly to the strength of his position. But independently of these considerations, the addition of *dun* to Ettone would be mere surplusage and repetition. It is true, that a distinction may be made between *dun*, a hill or down, and *tun*, a residence; but the one is so often resolved into the other, (as in the case of Ethandun and Edington,) that they are usually convertible terms, and the one termination may stand for either description. I will not further press this argument, but conclude it with another quotation of Dr. Thurnam himself, merely requesting your readers to place it in juxtaposition with his own ingenious transformation of Yatton into Ethandun. "Little difficulty, it must be admitted, exists on the ground of orthography, in accepting Edington as the representative of Ethandun; Edington being clearly the Edendone of Domesday, and being written Edyndon, at least as late as the time of Henry the VIth, (1449.)"

We are now arrived at Bury Wood camp, which Whitaker and his followers identify with the fortress to which the defeated Danes returned: and here I may suggest, that if, as is stated, the Saxons attacked their enemy from the south, (they themselves marching from the east,) since Bury Wood lies south west of Yatton, the Danes in their retreat, must in this case, have passed nearly through the lines of the victorious army, crossing Slaughtford with the stream in their rear, and their conquerors in their front. Circumstances no doubt might possibly have so happened, but I cannot conceive with Dr. Thurnam, that this is a very "probable position." I must leave to those more intimately acquainted with that neighbourhood, as well as Bratton camp, a comparison between the two entrenchments, with reference to the amount of probability *per se* in the identification of one or the other with the retreat of the Danes; with the observation, that the description of the former place given in "Ancient Wilt-

shire," does not present the formidable appearance of a fortification, which for fourteen days would deter, perhaps defy, the assault of an army flushed with victory.¹

It is not inconsistent with the practice of controversy, that Dr. Thurnam, like his predecessor Whitaker, should press into his service the appropriate name of Slaughterford in the neighbourhood of Yatton, and even the name of Dane's blood given to a vulnerary herb, found in that neighbourhood: both of which may possibly have reference to contests, and with the same enemy, although not to the battle in question. The term "slaughter," is unhappily very frequently found in the nomenclature of all parts of the country, indicating the thousand contests which have disturbed or dismayed our island; and if we are reminded of the violence of the Danes in their conquest and occupation of Chippenham and the neighbourhood, not only in the reign of Alfred, but subsequently, when the important battle of Sherston, at a short distance, was fought, a peculiar identification of these facts with the battle of Ethandun must fail. I should scarcely have mentioned the spot called "Danes Leys," at Edington, but for a counterpoise to these minor argumentative auxiliaries.

Your readers, then, weighing the opposite statements which have

¹ Returning to Castle Combe, I pursued the direct road towards Bath, and having passed the village of Slaughterford on the left, I observed an old bank and ditch upon some high ground, in the parish of Colerne, as I was informed. A little further on the right was a long strip of wood, in which is an earthenwork, noticed by Aubrey under the different titles of North Wood, and Bury Wood camp. Being entirely covered with a thick copse, the investigation of it in summer was impossible; but Mr. Edmund Crocker, engaged in the Government survey of England, measured it in winter and gave me a rough outline of the camp, which was corrected on the spot by my own surveyor. Its shape resembles that of a heart, having the narrow or pointed part extended towards the north east, in an angle between two streams. Its area comprehends twenty-five acres, and it appears to have had only entrance towards the south west, and that placed exactly in the centre of the ramparts, which on this side are double and rectilinear, the ground being level and most accessible on this side. On the north west side, but within the area of the camp, and at a short distance from the outward vallum is a small earthenwork, single ditched, with an entrance to the west. The whole of this work is so obscured by thick copse wood, that a regular investigation of it, except in winter, is impossible."—*Ancient Wilts*, vol. ii., p. 103.

been adduced on particular points of this controversy, may now consider the comparative probability of a march from Brixton to Highley common, the latter part of which would be through an open country, and on the third and following day another march of nine or ten miles to Yatton, equally exposed to view, with a battle at the termination of it; to the narrative submitted by Sir Richard Hoare, which I add in his own words, as his magnificent publication is in the hands of few probably of your readers.

“On the second day he marched to *Æcglea*, and there rested for the night. If this halting place is fixed at Clay Hill, or in its neighbourhood, the army must have diverged considerably to the north west; from a desire, probably, of following the wood-land tract, and avoiding the more open and exposed country. Silence and secrecy were the watch words of the day; and the chief object of King Alfred was to surprise the unsuspecting Danes, who thought him secure in his retreat at Athelney. And here it will be necessary for me to answer some of the objections made by former writers, to this line of march. I shall not take any notice of the fanciful positions of Dr. Beke and Mr. Whitaker, but confine myself to those of the learned Camden and his annotator Bishop Gibson. The latter thinks “that Westbury Leigh would be a better situation for the *Æcglea* of Asser and the Chronicle; and says that Clay Hill bears no marks of intrenchments, and is too far from the spot where the battle was fought on the following day near Edington.” Though on each of the first days march, Asser tells us that Alfred encamped (“*castrametatus est*”), we are not to imply that he raised military intrenchments for the safety or convenience of his army for one night. There are indeed evident signs of raised earthen works round Clay Hill, as may be seen in the annexed plate, but they bear marks of much higher antiquity, and cannot possibly be attributed to the Saxon monarch, whose object was to proceed slowly and secretly towards his enemy; slowly, that he might afford an opportunity for his friends from distant parts to join him; and secretly, that the enemy might gain no previous intelligence of his hostile intentions, all of which plans would have been counteracted had he, (according to Bishop Gibson,) encamped at Westbury Leigh; a

place adjoining and within sight of Bratton Castle.¹ I think, therefore, Æcglea ought to be placed somewhere in the neighbourhood of Clay Hill or Bucley.

“Let us next consider the events of the third day, which at length decided the superiority of the Saxon monarch over his inveterate enemies, the Danes. The village of Edington corresponds so well, both in name and situation, with the Ethandum of Asser, and the Ethandune of the Saxon Chronicle, that I shall not hesitate to place the scene of action at that place. It is situated at a short distance from Bratton, under the ridge of Chalk hills, upon a bold point of which stands the fortress to which the Danes were driven for a temporary refuge. The original entrances to this camp are still used as a thoroughfare for the road to Bratton: and in the valley to the eastward, is a fine perennial spring, called Lockham, near which the residence of the Danes is still commemorated, in the name of a field called Danes Ley.

“Less would have been written or said on this memorable subject, had authors taken the pains to examine personally the local situation, or line of country through which King Alfred would naturally have directed his march. In the course now laid down before my readers, we find nothing improbable, and even etymology need not be tortured in order to explain the names of places recorded on this occasion. For we find the Petra Ægbryhta re-echoed in Brixton, the Æcglea in Clay, Clea, or Bucley; and the Ethandune in Edington. But the Cornish historian, Mr. Whitaker, disregarding the records of Asser and the Chronicle in this instance, (though in others he has held them forth as of the highest authority,) seeming to differ merely for difference sake, and in his dictatorial tone exclaiming, “*Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas,*”² has transferred Æcglea and Ethandune to Highley and Yatton,

¹ Those who are intimately acquainted with the ground, will judge how far this remark may be qualified by the consideration, that in those times and subsequently, the woodland extended over the neighbourhood of Westbury Leigh. See *Hund. of Westbury*.

² “A few strokes of his (Whitaker’s) pen demolish authorities as easily as he sometimes unduly stretches them.”—Turner’s *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 59.

because on looking over Mr. Gough's additions to Camden's *Britannia*, he has found a place called Slaughterford, and a camp adjoining. Such topographical and historical misstatements should stand corrected, even though made by so intelligent and seducing an author as Mr. Whitaker."¹

The strongest corroboration of these, and similar views, will be found in the valuable map which accompanies Dr. Thurnam's paper. The reader will there see that Brixton Deveril or Egbert's Stone, was chosen as the secret place of meeting, because the contingents could make their way to it unperceived through the line of wood, along the valley of the Wiley, which shrouded them from observation by those possessing the down. But this furtive course would have been unnecessary if the march, as suggested by Dr. Thurnam, was subsequently made through an open country. Brixton, indeed, would have been a rendezvous quite inappropriate to an open attack in the neighbourhood of Chippenham, for it would have been far out of any direct line of march. Some place of meeting would, in that case, have been chosen, probably northward of Selwood, and advantage would perhaps have been taken of the fosse way, which leads thence in the direction of Chippenham. But to quote the words of the historian of the Anglo-Saxons, "the attack was meant by the celerity of the movements to be a surprise, and most probably was so, and the expression used by most of the chroniclers, imply this circumstance." It appears to me that a key is here found to unlock the whole controversy; it explains and identifies the secret steps of Alfred's march, intimating a site approaching the shrubby purlicus of Selwood, and fixes his victory, where before it always has been fixed, at Edington.

¹ Mr. Turner (who published his history of the Anglo-Saxons subsequently to the appearance of the *Life of St. Neot*,) although he fully notices the positive affirmation, I will not say the reasoning, of Whitaker, is not influenced by his dogmatic decision. On the contrary, he states that the Danish army "was encamped in or about Bratton Hill at Edendun, near Westbury."—vol. ii. p. 86. "Edendun lies under Bratton Hill, which is lofty, abrupt, and of difficult access. On its summit there are yet extant, the trenches and ditches of the Danish camp. Two branches for the sake of water spread to the foot of the mountain. Here weary of the confinement of a camp, and under no alarm of any hostile troops, the Danes diffused themselves to Edendun, &c."

Permit me to observe in conclusion, that the contrary opinion which I have expressed to that supported by Dr. Thurnam, is not inconsistent with that respect for him, as a valuable contributor to the "Wiltshire Magazine," which his communications so well merit. His statements are made in a clear and intelligible manner, and his conciliatory style, presents a very advantageous contrast with the disgusting dogmatism which deforms the writings of his prototype Whitaker, and which is utterly unworthy of that writer's vigorous mind. It is no small advantage to our society to possess a member, whose professional pursuits enable him to determine many points of difficulty in considering the contents of our barrows and interments, and the extensive acquaintance with antiquity and other subjects, which Dr. Thurnam evidently possesses recalls to our minds the observation of Johnson, that physicians are more remarkable for general attainments in letters and science, than members of any other profession. Perhaps the result to which Dr. Thurnam has arrived may not have been less satisfactory to him, from his transfer (as he supposes) of so great an historical event to a neighbourhood, from which he has at the same time abstracted the glory of Hubba's Low; but this feeling is probably slight, in comparison with the satisfaction which I have derived, from convincing my own mind (as possibly some others), after a careful consideration, that the world has not been so many ages in error; that my friend, Sir Richard Hoare, was in the main correct in his conclusions, and that his fame as an investigator of our primæval remains, may well sustain such serious attacks, supported as it is by his experience, judgement, and unwearied assiduity of research. Still, nevertheless, I could have wished that some more effective writer had appeared in his defence, and in sustaining the authority of his "Ancient Wiltshire," an inestimable legacy to this county, and a work in its kind, unparalleled in the whole range of ancient or modern topography:

"Unde nil majus generatur ipso,
Nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

GEO. MATCHAM.

Newhouse, June 4th, 1857.

The Flora of Wiltshire,

COMPRISING THE

Flowering Plants and Ferns indigenous to the County;

By THOMAS BRUGES FLOWER, M.R.C.S., F.L.S., &c., &c.

No. I.

IT is intended to commence in the present number of the Society's Magazine, the publication of a series of papers on the "Flora of Wiltshire," principally with a desire to induce those who may be at present unacquainted with its botany, and the beautiful field of nature which their own county presents, to study this most pleasing and instructive branch of Natural History. It is one which treats of the complicated mechanism and wonderful vital properties, of perhaps little less than 100,000 species of organized beings. These occupy, as it were, the middle station between the animal and mineral kingdoms, nearly allied to both, endowed with powers which enable them to accommodate themselves to every variety of situation, mountain, valley, savannah, desert, placid lake, or restless ocean; and to flourish alike under the scorching rays of an Equatorial sun, or through the enduring winter of the Poles. By their rainbow hues, varied forms, and delightful fragrance, they excite the imagination, and contribute to the enjoyment of the most refined sense; some scarcely to be distinguished from the rock they clothe, some fragile and evanescent; a few hours embracing their periods of growth, maturity and decay; others rising in majestic grandeur, defying the blast, and affording the shelter of their umbrageous arms to successive generations of men. Again, another very important reason for adopting the present form of publication, has been to enable all botanical friends and correspondents to see exactly, not only what plants are present or absent from the county, but in what proportion the species are rare or common, and from the localities quoted, to judge which

parts of the county have been best explored, and which most neglected by botanists. They will then be in a better condition to diminish the apparent infrequency of certain plants, here given as scarce, by the communication of *habitats* from the less examined districts, or to supply novelties, on the sure ground, that they are such because specially omitted by name, whenever attention has not been called, as will be done in some instances, to the probability of their occurrence. It is only by these means that its "Flora" can be satisfactorily known, the geographical range and distribution of the various species ascertained, with any degree of accuracy.

It would be too much to expect, from the following series of papers, more than a small contribution towards the knowledge of the distribution of plants. Yet it has been well observed, that it is only from the evidence contained in such local surveys, that comprehensive inferences can be securely drawn. In them the philosophic contemplator of nature ought to find exact, if not complete, data for correct reasoning, and if the districts into which it is proposed to divide a county, be well chosen, not too limited in area, nor too uniform in physical constitution, conclusions of general value may be safely proposed upon an adequate basis of observed facts.

In preparing our minds then, to commence the study of the "Flora of Wiltshire," we should not fall into the false idea, that the naming of plants is all that is required. Although it is undoubtedly one of our leading objects as practical botanists, it should ever be borne in mind, that such knowledge is merely superficial and tends to no intellectual or practical good. Our great aim should be a thorough acquaintance with the science. We should study it in all its bearings. We should possess a knowledge of the anatomy and structure of plants, in order to qualify ourselves for understanding the functions of their different parts, such as the root, stem, leaves, and flowers; and for judging of their importance in the economy of nature. We should examine also the relations they bear to each other, their specific differences, and general alliance. And lastly, we should investigate their properties, in order to ascertain the special uses to which they may be applied

in the economy of man. Having done this, it remains within our choice in what way we are to follow up our knowledge practically ; whether, as agriculturists, to contribute to the improvement of land, or, as horticulturists, to beautify our private mansions.

Should the inclinations of the botanist tend to the scientific pursuit of the subject, nothing can prove a greater source of pleasure than the forming of an Herbarium, or repository of plants, either of the district in which he lives, or of the county generally.¹ In order to do this, he allots a few spare hours occasionally to the field ; perambulating the valley or the plain, picking here and there a plant of ordinary form and appearance : a little farther on he gathers of the sweet and lovely flowers of the little stream or the winding river. At another time he will explore the woods, or climb the rocky sides of a distant hill, adding plentifully to his stock of plants rich in gay colours, as well as to that of shrubs, whose verdant green contrasts strongly with the slender grasses, carices, and ferns of the swamp beneath. A third excursion will find him upon some of our lofty downs, amongst plants of great variety, remarkable for the fineness of their texture and richness of colour, and enhanced greatly by their modesty of size.

Such rambles afford endless sources of gratification. While they contribute to the health and strength of the body, they exhilarate the spirits, and impart to them tone and vigour. Not the least of their advantages, are the wholesome impressions made upon the mind, chiefly by the associations with which they are afterwards connected.

He who has joined with companions in a botanical party, and with them often visited native spots of beauty, and gathered their treasures, can truly know the feelings of delight that arise in the breast, "feelings"

¹ It being the intention of the Society to commence the formation of a County Herbarium for future reference, Botanists would confer an especial favour, by forwarding to *Mr. Cunningham, Devizes*, duplicates of such Wiltshire plants as they could conveniently spare, or would collect, and dry for the Society. It is also requested that any apparent Anomaly or Monstrosity occurring in the growth of plants may be preserved, and deposited in the "Museum," when they shall receive such explanations as their nature will permit. By this means, Botany would acquire an accession of useful labourers, whose materials may hereafter be employed, modelled, and arranged by those, whose better talents, and more abundant leisure, may render them particularly fitted for the task.

(says Dr. Balfour,) "by no means of an evanescent nature, but lasting during life,—and at once recalled by the sight of the specimens which were collected. An occasional glance at an Herbarium, will call forth many a pleasing recollection, many a circumstance otherwise forgotten." One little plant will often tell a tale of adventure, and revive many an agreeable association of persons, places, and incidents. This is not the least of its pleasures. It appears that it is only after the lapse of time, and especially when far removed from the scenes of botanical study, that we can fully appreciate its value. Should not this then be a strong incentive to the study of the science of nature, that in the pursuit thereof we form the acquaintance of those who are treading the same paths; and lay the foundation of friendship always delightful, and ever permanent?

Botany has a still higher claim upon our attention than those already indicated. It forms no small portion of that great volume of nature, which, when read in the true spirit of wisdom, serves as the handbook to the Volume of Inspiration. It is the echo of the voice of the Creator "of the heavens, and of the earth, and all that therein is." The knowledge of the one will never be found at variance with the truths of the other. Nay, the more deeply we study each—the more minutely we compare the facts and phenomena of the one with the revelations of the other, the more evidently shall we see the harmony that subsists between them, and the more beautiful is the light they shed upon each other.

In the arrangement of the "Flora," the county has been parted into two principal divisions, and these again into five subordinate sections. The species have been severally traced through each division and section, so far as ascertained to occur in them. Upon this plan it is hoped that complete lists for several districts will ultimately be recorded, by inducing repeated excursions into each of them in succession. For in order to be of scientific value, a Flora should be even more remarkable for the accuracy of the stations it enumerates, than for the number of species it contains. Experience has shown, that it is almost impossible for any one person, however active, satisfactorily to examine a large tract of country. Therefore, in a

work of this kind, when the difficulties of compiling the researches of others are at the same time taken into consideration, perfect accuracy can hardly be expected on its first appearance; but something, it is hoped, will have been gained, by arranging the facts already collected, in such a form as to enable a more complete "Flora" to be eventually published, when additional researches have been made by other botanists in the county, whose attention may be drawn to the study of this interesting science by the present attempt.

In the preparation of this series of papers, the invaluable Floras of Smith, Hooker, and Babington have been taken as text books; (the latter work being most deservedly in use with all who wish to keep up with the progressive state of botany in this and other countries of Europe,) and the Wiltshire plants have been compared with the works of Koch, Reichenbach, and other continental botanists. The "Botanist's Guide" of Messrs. Turner and Dillwyn; Mr. H. C. Watson's "New Botanist's Guide;" and "The Natural History comprehended within the distance of ten miles round the City of Salisbury," by the late George Maton, M.D., have likewise been consulted. Many valuable remarks have been furnished by the "Cybele Britannica," of Mr. Watson. The authenticity of the localities rests on the authority of those persons whose names are appended to them; except in those instances, in which specimens from the locality named have been seen by the writer: those are indicated by a mark of admiration, (!). The remaining localities have been ascertained by the writer's personal observation, and for these he is alone responsible.

Species naturalized, but certainly not indigenous, will be distinguished by a star (*) prefixed; and those plants which may possibly have been introduced by the agency of man, by a dagger (†) appended. The time of flowering of the various species has been added, but much uncertainty in this respect prevails, in consequence of the variable state of the climate; April plants not flowering till the end of May, and vice versa.

It is now the compiler's pleasing duty to return his most sincere thanks to those friends, who have kindly assisted him with their

valuable co-operation. To Mrs. Rowlandson, he is particularly indebted for a catalogue of plants observed by her late husband, the Rev. Edward Rowlandson, at Kington St. Michael; to Mrs. Overbury, for a list of plants observed by her at Westbury; to Miss Lydia Meredith of Battle House, Bromham, for the like throughout the county generally; to Miss Anne Cunnington, for the neighbourhood of Devizes; to Major Smith, and James Hussey, Esq., for Salisbury; to Dr. Alexander, and C. E. Broome, Esq., for the neighbourhood of Chippenham; to his excellent friend, H. C. Watson, Esq., of Thames Ditton, Surrey, for much valuable assistance; to Dr. Southley, of Bulford, for a catalogue of plants, observed by him in his neighbourhood; to William Bartlett, Esq., for a similar list near Great Bedwyn; to Mr. Thomas Coward, Mr. Hatcher, Mr. Edward Hull, and Mr. Wheeler, of Warminster, he is also much indebted; and lastly, he would particularly mention the name of Mr. William Cunnington, of Devizes, for valuable aid rendered in the geology of the districts.

In conclusion, the compiler may be allowed to express a hope, that his botanical friends and correspondents, who may be pursuing their researches in Wiltshire, will favour him with any addition or correction (even the slightest), in the event of these papers ever being published in a separate form; as it is only through such assistance that the "Flora" of his native county can ever attain to anything like completeness.

Perambulations of Forests in Wilts,

A.D. 1300.¹

EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine. To all to whom the present Letters shall come Greeting. Know ye that whereas the Commons of our Kingdom have granted to us the fifteenth of all their moveable goods, &c. A perambulation made in the county of Wilts of the Forests of the Lord the King, in the same county, before John de Berewyke, Walter de Gloucester, Walter de Paveley, and John de Crokesle thereto assigned, in the presence of John de Romsye, Lieutenant of the Justice of the Forest, the Foresters and Verderers, begun on Friday next before the Feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, at Salisbury, in the 28th year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Henry. The Lord the King hath sent to the aforesaid John and his companions his writ in these words :—

EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine. To his beloved and faithful John de Berewyk, Walter de Gloucester, Walter de Paveley, and John de Crokesle, greeting. Because We will that the Charter of the Forests of the Lord Henry, formerly King of England, our father, in all and singular its articles be firmly and inviolably observed. We have assigned you to convoke in your presence, the Justice of our forest on this side of Trent, or him whom he shall put in his place, and all the Foresters in fee and the Verderers of our forests in the Counties of Southampton and Wilts, and to make a right perambulation by the view of you and them in the same forests,

¹ This translation from the Forest Roll, 28 Edward I., amongst the Tower Records, is kindly supplied by H. W. Hewlett, Esq., of Gray's Inn. The connexion between the Grant of the Fifteenth to the King (referred to at the beginning) and the Forests, does not exactly appear. Probably persons living within the Forests were not liable to this Tax, and it may have been necessary to show by the Perambulation how far the privilege extended.

by the oath as well of Knights as of other good and lawful men of the same counties, by whom the truth of the matter may be the better known, and the same perambulation made according to the tenor of the Charter aforesaid: Saving always our oath and the right of our Crown, the proofs and claims of us and all others. So, nevertheless, that if either of you by death or infirmity shall happen to be hindered, whereby he cannot attend to this matter, We will, that in the place of him who may be so hindered, one other discreet and lawful Knight, or another of the counties aforesaid, you associate together with you to execute the premises. To do which, by the tenor of these presents, we commit to you full power. And, therefore, we command you that at certain days and places, which thereunto you shall provide, you perform the premises in form aforesaid. And we have commanded each of our Sheriffs of the counties aforesaid, that at certain days and places which you shall make known unto them, they cause to come before you so many and such as well Knights as other good and lawful men of their Bailiwicks, by whom the truth of the matter in the premises may be the better known, and the perambulation aforesaid made as is aforesaid, and the same perambulation distinctly and openly made under your seals and the seals of those by whom it shall be made, you send baek to us before any execution or other thing thereupon be done; that thenceforth we may thereupon cause to be done, that which according to the tenor of the aforesaid charter, ought to be done. In testimony thereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 1st day of April, in the 28th year of our reign.

By authority of which command, the aforesaid John and his companions sent their writ to the Sheriff of Wiltshire, that he should cause to come before them at Salisbury, on Friday next before the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, so many and such as well Knights as other free and lawful men of his county, by whom the truth of the matter might be the better known; and also all and singular Foresters and Verderers of all the Forests of his whole county. At which day, the same Sheriff, together with the Knights and Free tenants of the same county, and also all the Foresters and

Verderers of the Forests aforesaid, there came, in the presence of whom and by their assent they elected Robert de Vernon, James de Trowe, Robert de Lucy, William de Wodefold, Peter Fitz Warin, William de Cotes, Simon de Torny (who was not present), John Gernoun, Simon de Paulesholt, Richard de Ryngelborn, William Waryn, Gilbert de Farnedon, William le Chamberlayn, Henry de Burn, John Huberd, Adam Harding, Geoffrey le Clerk of Lavynton, Thomas de Gomeldon, John de Letilecote, William de Testewod, Thomas Aucher, Roger de Stotescumb, Walter de Langeford, Nicholas Delamere, William Coson, and Walter Wymond; who first in the Bailiwick of John de Vienne, chief Forester of Clarindon, and in his presence, and in the presence of Jordan de Laverstock, John de Putton, and William le Noble, Foresters in fee, and in the presence of Thomas de Gomeldon and Robert de Harlsfield, Verderers of the aforesaid Forest, by their oath, say and have thus proceeded, that is to say;

CLARENDON.

At Wodegate and thence descending by the middle of the ditch unto the east side of the Marlyngputte, and from thence by the ditch unto Kingsmead, and so along by the water unto the meadow which is called Scherpegore, and from thence by the aforesaid meadow and the meadow of William de Wodefold, and from thence beyond the highway by the ditch unto Hoveswyshed, and so along from the east side of the Holewey unto the land of Muleford, and so along by the ditch unto Pynkelewey, and so along by the Wyldeneditch unto the wood which is called Schireneswood, and from thence from the west side of the aforesaid wood by the way unto Rutheresheved, and from thence descending by the aforesaid ditch unto Stolkewey, and so by Wyldeneditch unto Slaygate of Putton, and so ascending by three ditches unto the corner of Rodesle, and so by the way descending between the wood of the Lord the King and Rodesle unto Langehimeswey, and so by Odesle unto the corner of the croft of Robert David, which is called Howe, and from thence descending unto Stonyesgore, and so ascending between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of John de

Lucy unto Treyslanschores, and from thence by the way between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of John de Grimsted unto Sayonescrofteshurne, and from thence unto Benekestapel along by the ditch, and so by the ditch of la Vilicroft unto the ditch of the Lord the King of Wydebroke, and so by the ditch unto the cross of John de Grimsted, and so along by the ditch unto the aforesaid Wodegate. And the Jurors say, that the aforesaid metes and bounds before the time of the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, used to inclose the aforesaid Forest of Clarendon. And they say that the Lord the King hath no demesne wood near and without the aforesaid metes adjoining the aforesaid Forest. But they say, that without the aforesaid metes and bounds there is a certain wood which is called Schireneswood, which was appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of the aforesaid King Henry the great grandfather, and it is now in the hands of the Lord the King, and did pertain to the manor of Winterbourne Earls; and also a certain wood which is called Rowlesgof, which pertains to Winterbourn Dantesay, because it was appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of King Henry the great grandfather, and is in the hands of the Lord the now King; and all the woods, lands, and places which by this perambulation are disafforsted, were afforsted after the coronation of the Lord King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King; but what and how much in the time of each King severally, can in nowise appear to them.

WESTWOOD.

The Bailiwick of Westwood begins at Treslanschores, and so by the way unto Durhay, and so by the way unto Winterslewestighele, and from thence between Otteshage and Westwood unto Thuneshete, and from thence by the upper way between Westwood and the wood formerly of Richard Cosyn, unto the Hale, and so by the extremity of the wood unto the Whiteway, and from thence by the ditch about Hundenewood unto the wood of Robert de Harfeld, which is called Wynemanneshurne, and so between the wood of the aforesaid Robert and Hundewood unto Cripelesgate, and so by Rowepath unto the croft of Robert Queynte, and so descending by Ramespath unto the corner of the croft of John Page, and from

thence by the way unto Crupelesballe, and so by the wood of Stephen de Brightmerston unto the ditch which is between the pasture of the aforesaid Stephen and Hundewood, and so by the ditch unto the corner of the wood of Nicholas de Pureschurch, and so between Bentewood and Hundewood unto the aforesaid Treslanschores. And they say that the Lord the King hath no demesne wood without the aforesaid metes and bounds, and they say that all the woods, lands, and places to the aforesaid Forest appropriated which by this perambulation are disafforested, were appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, but what and how much in the times of each King severally, can in nowise appear to them.

MILCHET.

A perambulation made in the Bailiwick of Milchet in the presence of John de Berewyk and his companions thereunto assigned as above appears, in the presence of Andrew de Grimsted, Forester in fee; Thomas de Comb, and John de Lye, Verderers; and they thus proceed, that is to say; at Dedemannesfford by Genenepath unto the Blakhegge, and from thence unto the Holeok, and so unto the Haselenburch, and so unto the Holewey, and from thence unto Cartersfford, and so unto the Littleburgh, and from thence unto Arnoldesburgh, and so unto Duxemoreshed, and so by the highway unto without the Gate of Colemore, and from thence by the highway unto Sparewok, and so by the lake ascending unto the head of the same lake, and so by the way unto the Martok, and from thence unto the Holelanesheved under Oxenall, and from thence descending by the Holelak unto the lake which cometh from Hatheweneshall, and from thence by the same lake unto the Burn at the Rodeschute, and so always by the water unto the aforesaid Dedesmanesfford. And they say, that the aforesaid metes and bounds before the time of the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, used to inclose the aforesaid Bailiwick. And they say that the Lord the King hath no other wood adjoining the aforesaid Bailiwick; and they say that all the woods, lands, and places to the aforesaid Bailiwick appropriated, which by the aforesaid perambulation are disafforested, were

appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of the Lord King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King; but what and how much in the times of the kings severally, in nowise can appear to them.

GRAVELEE.

A perambulation made in the Forest of Gravelee in the presence of John de Berewyke and his companions, thereunto assigned as above appeareth, and in the presence of Thomas de Chaucomb, Forester in fee; Alan de Langeford, and Robert Cole, Verderers of the forest aforesaid; that is to say, beginning at Noddre under Bereford, and so always by the water of Noddre unto Asshewell Lake, and so ascending by the same unto Pultingston, and so towards the west unto the Meneway, and so by the Meneway unto Radeway, and so by the Radewayesden unto the mere between the land of Adam de la Ford and the land of Alan de Langford unto Wylyesford, and so along by the water unto the stone before the gate of the house of St. John of Wiltshire, and so by the water unto the aforesaid Noddre. And they say that the aforesaid metes and bounds before the time of the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, used to inclose the aforesaid Forest of Gravelee. And they say that the Lord the King hath no other wood adjoining to the aforesaid forest. And they say that all the woods, lands, and places to the aforesaid forest appropriated, which by this perambulation are disafforested, were afforested after the coronation of King Henry the great grandfather of the Lord the now King, but what and how much in the times of the successive kings severally, in nowise can appear to them.

BRADENE.

A perambulation made in the Forest of Bradene in the presence of John de Berewick and his companions, thereunto assigned as appeareth in the Roll of Clarendon, and in the presence of William de Roppelee, Bailiff of Robert de Keynes, Forester in fee; and in the presence of Thomas Tyeys, Walter Rysour, James de Groundewell, and Roger Hasard, Verderers; beginning at Bustock, and from thence unto Greneborn, and so along by Greneborn unto

Kulstokesford, and from thence between the two Sampfords unto Calewehulle, and from thence unto Grodefraneshull, and so unto Sandricheshok, and from thence unto Canonway, and so unto the house of Henry atte Borne, and so by the land of the same Henry descending unto Thames, and from thence by Thames unto the land of William atte Brigg, and from thence between the land of the same William and the land of John Hobbeschort, and the land of John Nonyt unto the aforesaid Thames, and from thence always by Thames unto the house of William of the Mill, and so unto Coverdecrouche, and from thence by the highway unto the cross before the house of John de Conham, and so by the highway unto the house of Nicholas Hobbeschort, and from thence between the land of Hugh Peverell and the land of John de Nevyle unto the Frith, and from thence by the ditch which is the bound between the wood of John de Nevyle and the wood of Robert de Keynes, and so always between the wood of the aforesaid Robert and the pasture of the aforesaid John and the Earl of Lincoln, and from thence along between Wydemore and Peverellswood, and so along by the Menewey between the wood of Robert de Keynes and the wood of the Earl of Lincoln unto the Batedelynd, and so along by the way unto Tolyntreshull, and from thence unto the Strode, and from thence unto Heremytescroft, and so to the aforesaid Bustock. And they say that the aforesaid metes and bounds used to inclose the aforesaid Forest, before the time of the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, and that the Lord the King without the aforesaid metes hath no wood adjoining the aforesaid Forest. And they say that all the woods, lands, and places to the aforesaid Forest appropriated, which by this perambulation are disafforested, were afforested after the coronation of the Lord King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King; but what and how much in the times of the kings severally, in nowise can appear to them.

SAVERNAK.

A perambulation made in the Forest of Savernak in the presence of John de Berwyk and his companions, as above appeareth, and in the presence of Henry de Sturmey, William de Harden,

William de Bonneclyve, Roger de Harden, Foresters in fee; and in the presence of John de Kenete, Thomas de Polton, William de Caperigge, and Nicholas Desmars, Verderers; beginning at Bonneclyve, that is to say at the west corner, and from thence descending by the ditch between the aforesaid Bonneclyve and the wood of the Abbot of Hyde unto Drayton, and from thence unto the Crochedeway, and so by the way unto Stunore, and so unto Scotiesgore, and from thence ascending by the way unto the Redechorde and Wodenesdich, and so descending by the same unto the way which leads from Oure towards Marlburgh, and from thence ascending between the wood of Hanekerigg and the wood of Nicholas de Barbefeld towards Manton, and so unto the cross of Manton, and from thence descending unto the water of Kenet, and so along by the same water unto Colebrigg, and from thence along by the water unto Elecote bridge, and from thence ascending between the land of the Lord the King and the land of Roger de Stokescomb unto the way which leads unto Enesbury, and from thence by the highway unto Lechenhardescroft, and from thence by the highway near the land of the aforesaid Roger unto the cross of Crokeresthorpesend, and from thence descending by the bottom of the valley unto the Pit of Abreneden, and from thence towards the east side along by the bottom of the valley unto the croft of the Prior of St. Margaret at the Putte, and from thence ascending by the aforesaid croft unto the croft which is called Hobbesare, and from thence along by the hedge unto the wood of Puttehale, and from thence descending by the hedge unto the house of Richard de Timrigge, and from thence beyond the highway between the land of James de Timrigge and the land of Henry Sturmy, and so along by the hedge next the land of William Russell unto the Holtehall, and so unto the corner of the wood of William de Holte, and from thence by Mereway unto Bellingate, and from thence by the hedge and green way unto the pasture of Stolk, and so along by the great ditch unto Boutelwell, and from thence by the valley unto Colrode, and so along by the Colrode between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of the Prior of Eston, and from thence between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of William

de Lyllebon unto Wallesmere, and from thence directly descending unto Braidenshok, and so along by the way of Brayden unto the wood of the Lord the King which is called Morlee, and so by the Sweynepath unto the wood of the Prior of Mottefonte, and from thence descending by the ditch unto the head of Iwodesmede West-end, and from thence along by the extremities of the wood unto Erchbyry, and so by the Swyneweys unto the Whitelond, and so unto Wytewey, and from thence by Wytewey unto Nhoddon, and so by Nhoddeneslade unto the Pitt of Nudden, and from thence a cross the heath unto the way which cometh from Marlburgh towards Salisbury, and so by the Waterslade unto Sinewynescrofte, and so along by the hedge unto the Westhead of the Wodemede, and so along by the double hedge unto the way which leads between Marleburgh and Wotton, and so by Apehullemede, and so along near the Covert of Iwode unto Morle, and so along by the Wode-ditch unto the east corner of the croft which is called Boneclyve, and so along by the same croft unto the aforesaid west corner of Boneclyve; without which metes and bounds, the Lord the King hath a certain wood which is called Southgrove, and it is a Forest. And without the aforesaid metes there is a certain wood which is called Borham pertaining to Schaghe, which was appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, and it is in the hands of the Lord the King. And a certain wood which was of Nicholas de Barflute pertaining to Manton, which was appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, and is in the hands of the Lord the King, and taken in the time of the now King. And a certain wood which was of Sampson Folyot, and a certain wood pertaining to the Vill of Fyffhyde, which were appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, and are in the hands of the Lord the King, and taken in the time of King Henry the father of the Lord the now King. And all the woods, lands, and places to the aforesaid Forest appropriated, which by this perambulation are disafforested, were appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of

the Lord the now King, but what and how much in the times of the kings severally, in nowise can appear to them. A perambulation made in the presence of John de Berewyk as above appeareth, and in the presence of Roger de Harden, Forester in fee; and in the presence of the Verderers aforesaid, of Savernak; and it begins at the west corner of Westrigge, and from thence descending along by the extremity of the wood unto the Northhead, and so between the aforesaid covert and the croft which is called Folyxcroft, and from thence by the extremity of the wood unto Costoweshurne, and from thence between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of William de Harden by the ditch unto Hardenescranch, and from thence by the extremity of the wood unto the Huldenorthend, and from thence ascending between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of Wolton unto the east corner of Lyllegh, and from thence along by the ditch of Lynlegh unto the Mulewey, and so by the extremity of the wood unto the south corner of Westrigge, and so unto the aforesaid west corner of Westrigge. And the Jurors say, that the aforesaid metes and bounds used to inclose the aforesaid Bailiwick of Westrigg before the time of the coronation of the Lord King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King. And they say that all the woods, lands, and places to the aforesaid Forest appropriated, which by this perambulation are disafforested, were appropriated to the Forests after the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King; but what and how much in the time of each king severally, in nowise can appear to them.

SAVERNAK.

A perambulation made in the presence of John de Berewyk and his companions as above appeareth, in the presence of Walter Pypard, Forester in fee, and in the presence of Verderers as appeareth, in the Forest of Savernak; and it begins at Cambwayesend, and so along from Cambrewey unto Assehmere, and from thence directly unto Coweshangesheved, and so along by the top of the hill unto the head of the Holewey, and from thence along by the side of the hill unto Knolegate, and from thence descending by the trench unto the bottom of the valley, and along the valley unto

the old pinfold, and from thence along by the bottom of the valley unto the aforesaid Cambrewaysende. And they say that the aforesaid metes and bounds used to inclose the aforesaid Bailiwick of Hurpingescomb, before the time of the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, and that the Lord the King without the aforesaid metes hath no wood to the aforesaid Bailiwick adjoining. And they say that all the woods, lands, and places which by the aforesaid perambulation are disafforested, were afforested after the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King.

CHUT.

A perambulation made in the Forest Chut, in the presence of John de Berewyk as above appeareth, and in the presence of John de Lisle, Forester in fee; and in the presence of Peter de Frostbiry and Adam de Everlee, Verderers; and it begins at the west end of Covelee, and from thence ascending between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of John de Lisle unto the Hachegate, and from thence between the wood of the Lord the King and the land of Robert le White by the Holdcherchewey unto the Chalkeputtes, and so always along from Capeyden unto Capiedenesuthende, and from thence by the extremity of the wood unto the cross of Budesdene, and from thence on the right side through the middle of the town of Budesdene, and from thence by the bottom of the valley unto the aforesaid west end of Covelee. And they say that the aforesaid metes and bounds used to inclose the aforesaid Forest of Chut, but, nevertheless, without the aforesaid metes, there is the manor of Lotegereshall with the woods adjacent, in the hands of the Lord the King, and in the custody of the constable of Lutegereshale, of which no other minister of the Lord the King may intrude himself. Also, they say, that without the aforesaid metes and bounds there is a certain wood appertaining to the manor of Colingburn, and a certain wood appertaining to the manor of Chut, and afterwards they were in defense and appropriated to the Forests after the coronation of the Lord King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the King, and all other the woods which by this perambulation are disafforested, were appropriated to the Forest after the

coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King.

CHIPPENHAM.

A perambulation made in the Forest of Chippenham in the presence of John de Berewyk and his companions, thereunto assigned as above appeareth, and in the presence of Alexander de Bokyngham, chief Forester; and in the presence of Roger le Gras and William le Escryveyn, Verderers; to wit, beginning at the bridge of Stanley, and so by the highway unto the gate of Stanley, and from thence by the same way and through the middle of the town of Stodeley unto the bridge of Samborn, and from thence ascending by the water unto the bridge of Fynnam, and so by the way which leads unto the cross before the house of Horne, and so by the same way unto Horseleperde, and from thence by the way which cometh from Devizes unto the Ash of Lacok, and so by the same way unto the bridge of Lacok, and from thence unto the bridge of Chippenham as the water of Avon divideth, and from thence by the water unto Merkedon, and from thence unto the aforesaid bridge of Stanley. And they say that the aforesaid metes and bounds before the time of the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King, used to inclose the Forest aforesaid. And they say that the Lord the King hath no wood without the aforesaid metes to the aforesaid Forest adjoining. And they say that all the woods, lands, and places to the aforesaid Forest appropriated, which by this perambulation are disafforested, were appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King; but what and how much in the time of each king severally, in nowise can appear to them.

MELKSHAM.

A perambulation made in the Forest of Melksham in the presence of John de Berewyk and his companions, thereunto assigned as above appeareth, and in the presence of Alexander de Bokenham, chief Forester; and in the presence of Nicholas le Eyr of Bromham, Thomas le Thynn of Asscheton, Verderers; that is to say, beginning at the bridge of Whatton, and so unto the bridge of Semelynton along by the water, and so ascending by the same water unto

Sendeved, and from thence by the water unto Bydemel, and so ascending by the water unto Somerham, and from thence unto Rodewyk, and from thence along the hedge unto Dorlegate, and so along the hedge unto the wood of the Abbot of Bataile [Battle], and from thence descending by the water unto Coleford, and from thence ascending by the Whiteditch unto the Maple, and from thence unto the grove of John dela Roche, and from thence between the land of the Abbot of Bataile [Battle] and the land of John de Sandrich unto Prevetmore, and from thence descending by the brook between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of the Abbot of Bataile [Battle], and along unto the water which cometh from Semanemell, and from thence by the water unto the wood of Nicholas Burdonne, and from thence between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of Nicholas Burdonne unto Wogheborn, and from thence unto Cheteweyhey, and so unto Wodenesditch, and from thence descending by the same Wodenesditch, unto the water which is called Avon, and from thence descending by the same water unto the bridge of Melksham, and from thence by the same unto the aforesaid bridge of Whatton. And the Jurors say that the aforesaid metes and bounds used to inclose the aforesaid Forest before the time of the coronation of the Lord King Henry, great grandfather of the Lord the now King. And they say that the Lord the King hath no demesne wood without the aforesaid metes to the aforesaid Forest adjoining. And they say that all the woods, lands, and places without the aforesaid metes and bounds of the aforesaid Forest, were appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of the Lord King Henry, the great grandfather of the Lord the now King.

SELEWODE.

All the Bailiwick of Selewode which is in the County of Wilts, was appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the now King. Except the wood of Heghtreborn, and the wood of Wermynstre, and the wood of Westbury, to wit, the wood of Warin Maudut, the wood of Walter de Paveley, the wood of the Prior of Stynnynton, and the wood of the Prior of Farlee, which are in the Forest, but, nevertheless the wood of Westbury is without the regard.

Ancient Inventory of Calne Church Goods.¹

An Inventory made the fyrst daye of Februarye, in the Vth yere of the Raigne of our Sovaigne Lord Edward y^e VIth, by the Grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, Kynge, &c. And Deliv'd to Roger Fynamore, Gentlyllmane, and Thomas Forte, Church Wardens, chosen for thys psent yere.

- Imprimys. One Cope of crymson felvet.
- It. j cope of blewe Damaske.
- Item j cope of rede bondkyne.
- Item j paule of satten of brydgys.
- Item j rede corpores cloth of felvet & satten with a cloth for the comunyon, one other newlie boughte by W^m Gaven, 1594.
- Item j table clothes, and one to ley und^r dvsshes & iij oy — clothes.
- Item 2 towells wth ij other wherwth they dyd beare tapers at east^r
- Item one lente clothe called y^e vayle, ix table napkins y^e lacketh iijj.
- Item ij surplyces, j of hollande & j of locaram.²
- Item one challyce, all gylte wth a Cover.
- Item iiij comunyon clothes, whereof iij are of holland & one of locaram.
- Item xxij platters of pewter, xiiij pottenges, ij Duss of Sawzers.
- Item xxij small dyshes of pewter (one lost by the hands of Richard Nycholas.
- Item xviiij Sawcers.
- It. vj sponys & ij Salte selers of pewt^r
- Item iiij dossyn and a halfe of trenchers, v Duss and three trenchers.
- Item ij potts of Brasse.
- Item j pane of brasse contaynynge xij gallons.
- Item j furnace to brewe wthall.
- Item j payer of Rackes, and j broche of Iron.
- Item j trevett, ij pott hang^rs, & ij payer of pothooks, & 1 barre of Iron.
- Item xi psalt^r books, vj unnoted & iiiij noted.
- Item iij comunyon boks, j wth a forrell and o^r ij wth Cords & clappes.
- Item j Paraphareus of Erasmus & ij byble boke.
- Item j cable Rope of twyne.
- Item ij cheynes with ij cloggs of leade.
- Item j Row & xviiij organs pypes.
- Item xiiij cupps &
- Item One longe twyste of Iron, 1 & other peces of Iron, & viij lb. of leade.
- Item one streamer & a grene Banner, And the vyce's³ cote of yeallowe . . . ed and twooe hog heds newly bought.

¹ Copied from Calne Register by Mr. John N. Ladd, Churchwarden, 1857.

² Lockram, coarse cloth.

³ Vyce, the fool in old shows.

Wild Darell, of Littlecote.

By CHARLES EDWARD LONG, ESQ.

AMONG the many provincial traditions which have been handed down to us, there are few more locally or generally interesting than the well-known tale of "Wild Darell of Littlecote." Since the publication of the poem of "Rokeby" in 1813, it has acquired a dignified position, which perhaps it did not possess before, and indeed until the publication of the Bodleian letters, and Lives of Eminent Persons from the MSS. of Aubrey, in the same year, no printed statement, that I have ever yet heard of, is to be met with. The story hung upon village tradition. Being myself a native of the adjoining county, and, for many years, no distant neighbour of the spot itself, I was, like others, acquainted with the narrative in my boyish days, and looked upon the existence of the Darell stile, and the evidence of the mutilated bed-curtain, with the awe and credulity with which childhood and ignorance usually invest such objects. The story of the Trojan war is not more implicitly believed by every schoolboy, nor that of the Lady of the Lake by nine-tenths of the foreigners who visit the shores of Loch Katrine than was this tale of terror by the writer of the present article. It was hoped and expected that we should be enabled to give either a confirmation or distinct refutation of this story, so far, at least as regards the trial at Salisbury, and the acquittal of Darell. But there is nothing of the sort to offer, and for the present, we must be contented with inferences. Researches have been made in every quarter where such evidence might be expected to be found—the records in the Carlton Ride; those in the Tower, (now at the Rolls Office); the State Paper Office, &c., &c.; but ineffectually. Beyond the bare tradition, and Aubrey's manuscript, there is nothing to support it. It is true that there is a tale told with much minuteness in Burke's Commoners, under the head of Darell of Shudy

Camps in Cambridgeshire, but then it is unconfirmed by any shadow of proof, and the fact of the mention of the midwife being paid with a purse of "guineas," at a time when no such coin existed, is of itself sufficient to stamp, at least this version of the story, as an amusing figment and a lively myth.

The oldest written authority, at present known, for the Littlecote story, being that of Aubrey, it becomes necessary to fix the exact amount of value to be attached to it coming from that quarter. Aubrey was, as is well known, a diligent collector of topographical and genealogical matter: a department in which a certain merit belongs to him, for having preserved a great number of local particulars, that would otherwise have been, in all probability, entirely lost. But it must be remembered, that with the exception of the book called his "Miscellanies," a compilation redundant with the most wretched superstitions, Aubrey published nothing in his own lifetime: nor does he appear, at the time of his death, to have actually finished any thing else, or to have left it in a proper form for publication. His "Collections" having come to us in unrevised manuscript, cannot therefore in any way be regarded as the elaborate result of careful inquiry. He was moreover a credulous man, greedy of anecdote, and, no doubt, often imposed upon. His stories are evidently often only those of the day, committed precipitately to paper, without having been either carefully traced to their source, or winnowed from the chaff of oral tradition. When confronted with strong circumstantial evidence, Aubrey's mere statements are of comparatively light weight.

The passage in which he introduces this Littlecote story, is in the "Lives of Eminent Men."¹ These "Lives" were a compilation of Aubrey's later years, long after his residence in Wiltshire; when he was living about London in poverty and obscurity, without either the means or the heart to carry on laborious investigation. They consist, in great measure, of personal recollections and of oral

¹ If he ever took any other notice of it, among his Wiltshire Topographical Collections, such notice would probably have been entered in the Second Part, marked "Liber B." now most unfortunately lost, (see Wilts Mag. I. 34): as, in one of his letters to Wood, Nov. 17, 1670, he mentions that "Ramsbury" (the parish with which Littlecote is connected,) "is in Liber B."

information indiscriminately gleaned. The particular Memoir of Sir John Popham, in which he introduces the Littlecote legend, seems to have been composed nearly 100 years after the death of Darell, and 80 after that of the Judge himself. Both of them had died long before Aubrey was born. He could therefore have scarcely had any personal motive for traducing the character of either of them: and indeed it becomes very probable both from Aubrey's general character and his habit of devouring, *arrectis auribus*, whatever he heard, that his only authority for the tale of Darell, introduced in the way it is, was neither more nor less than the remnant of some story picked up about the Inns of Court, where eminent men have at all times their enemies as well as their friends.

The narrative as given by Aubrey in his Memoir of Judge Popham,¹ runs thus:—

“Sir — Dayrell of Littlecote, in Co. Wilts, having gott his Lady's waiting-woman with child, when her travell came, sent a servant with a horse for a midwife whom he was to bring hood-winked. She was brought, and layd the woman, but as soon as the child was borne, she sawe the Knight take the child and murther it, and burn it in the fire in the chamber. She having done her businesse was extraordinary rewarded for her paines, and sent blindfolded away. This horrid action did much run in her mind, and she had a desire to discover it, but knew not where t'was. She considered with herself the time that she was riding, and how many miles she might have rode at that rate in that time, and that it must be some great person's house, for the roome was 12 foot high: and she should know the chamber if she sawe it. She went to a Justice of Peace, and search was made. The very chamber found. The Knight was brought to his tryall; and to be short, this judge had this noble house, parke, and mannor,² and (I thinke) more, for a bribe to save his life.”

Then follows a note in Aubrey's handwriting. “Sir John Popham gave sentence according to lawe, but being a great person, and a favourite, he procured a *noli prosecute*.”

¹ Lives of Eminent Men, vol. ii. p. 493.

² Meaning *Littlecote*.

In the above statement there are three ascertained errors. In the first place, Darell was not a knight. In the next, he was never married. Thirdly, Popham could not have given any judicial sentence, for he was not made a Judge until three years after Darell's decease. Finally, though in some cases a *nolle prosequi* might perhaps be entered after verdict given, it is questionable whether, in such a case as the one alleged, it could be procured after sentence passed. Under any circumstances, it would be the act, not of the presiding Judge, but of the Attorney General on the part of the Crown.

Such mistakes, though in themselves of a kind not unusual among retailers of anecdotes, are sufficient to stamp Aubrey's story as one of which he had no accurate knowledge, and which he had taken no pains to verify.

On the other hand, we are fully disposed to acquit him of intentional misrepresentation, as well as of all attempt to exaggerate. For in point of fact, the story as he tells it, is by far the most simple, and least melo-dramatic, of all that have appeared upon the subject. He is not responsible for the celebrated patch stitched into the bed-curtain, nor for the escape of the supposed culprit from the gallows, nor for the judgment upon him in breaking his neck over a stile, nor for many other incidents engrafted upon the original tale. This colouring has been the work of later artists, borrowing their materials from local tradition or their own imagination, certainly not from Aubrey. That he being a Wiltshire-man, living at one time at no great distance from Littlecote, cotemporary with Darell's nephew, Sir John, and by profession a county antiquary, should not have dived into the facts of the story, so far at least as to have avoided the palpable errors committed in his narrative, would be matter of surprise, did we not recollect that John Aubrey was after all, admitted, even by Sir Richard Hoare, to have been somewhat of an "eccentric historian."

The correspondent to whom Sir Walter Scott was indebted for that supply of the marvellous, out of which he wove the pretty ballad in his poem of "Rokeby," was, as has always been understood, Lord Webb Seymour of Monkton Farley. For that noble-

man's narrative, but for which he gave no kind of authority, the reader is referred to the Notes upon the Poem.¹ Under the title of the "Mysterious Story of Littlecote," the legend has been more recently amplified in Sir Bernard Burke's "Romance of the Aristocracy,"² with various graphic and picturesque details, equally, as we suspect, the production of mere fancy.

I may here observe that one, if I am not in error, of the traditions of the villagers is that it was a case of incest; and, situated as Darell was without wife or family, we require some such appalling horror to serve as a motive for the perpetration of a further crime so heinous. It does not distinctly appear whether Darell's sister was of the whole or of the half-blood. If the latter, it may be observed that his step-mother married twice after his father's decease, that he was ten years old at that time, that he outlived the second of these two husbands; and it is therefore not likely that she remained an inmate of Littlecote. Moreover, we have evidence by means of some Chancery proceedings, of a very scurrilous and vindictive description, which took place prior to 1579, and to which my attention was drawn by Mr. Carrington of Lincoln's Inn, to show that he and his step-mother were at open variance; and that therefore, as regards any half-sister, no such accusation can be supported. With respect to his own mother, she was then the wife of Sir John Rogers of Bryanstone, while the sister is stated to have been married to Egremont Radcliffe, who was beheaded in 1577, this crime occurring, as we are told, about 1588 or 9. With regard to the connection between Popham and Darell, there is no doubt but that a great intimacy subsisted. Many letters passed between them, and particularly with reference to a dispute with the second Earl of Pembroke, concerning the felling of timber at Axford. This occurred in 1582-3, when it would appear that Darell was imprisoned, apparently for some sort of contumacy in the case. Lord Campbell, in his interesting "Lives of the Chief Justices," has quoted the Littlecote legend as if he believed it, and has also, in a great measure, adopted Fuller's and Aubrey's loose assertions as regards Popham's antecedents, his early depravities, and

¹ Rokeby. Note 3 G.

² Vol. i. p. 174

“taking purses on the highway,” &c. Mr. Macaulay considering it, naturally, as the mere husk of history, gives implicit credit to the story of Darell’s crime, ignoring even the acquittal. He deliberately tells us that it “was perpetrated,” and passes on to more important matter. Lord Campbell, indifferent to Darell, but with a natural fellow-feeling for his brother Judge, sums up the case of Popham by saying, that it “would be unfair to load the memory of a judge with the obloquy of so great a crime, upon such unsatisfactory testimony.” *Mutato nomine*, this may be applied, we think, to Darell, and here we may be allowed to express some surprise, that the noble and learned biographer should have entirely omitted all allusion to Camden, a cotemporary, in all probability an acquaintance of Popham, and a far higher authority than either Fuller or Aubrey. These are the words of Camden, when speaking of the Judge. “Now it” viz. Wellington, “is a market Town, whose chief distinction is the Honorable Sir John Popham, a person of ancient nobility, strict justice, and unwearied application; for it is not proper that men of distinguished virtue, and who have deserved well of their country, should be forgotten. While Chief Justice of the King’s Bench he administered justice with so much impartiality and wholesome severity, that England has been long indebted to him, principally for its domestic tranquillity and security.” Camden published his work in 1607, in which year the Judge died, and he repeats this eulogium when noticing Littlecote. Is it then to be believed, in the face of such testimony, that such a man could have so acted? We think not. Before, however, we continue our remarks on “Wild Darell” himself, it may not be altogether out of place to correct a slight inaccuracy in Lord Campbell’s statement, respecting the Judge’s property. He says that “the family retained a remnant of the Judge’s possessions at Littlecote, for two or three generations, and then became extinct.” This is not the fact. His descendants retain, to this day, the whole of the Littlecote estates. Six generations in the male line succeeded the Judge, and the present owner is the representative of the family, his grandmother having been sole heir of the last male possessor.

Sic. 1586
 1596
 1600

Of Darell's habits, we gather something by means of letters and other *memoranda* still existing at the Rolls Office, and transferred thither from the Tower. He was born, as will be observed, in 1539, and it may be admitted that he began his career of wildness and extravagance in 1560, or as soon as his minority had ceased. He was, beyond a doubt, what the world calls "very fast," a "scamp," a "scrape-grace," and in the end, as is generally the case a ruined and an untruthful spendthrift, and these we firmly believe to be the only charges, and quite enough, which can be brought against him. Amongst the MSS. at Stourhead, is a letter without date, but, from internal evidence, written between the years 1563 and 1583, from his cousin, Anthony Hungerford, of Down Ampney. He was doubly related to him both on his father's and on his grandmother's side. There is no difficulty in identifying this Anthony Hungerford, and, as his father Sir John is spoken of, and was living until 1583, we may fairly give this letter a date somewhat anterior to that year. The writer calls Darell his "dear Will," and speaks of "varlettes" who by their "tales and vile and abominable practices" have plagued him, and, as he says, "for your sake." He then entreats him to "poke up" his "wittes and memory to defend this my unfortunate cause and yours," "what witnesses be best to be had and sought for," &c. We have no means of ascertaining the nature of this scrape, to get the parties out of which, no less a person than the Earl of Leicester proffered his assistance. The next of these *fracas* in which the Lord of Littlecote figures, is the dispute with the Earl of Pembroke, before-mentioned. It would appear that Darell had felled timber, to supply his necessities, at Axford, and which Lord Pembroke claimed to belong to him. Lord Pembroke was, at that time, the possessor of Ramsbury House, afterwards, during the civil war, described by Symonds in his MS. Journal, as "a fine square stone house—a brave seate, tho' not comparable to Wilton." Of the letters relating to this dispute at the Rolls Office, there are two from Popham to his "loving friend, Mr. Will. Darell, Esq., at Lytelcote," one of which is dated from Cloford, March 3rd, 1582, giving advice, and praying him "to forbear to cutt down any more woods and trees at Axford." We have also Darell's reply, dated March 27; "from my poure house at Lytelcote," and it is

v Anne
Lady H.

curious in our locomotive and electric times, to read such a statement as is contained in the beginning of this reply. "I received your letters dated at Cloford the 3rd of March, by the hande of a shepherde coming from the Downes by some distance from the 6th day after." Cloford is near Frome, and about 36 miles from Littlecote. We have also a letter from Sir John Danvers, to "his loving friend and kinsman," dated March 5, 1582, mentioning having conferred with "Mr. Attorney General" on the subject at Wilton.

It is clear that Darell was an impracticable gentleman. Among the *memoranda* made by him, we read that "my Lord of Pembroke sent one Steven Appleford to me the 10th of January, for £60, and for £5 more to be paid within a monneth, for my releasement of prison." There is then a letter from one Arthur Massenger, to Appleford, saying "that he" (Darell) "was in prison for his own knaverie and not for his Lordship's sake, and that in denial of the performance of his promise to his Lordship." And then he adds Lord Pembroke's opinion of him in the following forcible language. "His Lordship saieth, that there is neither truth in his words, nor honestie in his deeds, and because he doth play the knave, his lordship will not only blast him, but baffle him like a knave." His "loveinge frende," Mr. Attorney General, did not however desert him in his hour of need, he assisted him as much as lay in his power, and it is most likely with money as well as with advice. In one portion of our hero's reply to that functionary, he breaks forth in the following semi-pious rhapsody, "wher" he asks "is become the integrite clearnes of consciens and vertue that sometime hath bine? I have learned" he continues, "one rule in books from the auneynt fathers, and I have found it in experience amongst men, that that day that a man would have anothers lands or his goods," (it may be inferred that this alludes to Lord Pembroke and his claim on Ax-ford,) "that day he would have his liffe also, if he could. I pray you, pray for me, for I am, at this present, in sore case."

It is quite evident that, towards the close of his short career, Darell was in very great difficulties,—pawning plate, according to his own showing, and mortgaging lauds, as is evidenced in the

Chancery proceedings of that period. Yet he had by no means fallen so low as to be repudiated by his family and his friends. He was in the Commission of the Peace, and we have a very interesting letter written to him, by his distant cousin Marmaduke, afterwards Sir Marmaduke, Darell of the Scotney and Pagham branch of the family, on the very day of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, viz. Feb. 8, 1586, and which was printed in the *Excerpta Historica*, page 17. The contributor of this letter intimates that the papers amongst which it was found, viz., as we presume, those before alluded to at the Tower, had been "seized by the Crown," but on what authority he makes this assertion does not distinctly appear. This solitary fact might be advanced in evidence of some crime committed, or supposed to be committed, by Darell; it will be said the crime in question, but it so happens that there is amongst them a paper written subsequent to his decease. How could this get there? Still amongst these papers we meet with the following, which I give *in extenso*, and which, from Darell's own indorsement, exhibits a date closely bordering on that of the traditional narrative. The writer, Antony Hinton, was son of Thomas Hinton of Escott, by Ann, daughter of John Goddard of Upham. His cousin, Michael Cawley, was second son of Ralph Cawley or Calley, of Highway, by Agnes, daughter of Henry Lawrence of Tisbury.

"Worshippfull, understandyng you bare displeure agaynst me, as yt hath well appered in sondrye attempts you have of late made to have displeured me, grownding yo' quarell of displeure conceived agaynst me, to be uppon certen wordes w^{ch} Mr. Cawlye, as yo^u sayd, spake unto yo^u, reportyng me to be the occasion of yo^u were indited at Marlburrow, at Michaelmas will twelve moneths, w^{ch} he doth utterly denye that ever he spake those, or the like words unto yo^u, & offer him selfe to be sworne that he ys greatly abused and wronged by you, in yt as yt may appere unto yo^u by his note made thereof, w^{ch} I have sent yo^u, whereto he hath putte his hande, but whether he be abused or no, I am sure I am abused in yt, and as gyltlesse of yt as the farthest man in the worlde ys gyltlesse of yt, and knew no more that yo^u should be indited there, then I knew or thought my selfe to be indited there. I litle loked for suche harde dealinge at yo' hands, as of late hath been offred, yf ever I dyd yo^u any pleasure in lonyng yo^u money or borouring for yo^u when I had yt not my selfe, and payd yt agayne, when yo^u have broken daye, of myne owne purse to kepe my credit (w^{ch} I love as my lyfe). I am very evell requited yf I have traveled in any cause of yo^u, and done yt honestlye and faythfully, I am evell repayed wth those yo' hard

offers of dealing towards me, in w^{ch} yt may plese yo^u to proceede at yo^r liking. I am gyltlesse of these accusacions.

“Yo^r poore neighbor,

“ANTHONY HINTON.

“To the Right Worshipfull

“Mr. Willm Darell at Litlecote, geve these.”

Indorsed by Darell,

“Receyvved this Ire the xvjth of January, 1588.”

CAWLEY'S DECLARATION.

“Whereas Mr. Willm Darell reporteth that I, Michaell Cawley, have sayed unto him that my Cosen, Anthony Hinton, was the only occasion of the Bill of Inditmt pferred againste him at the Sessions at Marleboroughe, holden there in October the laste was twelvemoneth, I utterlye denye that I ever spake these or the like words unto him, or that he was any doer against him in the matter at the same Sessions. And I do pteste that I am unjustlie accused thereof, w^{ch} I wilbe redie to averre at all tymes. And do thinke my selfe greatlie wronged therein.

“MICHAELL CAWLEY.”

The rough copy of Darell's reply to Hinton is preserved with the rest of these papers, and may, hereafter, with other matter, serve as a sequel to this article: meanwhile, this indictment alluded to, may be thought by many, to bear upon the great charge at issue. Yet I never can think that so heinous a crime could be so carelessly disposed of, nor that the Sessions at Marlborough would be the place for the investigation.

On the first of October, 1589, Darell died at his house at Littlecote. This is distinctly stated by the Jurors at the holding of the Inquisition at Hungerford, on the 22nd of the following September, nearly a year afterwards. He was then not seized of Littlecote, in the ordinary sense of that term, but his other estates, which are enumerated, descended to his brother as next heir.¹ We may therefore fairly infer that he had sold the reversion of Littlecote to his friend Popham, and that, if the close of his own brief career is still to be shrouded in mystery, we have no right to carry our credulity

¹ The Jurors found that Maria Fortescue, *alias* Danyell, widow, was seized for her life of the manor of Balsdon; also, that one Robert Oxenbridge was seized of the manor of West Woodhay, &c. for a term of 50 years, if Anne Cheyney, widow, should live so long; also, that Robert Oxenbridge and John Gunter were seized of the manor of Kintbury Amesbury, for 30 years, if Dorothy, wife of William Niell, *alias* Parsons, should live so long. These latter facts seem to show that Darell was raising money wherever and whenever he could.

so far as to swallow the traditions about the Judge, unsupported as they are by even a rag of testimony.

Popham's intimacy with Darell continued to the last, and we find them in juxtaposition in a letter still preserved in the State Paper Office. It is dated "Saperton, Feb. 18, 1588," and addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham by the following parties; Henry Poole, Anne Poole, Carew Raleigh, George Wroughton, and James Wroughton. The object of the writers is to contradict a tale told by a certain Mr. Moody, to the effect that Sir Henry Knyvett, at his table, was "inquisitive" to know what sum the said Moody had given to Sir Francis "to the ende to bolster him" viz. Sir Henry, "out of his Shreifwicke." They then go on to say, "Howbeit of others, thus much we all doe well remember, that Mr. Moodie himself, at that time offered speeche of Mr. Attorney General and Mr. Darrell, affirming that the one of them (viz., Mr. Attorney,) had used him very roughlie in speeches, as to call him knave, with other harde tearmes, and that Mr. Darrell had cozened him of £60, or to that effect, but that onie mention was made of ought that might concerne your selfe, or the honor of y^r place, we are all veary sure there was none such."

It is true that there is no evidence to prove that this Mr. Darell was the one whose history we are endeavouring to trace, but there can hardly be any doubt of the fact, and it will, perhaps, be admitted that the affair of the £60 is a strongly corroborative circumstance. The party was, it seems, assembled at Sir Henry Knyvett's house at Charlton, now the property of his descendant, the Earl of Suffolk. Mr. Moody was most likely Richard Moody, or Mody, of Garsden, an old mansion afterwards in the Washington family, about two miles off, and whose son, Henry, was created a Baronet in 1621. The rest were all relatives. George and James Wroughton were younger sons of Sir William Wroughton of Broad Hinton; Carew Raleigh, the brother of Sir Walter, had married Dorothy their sister; and Henry Poole of Saperton in Gloucestershire, had married Anne, another sister.

But we have evidence as regards his property, to show that only two or three years before his decease, Darell levied a Fine on his estate

of Littlecote, of which the following is a copy. It is to be found among the Records deposited in the Rolls Office, and purporting to be Notes of Fines Trinity Term, 28 Elizabeth.

“Inter Edwardum Rogers Armigerum et Jacobum Clarke generosum Querentes, et Willielmum Darrell Armigerum Deforciantem, de Maneriis de Lyttlecott, Knyghton, et Hobgrasse cum pertinentiis, ac de 30 messuagiis, 20 cotagiis, 10 toftis, 3 molendinis aquaticis, 2 columbariis, 30 gardinis, 1000 acris terræ, 500 acris prati, 1000 acris pasturæ, 500 acris bosei, 400 acris jampnorum et bruere, et 40 solidatis redditus cum pertinentiis in Ramsbury, Lyttlecott, Knyghton, Hobgrasse, Rudge, Froxfield, et Cakewood; Unde placitum convencionis sump-tum fuit inter eos, &c.; scil. quod prædictus Willielmus recognovit prædicta maneria, &c., esse jus ipsius Edwardi ut illa quæ iidem Edwardus et Jacobus habent de dono prædicti Willielmi. Et ille remisit et quietolamavit de se et heredibus suis prædictis Willielmo et Jacobo et heredibus ipsius Edwardi in perpetuum. Et prædictus idem Willielmus concessit pro se et heredibus suis quod ipsé warantizabit prædictis Edwardo et Jacobo et heredibus ipsius Edwardi prædicta maneria, &c., contra prædictum Willielmum et heredes suos in per-petuum. Et pro hac, &c., iidem Edwardus et Jacobus prædicto Willielmo 800 libras sterlingorum.

WILTES. } Datum Octavis Sanctæ Trinitatis anno regnorum Elizabethæ } Ingr.”
 } D.G. Angl. Franc: et Hibern: Regine Fidei Defensor: 28° }

[By this document, William Darell, Esq., concludes with Edward Rogers, Esq. and James Clarke, gent., for sale to them of the Manors of Littlecote, Knyghton, and Hobgrasse, with certain rents in Ramsbury, Lyttlecote, Knyghton, Hob-grasse, Rudge, Froxfield, and Cakewood, for the sum of £800 sterling. Dated on the Octaves of Holy Trinity, 28 Elizabeth.]

On referring to the Inquisition taken on the decease of Popham, 6 Jas. 1, he is stated to have died seized in fee of the property in the very places above mentioned.

We have, in addition to this, a very interesting letter written by Popham’s agent on Darell’s decease, and of which the following is a copy.

“SIR,

“Soe it is that at Mr. Attornies last beinge in Wiltshere, at a place called Littlecot, somtyme belonginge to Mr. William Darrell, Esq^r, deceased, but nowe to Mr. Attorney, my happe was in the absence of Mr. Attornie upon the deth of Mr. Darell to gether all such evidences as was in the house of Littlecote into my possession, to Mr. Attornie’s use. And since that tyme it dothe appeare that S^r Fraunces Walsingham dothe ptende title to some other of the landes of the said Mr. Darell, whereof no pte dothe apptaine to Mr. Attornie. And that the evydences as well concerning that w^{ch} Mr. Attornie is to have in righte, and dothe enjoye, as alsoe these landes that S^r Frances Walsingham dothe ptend title unto did remaine in the house of Littlecott at the tyme of Mr. Darrell’s

decease, w^{ch} evidences are conveyed to London already in greate chestes.¹ But the keys of these chests were lefte wth me, as well by Mr. Attornie as by one Mr. Stubbes, Agent, that was appointed in the behalfe of S^r Fraunces Walsingham, safflie and indifferentlie to be kepte tyll the tyme should be appointed by Mr. Secretarye that the Chests should be opened, and the evidences perused, as well for Mr. Secretarye as for Mr. Attornie. Since w^{ch} tyme I have receaved letters from Mr. Attornie, that Mr. Secretarye's pleasure is, wth the assent of Mr. Attornie, to have the evidences perused with all spede. And for as much as I shall not have occasion to be at London, these sixe or seaven daies, Mr. Attornie hath craved me to sende the said keys forth wth, enclosed in my letters, to some Gentleman of the Benche of the Middle Temple, whereby they may be hadd with some spede to perfourme Mr. Secretaryes expectacion, amongst the w^{ch} I have made choyse of you, for that yo^u are Mr. Attornie's frend and myne also, defering yo^u to acquainte Mr. Attornie there wth, and that then the same may be safflie delyvered according to the trust to me comitted. And so wth my hartie comendacons, yo^r helth wished, I comitt yo^u to the governement of Th^e almightie. From Chisburie, the xxjth of October, 1589.

“Yo^r frynd assuryd,

“WILLM REDE.

“To the Right Worshipfull Myles Sandes, Esquire,²

“at his Chamber yn the Middle Temple yn London, geve thes.”

In reference to what is stated in this letter, relative to the claims of Sir Francis Walsingham, it may be observed that there was a Chancery suit in 1592, in which Dame Ursula Walsingham, widow of Sir Francis, was plaintiff, to protect her in possession of lands in the parish of Chilton, “late the estate of William Darell, and purchased of him by Sir Francis Walsingham, who settled the same to the use of the plaintiff.” Michael Cawley, before mentioned, was one of the defendants.

It was long supposed that Darell lay buried at Kintbury, and a sort of monumental inscription, yet extant, gave rise to this belief, but it is not so. The Kintbury Register disproves this. That at Ramsbury, where all his family lie interred, does not extend so far back. Recourse was then had to the transcript at Salisbury, and there we find the second entry in the earliest File of Transcripts, viz., in 1589, to be as follows:—“William Darell dyed the fyrst of October.” Now although this is not positive evidence of the fact of his

¹ By the kindness of Mr. Popham, I was permitted to examine his chests of Deeds, but there was not a single document relating to the Darells.

² This Myles Sands or Sandys, was of Latimers, Co. Bucks, and Clerk of the Crown. He was father of Sir Edwin Sandys, and brother of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York.

burial at Ramsbury, yet, coupled with the fact that most undoubtedly he died at Littlecote, of which he was in possession until his death, that Ramsbury was the parish, and that the family mausoleum was there, we can hardly doubt but that he was gathered to his fathers, and that his bones still rest somewhere under the soil of the Darell aisle.

In conclusion, I will add that, hard as it is to cast "historic doubts" upon a narrative so replete with exciting incidents, and which has now, for nearly three centuries, shrouded the curious and interesting old mansion at Littlecote with a halo of archaeological mystery, I am bound to confess my, perhaps somewhat reluctant, scepticism; and, as far therefore as my own humble opinion goes, I must consign this tale—the murder, the trial, and all—in the form transmitted to us by our "agreeable gossip," (as James the First would have called him,) John Aubrey, to the limbo of departed legends. "It would be unfair" (using Lord Campbell's words,) "to load the memory" of even a spendthrift and a scrape-grace, such as Darell confessedly was, "with the obloquy of so great a crime, upon such unsatisfactory testimony." Peace therefore to the *manes* of the last Darell of Littlecot, though it may be pain to the breathless listeners of the neighbourhood, who are annually gathered round the yule log on a cold Christmas evening, and who are wont to hear, not only the name and residence of the mid-wife, and the exact route by which she went and returned, but that there are still some of her descendants yet living, who can vouch for the truth of this constant family tradition, and more than this, that even now few dare pass the perilous stone stile before cock crow, and while the hoarse cry of the unearthly pack is heard, and the headless huntsman, (all such apparitions, singular to say, are headless!!) is seen careering in the chase.

It may here be not out of place to take some cursory notice of the old mansion at Littlecote, as well as of the Darell aisle at Ramsbury. There have been, apparently, many alterations in the former, made no doubt by the Chief Justice, or by his son. Nevertheless, there was a goodly mansion in the days of the Darells, although the only armorial records of its then possessors, are the lions ram-

pant in plaster along the cornice of the old gallery. Sir Edward Darell, the great grandfather of our hero, whose will was signed on the 25th of July, 1528, thus alludes to the seat of his ancestors. "The hangings and carpets in the old parlour at Littlecote;" ditto "that belongeth to the grete chamber over the said parlour," ditto "in the best chamber nexte the grete chamber," "in the wiche" he says, (and here our superstitious reverence is somewhat roused into action,) "restith a trussing bedde imperiall with a testour and counterpane of yelowe and red damaske, and curtains of yelowe and red sarcenet." But, unhappily, the bed furniture which existed when 'Rokeby' was published, was of thick blue cloth edged with yellow.

"Litelcote" says Leland, writing about 1540, "the Darell's chief house, is a mile from Ramsbyri." Camden, writing half a century later, says, "on the other side of the river, more to the east is Littlecot, remarkable for its Lord, John Popham, who exercised the office of Judge of the King's Court with the highest applause, as I before observed." How was it that this investigating antiquary, being 38 years of age when Darell died, did not note down the story of his astounding crimes, and of their preternatural punishment? Symonds, whose active campaignings in the civil wars, did not disable him from carrying out his ardent love of topography and genealogy, says, "Popham descended of Judge Popham, owns a fine large seate half a mile distant from this," sc. Chilton, "ye manor of Littlecote, with a parke."¹ "We passed" says Evelyn, writing later, on June 9, 1654, "by Colonel Popham's, a noble seate, park and river, thence to Newbury." And it is also upon record, that if "the Great Deliverer" did not make Littlecote his Head Quarters, on his advance from Salisbury, he, at least, honored its walls with his ever-to-be-revered and remembered presence.

The Darell aisle at Ramsbury, though sadly and shamefully shorn of its interest, by the abstraction of its brasses, is still deserving of much attention. It was a Chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary,

¹ This was Colonel Alexander Popham, the grandson of our Judge. He, and two of his brothers, one of whom fell in the cause, were stout Roundheads, and the owner of Littlecote only relaxed in his republican notions, and voted for "that worst of Revolutions a Restoration" when there seemed to be no other alternative.

as we learn from Sir Edward Darell's will in 1528, and, from its architectural appearance, built, in all probability, in the early part of the 15th century. In the centre of this chapel, and facing the altar, is a large tomb of Purbeck marble, on the slab of which are the evidences of very fine brasses, and round its ledge the mark of the inscription band. The sockets for the brasses show that the effigies were those of a male and a female, and from this circumstance, I am disposed to assign them to William Darell, and his wife Elizabeth Calston, and to surmise that they were placed there by their son, Sir George Darell. Above these effigies, and in the centre, is a shield with a helmet and crest, this latter being the crest of Darell, viz., a man's head. On the dexter side is a similar helmet, &c., with a crest, a hand holding a short sword. On the sinister, another helmet, shield, and crest, viz., a hawk. There are six other separate shields, and three religious figures immediately over the effigies, in all probability representing the Trinity. The head-dress of the female corresponds exactly with the period of Elizabeth Calston, and it may be remarked, that the head-dress of the brass of her maternal aunt, Elizabeth Fynderne, in the Church of Childrey, in Berkshire, not long anterior to her own, is the same. Against the north wall, and on a level with the flooring of the altar, is a tomb of Purbeck marble with its brasses, or rather their sockets, under a marble arch above. Here again we have two crests, the dexter, Darell; the sinister, the hand holding a sword. In the centre was an emblem, apparently of the Trinity. Immediately under this are two small effigies, kneeling towards the east, and one facing them, and kneeling also. On the right and left are shields. It is difficult to hazard even a theoretical identity for this monument. On the opposite and south side of the altar, is another tomb without trace of brasses or inscription, but with one stone shield still remaining at the side nearest the altar. The windows, together with a richly foliated niche, and a foliated bracket, are good, and close to the upper step of the altar floor (there being two), an octangular stone about the size of a small millstone, may be observed. Whether Wild Darell rests under a plain stone on the north side of the principal monument, I do not pretend to

say; this discovery is left for any one who may be permitted and disposed to disinter his remains, and decypher his coffin plate, if it yet exists.

When Symonds was at Ramsbury, he proceeded, as was his wont, to examine the Church, but it was dusk, and he, most unfortunately, overlooked the Darell aisle, yet even at that time, I question whether a single brass remained, for in describing the monuments in the Chancel, he says, that the brasses had all been stolen. He seems to have been there in 1644.

The discredit of these depredations is usually assigned to Cromwell and his soldiers. With regard to the destruction of altars and images, my belief is, that all this was, very naturally, done at the Reformation. Those who read in their psalms "confounded be all they that worship carved images," sought to extirpate image worship by destroying the images. That the Roundheads alone are to be saddled with the sin, archæologically speaking, of sweeping away our monumental brasses, I by no means believe. Indeed, in this particular instance, I am much inclined to attribute the mischief done, to my Lord Wilmot's troopers, when in December, 1642, they made their attack on Marlborough; and, as Clarendon tell us, "what they spared in blood, they took in pillage, the soldiers enquiring little who were friends or foes." There was another tempting reason for the cavaliers. Colonel Popham was their sturdy opponent. What Wilmot left unfinished, the King and Prince Rupert may have completed when they routed Essex at Albourne Chace, in September, 1643, and pursued his rear-guard towards Hungerford, but which compliment he repaid a very few days afterwards, at the first battle at Newbury.

NOTES TO PEDIGREE.

1. He was a younger, apparently third, though sometimes called second, son of Sir William Darell or Darrell, of Sesay, Co. York, and who was seventh in descent from William Darell, temp. John. The male issue of his elder brother, Marmaduke, terminated on the decease of Thomas, son of Sir George Darell of Sesay, and whose sister and heir married Sir Guy Dawney. The Darells of Calehill, and of Scotney, Co. Kent, descend from John, an elder brother of William of Littlecote. In 1431-5, he presented to Fittleton *jure uxoris*, and in 1434 to Haxton, a chapel of ease, in Fittleton parish, when he appears to have presented one Robert Darell. He was returned amongst the gentry in 1433. The office of Sub-Treasurer was that of a kind of Deputy of the Treasurer of the Exchequer, to collect crown dues, &c.
2. Her great grandfather, Roger de Calston, died seized of Littlecote, 20. E. 1. and his grandfather, Walter de Calston, or Caleston, is styled "Miles et Dominus de Litlecote," 17. H. 3. The Inq. p. m., taken on her decease, 4. E. 4, states that she died on the 8th of Jan. preceding. Her possessions were very extensive. In London, Wilts, Dorset, Herts, and Berks. By an Inquisition, taken at Hungerford, Jan. 28th, 2 H. 5., to show proof of her age, it appears that she was born at Chelrey, otherwise Childrey, Co. Berks, the daughter of Thomas Calston and Joan his wife, and baptized there on the 6th of Dec., "by the hand of John Preston, Rector of the said Church." By her will she desires that if she should die in London, her interment should take place in the Church of the Minor Friars, but if at Littlecote, in the Cathedral Church of Sarum. From this it might perhaps be inferred, that the North Chapel, or Darell aisle, at Ramsbury, was not then built. Amongst her bequests she leaves "Two pottys of silver overgylt with the armes of Laurence de St. Martin," to her son George. Her great great grandfather Laurence de St. Martin, died 12 E. 2, leaving Joan his daughter and heir, who became the wife of Roger de Calston, previously mentioned. The property at Fittleton came by the match of Calston with the heiress of Combe, and had been held by the latter family as early as the 13th century. Axford came by marriage of the heiress of the family of Loundres with Combe. The manor of Balsdon, and other estates in Kintbury, &c., came from the Chelreys, by whom it was, apparently, acquired by purchase, in the 38 E. 3. There is a chartulary of the Darell property; Harl. MSS. 1623.
3. Presented to Fittleton 1461. He died on the Monday next before the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin.
4. Among the pedigrees of persons of kin to the blood-royal, printed from the Harleian MSS. 1074, in the Collectanea Topographica, by the late Sir Harris Nicolas, this match with Stourton is given, and the issue thus described, "Margery; Anne; Elizabeth wedded to Seymour, Esq^r."

Phillipot
Do. T
C. 18. f.
Howard

Alexand
Darell
living 14
Exr. to
mother
(8)

Joan, d. of
Robert
Collingbourne.
ob. Dec. 8, 1495,
bur. at C. K.
Mon. brass.

Elizabeth
John S
of Wolf
W

Darells of Pagham,
Co. Sussex.

Edmun
living
8 E. 4

Darell, =Margaret, d. of Edmund
suror of Beaufort, Duke of
d. 2. Somerset, relict of Hum-
phrey, Earl of Stafford,
eldest son of Humphrey,
1st Duke of Bucks.

Eliza
Lambor
d.
divore
Bry

Margaret, d. and heir
w. of James Touchet,
7th Lord Audley.

Ellen
(21)

of
.

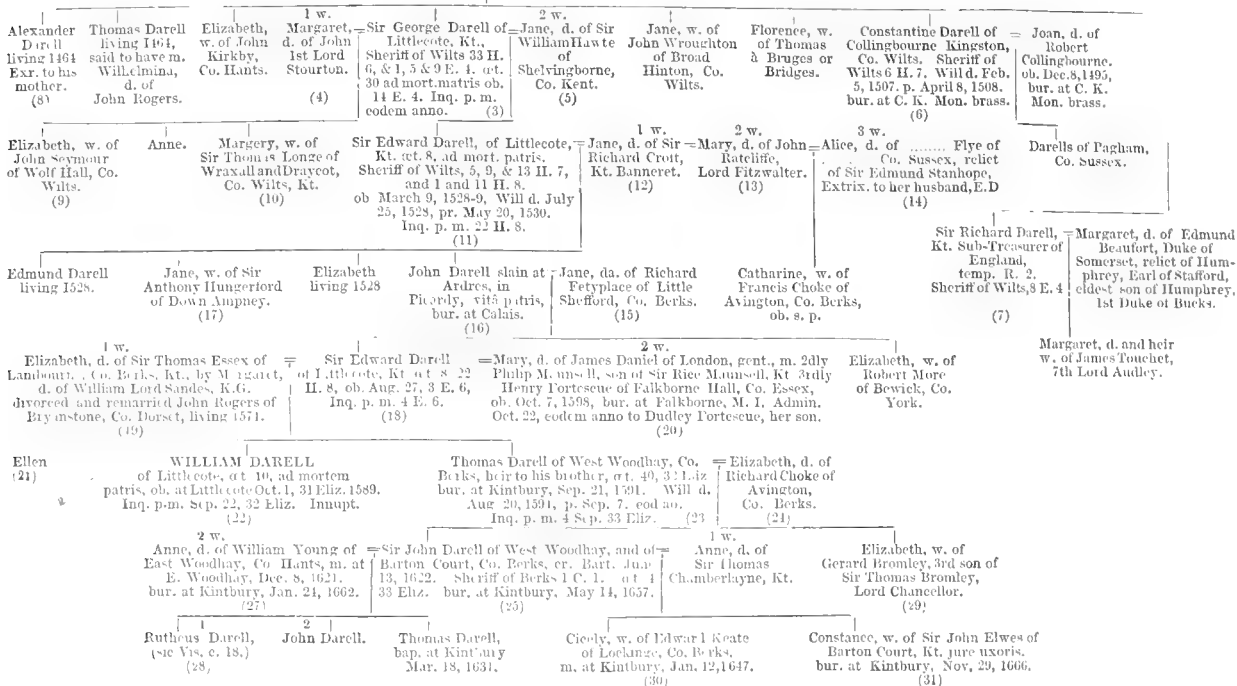
PEDIGREE OF DARELL OF LITTLECOTE.

Philpot No. 46, f. 54.
Do. Trefol f. 109 b.
C. 18. f. 118.
Howard f. 113, &c., &c.

Coll. Arm.

William Darell,
of Littlecote, Co. Wilts,
jure uxoris,
Sub-Treasurer of England,
14 R. 2.
Sheriff of Wilts, 8 & 9
H. 5 & 1 & 6 H. 6.
(1)

= Elizabeth d. and h. of Thomas Calston of
Littlecote, Co. Wilts, by Joan d. and co-
heir of Thomas Chelrey of Chelrey, *hodie*
Chilchrey, Co. Berks, bap. at Chilchrey Dec.
6 2 H. 4.
Will proved June 17, 1464.
Inq. p. m. 4. E. 4.
(2)



5. She is called, erroneously, in Clutterbuck's Herts, Elizabeth daughter of Sir Edmund Hart. This is the only printed pedigree of Darell that I know of. There are several inaccuracies, but it is, on the whole, tolerably correct, and extracts from the Inq. p. m. are given in the text. In Phillpot's Kent, f. 162, Coll. Arm. she is called Jane, daughter of William Hawte of Shelvingbourne, Co. Kent, by the sister of Richard Widville who was afterwards Earl Rivers. Sir Richard Hawte beheaded at Pomfret by Richard the Third, would appear to have been a brother. Anthony Widville, Earl Rivers, appointed Sir William Hawte his attorney in 1471.
6. His wife's monumental brass is still extant at Collingbourne Kingston, previously Collingbourne Abbas. His own effigy has been abstracted, and it would appear that he had placed the monument there on the decease of his wife, as the date of his own death is not inserted. Some pedigrees call her, erroneously, Julia. She is stated by Phillpot, 3. 77. f. 109 b. Coll. Arm. to have been the "relict of . . . Holte." Her father was returned among the gentry in 1433.
7. Collins calls him, erroneously, "of Lillingston Dayrell, Co. Bucks." This was a distinct family, both as to arms and descent. Among the pedigrees of persons of kin to the blood-royal, before mentioned, the name of his daughter Margaret appears.
8. Of this Alexander, and of his brother Thomas, no further traces have been discovered.
9. She was the grandmother of Queen Jane Seymour.
10. There is no doubt of this marriage: the only singular fact is, that while it is recorded in the pedigrees of Long, it does not appear in those of Darell. The introduction of the Coat of Stourton on the monument of Sir Thomas Long at Draycot, would, of itself, point to the first wife of Sir George Darell as the mother of Lady Long, as, no doubt, she was.
11. He was one of the numerous retinue of Edward Duke of Buckingham, when he went to meet the King at Taunton to oppose Perkin Warbeck. There is a drawing of his Standard in a MS. volume at the College of Arms, and a description of it is given in the Excerpta Historica. His crest is, out of a ducal coronet argent, a Saracen's head in profile, coupéd at the shoulders ppr. bearded Sable, on his head a cap Gules fretty Or tied with a ribbon Argent. The Arms are quarterly 1 and 4. Darell. 2 and 3. Calston. The motto "Si je puis je le feray." By his will he desires, if he should die "at Litlecote or elsewhere in the realm of England," to be buried in the parish Church of Ramsbury, "in a Chappill of our Blessed ladie in the saide Church, sett and made." He also desires a "marble stone with the armes of the Darells in plate of brass set in the same," to be placed over his son's grave at Calais, with "like platys of brasse of the tyme of the dethe, and of the maner of the dethe" of his said son. Of the "hangings," &c., in his chambers at Littlecote, we have before spoken. It may be added, that he makes bequest, as was the fashion of the times, of a "flemish chare covered with black velvet, and embroidered with my badge and two cushions thereon, embroidered on the one side with drops of gold, and the other, in both sides, with the letters B. and A." "My Chapel at Littlecote" is also mentioned, and he speaks of the Parks of Ramsbury, Littlecote, and Balsdon. The overseers appointed were Sir William

- Essex, Sir Anthony Hungerford, and Bartholomew Hussey. It might be supposed from the introduction of the names of William Newdegate and Anne his wife, and the bequest made to them, immediately between the names of his two daughters, Elizabeth and Catherine, described as such, that this Anne also was a daughter, but there is no evidence to establish this fact. He presented to Fittleton in 1486, and to Haxton or Hacleston in 1497.
12. There was a Sir Richard Crofts, styled by the chroniclers "a wyse and valiant knyght," who took prisoner the young Prince Edward at Tewkesbury, but who had no hand in the tragic sequel of his sad history. Prince Arthur "had of his council certayne knyghts," and amongst them was Sir Richard Croft.
 13. She was married before Feb. 12, 8 H. 7. See Pedigree of Darell, Howard f. 113, Coll. Arm.
 14. This marriage appears in Collins's Peerage, and in Vincent's MS. Baronage, f. 242, Coll. Arm. According to the former, she was wife of Edmund Stanhope, son of Henry Stanhope of Rochford, Co. Lincoln, by whom she left two daughters. According to the latter authority her husband was Henry, and his father Edmund. Mention is only made of one daughter and heir, viz., Catharine married to Thomas Skeffington.
 15. She is called Anne, C. 18. Coll. Arm., and her father is called John, but there seems strong ground for supposing that her name was Joan, and that her father's name was Richard. There are yet some remains of the old mansion of the Fetyplaces at Little, or East Shefford, now used as farm buildings. But the most interesting object, is an altar tomb, with the effigies in alabaster of Sir Thomas Fetyplace and his wife, Beatrice, of the Royal House of Portugal, in the small Church hard by. Sir Harris Nicolas took some pains to prove her descent, but all that could be ascertained was, that she came of the Sousa branch of the Royal House, and was neither the daughter, nor the natural daughter of the King, as had been conjectured.
 16. It may be presumed that the "manner of his dethe," alluded to by his father in his will, referred to his having fallen in some action during the invasion of France, perhaps in 1522, when the Earl of Surrey commanded. He besieged Hesdin, but failed, and his rear-guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and 5 or 600 men were cut off. Possibly this was some skirmish at Ardres, as he fell back on Calais.
 17. She is, occasionally called Anne, and wife of Sir John Hungerford, but the most authentic pedigrees of that family note her down as Jane, wife of Sir Anthony. A Jane Darell occurs as Abbess of Amesbury in 1540, possibly a sister or a niece. See MS. I. 6. 22. and 102. Coll. Arm.
 18. The Inq. p. m. was taken at Sarum, on the 6th Oct. 4. E. 6. After a recital of his property, his will is annexed, and it appears to have been executed on the 26th August, 3. E. 6., the day preceding his decease. The following passage is remarkable as regards his supposed second wife. "I assign and bequeth to Mary Danyell all those my manors, lands, &c.," he here enumerates nearly all, excepting Littlecote, "during the natural life of the said Mary Danyall." He then mentions his daughter "Elyn Darell," his cousin George Darell, and his son William Darell; and leaves his place of interment to be arranged by his executors. This will is not in the Prerogative Office, nor is

it at Lambeth. In the survey of the manor of Aldbourne, Duchy of Lancaster Office, he is stated, G. E. 6. to have held a farm there, called Hide; and also the manor of Fittleton, of the manor of Everley.

19. Her mother, Margaret, Lady Essex, died at Becket in Berkshire, in 1571, and her will, dated in 1567, was proved in 1572. She mentions her daughter by the name of Lady Darell. She desires to be buried by her husband, in the tomb which she had made at Lambourne. This still exists. The marriage with Rogers, is evidenced by a deed at the Rolls Office, dated Feb. 6. 3 and 4. Philip and Mary, (1557.) concerning a lease of Kingston and Thrupp in the parish of Ramsbury. "John Rogers of Bryanstone, Co. Dorset, and Dame Elizabeth his Wife, late wife of Sir Edward Darell of Lytlecote." This John, afterwards knighted, died at Becket, July 22, 1565, as appears by his monumental inscription at Blandford, noted by Symonds in his MS. Diary, but erroneously copied by Hutchins for his History of Dorset. There is no record at Doctors' Commons relating to the divorce. Some proceedings in Chancery which took place between 1559 and 1579, in a cause of Pyper v. Fortescue disclose this fact, together with accusations and counter accusations of profligacy, which are appropriate *addenda* to the tale of Wild Darell himself. *Inter alia*, the defendant accuses Elizabeth, Lady Darell, of having given birth to a male child, begotten by one Hacker a Falconer, in her husband's absence, while serving in the wars.
20. In her answer to the accusations made in these Chancery proceedings, she states that she was born in Norfolk, and that her father was James Danyell of London, gent. Her third husband died in 1576, and she was his wife in 1569, as, in that year, he presented to Fittleton, *jure uxoris*. There are two monuments with brasses to their memory in Faulkbourne Church. On that of the wife, are three shields, 1. a lozenge shield, bearing the quarterly coat of Daniell. 2. Darell, quartering Chicheley, Horne, and Royden, and impaling Daniell. This is an error of the engraver or of his employer. The coats of Chicheley, &c., were only borne by the Darells of Scotney. 3. Mansell with 9 quarterings, impaling Daniell. Her son Dudley Fortescue, is stated in Clutterbuck's Herts, Vol. I. p. 349, to have died Sep. 12, 2 Jas. 1. and to have left by Mary his wife, whom he married in 1581, a son Dudley aged 14. Amongst the Darell papers at the Rolls Office, are several receipts signed by her for monies paid by William Darell: half-yearly sums of £34 for charges on Balsdon and other estates. She presented to Fittleton in 1554 as Maria Daniell, alias Mansell.
21. She is supposed to have married Egremont Radcliffe, and an entry in B. and H. f. 93. Coll. Arm., favors the supposition, yet when the case of the Barony of Fitzwalter was enquired into, no such marriage was noticed, although it became necessary to prove the extinction of issue of this Egremont. When the Earl of Sussex, his half brother, marched against the rebels in 1569, the latter was with them. He was thereupon attainted, and fled the kingdom. We find frequent notices of him in Strype. In 1571, as "a busy man" at Paris; in 1572, pensioned by the King of Spain; in 1577, as incarcerated in the Tower; "of a turbulent spirit"; &c., &c. He was at last beheaded in the market-place at Namur, by order of Don John of Austria, for some real or pretended plot. Surtees (Hist. of Durham,) says, this was in

1572; but Don John only arrived as governor in 1576 according to Lingard, and in 1579 according to Hume. Lingard appears to be the more correct, and that the plot took place in 1577. What became of his widow, if she was his widow, is not, at present, known. There is a letter from him, well written, and signed "Egremont Radclyff," while a prisoner in the Tower, at the State Paper Office. He prays to be permitted to walk in a garden, and to have a servant, but says nothing of any wife.

22. So much has been said of this, now notorious, personage, that a few matters need only be noticed. The last we read of him, while living, is his MS. indorsement of Anthony Hinton's letter in 1588, and to which there is a rough copy, in his hand-writing, of his reply. In Phillpot's pedigree of Darell, Coll. Arm., before alluded to, he is entered as of Littlecote, *Armiger*, and '*modo superstes*,' viz., in 1587. A sort of monumental inscription painted originally against the east wall of the North Transept of Kintbury Church, but of late erased, and re-painted against the north wall, led to the supposition of his interment in that Church. The inscription is as follows:—

" In Memory of
Sr Wm. Darell of Little
Cote, Wilts, Kt., who died without
Issue, 1st Oct., 1588.
He was Uncle of Sr John Darell,
of West Woodhay, and Balsdon, Et.,
and High Sheriff for the County
of Berks, 1625,
and was buried at this place."

The meaning of this obscure and erroneous statement is, that Sir John was Sheriff in 1625, and was buried there. When Ashmole visited this Church, he made, after sketching the achievement and crest of Sir John Darell, painted on a tablet and hung up against the east wall of a Chapel on the north side of the Church, a note to the following effect: "The like Crest upon a helme is still remaining in the said Chapel, and was part of the achievement heretofore set up for Sir William Darrell, uncle to the said Sir John Darrel." Symonds also in his most interesting Diary, still preserved at the British Museum, in speaking of Kintbury in 1644, says, that in that Church "hangs the helm and creast belonging to Sir John Darell's father, who lived at Denford, now the house of Mr. Brown in this parish, and was buried about 60 years since." Sir John Darell was resident at Barton Court at the time of Symonds's visit. A helmet still hangs up in this north Transept, but the achievement mentioned by Ashmole has disappeared. The arms also of Chelrey, in glass, noticed by Symonds, no longer exist.

23. The Inq. p. m. gives a full statement of his property. He appears to have resided at West Woodhay, though sometimes, described as of Hungerford. In his will he is described as of Balsdon. He held the manors of Balsdon, Kintbury Amesbury, West Woodhay, Combe next Fittleton, and the living of Wanborough. He mentions his daughter Elizabeth, his father in law Richard Choke, his brother in law Alexander Choke, and his sister, probably his wife's sister, Frances, wife of Clement Browne, and their son, John Browne. There is an Indenture of Covenant, Oct. 1, 32 Elizabeth, between Robert and Henry Cheyney of the one part, and Thomas Darell, Esq. of the

other part, for levying a fine of the manors of Kintbury and the Rectory. It recites that Robert and Henry Cheyney were sons of Thomas Cheyney, late of West Woodhay, Esq. deceased, and that Thomas Darell was brother and heir of William Darell, late of Littlecote, Esq. deceased; that the Cheyneys did on the 3rd of Dec., 31 Elizabeth, sell to William Darell, deceased, and to one Reynold Scriven, gent., the manors of West Woodhay and of Kintbury Amesbury, and the Rectory and advowson, also lands in East Woodhay, called Woodlocks and Hitchens. His name occurs in the survey of the manor of Aldbourne, Duchy of Lancaster Office, as holding the farm of Wanborough, 33 Elizabeth.

24. The Chokes were a family of some repute, and whose pedigree is recorded in the Visitations. There is a fine monument of Sir Francis Choke, who died in 1561, at Shalbourne. Their residence at Avington no longer exists, but portions of it are still visible in the farm house, and the walling, and terrace of the garden are distinctly traceable. The earlier Registers of this parish have been, long since, lost.
25. In a deed dated April 1, 21 James 1. he is described as of West Woodhay, in conjunction with Sir Alexander Choke of Shallbourne, and Edmund Hungerford of Chisbury. In another deed dated Jan. 1, 11 C. 1. he is designated as of Barton, the other parties being Francis Choke, senior, and Francis Choke, junior, of Avington. In the marriage settlement of his daughter, Constance, with Sir John Elwes, then described as "John Elwes of Gray's Inn,," he is styled of Barton Court. The date is May 12, 24 C. 1. The parties, besides himself, are Lady Anne, his wife; Edward Keate, son and heir of Francis Keate of East Lockinge, Esquire, and Cicely his wife; and Edmund Hungerford of Chisbury, and Elizabeth his wife. A Bill was filed by Charles and John Gunter, gents., against Sir John Darell, Bart., concerning his right to the manor of Kintbury Amesbury. The reply states that a "great sum of money was paid by William Darell his uncle," for the said manor, &c., that it had been assured by one Cheyney "in trust for William Darell his uncle," and then to W. D. and his heirs for ever. That W. D. entered and "died seized thereof about 40 years since, after whose decease the manor and premises descended to Thomas Darell, Esq., the defendant's father, as brother and next heir to W. Darell, and that the defendant's father being so seized thereof about 40 years past, died thereof so seized, at whose decease the said premises came to the defendant, as son and heir of the said Thomas Darell." These deeds are in the possession of Vice-Admiral Sir J. Deans Dundas, who kindly permitted me to inspect them, and whose first wife's ancestor, Philip Jemmett, purchased the estate, about 1670, of the heirs of Sir John Elwes. Symonds, in his Diary, so frequently alluded to, says, "Sir John Darell's estate is £300 per annum." In speaking afterwards of Wanborough, he notes the Darell arms as being in that Church, and says, "Sir Humphrey Forster is now lord of the manor, who bought it of Sir John Darell of Kintbury, by Hungerford, in whose name it was ever since Richard the Third's time." This Sir Humphrey was the owner of Aldermaston in Berkshire, a curious old house, though by Evelyn spoken of as "built *à la moderne*," lately pulled down, in a fine park with many aged oaks, and, until within the last 20 years, never alienated since the Conquest. Sir John Darell's

first Court at Kintbury is dated Oct. 20, 6 C. 1. His last, Oct. 17, 1656. The next, dated Oct. 20, 1657, has Sir John Darell's name, but erased, and that of John Elwes, Esq., substituted. The first Court of John Elwes, then styled knight, is dated Oct. 9, 18 C. 2. And the first of Philip Jemmett, Oct. 2, 1671, 23 C. 2. The arms of Sir John Darell, tricked in C. 18, Coll. Arm., and also in the Churchnotes of Ashmole's Visitation, before mentioned, are,

- Quarterly 1. Azure, a lion rampant or, ducally crowned Argent, DARELL.
 2. Argent, 2 barrulets gules. In chief 2 lioncels rampant of the 2d. CALSTON.
 3. Sable, 6 lioncels rampant or, ST MARTIN.
 4. Barry of 6, or and azure, an eagle displayed gules, WALROND.
 5. Per pale azure and gules, a lion rampant or. LOBTY.
 6. Sable, 3 lions passant or, COMBE.
 7. Per pale sable and argent, a chevron per pale, or and gules, LOUNDRIS.
 8. Argent, 3 annulets, one within the other, CHELREY.

26. In the pedigree of Darell, Vis. of Berks, C. 18, he is distinctly called Judge of the King's Bench. There was, however, no such Judge; but there was a Sir Thomas Chamberlain, who was a Puisne Judge of the Common Pleas, and Chief Justice of Chester, and described as of Wickham Castle, Co. Oxon, C. 29. f. 134. Coll. Arm. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Fermor of Easton Neston, and relict of Sir William Stafford of Blatherwick, Co. Northampton. His will was proved in 1627, and besides three sons, he had only one daughter, Elizabeth. His second wife was Elizabeth, Lady Berkley. With the above conflicting facts, I must leave the question of his identity an open one.
27. Her father is stigmatised as "ignobilis." It would appear, from the Kintbury Register, that two daughters, twins, were buried in 1632, one, Anne, Oct. 6, the other, Jane, Oct. 26.
28. This name occurs in the Visitation, a singular one for a male. That these sons died young is manifest; the daughters being described as coheirs, and inheriting their father's property. In the Register, March 8, 1644, is the entry of the burial of "Mr. John Darell, Squire." It may be presumed one of the sons.
29. There is an illiterate entry in the Register of Kintbury, of what may be inferred as his burial. "Dec. 30, 1631. Mr. Jeard Bromley was buried." According to Collins, they left two sons, Thomas and Alexander. In a letter written by Darell to his cousin, Reynold Scriven, dated June 17, 1583, he speaks of "Mr. Harry Bromley that hath married my kinswoman."
30. He was 45 in 1664, see Vis., C. 12. f. 96. They left issue. Several of their children were baptized at Kintbury. He was son of Francis Keate of Lockinge, by Frances, daughter of John Hungerford of Cadenham.
31. He was 38 in 1664. see Vis. C. 12. f. 128. They left a numerous issue, several children were baptized at Kintbury. Sir John died 1681. Letters of Administration were granted to his eldest son, Henry Elwes. Sir John is described as "late of Hungerford, widower." See also C. 16. f. 128^b Coll. Arm. He was son of Henry Elwes of London, gent., by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Gore, Alderman of London.

C. E. LONG.

THE
WILTSHIRE
Archæological and Natural History
MAGAZINE.

No. XII.

JANUARY, 1858.

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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

“MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS.”—*Ovid.*

THE FIFTH GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society,

HELD AT BRADFORD,

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, 11th, 12th, and 13th of August,
1857.

PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING,

THE REV. J. H. BRADNEY, M.A.

THE Proceedings of the Fifth Anniversary Meeting of the Society opened at 12 o'clock on Tuesday, August 11th, in the New Town-Hall, Bradford, with the following ADDRESS, by the President elected for the occasion, the REV. J. H. BRADNEY.

“In the absence of the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, M.P., which they all lamented, he had the honour of appearing as the temporary chairman of the Wiltshire Archæological Society. He had been unwilling to undertake the responsibility, but had yielded to the solicitations of his friends, and now desired to claim the indulgence of the meeting on the score of his small experience in Archæology. When the first intimation was made to them of the honour intended the town of Bradford by the visit of the Society, they all set to work in right earnest to prepare for it a worthy reception. A large committee was formed, consisting of a number of the chief inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. Two gentlemen (Dr. Highmore and the Rev. J. Wilkinson,) were appointed as local secretaries, from whom they had received the most valuable assist-

ance, and but for whose exertions they could not have looked for the success for which they now hoped. Two sub-committees were formed,—the one for collecting and arranging articles for the Museum; the other for making provision for the creature comforts of the members, arranging the excursions, and other matters of detail. First as to the Museum Committee, presided over by Col. Yerbury, supported by the exertions of Mr. Gee. The question had first to be answered—Was the Museum to be confined to articles collected in the county of Wilts? It was decided that it should not be so confined, for if such a spirit of exclusion had been carried out, they would have lost the benefit of very many articles which now adorned the Museum. The Committee had fully entitled themselves to grateful acknowledgments for their pains in collecting and arranging the specimens. He would also tender the thanks of the Society to those ladies and gentlemen who had been kind enough to forward so many interesting objects to their Museum. He must not omit to mention the valuable services of their excellent curator, Mr. Poole. The care of every object sent to the Museum devolved upon this gentleman, and he had for weeks past laboured almost night and day in their service, having, among other things, drawn a beautiful map of the neighbourhood of Bradford on a large scale, which would assist them in tracing the routes of their intended excursions. Second only in importance was what he might call their Commissariat and Land Transport Committee. The Rev. Chairman proceeded to detail the arrangements made by the committee for this department, which would, he had no doubt, fully come up to their expectations. He expressed his pleasure at their having secured Mr. Sotheron Estcourt, M.P., as chairman of the dinner, and his regret that the Rev. Canon Jackson, in consequence of the death of a friend, could not be present to read his promised papers. They had, however, been entrusted to other gentlemen. The town and neighbourhood of Bradford abounded in objects which presented attractions to the lovers of Archæology. Some of these would be brought before their notice, and explained in papers drawn up by gentlemen, to whom he desired to offer the hearty thanks of the meeting. The

Rev. Chairman then offered some remarks in praise of Archæology. He observed that if the axiom of the great moralist, Dr. Johnson, held good, that "whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses—whatever makes the past and the distant predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of human beings," then he contended that the pursuit of archæology was a peculiarly elevating and dignifying one; for archæology lived in the past. All her sympathies were connected with the past, and indeed but for the past they would be non-entity. Was there not something elevating—something advancing us in the dignity of thinking beings, in attempting to trace out the manners and customs and the habits of those who had gone before us, by a patient investigation of the monuments which they had left behind them, whether strewed over, or buried under, the surface of the earth? Was there not something worthy of a reflecting mind in comparing them with the historic records of the times in which they lived, and in observing how they mutually explained and illustrated each other? The antiquities discovered threw a light upon history, and history from the undersigned coincidence derived confirmation of its veracity. If we pursued our enquiries further into the region of sacred history, then we should find that archæology might be made subservient to higher purposes than those of mere intellectual entertainment. Archæology then became the handmaid of religion. What a flood of light, for instance, had been shed upon the writings of the Old Testament through those stupendous discoveries made by Layard amid the ruinous mounds of Nineveh! How had they been the means of elucidating passages hitherto shrouded in obscurity, and how on the other hand had the Bible received from it new and unexpected additional attestation to its truth! Who could tell what effect such evidence might have on the mind of the sceptic—of the proud disputer of this world, on whom mere formal demonstration would be thrown away? And who could tell the comfort, the satisfaction, and the joy it is productive of to the sincere and humble Christian, when he sees how everything conspires to establish the truth of the word on which his every hope of happiness is built! Archæology was therefore a refining and

an ennobling science, and men of cultivated minds and noble aspirations had ever been devoted to its pursuits. He would mention an example as an illustration, in Cicero, who might be called the child of Archæology. His writings breathe everywhere a fondness for antiquity. "To be ignorant of what happened before we were born," says he, "is to be an everlasting baby." His treatise "*De naturâ Deorum*" is replete with palæontology; but there was an incident in the life of this illustrious man to which he would more particularly invite their attention on the present occasion. To Cicero was assigned the Province of Sicily; he was sent thither as Quæstor, and he said of himself that he received the office, not so much as a gift as a sacred trust, which he would only discharge by devoting his whole attention to it, and by postponing every pleasure, and even the gratification of his appetite, to a faithful performance of the duties it imposed. Notwithstanding this; notwithstanding all the cares and distractions of government, he could yet find time to indulge his favorite pursuit of archæology: he made his excursions through the island to see everything in it that was curious; that was, in short, worth seeing. In the course of his tour he comes to Syracuse, and there he had a particular object in view. He wanted to see the tomb of Archimedes, for in the course of his studies he had heard that that great geometrician was buried there, and that on his tomb a sphere and cylinder (emblematical of his pursuits) were engraven, and also some verses inscribed; and he was determined to verify the fact by personal inspection. He questioned the great men of Syracuse—the magistrates—on the subject, and to his surprise they could give him no information whatever about it. They conducted him, however, to the gate of the city, where stood a great number of their old sepulchres, and there he observed, in a spot overgrown with shrubs and briars, a small column—a "*columella*" he calls it—whose head first appeared above the bushes. Conceive his delight, when he sees the figure of the sphere and cylinder upon it! This he tell the magistrates was the very thing he was in search of, and then he goes into his work with an ardour with could not be surpassed even by a member of the Wiltshire Archæological Society. Men are sent with

reaping hooks, the brambles and other rubbish are quickly cleared away, and at length he has the satisfaction of finding the verses, though half eaten out by time, inscribed on its basis. Then he boasts (Cicero was rather given to this—it was the weak point of his character; but here he legitimately boasted) that one of the noblest cities of Greece, and one likewise the most learned, had been ignorant of the monument of its own most lofty-minded citizen, had it not been discovered to them by a native of Arpinum—that is himself. Nor let it be said in disparagement of archæology that sometimes her attention has been lavished upon unworthy objects. They had doubtless heard of the expedition of Cobbett to the United States, in search of Tom Paine's bones, with a view to bring them back to their native soil. Now he (the Chairman) thought—and doubtless they would agree with him—that Tom Paine's bones had much better have been left to rot where they were, and that if Mr. Cobbett had no other object in his visit to the States, he had better have stayed at home. Here they had a ludicrous contrast with what he had just stated, both as to the searchers and the object sought. Cicero and Cobbett were both orators and writers; but, oh! of how different a stamp. And between Archimedes and Tom Paine there was just this difference—that whereas the efforts of the one seemed directed to the exalting and ennobling of our common nature—the writings of the other were calculated to sink it to the level of the beasts that perish. Sometimes the labours of the archæologists were not spoken of in the most respectful terms. Lord Byron calls a search after archæological antiquities, “rummaging”:

“What are the hopes of man? Old Egypt's king
Cheops erected the first pyramid
And largest, thinking it was just the thing
To keep his memory whole, and mummy hid;
But somebody or other rummaging,
Burglariously broke his coffin's lid.
Let not a monument give you or me hopes,
Since not a pinch of dust remains of Cheops.”

But Lord Byron lived at a time when archæology was not so much thought of as at present, and those pursuits, which he did not himself appreciate, he had a happy knack of, or rather an unenvi-

able pleasure in, turning into ridicule. We can well afford to laugh at his lines, and will go on to "rummage," and I trust in this neighbourhood to some effect, in spite of his aristocratic sneer. Archæology, he had observed, was not much thought of in Lord Byron's days. In confirmation of this, he (Mr. Bradney) remembered, about 45 years ago, being introduced to a clergyman whose name was Douglas, a gentleman much addicted to rummaging. So strong, indeed, was his propensity to open barrows, that he was looked upon in those days as a perfect nuisance. Proprietors warned him off their lands as unceremoniously as they would an unprivileged sportsman on the 1st of September. Now his was "the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties." He was in advance of his age. Had he lived in these days, not only would the barrows of proprietors have been open to his investigation, but their cellars also to gladden his antiquarian heart. The times were altered now. Archæology was the fashion of the day. Witness the numerous societies that were springing up on all sides, instituted for its advancement. Witness those periodical gatherings at which men of different neighbourhoods met together to compare experiences, and to contribute the results of their local investigations, and the benefits of their local knowledge, towards increasing the general stock of antiquarian information, which at no distant period was destined to pervade the whole length and breadth of the land. This, he apprehended, was the great object of the present meeting. If they confined it to the mere club part of it—the pleasant walk on a fine day through a lovely country—a festivity and agreeable conversazione (though these were by no means to be despised)—if they confined it to these, then they fell short of the higher objects of which it is capable, and which it might be made to realize. What he would suggest, was, that at such meetings as the present materials might be obtained, and a foundation laid for compiling a good county history. Such a history was now a desideratum, and whether they took into account its ecclesiastical antiquities, which were now to be brought before them by Mr. Jones, or the earlier Druidical remains which Mr. Edmonds would elucidate, or its geological formation, which would be explained

by Mr. Cunnington to-morrow, Bradford must form a prominent feature in any Wiltshire county history hereafter to be published. He did hope and trust that the present meeting might not be allowed to pass away without some steps being taken to forward so desirable and so praiseworthy an object.

The Rev. Mr. LUKIS (one of the General Secretaries of the Society) then proceeded to read

THE REPORT.

The Committee of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society commence their report of the proceedings of the past year by congratulating the members on the flourishing state of their Society. From the period of its inauguration, in 1853, it has continued to advance, and may now be fairly stated to have taken root in every corner of the county. The number of subscribing members now on our books amounts to 376, being a considerable increase over last year.

But while congratulating you on the present prospects of the Society, and the number of its existing members, your Committee have to deplore the loss, by death, withdrawal, or removal from the county, of nine of our body. They cannot pass over in silence the grievous blow that has been dealt, not only to this Society, but to the whole Zoological and Archæological world, by the deaths of Mr. Yarrell and Mr. Britton.

Mr. Yarrell was an honorary member of this Society, and therefore, your Committee may be allowed to pay a passing tribute to his memory. As a naturalist he was unrivalled in this country, and his well-known Histories of British Fishes and British Birds, (the third edition of which last work was published just three weeks before his death,) will long remain as text-books to Zoologists, being by far the most copious and perfect works extant on the subject, and to collecting materials for which he had devoted all his energies during a long and active life. If we add to this the constant kindness and urbanity with which he received a continual flow of enquiries on points in dispute amongst naturalists; the readiness with which he listened to arguments; the diligence with which he strove to solve doubts; something may be understood of

the loss which has been sustained by the cause of Natural History generally in the decease of this good and courteous old man. Moreover, as a Vice-President of the Linnæan and Zoological Societies, the zeal and energy which he displayed in the cause of science will not readily be re-placed.

But if Mr. Yarrell has been styled the father of British Zoology, with no less truth has Mr. Britton been designated the father of British Archæology. Mr. Britton was personally better known to you, and it is scarcely necessary for your Committee to remind you of what you will yourselves recollect, the very active part which, notwithstanding his great age, he has taken at each of these our annual meetings; not only attending himself, and always with a paper in his pocket to be read if occasion required, but using all his powers to stir up others to a like activity in the cause. His energy and animation on those occasions will long remain impressed on our memories. There was a kind of youthful elasticity and playfulness about him, even at our general meeting at Warminster last year, only a few months before his decease, which gave us a hope that he would have been spared for some years longer. Moreover, it is not too much to state that, but for his indefatigable exertions in the cause of archæology in his native county, this Society would not have existed. For it is to be remembered that this Society arose, in the first place, to take possession of those numerous papers, books, drawings, and maps relating to Wiltshire, which Mr. Britton had taken so much pains and so many years to collect. Neither need we dwell on his merits as an archæologist, or our loss in his decease; but we would call your attention to the memorials which have been proposed as suitable tributes to his great worth by this and other kindred societies. In addition to the admirable sketch of his life, which appeared in the last number of our Magazine, and a very excellent portrait of him, which will appear in the forthcoming number, our Society is collecting subscriptions from its members and others towards erecting a memorial in the Church of his native parish, Kington St. Michael, and also for providing a small annuity for his widow, to either or both of which your Committee would recommend your subscriptions. We may add

that the Institute of British Architects also contemplate placing a monumental memorial (we believe an incised brass) in Salisbury Cathedral.

With regard to our financial position, your Committee rejoice to inform you that our funds have been, and are, steadily increasing; that in lieu of £200, and a balance of £42 in the hands of the Secretary, as stated in the report last year, there are now £300 invested in Exchequer Bills bearing interest; and that there is a small balance of a few pounds in the hands of the Local Secretaries, besides £80 due for arrears. And here your Committee must be excused, if they call your especial attention to the great saving of time and trouble on the part of the Secretaries by the prompt payment of your subscriptions, urging you not to let them fall into arrear to the great detriment of the Society.

It will be in your recollection, that mention was made in the report of last year of the proposal to establish a County Museum and Library at Devizes, in accordance with the intention of the Society from its commencement (as seen in the latter part of its first and sixth rules). This intention, which, indeed, from the first, was stated to be one of the objects of the Society, has not yet been carried out. But the want of such a Museum and Library has become daily more and more apparent as a place of deposit for the existing property of the Society, now scattered in private hands, or packed away in chests inaccessible to members,—but, above all, as a nucleus for future treasures. Indeed, it is to be feared that the want of such a Museum and Library has lost to the Society many objects of interest. Your Committee, taking these things into consideration, called a special meeting of the Council in June last, to discuss this question, which meeting was attended by some of the most influential of our body; and it was resolved to meet the present want, by renting (if it could be had), and fitting up as a Museum and Library, the large room over the Savings Bank, at Devizes, which, indeed, seemed to be the only suitable room available for the purpose. Our efforts to obtain that room have, at last, been successful; and now that a place of deposit is provided, it is hoped that contributions of specimens and books will flow in from

all quarters. At the same time, your Committee regard the rental of this room as only a temporary measure, calculated to supply our immediate requirements; but they trust the members and friends of the Society, by subscriptions and, perhaps, by taking shares in the building, will enable us, at no distant period, to erect a Museum and Library suited to our wants and worthy of the county.

There is but one subject more on which your Committee would touch, viz., the important question of Parochial Histories; which, originating from this Society, promoted by a most able and active member, the Rev. J. Wilkinson, and under the guidance of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, is, we trust, gradually progressing towards the proposed end.

The subject was discussed at Salisbury last week, and it was proposed that Wilts and Dorset should co-operate in the endeavour to collect materials for the complete histories of both counties. A committee was formed, consisting of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, the three Archdeacons of the Diocese, the Council, and the General and Local Secretaries of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society, and a number of scientific gentlemen, both clerical and lay, of Wilts and Dorset, to carry out this scheme, and they will shortly commence their labours. Their plan will be, in the first instance, to collect information by means of questions circulated through the entire counties. It is, however, very satisfactory to know that, in several instances, histories of individual parishes have already been commenced, and are fast advancing towards completion. But your Committee cannot take leave of this subject without adverting to the very complete model of Parochial History, presented by Canon Jackson's paper on the Parish of Kington St. Michael, printed in the last number of our Magazine. And here they would beg to tender their best thanks to Mr. Jackson, not only for that and other kindred papers from his pen, with which the Magazine has been enriched, but for the diligence with which he has conducted the editorship of that publication. Your Committee are not unmindful of the time and talents which he has devoted to the service of the Society, and they wish thus publicly to record their sense of gratitude.

The Report having been adopted and ordered to be printed, the officers of the Society were re-elected, with the addition of the Rev. A. C. Smith as a General Secretary, and Mr. Meek as a member of the Council.

The Rev. W. H. JONES, M.A., Vicar of Bradford, then read a paper on "The History of Bradford," which will be found in the Society's Magazine.

GEORGE MATCHAM, Esq., next read a paper, illustrated by drawings, on "The Bearing of the Antiquities of Malta, on the History of Stonehenge." The learned lecturer described some curious remains recently discovered in the island of Malta, and stated reasons for believing that they, as well as the cromlechs, rocking-stones, &c., of Brittany and Cornwall, and, in particular, *Stonehenge*, were constructed by the Phœnicians, the Druids being, in fact, identical with the Phœnician philosophers.

THE DINNER

took place at half-past four, in a large room, formerly a dyehouse, belonging to Mr. Spackman, the usually unsightly appearance of which had been so changed by decorations, carried out under the superintendence of Mr. Cornelius Taylor, that it made a very handsome and commodious dining-hall. The rafters and walls were festooned with evergreens and flowers, brilliant nosegays adorned the tables, and flags were hung in various parts of the room, on one of which was a device peculiarly suitable to the occasion, in the shape of an "ammonite," cleverly traced in flowers. The company, numbering about 130, and including Mrs. Hamilton, (the wife of the Bishop of Salisbury,) with most of the Ladies¹ in

¹ The following verses appeared in the *Bath Chronicle*.

ON THE HEALTH OF "THE LADIES"

Being given, and enthusiastically drunk at this Dinner.

If the fair forms of NATURE our genius would trace,
And her wonders with ardour pursue,
What treasures, reviewing Creation's whole space,
Can vie, lovely Woman, with you?

Or if, by ANTIQUITY's halo beguiled,
We would peer thro' the vista of years,

the neighbourood, was presided over by Mr. Sotheron Estcourt, M.P.

In replying to one of the toasts, SIR JOHN WITHER AWDRY observed that "he thought there was a mine of history in this county, connected with its civil and ecclesiastical divisions, which had as yet been but little opened up. How was it that in this county, particularly, we found the hundreds scattered up and down? What was there in the history of the people which led to this, and at what period did that history date? From what we knew of their ancient history, these hundreds were originally tribes of people who became localised, possibly on the settlement of the country, under King Alfred, after the Danish wars, and which might probably have given rise to the fable that the invention of hundreds was due to that monarch. How then were they localised? And why was it that some hundreds were called "ragged hundreds," sown broadcast, as it were, over the whole face of the country? Was it that the people formerly belonging to them had separate residences allotted to them? Then again there could be no doubt that the physical character of the county bore very much upon its history; for if we looked at the long line of Oxford clay down almost a string of extraparochial places, there was a country which was probably heavily timbered, and untractable to road agriculture, and not fully cultivated until the later Saxon period. Look again at the light land, where we saw small parishes, or again here, where we saw a large parish divided into a multitude of chapelries. The small parishes, no doubt, indicated an early settlement of the country: the large parishes, divided into a multitude of chapelries, probably the next stage of the proceeding. But there was still on the levels here, a good deal of light-barley land which could have been occupied tolerably early in our history; and therefore, instead of this being comprised of great parishes, undivided, like the clay

What attraction so ancient, so genuine too,
As Woman, fair Woman, appears?

Whene'er, then, with Science uniting Good-cheer,
To THE LADIES our homage we boast,

Let ANTIQUITY'S votary, and NATURE'S combined,
Respond, heart and voice, to the Toast!

parishes, we had a number of chapelries, having an existence next to immemorial. Then again look at the structure of our churches. In the small churches—more commonly in the chancels—we found the early English style of architecture more prevalent than in the larger churches; but in the naves of parish churches, we almost always saw a great enlargement, generally in what might be called the perpendicular style, which came in after the reign of Edward the Third, and after the period that the trade of the country had gradually increased. This was especially the case where there were town populations—he might say, almost universally the case. Take for instance the ancient Norman churches at Devizes, the naves of which had been almost, if not entirely, rebuilt, or renovated, after the period of Edward the Third. It might be that the increase of population, or the increase of riches and the disposition to spend them on works of this kind, had induced these alterations. Of this however there could be no doubt, that the history of our parishes might be read upon the date of our churches, or upon particular parts of them. These ecclesiastical divisions then, particularly in the chancels and in the enlargement of the naves of our churches, opened up a field of observation to those who were engaged in different kinds of country business, which they would do well to work out, and if he was a wise man, when passing a dull day at Chippenham, with a number of constables coming in to be sworn, he might perhaps see a little in the local archæology of the neighbourhood which he had not before thought of.”

After an inspection of the various objects of interest in the Town, the company re-assembled at 8 o'clock in the Town-Hall, for an Evening *Conversazione*. Mr. W. LONG of Bath, read a paper on “*Arbury*,” illustrated by diagrams, models, and drawings: and Mr. J. PARKER of Oxford, another on the “*Medieval Houses of Wiltshire*.” The Rev. J. WILKINSON of Broughton Gifford, concluded the proceedings with a Topographical description of the succeeding day's excursion.

SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12TH.

The Excursion for the day, conducted by the Rev. J. Wilkinson, lay through the village of Holt, Monkton Manor House, Whaddon,

Broughton Gifford, Great Chalfield, South Wraxhall, and Monkton Farley.

At Great Chalfield, the history of the Manor House was detailed by Mr. J. PARKER; and by the courtesy of Mrs. Spackman, the occupier, the company were accommodated with a field for pitching a tent, and taking their picnic dinner.

Before leaving Chalfield, an amusing letter in verse was read, supposed to have been written by an agriculturist, who was more in love with the domestic arrangements of his grandfather, than with those of modern times. It lamented the loss of the spacious log chimney corner, the settle, the stone floor, which did not demand that sedulous cleansing of feet which Brussel carpets exact. It expressed great antipathy to silk chair and sofa furniture, which requires to be further encased in covers, and sighed for the lost liberty of smoking being tolerated where the large chimney shaft readily carried off the vapour. This letter caused great merriment, and the reading was encored. The element in the humour of it was a plentiful introduction of Wilts dialect, which the reader selected for the purpose did full justice to.

At Monkton Farley they were most kindly and hospitably entertained by Mrs. Wade Browne with tea and coffee, fruit, ices, and various other refreshment: and the history of the place and priory by the Rev. CANON JACKSON was read, in that gentleman's absence, by the Rev. W. C. Lukis. Various architectural fragments discovered, from time to time, on the site of the Priory Church, &c., were exhibited at the *Conversazione* at the Town-Hall at 8 p.m. Papers were read by Mr. CUNNINGTON, on "The Bradford Clay of Wiltshire and its Fossil Contents"; and by the Rev. G. T. MARSH of Sutton Benger, on "Natural History"; after which a topographical account of the next day's excursion was given by Mr. W. GEE.

THIRD DAY—THURSDAY, AUGUST 13TH.

The Excursion arranged to take place to-day, under the guidance of Dr. Highmore, included several places of much interest, but the company was not so large as on the preceding day.

Tory Chapel was the first named in the programme. Only a portion of the walls of the chapel remains.

At Belcombe, the residence of Col. Yerbury, is a field with a number of large stones, placed three together at regular intervals, and forming part of a semi-circle. It was an idea of Wood, the celebrated architect of Bath, who lived in the early part of the last century, that Bath was the centre of a large system of Druidical worship. Mr. E. EDMONDS, in a paper on this subject, made some suggestions as to the possible connexion of the Belcombe stones with Wood's theory: but their character as Druidical does not appear to be quite determined.

Winsley was then passed, and the excursionists ascended the opposite side of the valley to the quaint old church of Lympley Stoke, standing on the hill. An old stone pulpit, built in the wall, was pointed out as curious; and a sacramental cup was shown, bearing the date of 1577. In the churchyard, on the south side, are 13 old tombstones, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

At Hinton Abbey, Lieut.-Col. Cotgrave, gave the excursionists a most courteous reception. The beautiful ruins of the Abbey were explored, and its history explained by Mr. GEE. The Elizabethan mansion, occupied by Lieut.-Col. Cotgrave, was built from the ruins of the Abbey. In the hall of the manor house, is an elaborately carved oak table, on the principle of the modern telescope-table. It bears the arms of Shaa and crest of Hungerford. Mrs. Mary Shaa (buried at Farley Castle,) was a Hungerford, and her husband's family held Hinton Abbey on lease from her own. There is no foundation for the common story that this table came from old Farley Castle.

After looking at Farley-Hungerford Church, and partaking of a picnic dinner in the Castle yard, the excursionists inspected the ruins of the Castle.

The Rev. J. P. Griffith read a paper, prepared by the Rev. CANON JACKSON, on its antiquities. After giving the history of the Castle and the Hungerford family, the paper continued—It is said that King Charles II. once came here, and was entertained by the last owner, the extravagant Sir Edward Hungerford, who sold this and

all his other estates, in A.D. 1686. In the sale were included the manors of Farleigh, Tellisford, Iford, Rowley, Wellow, Road, and Langham, with lands elsewhere in the neighbourhood. The whole was bought by Mr. Henry Baynton, of Spye Park. He and Lady Anne Wilmot (sister of the Earl of Rochester) his wife, resided here: and they seem to have been the last occupants. In 1702, soon after his death, the estates were sold again. The manorial lands at Farleigh were then bought by Mr. J. Houlton, ancestor of the present proprietor; but the castle itself, being first bought by Mr. Cooper, of Trowbridge, did not come into the possession of the Houltons until purchased by them from Mr. Cooper's family in A.D. 1730, by which time it had begun to fall to decay, and the materials had been used for other purposes. Sir Edward Hungerford, the last owner of Farleigh, was a handsome, extravagant man, in the reign of King Charles II. He died in London in 1711, and was buried, not at Farleigh, but in the old church of St. Martin's in the Fields. It has often been said that he reached the extraordinary age of 115; but this is an entire mistake. He was born in A.D. 1632; and, consequently, was 79 years old at his death, instead of 115. He had by his first wife, Jane Hele, of Devonshire, a son Edward, and a daughter Rachel, afterwards Lady Massarene. The son, after the fashion of his family, married one of the greatest heiresses of the day, the Lady Alethea Compton, who, had she lived, would have inherited a moiety of the Dorset and Clifford estates; but both she and her husband died young. Sir Edward had by his third wife another son, who died at Black Bourton, in Oxfordshire, in 1748, and who appears to have been the last male representative of this branch of the family in England.

At the close of the paper a vote of thanks was awarded to the Rev. Mr. Griffith, on the motion of Sir John Awdry, and the company then started for Westwood Church, which has been recently judiciously restored, the greatest pains having been taken to preserve its original character. An interesting paper, drawn up by the Rev. W. H. JONES, explanatory of the building, was read by Mr. T. B. Saunders; and here terminated the meeting of the Society. Immediately after leaving the church, a heavy storm came on: and

the journey back to Bradford was literally performed "in thunder, lightening, and in rain," and few escaped a complete drenching. With this exception, this was one of the most interesting and successful meetings of the Society.

A List of Articles Exhibited

IN THE

TEMPORARY MUSEUM AT THE TOWN-HALL, BRADFORD,

August 11th, 1857.

Those marked with an Asterisk have been presented to the Society.

BY REV. CANON JACKSON, F.S.A., *Leigh Delamere* :—

A Portfolio, containing drawings and lithographs of Trowbridge Castle, Barton Barn, Bradford, Broughton Gifford Church, William Bever's House at the Cross, Broughton Gifford; Stoke Lympsey Church, Old Church Winsley, two views of the interior of Farley Castle Chapel, Chancel of Farley Church, and the Manor Houses at Westwood, South Wraxhall, and Great Chalfield.

BY HENRY J. F. SWAYNE, ESQ., *Netherhampton House, Salisbury* :—

Roman Spoon, spring of Romano British Padlock, and rowelled Spur, recently found at Old Sarum.

BY DYKE POORE, ESQ., *Syrincot* :—

Two horns of deer, three boar's tusks, and two spear heads of bronze, found in a barrow at Ablington, Wilts.

BY H. CALLEY, ESQ., *Burderop* :—

An oak panel from the Drawing-room of Burderop House, exhibiting the arms of Queen Elizabeth, carved in bold relief and ornamented with colouring. A glazed Tile, also bearing the same arms, found in a drain at Burderop House.

BY DR. THURNAM, F.S.A., *Devizes* :—

Portion of a Holy Water Stoup, found near Calstone Church. Two rude bone pins, parts of the skulls of a goat and dog, encrusted with stalagmite, found with other remains in Dowkerbottom Cave, near Settle, Yorkshire, 1857.

BY MR. CUNNINGTON, F.G.S., *Devizes* :—

Case with a Fine Slab containing 50 specimens of Echinodermés, from the Forest Marble of Malmesbury. Small case with fine specimen of Acanthothothis Antiquus, from the Oxford Clay, Christian Malford. Another

case with Fossil lower jaw of *Steneosaurus*, from the Oxford Clay, Chippenham. Three cases with 360 specimens (54 species) of Fossils, from the Bradford Clay, including a fine series illustrative of the *Apiocrinus Parkinsoni*, and a specimen restored by Mr. J. Wood. Large *Ammonites perarmatus*, from the Calc. Grit, Seend. Small box containing 3 specimens of *Astacus*, from the Upper Green Sand of Devizes, Potterne, and Horningsham. The last volume of the Palæontographical Society, containing engravings of Wiltshire Fossils.

By J. W. LUKIS, Esq.

* Cast of a Celt found near Clermont, Puy de Dome, France.

By A. ADYE, Esq., *Bradford* :—

Case with *Apiocrinus Parkinsoni*, including some remarkable varieties. Another case with Ferns, &c., from the Coal Formation. Minute Shells, Echini, and portions of *Enerinite* from the Great Oolite, Bradford. *Ammonites* from the Oxford Clay, and Shells from the Green Sand. Echini from the Corn Brash, Flint, &c. *Terebratulæ*, &c. from the Great Oolite, Bradford. Roots and stems of *Apiocrinus*, from the Bradford Clay. Palates, Teeth, &c., from the Oolite.

By MR. G. MARKS, *Bradford* :—

Case with various specimens from the Green Sand, Devizes. Another case with *Apiocrinus Parkinsoni*. A third case with specimens of the same dissected, and *Belemnites canaliculatus*. Fossil Sponges from the Chalk Flint. Seven specimens of *Ammonites*, from the Oxford Clay of North Wilts. Also, several preserved specimens of Birds and Animals. Case of Wiltshire Flies.

By J. AWDRY, Esq.

Five specimens of Vertebræ of *Icthyosaurus*, from the Oxford Clay of North Wilts.

By DR. HIGHMORE, *Bradford* :—

Two specimens of Echini (recent). Impression from the Seal of Sherborne, Co. Dorset.

By J. BAILWARD, Esq., *Horsington* :—

* Unfinished Quern from Pen Pits, Stourhead. Portfolio containing a series of 56 engravings of Churches, &c. * Token issued by Paul Methwin of Bradford, during the Commonwealth. See Akerman's List of Wiltshire Tokens, page 9 and plate.

By MISS SELWYN :—

Herbarium with 30 specimens (some very rare) of Plants found in Wilts and Somerset.

By MRS. PALAIRET, *Woolley Grange, Bradford* :—

An elegant rapier of Spanish steel found on removing the floor of one of the apartments at Kingston House, Bradford, in 1851. See "Wilts Magazine," vol. i. p. 278.

By MR. KNAPP, *Bradford* :—

Several cases containing Fossil Shells, together with Bones and Teeth of Elephant and Ox, found at Bradford. An ancient Spoon found near Tory Chapel, Bradford.

BY MISS BAILWARD :

Specimen of *Ammonites perarmatus* from the Calcareous grit, Seend.
Mule Pheasant. Seal of the Priory of St. John, Waterford. Case of
Wiltshire Butterflies.

BY MR. JAMES BROWN, *Salisbury* :—

Bone (Atlas of Whale ?) found in the river near Salisbury.

BY DR. KEDDLE, *Monkton Manor House, Broughton Gifford* :—

Two Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots and Earl Darnley.

BY THE HON. MRS. JONES, *Hinton House* :—

Portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, by Zuccherò. Three large pieces of
ancient Tapestry.

BY J. E. NIGHTINGALE, ESQ., *Wilton* :—

A series of 21 Photographs, consisting chiefly of views in and near Rome.

BY MR. BIRD, *Semington* :—

Photographs of Whaddon Church, Monkton Bridge, Broughton Gifford
Church and Porch, Great Chalfield Manor House and Church, South Wrax-
hall Manor House and Church, and Barton Barn, Bradford.

BY W. STANCOMB, ESQ., *Trowbridge* :—

An old Painting, supposed to represent Trowbridge Castle in its perfect
state, found in a wall of the late Mr. S. Salter's house.

BY REV. J. WILKINSON, *Broughton Gifford* :—

Four diagrams of Stonehenge. Impression from the Gravestone of Ilbert
de Chat, 1187, in Lacock Abbey. Two tracings of stained glass from the
north aisle of Broughton Gifford Church.

BY MR. D. JONES, *Bradford* :

Five drawings, including plan, elevations, &c., of Wilton Church, Wilts.

BY REV. W. H. JONES, *Bradford* :—

Drawings of Westwood Church, Lympsey Stoke Bridge, Houses formerly
occupying the site of the New Town-Hall, and five other views in Bradford.

BY REV. E. T. WHINFIELD, *Woodleigh* :—

Drawings of Farleigh Castle, Chalfield House, and the Churches of Stoke,
Winsley, Holt, and Castle Combe.

BY MRS. ROBERTSON :

Four drawings, Farleigh Down from Lympsey Stoke, two exterior and an
interior view of Lympsey Stoke Church.

BY W. GEE, ESQ., *Woodside, Freshford* :—

Drawings of Westwood Manor House, Iford Bridge, Farleigh-Hunger-
ford Church and Castle.

BY LIEUT.-COL. YERBURY, *Belcombe, Bradford* :—

Enamel Brass Lamp for incense, found on Salisbury Plain. Ancient
knife, dug up near Rufus's Stone in the New Forest. Brass figure of Her-
cules, found at Wellow. Bowl containing a quantity of Roman Coins.
Bowl, Delft Pottery, (1662,) containing Wiltshire and other Tokens. Trays
of Silver and Gold Coins. Pair of Pistols, left in Mr. Davisson's house,
Freshford, by an Officer in Monmouth's Army, after the battle of Sedge-
moor, 1685. Bracelet made of Mooltan Money, after the Sikh campaign.
Painting, Head of Bampfylde Moore Carew. Eight cases of Foreign Birds.

By MR. FUSSELL, *Wrazhall*:—

Two cases containing a series of Beetles and Moths. Two specimens of Horned Owls.

By R. H. BRACKSTONE, Esq., *Lyncombe Hill, Bath*:—

A large and very valuable collection of ancient implements and weapons, consisting of iron spear-heads, flint arrow-heads, amber beads, bronze spears, swords, daggers, celts, hammers, spurs, umbo of shield, bronze ring money, pins and armlets, stone celts, hammers, and other implements, from Suffolk, Essex, Yorkshire, France, Ireland, and North America. Iron Branks, or Scold's Bridle, and Thumb Screw.

By MR. G. MARTIN:—

Table, sawn out from a Boulder Stone, found in the Railway, Lady Down, Bradford. Specimens of Petrified Moss. Three cases of English and Foreign Birds.

By MR. JAMES RAINEY, *Bath*:—

A cabinet of Antique Silver, containing several German Drinking Cups and covers of the 16th century; Chalice and Patens of the 16th century; English Christening Spoons of the 15th and 17th centuries; Alms Dish, two handled Wine Cup, German Scent Bottles, and other articles of Chinese Japanese, Mexican, and Italian workmanship. Among the latter was an exceedingly beautiful Silver-gilt Plate, chased with the subject of the Adoration, (date, early part of the 16th century,) from the Strawberry Hill Collection.

By MR. SCOTT:—

Thirteen Rubbings from Monumental Brasses, including some Wiltshire specimens.

By MR. JOHN POOLE, *Bradford*:—

Four cases containing 42 specimens of Wiltshire Birds. Cases of Stoats, Squirrels, and Weasels. Encaustic Tile, from Malmesbury Abbey. Several Coins and Tokens found near Bradford.

By JOHN BUSH, Esq., *Woolley Hill, Bradford*:—

Case containing a series of specimens of Foreign Flies.

By LIEUT.-COL. COTGRAVE, *Hinton Abbey*:—

Preserved specimen of Wiltshire Bittern.

By J. G. SMITH, Esq., *Winkfield House, Bradford*:—

Several specimens of Stuffed Birds.

By CAPT. PICKWICK, *Frankleigh Cottage, Bradford*:—

Four cases of Wiltshire Birds. Collection of curiosities from the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of Kaffir necklace, knife, anklet, &c.

By W. STONE, Esq., *Winsley*:—

Finely worked Court Dress, *temp.* Geo. III. Prints, "Theatrum Biblicum," date 1644. Drawing of Winsley Font, &c.

By MR. WALTER SPENCER, *Chalfield*:—

Several preserved Birds and Animals.

By MR. S. TAYLOR:—

Bible and Prayer Book, dated 1599 [42 Elizabeth].

Parochial Histories of Wilts and Dorset.

THE following "Hheads of Parochial Information" have been compiled and are now put into circulation in pursuance of a plan originally brought under the notice of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society, by the Rev. John Wilkinson of Broughton Gifford, at the general meeting, September, 1855. The object in view and the means of attaining it, were fully stated in a paper which appeared in the seventh number of the Society's Magazine.

The histories required were said to be pictures of the parishes at the present time, and, as far as possible, in past times. The parochial clergy were suggested as the historians; not because they are in all cases supposed to be necessarily and exclusively the best qualified for the work, but because to them and to them alone among the more educated classes, the several parishes are places of constant residence and spheres of duty, with the past records and present condition of which they have the best opportunity of becoming familiar, and in which they would naturally be interested, as well from the love of their parochial charge as for the benefit of their successors. Some of the clergy may be able and willing to undertake the task of writing a complete history; others may be so much occupied with their professional and other more immediate duties as to be unable to do more than answer queries, or heads of parochial information, and so furnish (what the French aptly call) *memoires pour servir à l'histoire*; and even those, who may themselves be wholly without taste or leisure for pursuing such inquiries, may still be able, without much personal trouble, to obtain from competent local authorities, the needful information. Indeed, in any parish, so many and so different are the topics which will come under notice, and so varied the accomplishments required for their complete treatment, that it will always be desirable, and in the larger districts it will be necessary, to organise a committee, so to

speaking, of parochial informants, taken from different classes of society, so as not only to sub-divide the labour, but to secure the most accurate information on the several branches of the subject.

The design is the same as that of the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," and the mode of execution similar. The ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, with such assistance as they could secure, under the sanction of the General Assembly, have, in that topographical history of a whole kingdom, furnished a compilation which must long be regarded as a lasting memorial of their intelligence, their zeal, their research, and that varied and intimate acquaintance with the affairs, history, condition, and resources of their parishes, which so well becomes them. Entirely self-reliant, with no other pecuniary support than such as might arise from the sale of the work, they have raised a monument, without a parallel, to their country's honour as well as their own. Cannot the clergy of the Church of England do as much for a county or two?

They will not be without very considerable support and encouragement. The Marquis of Lansdowne, the Lord Lieutenant of Wilts, has desired that his name may appear as a well-wisher to the undertaking. Others of high position and scientific acquirements have signified their approval. The Bishop of Salisbury, within whose Diocese three-fourths of Wilts and the whole of Dorset are situated, gave his approval on its original announcement. He has since taken an active part in its promotion. He desired that his Palace at Salisbury should be the head-quarters of the movement, and that it should embrace his whole Diocese, Dorset as well as Wilts. He introduced the subject to the Archdeacons and Rural Deans at their usual annual meeting held in Salisbury in 1856. In the spring of the present year he desired that it should be discussed by the whole body of the clergy in their Ruri-Decanal Chapters. He again brought it before the Archdeacons and Rural Deans in August last, with the intention of making some definite arrangements.

A committee was then organised, consisting of the Bishop with certain Laymen and Clergymen, with Rev. C. W. Bingham as Secretary for Dorset, and Rev. J. Wilkinson for Wilts. This

committee, among whom the name of Sir John W. Awdry should be particularly mentioned, have revised the "Heads of Parochial Information," and issue them in their present form. They will hereafter be circulated among the clergy (together with a commendatory letter from the Bishop of Salisbury), and among all who may be disposed to take part in the work, perhaps accompanied by an account of one or more parishes drawn up as a sample of the scheme they suggest.

As a guide to the sources from which the past history of a parish is to be obtained, it may be desirable to mention the titles of some topographical works, relating to Wilts and Dorset, as well as some others of a general character, which may be consulted with advantage. To Sir Richard Colt Hoare and his able coadjutors (some of whom are promoting the present design), the county is indebted for that splendid work "Ancient Wiltshire," and for the description of 15 Southern Hundreds in the volumes entitled "Modern Wiltshire." Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bt., has printed "the Wiltshire Institutions," and "Aubrey's Collections for a history of North Wilts." His large collection of Manuscripts also deserves especial mention. To these must be added, Mr. Britton's topographical works, particularly his "Beauties of Wiltshire," and his articles "Avebury" and "Stonehenge" in the Penny Cyclopædia; the Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute 1849; a few volumes published by a former Wilts Topographical Society, including "Aubrey's Natural History of Wilts"; and more particularly the Magazine of the present Society, containing most valuable contributions, among which it cannot be invidious to point out those of Mr. Poulett Scrope and Rev. Canon Jackson. Among works, the subjects of which are more limited, there are, Mr. Poulett Scrope's "History of Castle Combe," Mr. Waylen's Histories of Devizes and Marlborough, together with his promised "Wiltshire during the Civil Wars." Most of these works may be seen in the Library of the Wilts Archæological Society at Devizes. In regard to Dorset, that county has a great advantage over Wilts, in the excellent and complete County History by the Rev. John Hutchins, (Rector of Swyre, and subsequently of Melcombe Horsey, and of the Holy

Trinity, Wareham), originally published in 1774 in 2 vols. folio, and incorporating the principal part of Coker's curious "Survey," which still, however, deserves to be consulted. It scarcely seems necessary to refer to Nichols' 4 vol. edition of Hutchins, as being a work of remarkable rarity, whilst the additions it contains are of far less value and importance than might be expected. The more local works, viz., Sydenham's "History of Poole," Savage's "History of Dorchester," the Right Hon. George Bankes' "Story of Corfe Castle," Roberts' "History of Lyme Regis," as also his "Social History of the Southern Counties, &c.," must not be forgotten. Scattered notices of the geology of the district are to be found in the Geological Transactions; in Sir H. C. Englefield's and Dr. Mantell's works on the Isle of Wight; and also in an interesting series of papers read before the Purbeck Society, and now in course of publication.

As works of general antiquarian interest, particularly in regard to pedigrees of families and the descent of property, mention may be made of the publications of the Record Commission, such as Domesday book (translated for Wilts by Wyndham), *Calendarium Inquisitionum ad quod damnum* (in protection of the rights and property of the Crown, or of the subject), from John to Henry VI., *Testa de Nevill, sive liber feodorum temp. Henry III. and Edward I.*, *Rotuli Hundredorum temp. Henry III. and Edward I.*, *Nonarum inquisitiones temp. Edward III.*, and especially *Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem* (from Henry III. to Edward IV.); and, in regard to the valuation of ecclesiastical property, Pope Nicholas' Valor taken 1292, which continued in force till the Valor Ecclesiasticus, or *Liber Regis*, 25th of Henry VIII. Copies of these works were sent by Government to the chief county towns: they may be seen in the Chapter Library at Salisbury, in the Institutions at Bath and Chippenham, and in the Grand Jury Room at Dorchester. Dugdale's *Monasticon* and *Baronage* it can hardly be necessary to mention.

J. W.

Oct. 1857.

HEADS OF INFORMATION SUGGESTED FOR
PAROCHIAL HISTORIES.

OUTLINE.

FIRSTLY. CIVIL HISTORY.

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| <p>I. NAME.
II. TOPOGRAPHY.
III. LITERATURE.
IV. ANTIQUITIES.
V. MANORS & LANDED ESTATES.
VI. PARISH REGISTERS.
VII. HOUSES.</p> | <p>VIII. POPULATION.
IX. GAMES & AMUSEMENTS.
X. HEALTH & PHYSICAL CON-
DITION.
XI. INDUSTRY.
XII. PAROCHIAL ECONOMY.
XIII. MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.</p> |
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SECONDLY. ECCLESIASTICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

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| <p>I. CHURCH OR CHURCHES.
II. CHURCH YARD.
III. CEMETERIES.
IV. CHURCH RATES.
V. CHURCH PEOPLE.
VI. CHURCH LAND AND HOUSE.
VII. GLEBE HOUSE.</p> | <p>VIII. INCUMBENTS.
IX. PLACES OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP
AND CONGREGATIONS, NOT
CONNECTED WITH THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND.
X. MEANS OF EDUCATION.
XI. CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.</p> |
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THIRDLY. NATURAL HISTORY.

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| <p>I. LAND.
II. WATER.
III. AIR.
IV. ANIMAL KINGDOM.
V. VEGETABLE KINGDOM.</p> | <p>VI. MINERAL KINGDOM.
VII. CONNECTION BETWEEN PHYSI-
CAL AND SOCIAL HISTORIES OF
THE DISTRICT.</p> |
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FIRSTLY. CIVIL HISTORY.

I. NAME :

1. Present name :
 - a. Supposed derivation.
 - b. Local corruption.
2. Original name :
 - a. Subsequent changes.

II. TOPOGRAPHY :

1. Boundaries of the Parish.
2. In what Hundred.
3. Townships, hamlets, chapeltries, or other sub-divisions.
4. Average length and breadth.
5. Acreage ; distinguishing arable, pasture, houses and gardens, plantations, waste, water, roads.¹

III. LITERATURE :

1. Any published or unpublished accounts of the Parish ?²
2. What is the account given in Domesday book ?
3. Have any events of historical interest occurred in the Parish ?

IV. ANTIQUITIES :

1. Any British, Roman, Saxon, Norman, or other remains, not comprehended under any other head of information.

V. MANORS AND LANDED ESTATES :

1. What Manors are there ?
2. Who are and were the Lords of the Manors ?
3. Give an account of the more considerable properties, tracing the ownership as far back as possible.
4. Trace the history of any peculiar manorial rights, customs, privileges, tenures, or court-leets.

VI. PARISH REGISTERS :

1. When do they begin ?

¹ See Parish reference-book, containing the most recent survey.

² The History of the Parishes in Dorset has been written by the Rev. Mr. Hutchins, and that of certain Hundreds in Wilts by Sir R. C. Hoare and others. Any additions to, or corrections of these published accounts will be acceptable.

2. Have they been regularly kept? If not, with what intervals?
3. Have the earlier entries been copies into the Registers, apparently in large numbers at the same time; or singly, contemporaneously with the events recorded?
4. Make selections, in illustration of families, customs, habits, superstitions, or historical events.

VII. HOUSES :

1. Number inhabited.
2. Do. uninhabited.
3. Any houses, large or small, destroyed within memory?
4. Do. do. built within memory?
5. Inhabited house duty, and number of houses chargeable with it.
6. Number of tenements coming under the small tenements rating act, *i.e.* under £6 annual value, with the whole rateable value of this property.
7. Cottages or lodgings of the labouring population :
 - a. Ownership. b. Rent. c. Accommodation. d. General comfort.

VIII. POPULATION :

1. Number at different periods, as recorded in the census, or in any earlier sources of information.
2. Number of families at different periods.
3. Increase or decrease of population at different periods, with the probable causes.
4. Character of population, fixed or variable.
5. Give any names occurring in the earlier registers, and still existing in the parish.
6. Proportion of marriages under age to those of full age, distinguishing sexes, within the last ten years, or in any earlier periods.
7. Proportion of legitimate to illegitimate births, in periods of ten years.
8. Have any remarkable persons, whether rich or poor, been born in the parish or connected with it? If so, give sketches of their lives and characters.

IX. GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS OF THE PEOPLE, WAKES, REVELS, &c.

X. HEALTH AND PHYSICAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE :

1. General Sanitary report of the parish.
2. Prevalent disorders, with their causes.
3. Proportion of deaths per cent. per annum.
4. Any remarkable instances of longevity ?
5. Habits and occupations of the oldest inhabitants.

XI. INDUSTRY :

1. Agricultural :

a. General remarks :

- (1). Quality of the ground for agricultural purposes.
- (2). Number of acres arable. (3.) Do. Pasture.
- (4). Do. broken up since the Tithe Commutation Act.
- (5). Is there a spirit of improvement abroad, as shown in better farm buildings, more drainage, &c. ?
- (6). Any meetings or societies for the promotion and encouragement of agriculture ?
- (7). Size of farms.
- (8). Do the fields of the several farms lie well together, or are they scattered ?
- (9). Usual conditions of letting. (10.) Average rent.
- (11). Are the dairies underlet ? (12.) Markets and Fairs.
- (13). Any lands commonable, and under what conditions ?
- (14). Any commons enclosed, and under what conditions, and within what period ?

b. Management of Land :

- (1). Disposition of all the arable at Midsummer, 1858, *i.e.* how many acres respectively to wheat, barley, oats, rye, beans, peas, green crops for feed, turnips, swedes, mangold, carrots, potatoes, &c. ?
- (2). Disposition of all the pasture at the same time, *i.e.* how many acres respectively to feed, hay, water meadows, down, &c. ?
- (3). Manures in use :
 - (a.) Connection with the chemical character of the soil.
 - (b.) Quantities.
 - (c.) Mode and time of application.
- (4). Field work.
 - (a.) Ploughing : if with horses, how many, how arranged, and with what drivers ? if with oxen do. ? if by steam, give any particulars.
 - (b.) Dragging and harrowing, how performed ? (c.) Drilling do.
- (5). Barn work :
 - (a.) Threshing and winnowing, how performed ?
- (6). Implements used in the field, and in the barn.
- (7). Nature of fences, and size of enclosures.

c. Management of stock :

- (1). What breeds of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs are preferred ?
- (2). Average produce in milk of a good cow.
- (3). Management of stock at different seasons of the year.

- (4). If cheese be made, the average produce of a given number of cows on a given quantity of land.
- (5). Return of live stock at Midsummer, 1858, *i.e.* how many horses, colts, milch cows, calves, oxen, wethers, tups (or young sheep), ewes, lambs, swine.

d. Allotments and gardens:

- (1). Conditions under which allotments are let.
- (2). Encouragement to horticulture by prizes and shows.
- (3). Results of the allotment system.

e. Labour:

- (1). Is the supply of agricultural labour sufficient at all seasons, or are strangers imported into the parish on pressing occasions?
- (2). Is there a distinction between the regular staff of labourers on a farm, and occasional assistants?
- (3). Is the work usually done by the day, or by contract?
- (4). Do women, boys, and girls work on the land?
- (5). What are the usual wages?
- (6). How are the wages regulated?
- (7). Is any increase made at harvest?
- (8). Are there any allowances in corn, beer, wood, house-rent, or otherwise?
- (9). What prices are given for job or contract work? per perch for draining, considering depth; per acre for reaping, mowing, and hoeing; per sack for threshing?

2. Manufacturing:

- a. Any manufactures carried on, either in factories or in private dwelling houses?
- b. Persons labouring. c. Hours of labour.
- d. Price of labour. e. Quantities produced.
- f. Physical and moral condition of the artisans.
- g. The past, the present, and the future of the trade.

3. Any other trades and occupations.

4. General remarks on the industrial employments of the people:

- a. Is the demand for labour fluctuating?
- b. What is the operation of such fluctuations on the condition and wages of the labourers?
- c. Is there immigration to supply new demands for labour?
- d. Is there emigration on the failure of labour?
- e. If so, whither?
- f. Is the immigration and emigration periodical or permanent?
- g. Does the failure of one description of employment leave the existing generation unable to adapt itself to another?

XII. PAROCHIAL ECONOMY:

1. Assessment:

- a. Amount of Tithe Commutation rent-charge.

- b. Do. Poor Rate. c. Do. Highway rate.
 - d. Do. County rate. e. Do. Church rate.
 - f. Do. any other rates.
 - g. How much per acre and per pound do the various local burdens amount to ?
 - h. Is property assessed at its full value, or is the rateable value less than the full value ? If so, what is the reduction on different kinds of property ?
 - i. When was the present assessment made ?
 - j. Is any land Tithe free ? If so, why ?
2. Parish land and other property :
 - a. Any left for parochial purposes ?
 3. Parish officers :
 - a. Any peculiarity in the mode of their election ?
 4. Parish books :
 - a. If any old Parish books, extract any information from them.
 5. Poor Law administration :
 - a. In what Union is the parish ?
 - b. Average number of persons in receipt of relief, distinguishing in-door and out-door paupers.
 - c. Proportion of the above to the rest of the population.
 - d. Average allowance per head per week.
 - e. Is there an evident disposition among the poor to avail themselves of relief on any pretext, or do they consider it degrading ?
 - f. Are efforts to maintain parents observable ?
 - g. Is the medical attendance and relief sufficient ?
 - h. Compare the present poor rate with the past, and estimate the future.
 - i. Operation of the law of settlement.

XIII. MEANS OF COMMUNICATION :

1. Roads :
 - a. Any remains of ancient roads ?
 - b. Any roads made or altered within memory ?
 - c. History of travelling at different periods ; how far traceable ?
 - d. Total length of the roads, turnpike and parochial.
 - e. Traffic on them.
 - f. To what trusts do the turnpike roads belong ?
 - g. Management of the turnpike roads, as shown in the returns of the several trusts.
 - h. Management of the parochial roads, as shown in the surveyors' accounts.
2. Railways :
 - a. When made ? b. Length. c. Course.

- d. Any particulars which may be learnt from the managers.
3. Canals: (as for Railways).

SECONDLY. ECCLESIASTICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

I. CHURCH OR CHURCHES:

1. General remarks:

- a. Dedication of the Church.
b. The founders of the Church, or of any portions of it.
c. Characters of the several portions of the erection, particularly as bearing on the social state of the period.
d. Successive changes in the structure, as far as traceable.
e. Any extension or renovation within memory: if so whose superintendence, and at whose expense?
f. Convenience of the site of the Church.

2. Externally:

- a. Its materials, and whence procured? b. Form.
c. Style of Architecture. d. Windows. e. Doors. f. Porch.
g. Tower or spire, particularly as adapted to the scenery.

3. Internally:

- a. General arrangement.
b. Arrangement of seats, and kneeling accommodation.
c. Are the seats free, or allotted by churchwardens, appropriated by faculty, or occupied by usage?
d. Tombs. e. Banners. f. Monuments. g. Brasses.
h. Arms. i. Inscriptions. j. Paintings on walls.
k. Rood-loft. l. Wood or stone screen work.
m. Stained glass. n. Sedilia.
o. Piscina, with or without shelf. p. Ambry.
q. Squints or hagioscopes. r. Embroidered hangings or coverings. s. Communion plate. t. Font. u. Bells.

II. CHURCH-YARD:

1. Covered gate. 2. Cross. 3. Tombs. 4. Epitaphs.
5. Ancient coffins. 6. Coins. 7. Antiquities discovered.
8. Public footpaths. 9. Fences and their materials.
10. How kept and fed? 11. Any private entrance?

III. CEMETERIES:

1. Institution. 2. Distribution of the ground.
3. Working of the system.

IV. CHURCH RATES:

1. Expenditure as seen in the churchwardens' accounts.
2. Feeling in regard to them.

V. CHURCH PEOPLE :

1. Services for them : on what days and at what hours ?
2. Average attendance on the several services.
3. Proportion of Church-people to the whole population.
4. Proportion of attendants on the services to the Church-people and to the whole population.

VI. CHURCH LAND AND HOUSE :

1. Any land left for the purposes of the Church ?
2. Glebe land :
 - a. Quantity. b. Cultivation.
 - c. Any particulars which may be gathered from old terriers.
3. Any record of any old Church house ?

VII. GLEBE HOUSE :

1. Date and successive changes.
2. Any particulars from old terriers.

VIII. CHURCH MINISTERS :

1. Institutions from early times.
2. Any particulars of former incumbents or curates.
3. Chaplains of Unions.

IX. The above particulars, as far as they apply, to any places of religious worship and to any congregations, not connected with the Church of England.

X. MEANS OF EDUCATION :

1. Schools for the young :
 - a. Description of school. b. Connection with any society.
 - c. Endowment and sources of support.
 - d. Master, mistress, and teachers.
 - e. Scholars :
 - (1). Number. (2). Age. (3). Average attendance. (4). Length of stay.
 - f. Books and lending library.
 - g. Results of education, so far as you have observed.
2. Schools for adults, such as night schools, &c.
3. Mechanics' institute, reading rooms, and other like institutions for the promotion of literature and science.

XI. CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS :

1. Alms houses. 2. Hospitals. 3. Dispensaries.
4. Lunatic Asylums. 5. Friendly Societies.
6. Savings Bank. 7. Clothing Clubs, &c.

THIRDLY. NATURAL HISTORY.

I. LAND :

1. Surface :

- a. General features, whether mountainous, flat, undulating, &c.
- b. Any commanding eminences affording extensive views.
- c. Leading and most interesting objects within the range of vision, with bearings by compass.
- d. Heights of eminences, and connection with any mountain system.

2. Beneath surface :

- a. Nature of the sub-soil, whether sand, clay, chalk, gravel, marl, &c.
- b. Stratified or unstratified rocks.
 - (1). Order and condition, as shown in any section.
 - (2). Depth and dip. (3). Organic remains.
 - (4). Origin, whether local or foreign.
- c. Insulated or bouldered masses, such as the sarsens.
- d. Quarries :
 - (1). Quality of the stone. (2). Application do.
 - (3). Mode of working.
- e. Any geological particulars.

II. WATER :

1. Sea :

- a. Depth. b. Bed : comparison between its structure and that of the adjacent land.
- c. Action of wind. d. Waves. e. Tides. f. Currents.

2. Rivers and brooks :

- a. Sources. b. Courses. c. Outlets.

3. Lakes and ponds :

- a. Area. b. Depth.

4. Wells :

- a. Depth and supply.

5. Medicinal springs.

III. AIR :

- 1. General properties of the air, whether dry or moist, clear or foggy, &c.
- 2. Climate, as dependent on elevation above sea level, slope towards sun's rays, prevalent winds, direction of mountain ranges, fall of rain, nature of soil, and degree of agricultural improvement.

3. Climate, as ascertained by recorded observations of the thermometer, barometer, hydrometer, and rain-gauge.
4. Any meteorological observations.

IV. ANIMAL KINGDOM :

1. Quadrupeds : any, domesticated or not, which, being connected with the locality, deserve mention from their provincial names, rarity or abundance, habits, size, weight, food, retreats, attendant superstitions, &c.
2. Birds : (the same as for quadrupeds).
 - a. Migratory : time of advent and departure.
 - b. Bustard : any particulars which may be gleaned from old inhabitants of the plain.
3. Fishes : (the same as for quadrupeds).
4. Reptiles : Do. Do.
5. Insects : Do. Do.
 - a. Appearance of any new species of late years, injurious to vegetation.

V. VEGETABLE KINGDOM :

1. Herbs : any deserving mention, as used for culinary, medicinal or other purposes of art or science; as rare or peculiar to the district.
2. Shrubs : any deserving mention from their uses and peculiarity.
3. Trees :
 - a. Timber : to the growth of which the soil is most adapted ; those remarkable for their size and beauty, giving age, height, girth, and cubic feet of timber in any particular trees, as far as possible.
 - b. Fruit : to the growth of which the soil is most adapted.

VI. MINERAL KINGDOM.

- #### VII. Connection between the Physical history of the district, and its social history in regard to settlement, population, habitations and cultivation.

The History of the Priory of Monkton Farley.

By the REV. J. E. JACKSON, F.S.A.,

Hon. Canon of Bristol.

THIS place is about four miles east of the city of Bath on the way to Bradford, and lies at the back of the high ground called Farley Down, celebrated for its freestone quarries. The geological position is curious, and the view on all sides extensive and beautiful.

Of the village and principal estate nothing of much importance is known, until, about fifty years after the Conquest, it appears among the possessions of the great Norman Family of BOHUN. Humphrey Bohun came over to England with the best introduction for a share of plunder, being kinsman to the head plunderer, King William I., and was soon provided with a pleasant perch whereon to rest his foot, after his flight across the water. He was the founder of the English family (at first Barons Bohun, but in 1199 created Earls of Hereford,) which continued till 1372, when it ended in two daughters, one of whom, Mary, married Henry Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV.

It appears to have been the second Humphrey Bohun who first became a landowner in North Wilts. At the desire of William Rufus he married Maud, daughter of the greatest landlord in the county, Edward of Salisbury, who, at the marriage, endowed his daughter with several estates belonging to the Honour of Trowbridge. Farley is not named among them, so that he obtained it in some other way. His wife's family were, at various periods, founders of the Abbeys of Bradenstoke, Lacock, and Hinton. Maud of Salisbury, the wife of Humphrey Bohun the Second, was certainly the person who designed the Priory of Monkton Farley. The land which she gave for the purpose was an estate called the Buries, at Bishopstrow, near Warminster, in later times the pro-

perty of the Gifford and Buckler families, and now Sir Francis Astley's. Whether Maud Bohun actually began the building I cannot say. It was founded about the year 1125,¹ but the dates of her husband's and her own death are not known. It was certainly finished and principally endowed by her son Humphrey de Bohun the Third, who married Margaret, daughter of Milo of Gloucester, then Earl of Hereford.

Monkton Farley Priory was a house of Clugniac monks of the Order of St. Benedict, and was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. It was what was called a "cell," or house subordinate, to the great Priory of Lewes in Sussex.

The Order of Monks called Clugniac derived their name from a place called Clugni, in Burgundy, a little north of Lyons, where a celebrated Benedictine house had been founded in A.D. 890. The Order of St. Benedict had become through the disturbances of those times, so disorderly as almost to have lost all discipline, when it was revived in fresh vigour at Clugni. That new monastery had enjoyed for 200 years an European fame, when about the year 1070, William Earl of Warren, and his wife Gundreda (the Conqueror's daughter), went on a pilgrimage to Rome. They visited various monasteries (the only inns in those days), and being unable to proceed, owing to some disturbances in the country, they turned aside from their road and took up their abode at St. Peter's of Clugni. Very hospitable entertainment and the good things of Burgundy left an agreeable impression upon the palates of William de Warren and the Lady Gundreda; so, upon their return to England, being minded to found a religious house at Lewes, they sent for some of the brethren of Clugni, and in that way Clugniac monks were introduced into this country. The house at Lewes was the greatest of the Order, and was called one of the first "five daughters of Clugni." It was built in 1072, and though to a certain extent subordinate to its parent monastery in France, it enjoyed its own revenues, paying to its Superior only a small annual acknowledgment, and submitting to his appointment of a Prior. Clugniac monks were very precise in their ceremonies. They wore a black

¹ Register of Lewes Priory.

dress, in which, at their death, they were shrouded. There were twenty-seven houses of the Order in England; generally filled with foreigners rather than with Englishmen.

Now, as William de Warren and his wife had taken a liking to the parent house at Clugni, so did Humphrey de Bohun and his wife Maud of Salisbury, to the same system at St. Pancras, Lewes; and, being in their turn also resolved to be founders, in or about the year 1125 they gave to the house at Lewes the land (already mentioned), at Bishopstrow, called the Buries; on condition that if, by and by, they should found a Priory, and should convey to the House at Lewes the further gift of the manor and tithes of Farley in Wilts, and should further allow the Prior of Lewes to place some of his monks at Farley, then those monks so established here in a house of their own, should enjoy wholly and to themselves, the profits and tithes of the lands so given.¹

The third Bohun (as just stated) completed and further endowed this Priory, both by lands of his own, and by obtaining contributions of the same kind both from greater folks on whom he depended and from smaller folks who depended upon him. He was Steward in the Household of King Henry I., the times being yet peaceful; but when they were no longer peaceful (as very soon came to pass after King Henry's death), he very properly joined that side to which he was officially attached; and when Henry's daughter, Maud, the Empress—now, by her second marriage, Countess of Anjou—landed in England, Bohun declared for her. It was in this part of the country, and especially in Wiltshire, that many of the early fights between Matilda and Stephen took place; one reason being that her natural brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, an influential nobleman near the Severn, had built Bristol Castle, and rendered it impregnable. Several other castles in the West were under his influence, and were garrisoned on the side of the Empress. There is a very interesting fragment of history, called "The Acts of Stephen," written by a contemporary but anonymous author, which gives a detailed account (not found in any other work), of the military proceedings in this neighbourhood, amongst which a very important part is performed

¹ Dugdale's Baronage.—"Bohun."

by the castles of Devizes, Malmesbury, Marlborough, and Trowbridge. The castle of Trowbridge belonged to Humphrey Bohun, and he made it so strong that when, in 1135, King Stephen came before it, the men of Trowbridge baffled him.¹ The place was fortified, and prepared for all extremities. Stephen constructed engines and pressed the siege, but all in vain. Some of his barons became weary, some treacherous; so he abandoned it, leaving however in Devizes Castle a body of soldiers, with special orders to annoy Trowbridge as much as they possibly could. Those orders they executed faithfully, till at length, what with plundering excursions, first from the one garrison and then from the other, all the quiet people of the neighbourhood presently cried out, "A plague on both your garrisons."

Trowbridge Castle stood in the centre of the town, on a rising ground that still bears the name of Court Hill. Not a trace of it is left, but the principal street, which forms a curve, is said to owe that shape to its having followed the course of the Castle moat. An old painting was found, some years ago, concealed in the walls of a house, which is said to be a representation of the building when entire, but how much of it is authentic, and how much imaginary, I cannot say. The Castle, however, was the stronghold of the founders of Farley Priory, and their acts and deeds, both military and religious, were such as have been recited. It is only fitting that both kinds should now be duly noticed, as this is one of many similar cases showing that the disturbances by which the kingdom was convulsed were apparently no hindrance to the piety and charity of the nobles who were involved in them. Stephen himself was a great Founder. During the eighteen years and nine months of his reign, no less than 148 religious houses of various kinds were established in England, being a larger number in proportion than in the reign of any of his predecessors. How, amidst the passions of war, men found leisure for works of peace and devotion it would be strange to conceive, did we not remember that the devotion of those days maintained such works to be, in a peculiar sense, meritorious to men's souls.

¹ Acts of Stephen, p. 370.

Humphrey Bohun the Third was taken prisoner at Winchester, but afterwards released. He died in 1187, and was buried (as all his family from his time appear to have been,)¹ at Lanthony Priory, on the south side of the city of Gloucester, founded about 50 years before by his wife's father.

Before his death he settled the possessions of Farley by a confirmation charter, an important document which fortunately happens to be one of the few relating to this Priory that have been preserved. Some additions of property were made afterwards, and their principal estates (omitting many minor items) were as follows:—

The Bohuns themselves gave the site of the Priory, the manor and park of Farley, with everything belonging to the estate, except a certain portion of land then held by William de Lisle. The land called the Buries, at Bishopstrow; the tithes of Oaksey, near Malmesbury; of Wilsford and Manningford (still called Bohun), near Pewsey; and of Heddington, near Calne; also an eel-fishery. The Empress Maude, not ungrateful for the gallant defence of Trowbridge, was a very liberal donor of the manor of Monkton at Chippenham (now Mr. Esmeade's); the rectorial tithes of the whole of that parish, with the advowson and chapelries; an estate at Marston, near Highworth; and another at Foxhanger, near Devizes. Among Humphrey Bohun's "knights" (meaning those who held lands under the Barony of Bohun), the principal contributor was a gentleman of French family (whose monument found at this place we shall have to notice presently), Ilbert de Chat. He gave rather more than one-third of the whole property of the Priory, consisting of Monkton Manor in the parish of Broughton Gifford, some rents at Echilhampton, tithes at Trowbridge, and at Farmborough, and Clutton, in the county of Somerset.

Besides these, the monks had the tithes and advowson of Box, and a mill there, the gift of another knight, Bartholomew Bigot; Broom Farm, near Swindon (now Mr. Goddard's); Thornhill, near Christian Malford, the gift of Robert Adeline; the manors of

¹ Coll. Top. et Gen., 1, 168.

Allington and Slaughterford; and lands at Westbury, Westbury Leigh, Penley, Bratton, and South Wraxhall. At Sopworth,¹ near Badminton, an estate and the advowson, the gift of the Tropenell family of Chalfield; and a salmon fishery at Arlingham near Fretherne on the banks of the Severn, afterwards rented of the Priory by the Berkeleys.

The heads of the Bohun family continued to be looked upon as the patrons and protectors of the Priory in secular matters. They also claimed the advowson of the house, *i.e.*, the right of nominating the Prior. But this right (a very frequent bone of contention in those times) was also claimed by the Prior of Lewes, of which house Farley was a daughter, just as the house of Lewes was itself a daughter of Clugni. These daughters were sometimes undutiful, very jealous of parental dictation, and very anxious to escape from it. Consequently, when in this case the rival claims came, as they very soon did, into collision, Farley Priory took part with the family of its founder. A process-at-law followed, as a matter of course, between Henry Bohun Earl of Hereford, on the one part, and Lewes Priory on the other, to settle the power of appointing and depriving the Prior here, and the degree of allegiance due to Lewes according to the statutes of St. Benedict. An amicable adjustment was at length arrived at, October 10th, 1208, upon this footing:—Whenever there should be a vacancy at Farley, Bohun the patron, his heirs or his agents, accompanied by two of the monks of Farley, should take a journey to Lewes, and make a formal request to the Superior of that house to give them a new Prior. Whereupon the Superior of Lewes should faithfully and honestly nominate two persons fit for the situation, either out of the house of Lewes, or of the house of Farley, or of any other house of the Clugniac order. Of these two, Bohun and his companions were to choose one, which ever they could guess to be, or by any other means could be persuaded to consider the most promising of

¹ By a Deed of the year, 1323, the Prior of Lewes gives license to the house of Farley to *lease out for three livcs*, the offices of Sower (*sementis*) of Sopworth, Reaper (*messoris*) of Farley, and Clerk of the Priory Church of Farley. (Lewes Chartulary.)

the two to be, the right man in the right place. The new Prior of Farley was to be, according to the rules of St. Benedict, ecclesiastically subordinate, first to the house of Lewes, and so upwards to the house of Clugni; subject, therefore, to the vexatious jurisdiction not only of a mother, but also of a grandmother. The Prior of Lewes was to have the power of removing the Prior of Farley (but not without just and reasonable cause), and also of punishing any of the brethren whose correction might be desirable. This house was to pay to Lewes one mark (13s. 6d.) per annum, by way of acknowledgement, in lieu of all claims; and the Prior was to do the further pleasant fealty of dining at St. Pancras, Lewes, every founder's day. Such was the arrangement. Nevertheless, the Bohuns never ceased to claim the patronage, and it always appears in the lists of their property to the last. The names of some of the Priors of Farley are preserved, but are not associated with any distinction, literary or otherwise. Some of them are French, as Lawrence Archenbaud and John de Fescamp. Such names, perhaps, indicate that the wishes of the Bohun family were sometimes attended to in the nomination; whereas, on the other hand, the Prior of Lewes occasionally secured the appointment to favourites of his own, for among the accounts of Sir John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, there is a casual memorandum that he had received some trifling favour from "the Chamberlain of Lewes, that shall be Prior of Farley."¹

The system under which religious houses in England came to be in any way dependent on others in France commenced at the time when certain provinces of France were held by the Kings of England. Foreign monasteries were frequently endowed with lands in this country, the revenues being duly forwarded abroad. "For though," as Fuller says, "the foreigners affected to despise our island, they nevertheless licked their lips at the good fare it afforded." English monasteries so situated were called Alien Priories. In some cases, as at Lewes, only an annual acknowledgment was paid to the French house; in others, it received all or part of the

¹ Accounts of Sir John Howard, by B. Botfield, Esq.

rents. The danger attending this foreign connection was great, and often fatal; for whenever war broke out between France and England, the King of England instantly seized upon the English estates, and stopped the supplies; that is, in fact, suppressed the houses by confiscation for the time. On peace being restored, they were sometimes given back. Several of our Kings dealt thus with the Alien Priors, and Henry V. dissolved them altogether, at least those whose revenues had gone entirely to France. No wonder, therefore, that English monasteries were always discontented with this foreign yoke, and were anxious to shake it off; that both Lewes and Farley were eager to be quit of their Clugniac superior in Burgundy, for it was a bond that continually threatened to put an end to themselves altogether. Farley was often in peril. Edward I., being in search of money for his wars, caused inquiry to be made into the actual degree of connection of this house with Clugni (through the intermediate step of Lewes). A commission was appointed to ascertain whether the monks here were English or under the power of the King of France. It was found that they paid no actual tax or pension to any subject of the French King, except so far as this: that, whenever the Abbot of Clugni happened to come to England to make a formal visitation here, his expenses were paid, and the monks professed to him. This was not considered to amount to so close an affinity as to bring them within the rule, and so they escaped. This was in 1296, and the King's deed is dated 25th January, at Castelaere, a Clugniac Priory in Norfolk. But the Crown officers kept their eye upon them, and, two years afterwards, in 1298 (26 E. I.) found another excuse for further inquiry. The monks of Farley had lately become possessed of the manors of Allington and Slaughterford, near Chippenham. Those estates had been originally given by King Stephen to the foreign Abbey of Martigny, in the valley of the Rhone, above the Lake of Geneva, and that Abbey had exchanged them for other lands with the house at Farley. The Crown pronounced that by this exchange the intentions of its predecessors had been defeated, and it seized the two estates; but, upon re-consideration, and after some pacific

process, effectual in such cases, it restored them; and so those two estates continued to belong to Farley to the last.¹

Sometimes the Alien Priors obtained permission to break off all connection with their foreign superiors. This was called an act of naturalization, and such Alien Priory was then said to be made "denizen" or "native." In 1373 Lewes Priory was permitted to become thus independent, and, further, at the request of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, the enfranchisement was extended to all the cells or houses subordinate to Lewes.² According to this statement, Farley ought to have been from that time free from the controul of the French house; free also from the danger of being confiscated on account of such connection. Yet some other excuses must have been ready for laying hands upon it, for, a few years afterwards, in 1397, we find some of its property in lay hands. Sir Thomas Hungerford, of Heytesbury, appears in that year as holding, for the monks, their manor of Monkton Farley, and certain lands at Bradford. His son, Sir Walter Hungerford, and William Lord Stourton, of Stourton, also had under their joint care the Priory itself. This appears from a petition (preserved in the Rolls of Parliament, 1409, 11 Henry IV.) by which Sir Walter prays the Commons that, whereas certain commissioners sent into Wilts had reported that he and Stourton had suffered the Priory of Farley to fall into dilapidation whilst it was in their care, he denies the accusation, and prays that the matter may be tried by a jury composed of men of position in life suitable to his own; which petition was granted. For what reason the Black Monks had been displaced is not stated. But it is certain that their property was restored to them; and they would probably be only too glad in those times to be allowed to recover them, without urging very

¹ It would seem as if upon restoration, the Crown claimed to consider itself a New Founder. For at the end of the Lewes Chartulary in the British Museum, [Vesp. F. xv. p. 318,] there is a long Deed dated Edw. IV., in which Farley Priory, unquestionably founded by Bohun in Hen. I., is nevertheless described as of the foundation of King Edw. III., for thirteen monks to sing daily service for the King's welfare: and that they once incurred forfeiture, for having maintained only ten brethren instead of thirteen for nine years.

² Horsfield's Hist. of Lewes, 1, 237.

closely the claim for dilapidations against Hungerford and Stourton.

Though emancipated from the jurisdiction of Clugni, Farley was still dependent upon Lewes Priory. Almost the latest act in its history is an attempt to shake off this dominion also. A process was commenced, but the result does not appear. A change was now impending, about to put an end to both establishments, and to consign mother and daughter to one common grave. The last Prior of Farley was Lodowick Millen, *alias* Brecknock. In his time the storm of dissolution fell, and Farley ceased to be a Priory.

The visitor employed in King Henry the Eighth's reign, by Thomas Lord Cromwell, to inspect and report upon the state of this house, was Richard Layton.¹ He came here in 1537, visiting on the same journey the neighbouring monasteries of Maiden Bradley, Glastonbury, and others. But his report contains no reflection on the discipline of Farley Priory. On reaching Bristol, at the end of his tour, he wrote a curious letter to Lord Cromwell, and sent up by the bearer, at the same time, a bag full of reliques, "in which" he says "ye shall see strange things. Amongst them, Mary Magdalene's girdle, wrapped and covered with white" (sent with great reverence from house to house upon certain interesting occasions), "which girdle Matilda, the Empress, one of the founders of Farley, gave unto them, as saith the Holy Father of Farley."

The Priory, with all its estates, equal in modern money to probably three or four thousand pounds a year, was granted to the Earl of Hertford, afterwards the Protector Somerset; a small payment of £36 a year being reserved to Eton College.

The estate in Farley parish appears to have been about 850 acres, of which 772 were under the plough; at South Wraxhall 212 more. This seems to have been their home-farm in hand, judging from an inventory of stock, goods, and chattels taken at the time. Valuations were also taken of their stock upon all their other estates, from which it seems that they farmed the whole of them on their own account. They had several bailiffs, and Sir Henry Long, of South Wraxhall, was their steward-in-chief.

¹ Hoare's History of Mere, p. 103.

AFTER THE DISSOLUTION.

About the year 1550 Farley was transferred, in an exchange by the Earl of Hertford, to the See of Salisbury, under which, from that time, it has been held by various owners. The first name that appears is that of Henry Breton, gentleman, of Monkton Farley, whose pedigree and arms are to be found in the Wilts Visitation of 1565. This family had been settled for a long time at Layer-Breton, in Essex, where (according to the pedigree alluded to), they were still living at the time of their removal hither. How long they remained here does not appear; probably not later than 1606. They had the right of presentation to the living. The next name of gentry connected with Farley (whether as owners or only occupiers is uncertain), is that of Tropenell, of the neighbouring parish of Chalfield, a well-known name in old Wiltshire family history. But the only authority for placing them here, at present forthcoming, is a brass plate in the church of Great Durnford,¹ which mentions Mary, wife of John Young,² Esq., of that place, one of the four daughters and coheirs of Thomas Tropenell of Monkton Farley. The way in which this family ended in heiresses was remarkable. The only son, on coming to man's estate, met with an unlucky accident. He had put a pair of dog couples over his head, and, leaping over a hedge, a loop in the strap hanging at his back caught a bough, and kept him from the ground till he was strangled. These minutiae of old owners, or residents here, may not be very interesting; but the motive for preciseness in date and person about this period has been to ascertain, if possible, under what circumstances, and under whose roof, a very eminent prelate was staying when he ended his days here—John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury. The property at Farley had, at this time, belonged to the see for about twenty years; but the family of Breton were then owners under the see, and it is, therefore, likely that the Bishop was on a visit to them.

¹ Hoare's "Amesbury," page 123.

² Probably of a Monkton Farley family, two of this name appearing amongst the jury who, many years before, had valued the effects of the monks at the dissolution.

On this champion of the Reformation thus connected with the present subject a few words must be bestowed. Bishop Jewell was of a Devonshire family, a very learned and accomplished Oxford scholar, and one of the refugees at Zurich during the reign of Queen Mary. Soon after his return he was appointed Bishop of this diocese, and held the see about twelve years. He was lame (from an accident), of a thin and spare body, and had a wonderful memory, which he greatly assisted by artificial contrivances of his own invention. His friends would try him by giving him thirty or forty strange words in Welsh or Irish. These he would read over once or twice, and then repeat them backwards or forwards in the order in which they were written. A further auxiliary (more common in those days than now), was the system of common-place books, filled with notes and references for argument and illustration of various subjects. These, by the use of his *memoria technica*, he could summon to his aid in a moment, as his opponents in theological controversy found to their cost, when crushed under a mass of learned authorities. If he had to preach he had only to read a sermon over while the bell was ringing, and he could carry it all in his head. His life was most laborious. The day's work began at four in the morning, and seldom finished before twelve at night. With such continual work, added to the labour of travelling and preaching about his diocese, it is not surprising that his life was shortened. He had engaged to preach at Lacock on Sunday, 16th September, 1571, and on his way thither met a gentleman, who, observing him by his looks to be very ill, advised him to go back, telling him that it was better the people should lose one sermon than the preacher altogether. He would not be dissuaded, but went on and finished his task with much difficulty. On the Saturday following he died here, and was removed for burial to Salisbury Cathedral.

By Order of the Long Parliament for Confiscation of Episcopal Estates, Farley was sold, in February, 1648, for £2439 11s. 6d., to William and Nathaniel Brooke and Francis Bridges.¹ It was in due time restored to the Bishop. The next owners under him

¹ Coll., Top., and Gen., 1,—126.

were the family of Webb, clothiers at Melksham, in 1650. In 1677 a Daniel Webb, of that town, married one of the Selfes, a family of Beanacre near Melksham; and, from certain private documents, it is to be inferred that the Daniel Webb who appears as sheriff of Wilts in 1711, was of Monkton Farley.

A fragment of an old manuscript diary of 1721, lately lent to me, happens to contain a few references to this place. The writer was a Mr. Thomas Smith, of Shaw House, near Melksham, a gentleman of property. The journal chiefly records how, in the year 1721, the families in the neighbourhood ate, drank, and were merry; that Mr. Webb, of Monkton Farley, shared in those convivialities, and that, being in want of a little money, he borrowed it from his friend Mr. Smith of Shaw House, and mortgaged this estate to him. With the money so borrowed, certain improvements in the house and grounds were made. Many rare trees and plants are mentioned as being brought from Woolhampton, near Newbury. Mr. Webb appears to have had no son. He had a spendthrift nephew. The journalist reports that, being in London on some business, "he was called up early one morning, about two o'clock, and, at his coming downstairs, he found Mr. Webb, nephew to him of Farley, in an extreme necessitous condition, having spent his whole substance, and perfectly in want of the necessaries of life, though not above twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age; a great example of a base profligate temper. He came in a begging manner, but I could have little time with him, the coach being ready." On returning to Wiltshire, he goes over to Farley to speak with the uncle upon the subject.

Under June 22nd, 1721, is the following entry:—"I went to Mr. Webb, of Farley, the report being that his house had been searched for arms. At my coming there, I found one Mr. Gibbs, that is Mayor of Westbury, and a farmer that had taken part of Mr. Webb's estate; and Mr. Webb told me that the day before, Mr. Duckett (of Hartham), a Colonel of Militia, had been there with a warrant to search, signed by himself, Mr. Montague (of Lackham), and Mr. Long (of Rowdon), three Justices and Deputy-Lieutenants. Mr. Duckett had come in a very civil manner, and so behaved himself

whilst there. The ground of the matter was, that one John Taylor, a woolcomber, of Melksham, made oath before Mr. Montague, that he heard another person, viz., one Ealy, that is a clothworker also at Melksham, say that he saw arms enough for five hundred men in Mr. Webb's house. We had some talk with pleasure of the matter. It is to be noted that the Government has had some notice of plots and conspiracies now on foot, and so has ordered all the forces to encamp in several places, as in Hyde Park, by Salisbury, Hounslow Heath, near Hungerford, and in our neighbourhood by Chippenham, in several small encampments. The Duke of Norfolk has been seized, and Habeas Corpus suspended." This was one of the alarms to which George I. was periodically subject from the favourers of the Pretender; so that the search for arms at Monkton Farley may fairly be taken to indicate that the politics of Mr. Webb's family were Jacobite.¹

Monkton Farley now returned into the same family to whom it had been first granted after the dissolution of monasteries. Mary, sole daughter and heiress of Mr. Daniel Webb (being also niece and heir to Edward Somner, of Seend) married, in 1717, Sir Edward Seymour, of Maiden Bradley, who, in 1749, succeeded to the title of Duke of Somerset, and died in 1757.

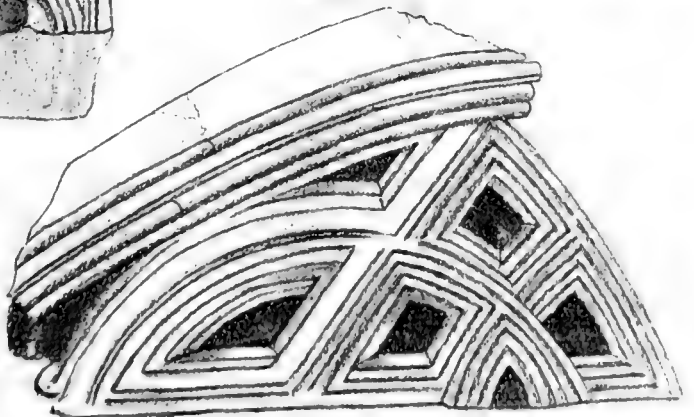
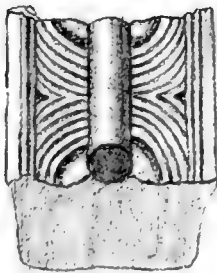
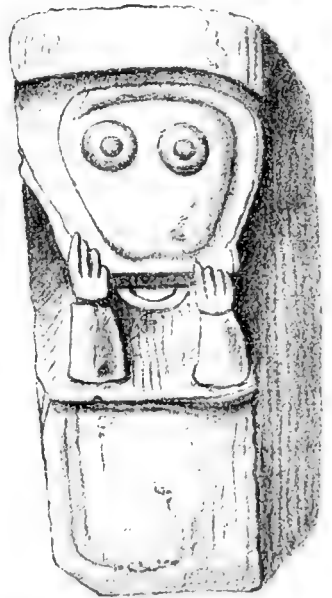
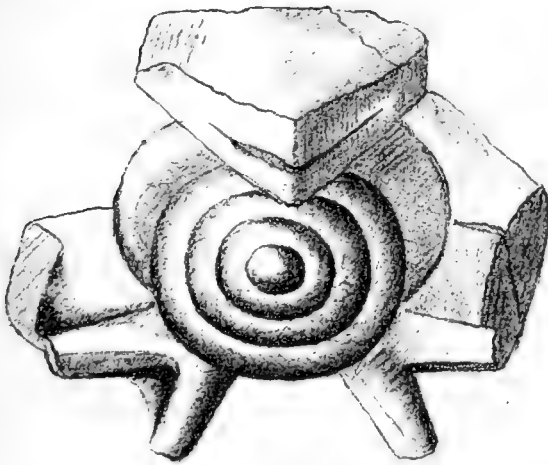
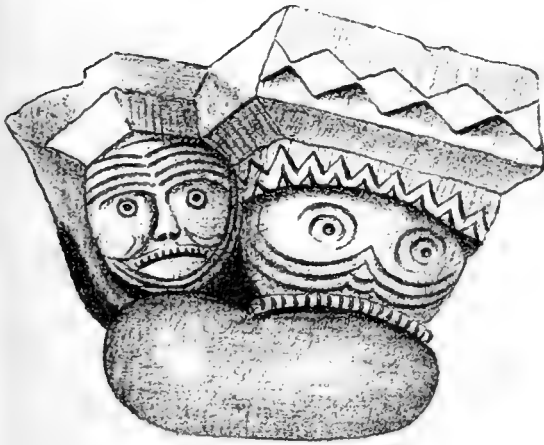
The second son of the marriage was Webb Seymour, Esq. (afterwards Lord Webb Seymour), on whom this property was settled, and who resided here in 1744. He succeeded to the title as 10th Duke of Somerset in 1792, and died in December, 1793; being grandfather of the present Duke.

Monkton Farley was next purchased by John Long, Esq., of the Rood Ashton family, uncle to the present member for North Wilts. About the year 1840 it was again sold, and became the property of the late Mr. Wade Browne.

REMAINS OF THE PRIORY.

Of the buildings of the Priory very little is left, and of the Conventual Church nothing but the site. In its original condition, having been completed about the middle of the 12th century, the

¹ The name of Mr. Daniel Webb is on one of the bells of Monkton Farley Church.





architectural style would probably be partly Norman, partly Early English; and with this transitional character the few fragments that have been found perfectly correspond. In a small building at the back of the house (now used as a carpenter's workshop), are two very good lancet windows, with bold mouldings. The cellars under the house are believed to have been part of the original Priory, but the house itself has undergone so many changes, that it is difficult to recognize anything thoroughly ecclesiastical.


There is no account of what took place when the Clugniac monks were finally dismissed. The church fell, or was taken down. The ground on which it stood (now forming the bank on the north side of the lawn), being covered with heaps of rubbish, and overgrown with grass, became a rabbit warren; and some curiosity was excited by the partial disinterment of its foundations and floor in the year 1744. A description of this discovery, but containing some errors, was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year, on which Dr. Ducarel (of the London Society of Antiquaries), requested a friend, Dr. Wm. Evetts (a physician then living at Chippenham), to visit Monkton Farley, and send him a correct account. Dr. Evetts's letters are printed in *Nichols's Literary History*.¹ From these it appears that some of Mr. Webb Seymour's labourers being employed in levelling the rabbit warren, came first upon the pillar of a church, and about four feet under the rubbish, to the floor of the chancel, of chequered tiles, chiefly red, some with "flying griffins," and other emblems. Four gravestones were found, one having the figure of a monk kneeling, the name "Lawrence," and a legend, in old French, "Ici gist, &c.," "Whoever shall pray for him shall have so many days of pardon." This was a common one about 1360; and as a Prior Lawrence Archenbaud was here about that period, it was probably his monument. On the other three stones, which were grooved round the edges, the inscription was obliterated. The grooves being an inch or more in breadth, had probably been the sockets of strips of brass, on which the inscription had been written.

¹ iii., 586.

The chancel floor was about 24 feet square, lying east and west. At about two-thirds of it eastwards were steps. Here a sepulchre was opened, containing the skeleton of a stout man, upwards of six feet high. On a gravestone his bust, in bas relief, and at his feet a lion. This, of course, was pronounced to be the founder; but the principal founder, Humphrey Bohun III., was, with all after him, buried (as has been stated,) at Lanthony Priory. North-west of the altar, and some yards off, was found another floor, as of a small side chapel, rather deeper in the ground. It contained a basin for holy water, and its walls were perfect about a yard high all round it; in one part as high as the sill of a window. South of the altar, about four feet under the rubbish, was found another floor of tiles, about ten feet square, but no remains. On this side, also, apparently beyond the church, were signs of a burial ground, with a large yew tree; several stone pillars were discovered, having figures carved upon them perfect and fresh. Some of these are known to be still buried.

At various times, in 1720, and even now, stone coffins have been dug up at a considerable distance from the Priory in various directions. One of these was suited to the size of a child, and is still preserved.

The most curious monument, found in 1744 (given away by Lord Webb Seymour, and now preserved at Lacock,) is that of Ilbert de Chat, already mentioned as one of the chief benefactors to Farley Priory. Ilbert de Chat (so called from a place of that name on the coast of Normandy, near Carentan, half way between Cherbourg and Caen) was a landholder, under the Bohuns, in Normandy as well as in England.¹ His estates seems to have passed to sisters or

¹ St. George's and St. André de Bohon are parishes in the Canton of Carentan. The following document from the Cartulary of the neighbouring Abbey of Montbourg was communicated by Mr. Stapleton to Mr. J. G. Nichols (*Hist. of Lacock*, 373.) "Be it known, &c., that I, Ilbert de Caz, give and grant, &c., to the Abbey of St. Mary, of Montburg, the Church of Caz, &c., for the health of my soul, &c.; with leave of my Lord Humphrey de Bohun, and my nephews, William de Greinville, and Bartholomew le Bigot, &c., Signed, Ilbert , Humphrey de Bohun, Bartholomew le Bigot, and others." Greinville and Bigot succeeded to the inheritance of Ilbert de Caz, in Normandy, and probably also in Wiltshire, as the name of Adam de Greinville is found at Southwick, near Trowbridge, c.



GRAVESTONE OF ILBERT DE CHAT, c. A. D. 1187.

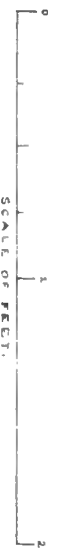
FOUND AT MONKTON FARLEY PRIORY, 1744; AND NOW AT LACOCK ABBEY, WILTS:

HIC IACET ILBERTUS DE CHAT BONITATE REFERTUS QUI CUM BROTONA DEDIT HIC PERPLURIMA DONA

Id: IACET: ILBERTUS: DE: CHAT: BONITATE: REFERTUS: QUI: CUM: BROTONA: DEDIT: HIC: PER: PLVRIMA: DONA *

INSCRIPTION:

" HIC IACET ILBERTUS DE CHAT, BONITATE REFERTUS, QUI CUM BROTONA DEDIT HIC PERPLURIMA DONA." [HERE LIETH ILBERT DE CHAT WHO OF HIS EXCEEDING BOUNTY BESTOWED ON THIS PRIORY, BROUGHTON AND MANY OTHER GIFTS.]



daughters married to Greinville and Bigot. The original inscription on his altar-shaped tomb is written in large capital letters, the first six inches, the last three and a half inches in height (the inscription evidently tapering to a narrower end like the stone itself), in a very involved and enigmatical fashion used by the later Romans; a specimen of which Leland saw on a Roman tablet inserted in the walls of Bath.¹ The larger letters are made to contain the smaller ones. The present inscription would have been almost as unintelligible to the ordinary archæologist as the cuneiform writing of Nineveh, had not the monks themselves provided the explanation by repeating it in characters somewhat later, round the margin. The words are:—

“Hic jacet Ilbertus de Chat bonitate refertus,
Qui cum Brotona dedit hic per plurima dona.”

“Here lieth Ilbert de Chat, who, of his exceeding bounty, bestowed on this house, Broughton and very many other gifts.”

The age of this monument is certain, as Ilbert is witness to one of the charters of Farley Priory about A.D. 1187. The monument has been repaired, and is taken care of at Lacock; but it ought to be here. It was found northwest of the chancel, and, from the way in which the marginal inscription is cut, evidently stood against the church wall; perhaps was built into the wall under an arch. When found, it looked “like a seat” in the north angle.

These were the results of excavations in 1744. In 1841, during some further alteration of the ground by the late Mr. Wade Browne, a large slab, once the covering of a stone coffin, was found. On it is the effigy of a cross-legged knight, in chain armour, sculptured in low relief. On the shield, which lies, not by his side, but over the whole body, occupying the full width of the stone, are the arms of Dunstanville: *Fretty on a canton a lion passant; surmounted by a label* (the mark of an elder son). The Dunstanvilles were, in the 12th century when this Priory was founded, Lords of the large

1297, and Barth: Bigot was a donor to Farley Priory of a mill at Box. An Ismena de Chauz held land at Easton, Co. Wilts, Edward I. (Test. de Nev.) and a Robert de Chauz witnesses a deed of Lenton Priory, Co. Notts, (see Dugdale). For several examples of the peculiar style of inscription on Ilbert's Tomb, see note to Nichols's Hist. of Lacock, p. 353.

¹ Leland Itin. 11, 67.

Barony of Castle Combe, where some of them resided and were buried. They are not mentioned by name as benefactors to this Priory, but they were so to that of Lewes, to which this was subordinate. They were landlords in chief of Comerwell, close to this place, which, in 1547,¹ the Prior of Farley held under the Barony of Castle Combe. As they were supporters, like the Bohuns, of the Empress Maud, it is not unlikely that they may have been contributors to the establishment of the monks here. Mr. Poulett Scrope considers this effigy to represent some young man of the Dunstanville family, who died in his father's lifetime, and of whom, consequently, there is no record remaining.² There are also fragments of a second figure in chain armour, beautifully sculptured, and once coloured, but there are no arms, or other token by which it may be identified. Another stone has an incised cross very perfect.

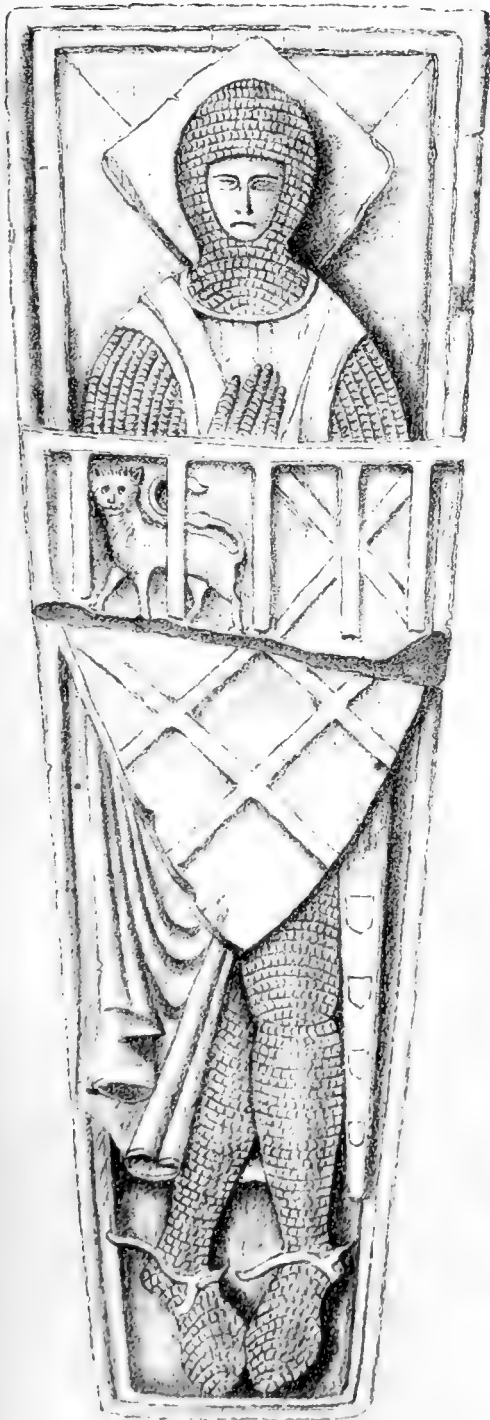
No conventual seal of this Priory has been met with; nor is even any impression of it attached to any document known to exist. But a small round silver seal (now in Mrs. Wade Browne's possession) was found in 1841 on the spot, bearing a well-engraved head and legend of St. Mary Magdalene, to whom the House was dedicated. It was probably a private one of the Prior; but is not large enough for the more important instrument generally used in the name of Prior and Convent.³

The spring which supplied the Convent is sheltered by a little stone building, with very pointed stone roof, called "The Monk's Conduit," about a quarter of a mile north-west of the house. It resembles one on Bowden Hill, built with the like purpose for Lacock Abbey.

J. E. J.

¹ History of Castle Combe, p. 317. ² Ditto p. 39.

³ See Wilts Magazine, vol. ii., p. 387., fig. 2.



... de Dunstanville.



On the Ornithology of Wilts.

No. 8.—INSESSORES (*Perchers*).

Dentirostres (*tooth-billed*).

THE second great order of birds, the “Perchers,” contains so many species, that in order to avoid confusion (as I have before shown, Vol. i. p. 112), it was found necessary to sub-divide it generally into tribes, before descending to investigate the families which compose it: and perhaps we shall be prepared to examine these several families and their component species with the greater assiduity and accuracy, when we consider that it embraces not only those vast flocks of the finch and sparrow tribe, which throng our yards in the winter, and those great colonies of the rook and crow tribe which surround our homesteads, but also all the warblers and small birds which fill our gardens, woods, and fields in the summer, whose active forms delight our eye, and whose varied notes charm our ear so continually: in short, so extensive numerically as well as specifically is this order, that I suppose I shall be within bounds when I say that almost all the birds (perhaps not less than 99 out of every 100,) that usually come under our notice in this inland county, belong to the Perchers. The first tribe of this order is that of the tooth-billed, or notch-billed, (*Dentirostres*,) and includes the principal insect-eating families of the order: foremost of which stand

LANIADÆ (the Butcher birds).

I have before remarked (Vol. i. p. 110,) what a connecting link the butcher birds, or shrikes, form with the last mentioned family, the owls; and indeed, these may well be termed diminutive birds of prey, or Falcons of the insect world, so fierce and savage is their disposition, so cruel and blood-thirsty their habits, though at the same time their slender limbs and feet prove them to be true Perchers: they also merit the foremost place in the tribe *Dentirostres*,

from the very marked and distinct tooth near the point of the upper mandible, rendering the beak a very powerful instrument for the destruction of small creatures: but in truth they partake both of the habits of the preceding raptorial families, and also of the next family, the flycatchers; for on the one hand, in addition to their savage sanguinary disposition, they reproduce castings formed of the elytra and other hard parts of coleoptera: on the other hand, like the flycatchers, they often sit watching on the bare branch of a tree, or on a post or railing, whence their vision can extend over a considerable range, and whence they can dart after any passing insect or small quadruped or bird: they will often hover too in the air above the branch on which they are about to alight; and when sitting watchfully on a bough they will frequently jerk the tail; in both which last mentioned habits again they much resemble the flycatchers, to which they are considerably allied. They prey on mice, small birds, grasshoppers, beetles, and other coleopterous insects; and these they will impale, (as soon as caught) on some thorn or pointed stake, which they thus convert into a temporary larder: for this strange and cruel custom no very satisfactory reason has been given; though some have attributed it to the greater facility it presents for tearing in pieces their prey, and this seems not improbable when we contrast their slight limbs and feeble feet with the strong legs and sharp claws of the hawk tribe, so conducive to this purpose: others again assert that the insects so placed on the point of a thorn are intended as baits to attract other victims, and this is the opinion entertained generally, perhaps not without reason, by the American naturalists, (who have better opportunities of studying their habits,) for it is notorious that the shrikes will often kill and impale, apparently from sheer wantonness, destroying many more victims than they can consume, and leaving them transfixed on some thorny bush; they are extremely bold and strong, and will often attack birds as large as themselves; they are also very fierce, and when wounded, will bite almost as severely as a hawk: they are the terror of all small birds, for whose nestlings they are ever on the watch, and these will sometimes band together to mob and drive them away, as they do the owl on occasions. The name they

bear "Laniadæ" sufficiently describes the habits of the family, *lanius* signifying "a butcher," from *lanio*, "to cut or tear in pieces." But notwithstanding their fierce cruel disposition towards all within compass of their strength in the furred, feathered, and insect world, towards their own young they show a remarkable affection, remaining with them the whole summer, until they all take their departure together, and becoming very clamorous and excited, if any real or fancied danger threatens them: their voices are also capable of great variation, and they are said to sing melodiously, qualities we should scarcely expect in so fierce a race: moreover they have a remarkable power of imitating the notes of smaller birds, by which means it is sometimes conjectured they allure them within reach to their destruction.

"Great grey Shrike" (*Lanius Excubitor*). Not very frequently is this, the largest of the British shrikes, seen in England, though I believe it has been noticed in this county quite as often as in any other. Yarrell mentions Wiltshire as one of the Western counties where it has been obtained; Stanley too speaks of this as one of its favourite districts; but in addition to these, I have notice of one killed near Devizes, about 12 years ago, and another at about the same time shot by the keeper at Erlestoke; one in Mr. Marsh's collection taken on the road between Cirencester and Malmsbury in 1837, another in Mr. E. Sloper's collection killed at Seend, Feb. 28th, 1840. Selby, who of all our authors on birds, seems to have most frequently studied this species alive in its wild state, says that it always chooses the winter months for its occasional visits to this country, and certainly within the last few years all those whose captures have been recorded, have (with one exception to prove the rule) been seen between November and March: its regular habitat seems to be the S.E. portions of Europe, Russia, Turkey, &c. Its plumage is ash coloured above, white beneath, and a large and remarkable patch of black on the cheeks makes it unmistakeable to those who have seen it: it preys on mice and small birds, which it treats in the same manner as its well-known congener does its insect victims, fixing them on sharp thorns, and then pulling them to pieces: nay, so strongly is this habit implanted in it by nature,

that one of these birds kept in confinement, would force the heads of small birds, with which it was fed, through the wires of its cage, and thus hang them up to be pulled to pieces, and devoured at leisure: this we learn from Pennant, and the habit has been verified by Yarrell, Doubleday, and several others. It always destroys its victims, whether mouse, bird, reptile or insect, by strangulation, previous to affixing them to a thorn or stake, in the manner described above. An ancient writer in a treatise on "Falconrie or Hawkinge," considering this bird to be an inferior species of hawk, accuses it of alluring its victims to destruction in the following quaint passage; "Her feeding is upon rattes, squirrells, and lisards, and sometime upon certain birds she doth use to prey, whom she doth entrappe and deceive by flight, for this is her devise. She will stand at perch upon some tree or poste, and there make an exceeding lamentable cry and exclamation, such as birds are wonte to doe, being wronged or in hazarde of mischiefe, and all to make other fowles believe and thinke she is very much distressed, and stands needfulle of ayde; whereupon the credulous sellie birds do flock together presently at her call and voice, at what time if any happen to approach neare her, she out of hand ceazeth on them, and devoureth them (ungrateful subtile fowle!) in requital of their simplicity and pains. These hawks are of no account with us, but poor simple fellows and peasants sometimes doe make them to the fiste, and being reclaimed after their unskilful manners, doe have them hooded, as falconers doe their other kinds of hawkes, whom they make to greater purposes." I need hardly add that the writer of the above, in mistaking the shrike for a hawk, at the same time very much over-rated its powers, and mistook its habits, for it is notorious that so formidable an enemy does it prove to the songsters of the grove, that no sooner is its voice heard, than every other note is hushed, and concealment is the only order of the day. It derives its scientific name "Excubitor," (sentinel) from the use to which it is put in Holland and Germany by the Falcon-catchers; who, taking advantage of its quickness in perceiving a hawk at a distance, and its alarm and loud screams thereon, make it a valuable assistant in their calling. The provincial name of "murdering

magpie," in vogue in some parts, not inaptly describes its habits.

"Red-backed Shrike" (*Lanius Collurio*). Very well-known to the inhabitants of Wiltshire is this bold and handsome bird, which frequents our woods every summer: it seems to favour only the Southern and Western Counties, and this is one of its most choice localities: in winter it resorts to Africa, where La Vaillant has described it as common. I have noticed it in many parts of the county, and so has Mr. Marsh, who says that, on the downs near Winterslow, he has very often heard it closely imitating the note of the wheatear, which abounds there, but (he adds) he has never seen it preying on anything but beetles and other insects: this indeed seems to be its general diet, and humble bees, grasshoppers, and all kinds of flies are impaled on the bush it selects for the purpose. It arrives in May, breeds here, and departs in September, though Mr. B. Hayward once met with one so late as December 4th, which in all probability had met with some accident, and been disabled from migrating with its brethren. The male and female differ greatly in colour; the former is easily distinguished from the Grey shrike by its smaller size, and the chesnut red of its back and wing coverts: the female and young birds are reddish brown above, greyish white beneath, speckled and barred with brown: it is a strong active bold bird, and delights in thick woods and hedgerows.

There is a third species of shrike, "the Woodchat" (*Lanius rutilus*), which very rarely has been taken in Britain, but I believe never as yet in this county, though I possess one in my collection, which was killed in the adjoining county of Somerset, within a short distance of Bristol: this species is common every summer in Holland, but like its congener "the red-backed" retreats to Africa for winter quarters: in habits too it exactly resembles the preceding, but is easily distinguished from it by the rich chesnut red, on the crown of the head and back of the neck.

MUSCICAPIDÆ (The Fly-catchers).

These have also been termed "Hawksamong flies," for on such alone do they feed, and very interesting it is to watch one of these active quick sighted little birds at its almost continual employment of

providing itself food, indeed it would seem that it has need of all its activity to satisfy the wants of itself and its nestlings, so diminutive is its prey, and so many victims are daily needed: taking its stand on the extreme end of some bough, post, rail or stone, the fly-catcher awaits the passing insect, which its quick eye can discern at a considerable distance, and then to sally forth after it, snap it up in its beak, and return to its former station, is the work of an instant. The most prominent characteristics of this family are the narrow compressed bill, with sharp tip and strong bristles at the base, and the small size of the feet.

“Spotted Flycatcher” (*Muscicapa grisola*). Very common indeed and most regular in its arrival in the middle of May is this little brown sober-coloured quiet bird: we may see it every day during the summer in our orchards, gardens and fields: it does not arrive till late, for it awaits the time when the insects which compose its food, the whole race of flies and gnats, are in full vigour, and of these it clears off an incredible number: it has been accused of destroying fruit, especially cherries, but, I believe, entirely without foundation, owing to its unfortunate similarity to another little bird, the Greater Pettichaps, whose taste certainly does lie that way. It is known in different parts of the country as the “Rafter” or “Beam” bird, an appellation it derives from the position so often chosen for its nest, the end of a beam or rafter in an outhouse: it is also called the “bee bird,” from its partiality for that insect, and that this is not one of the popular fallacies so common about birds, but that it does occasionally eat bees, which has been disputed by many, has been verified by Mr. B. Hayward of Easterton, who not only saw one devouring several bees at the mouth of a hive, but afterwards proved it beyond a doubt by dissection. It has no song, and indeed no note whatever, but a feeble chirp very rarely heard at the end of the season. White of Selborne, calls it “the most mute and the most familiar of all our summer birds.”

“Pied Flycatcher” (*Muscicapa atricapilla*). Very rare in this county, nowhere common, but not very infrequent in the Northern counties is this handsome bird, often styled from its plumage the miniature magpie, which term indeed sufficiently describes its

black and white dress: in habits, food, nesting, and absence of song it very much resembles its congener: Mr. Hayward speaks of one killed at Lavington about eight years ago. Mr. Marsh possesses one killed at Ford near Chippenham, in 1837, but states that he has never seen it alive. Mr. Withers of Devizes, killed one near that town about fourteen years since; and these are all the notices I have of its appearance in the county, nor have I ever seen it myself in England.

MERULIDÆ (The Thrushes).

So well-known are many members of this family to the most unobservant, that I need say very little of their general characteristics: bold, handsome, and active, they are ever presenting themselves to our notice, while the voices of some species are hardly to be surpassed in volume and in sweetness: their food consists of insects, snails, and worms, and also of fruits and berries, and it is not to be denied that they commit great havoc in the garden as the fruit ripens, though the mischief they then do is almost, if not quite, counter-balanced by the benefit they confer in the destruction of myriads of noxious insects and snails. Most of the species are migratory, if not from the country, yet often from one district to another, and in winter they assemble together in large flocks: notwithstanding their apparent strength and activity, none of our winter residents seem to suffer more than the thrushes from severe cold: a very few days of snow suffice to render the fieldfares tame, and in a hard winter first the redwings, and then the Song thrushes die off in great numbers.

“Missel Thrush” (*Turdus viscivorus*). This is the largest of the whole family, and very handsome withal: it derives its name from its excessive partiality to the berries of the mistletoe: in winter these birds will congregate in large flocks of forty or more, when they are often mistaken for fieldfares. It is one of the earliest breeders, placing its nest in the fork of some tree, often in the most conspicuous position, and at this season it is as distinguished for its courage, as at other times it is for its shy retired habits: if any other bird approaches its nest, it vociferates in the loudest and harshest screams: its song too is very powerful, and it is the earliest

as well as the largest of our British songsters, its notes being often heard above the gale, in the month of February, amid the blasts of winter. It is common everywhere: in the south of the county, as in many other parts of England, it is called the "Storm cock," from its habit of singing during the prevalence of a gale of wind and rain: Mr. Marsh tells me that in his locality it is called the "Screech thrush."

"Fieldfare." (*Turdus pilaris*). Very well-known and very generally dispersed throughout the country is this regular periodical migrant to our shores, arriving from the north late in the autumn, and leaving us in the spring: we may see them in flocks in our meadows, or on the tops of the leafless elms, and many a day's sport and much disappointment too do these wary birds afford to the schoolboy gunner: they retire to breed in Norway and Sweden, where I have found their nests in small colonies of eight or nine; Mr. Hewitson mentions a colony of two hundred nests, but I never saw any such number. Like the Missel thrush, they are very bold and pugnacious in breeding time, screaming, chattering, and darting within a few inches of my hat, as I climbed to their nests; at other times they are remarkably shy. They are the last of all our winter visitants, seldom making their appearance till near the end of November, and they are the last to leave us in the spring: they come next to the Missel thrushes in size, and are very distinguishable by the dove coloured patch on the head and tail, and the bright spotted yellow on the throat and breast.

"Song Thrush" (*Turdus musicus*). Generally distributed and permanently resident in all parts of the country, this favourite songster is well-known to all: few birds have sweeter notes, or indulge us with them oftener, and no nest is better known to the schoolboy than the clay-lined dwelling and spotted blue eggs of the Song thrush: we may see these birds throughout the year on our lawns and in our gardens, but, if we take notice, we shall observe, that periodically their numbers are sensibly increased by the arrival of many which have migrated either to other countries, or to other districts: they are sad enemies to the gardener, being insatiable devourers of fruit, and they so provoke his malice, that in his

rage and thirst for revenge he overlooks the benefit they have conferred upon him by the destruction of thousands of worms and insects: moreover the songs with which they enliven our shrubberies and gardens from early spring to the end of the summer, and such songs too, ought to plead something in their favour: they are great adepts at cracking snail shells against a stone, to enable them to get at the contents, which they appear to relish above all things.

“Redwing” (*Turdus iliacus*). Like its congener and companion the fieldfare, this bird visits us in the autumn, when the snows of its native country in the north render its home untenable, and force it southwards: it arrives a few weeks before the fieldfares, but afterwards associates with those birds in flocks; when its smaller size and the conspicuous red of the under wing coverts cause it to be easily distinguished. Though seldom heard in this country it has a most melodious note, which is so highly prized in the north, as to have procured for this bird the title of the “Swedish Nightingale,” a title since usurped by the famous Jenny Lind. This fact of the surpassing powers of song of the redwing may probably be unknown to many, and seeing it only in the silent months of winter, and hearing then nothing but an occasional and rather discordant chattering, few have any notion of the loud and clear and exquisitely sweet note with which it enlivens the thickets and copses of Norway in a summer night, if indeed that can be called night, where the sun merely approaches the horizon, and ascends again, or at the most sets and rises within the hour; and where, during a three months tour, I never saw a candle, but could see to read and write in the darkest of loghuts at any hour of the night: this indeed was the time and place to appreciate the song of the redwing; for driving through the sombre forests in the night, as we frequently did to escape the excessive heat of the sun, which scarcely ever being out of sight during the summer, does not suffer the air to get thoroughly cooled during the night, and strikes down almost as hot as I have felt it in Rome in May, or Naples in June, to the great advantage of the crops, but to the scorching of the mid-day traveller; passing on in single file, each in his carriage, through the inter-

minable forests, one of which we traversed for no less than 100 miles, while on the Swedish side it stretched out 50 miles on our left, with but one road for wheels throughout its length and breadth; scarcely meeting a human being in those vast solitudes, save only at the few posthouses, at long intervening distances; imagine all this, and it may be understood how full of enjoyment it was to listen to the delicious notes of the redwing, poured forth in the wildest yet most harmonious strains from the tops of some of the highest trees around us. Indeed the absence of the redwing would be a serious blank in Norway, and very sensibly felt by the inhabitants, who being a remarkably primitive and simple people, unsophisticated, and kind hearted, never wantonly illtreat their birds or animals, but cherish and protect them, and are rewarded by the most unbounded confidence in return; birds which are wildest and shyest with us building close to the houses of the Norwegians, and not caring to move out of the way, as you drive by. But if this long digression on the home of the redwing appears irrelevant to my subject on Wiltshire birds, and the pages of this Magazine, I submit, that the cause of its introduction is the hope of inducing those who have thoughtlessly persecuted those poor birds, when they are driven by inexorable winter to seek shelter and food in our more genial climate, to stay their hand from such ruthless slaughter, and reflect that while it is thought here almost an act of sacrilege to destroy the nightingale and robin, the one so endeared to us by its song, the other by its confidence in man, the Swedish nightingale partakes of both these virtues, and moreover is quite harmless and innocent, seeking nothing from man's stores for its support, but frequenting the meadows during the open weather, where it feeds on worms, snails, and larvæ, and when frost sets in, repairing (not to the rickyard and cornstack, but only) to the hedges, where the berries of the ivy, the hawthorn, and the holly supply its wants; and if unusually severe weather occurs, migrating (as is reported by naturalists) still further southwards, even to the shores of the Mediterranean. Montagu reports that vast numbers of these birds resorted to this and the adjacent counties in the hard winter of 1799, when exhausted by long

journeys, they were unable to prolong their travels, and deprived of food by a sudden fall of snow, they perished by thousands from starvation: Gilbert White speaks of their delaying their departure northwards till June, after the dreadful winter of 1739-40, and the cold N.E. winds which continued to blow through April and May; and it is very remarkable how extremely susceptible of intense cold these natives of the most northern countries are, being the first to perish in severe weather.

“Blackbird” (*Turdus merula*). “The ouzel cock, so black of hue with orange tawney bill,” as that great observer of nature, Shakespeare, has described it, is so well-known that I need say very little about it, the gardeners know to their cost its penchant for fruit in the summer, and no devices of his will avail to scare it from the gooseberry and raspberry bushes, and the strawberry beds, as long as any fruit remains; but it changes its residence with the season: as soon as wet weather sets in, the blackbirds may be found in the turnip fields, where they find slugs and snails in abundance; and in hard weather the hedgerows and thick bushes are its resort: it is of a shy and restless disposition, and solitary withal, never seen to congregate with many of its species, and hurries off with a loud scream of alarm, and buries itself in the nearest bush, the instant it is discovered: it has a fine full rich voice, with which it often favours us, and it is a matter of great dispute among connoisseurs whether the blackbird or thrush has the finest song, though I think most votes would be in favour of the latter, but yet the former has many stout partizans, and not without reason, for its notes are very melodious: it is also one of the earliest songsters we have. Blackbirds appear to be especially liable to exhibit variations in plumage, specimens continually occurring in pied and mottled garb, sometimes in pure white, though the name of the bird causes such a statement to sound contradictory. And here perhaps I may be allowed to make one or two observations on these albino varieties in birds, having examined the subject with great attention, and stated the result in a paper published by the Zoologist in 1853. I will not inflict on the readers of this Magazine the arguments by which I arrived at my conclusions, as they would be somewhat out

of place here; suffice it to say, that I conceive that physical weakness either in the individuals themselves, or in their parents, one or both of them, is the radical origin of the varieties in colour so often seen; and that the natural and habitual functions of the bird are through debility so disarranged, as to have the effect of withdrawing the pigment or colouring matter from the growing feather, as it springs from the follicle sheath or capsule in which it is enveloped, and where it is nourished by juices in which the pigment is supposed to reside. There may be many exciting causes, such as peculiar food, sudden fear, extreme rage, &c., serving to develop this peculiarity in colour, or it may have existed from the nest, but in all cases I apprehend that constitutional weakness is the real root of the matter; and as bright well marked plumage undoubtedly betokens good health and strength, so and on the same principles I conceive that an unwonted variety or absence of colour marks physical debility: and therefore I am no admirer of these anomalous specimens, but rather look upon them as miserable deformities and wretched abortions, the offspring of weak parents, unfitted to rank with their fellows. I may add that I have collected authentic evidence of the existence of such varieties in no less than fifty-seven species of our British birds, in their wild state, and have no doubt that if further investigated, it would be seen that such occasional deformities resulting from weakness do sometimes occur in *every* species of bird, though in those wearing the darkest livery, (such as the blackbird and the rook,) and therefore requiring a larger supply of pigment, such varieties will be found to be more frequent.

“Ring Ouzel” (*Turdus torquatus*). Here we have another migratory species of thrush, but unlike its congeners, the fieldfare and redwing, which come to us in the autumn and retire northwards in the spring, the ring ouzel comes to us in April, and retires again in October: it is however in this county but a bird of passage, never remaining with us to breed, but retiring to more northern districts in the summer, and more southern climes in the winter: it is easily distinguished from the blackbird by the absence of the bright yellow bill, and by the white collar or broad crescent-shaped

ring round the chest, whence its specific names, Latin and English; in other respects, such as general appearance, shape, bulk, habits, food, &c., it resembles that well-known songster: it differs from it however in occasionally associating in flocks towards the beginning of autumn, and so migrating in company, but sufficiently resembles it to be called provincially the "mountain," and the "michaelmas" blackbird, alluding to the haunts it loves, and the season when it appears on its way south. I have seen it occasionally in Switzerland and the Tyrol, and very frequently in Norway, where in one especial locality, at the foot of the highest peak in that land of mountains, it would come every morning, and perching on the turf roof of an adjacent chalet, sing most melodiously, while its mate was sitting on the nest among some rocks hard by: but the spot it seems of all others to prefer, is the copse on the sloping foot of a mountain, shelving down to some quiet tarn. I have never seen it alive in Wiltshire, nor has Mr. Marsh been more fortunate: I have however numerous records of its occurrence here. Mr. E. Sloper speaks of it as often seen in flocks of five or six, and of two being killed near Devizes in 1851; another (now in Mr. Marsh's collection) was killed at Compton Bassett by the Rev. A. Austin: it has often been taken in Clarendon Park: and scarcely a spring or autumn occurs, but Mr. Withers sees and generally captures some in the immediate neighbourhood of Devizes: it is however much more common in the wild mountainous and stormy districts of the north than in this county.

"Golden Oriole" (*Oriolus galbula*). This splendid bird, with its bright yellow and black plumage, so conspicuous from the striking contrast of the two colours, is a rare visitant in Britain, but once seen, it can never be mistaken: it is a denizen of warm latitudes, Asia and Africa being its proper habitat, and it is only occasionally that a straggler finds its way to our coasts, and therefore I think myself especially fortunate in being able to record the capture of two male birds in the neighbourhood of Tidworth in this county: one was observed and killed in a small fir plantation, and carried to the Rev. F. Dyson, who thinking it probable that the bird was not without its mate, immediately employed a man with a gun to

search for and procure the female; the man however returned with another male bird, and it was conjectured that the comparative dinginess of colour in the female enabled her in the dark fir plantations to escape detection. It is annually seen in small numbers in France, Germany, Holland, and more frequently in Italy; it is said to be of a shy retiring disposition, frequenting secluded groves, and feeding on fruits, berries, and insects.

ALFRED CHARLES SMITH.

Yatesbury Rectory, Calne, Nov. 4th, 1857.

The Battle of Ethandun.

ALTHOUGH I have no hope of being able to determine the much vexed question as to the true site of this decisive victory of Alfred over the Danes, yet I am unwilling to leave my friend, Mr. Matcham, in possession of the field of controversy, and the readers of the Magazine under the impression that he has proved his case. Supposing the question to be narrowed, as he argues it, to the rival claims of Edington and Yatton *alias* Eaton, or Etton-down, (and setting aside as untenable those put forward by other writers in favour of Heddington near Calne, Yattendun in Berkshire, Eddington in the same county, Hampton in Gloucestershire, Edington in Somerset, &c.,) I think it will be easy to shew that the arguments of Dr. Thurnam and of Whitaker for the latter of these two sites are by no means so weak as Mr. Matcham represents them; and that in the very brief space which I can venture to occupy with so trite or, as many may think, trifling subject.

Let me first say that when Mr. Matcham translates the 'Ethandun' of Asser into 'Edington,' (as he does in p. 177,) he thereby seems to beg the whole question. Certainly, if Asser had said, what Mr. Matcham puts into his mouth, *cadit quæstio*; there would be nothing to argue about, for neither Dr. Thurnam nor any one else, would, seriously or otherwise, venture to differ with Asser. This, however, may be only a misprint; for, of course, as appears in the original Latin at the bottom of the page, that venerable 'cotemporary authority' wrote, not *Edington*, but *Ethandun*;

and the question in dispute is not whether Asser is right in fixing the battle at that place, but simply whether Ethandun is Edington (the Edendone and Edintone of Domesday), or Etton-dun, Ettone being the Domesday appellative of Yatton, or rather, as it is still pronounced, and in old maps and other documents spelt, Eaton or Etton, and 'dun' or 'dunc' the Saxon for 'down' or 'open hill.'

With reference to this final syllable of Ethandun, as differing from that of Edington, Mr. Matcham, admits (p. 183), "that a distinction may be made between dun, a hill or down, and tun, a (town or) residence; but" (he goes on to say, with some rashness as I think he will himself, on further consideration, allow,) "the one is so often resolved into the other (*as in the case of Ethandun and Edington,*) that they are usually convertible terms, and the one termination may stand for either description." Here again is a seeming assumption that Ethandun and Edington are identical. But passing this, is Mr. Matcham justified in the broad and sweeping assertion he here makes, that tun (or tune) and dun (or dune) in Anglo-Saxon terminology are usually convertible terms? I have carefully looked the Index of all the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles in the Monumenta Britannica, and find not a single instance favouring the idea of such convertibility. On the contrary, whenever dun or dune forms the final syllable of the name of any place, it is represented in the modern name by the syllable don, or down, or directly translated into 'mons' a hill: whilst all the names I believe without exception, that end in tun or tune, are known at present by words ending in ton or town.¹ Nothing, therefore, can be more opposed

¹ e.g. Æscesdunc, now Ash-down in Berks.

Abbandunc, now Abingdon in the same county.

Bredunc,—Bredon or Brea-down in Worcestershire.

Beamunc,—Bindon in Dorset.

Fearndunc,—Faringdon in Berks.

Wilbandunc,—Wimbledon in Surrey.

All places, be it observed, seated on high open hills or downs. In the three following names dunc is expressly translated "mons" by Florence of Worcester, viz. :

"Ellendunc i.e. 'Mons Ellæ.'"

"Hengestdunc i.e. 'Mons Hengiste.'"

"Snaudunc i.e. 'Mons Nivis.'"

On the other hand, the places whose names now terminate, like Edington, in

to the fact than Mr. Matcham's assertion: nothing more consonant to the habitual usage of Anglo-Saxon nomenclature than the supposition of Dr. Thurnam and Whitaker, that Ethandun is now represented by Etton-down. Mr. Matcham fills an entire page (182) with something very like ridicule of the notion, which seems to him preposterous, that the terminating syllable of Ethandun can have been used for 'down.' What does he think is the site of the *other* famous victory of Alfred over the Danes, *Æscesdun*? Is it not notoriously *Ash-down*, in Berkshire, and if so, would it be extraordinary that Ethandun should correspond to Etton-down? But he goes on to ask, as if in the pride of superior information, "Has this compound ever appeared in writing, or (perhaps) in common parlance before his (Dr. Thurnam's) ingenuity had *fabricated* it?"

The reply is decisive; though Mr. Matcham having, as he admits, little or no knowledge of this latter locality, is evidently ignorant of the fact, viz., that the high ground in the parish of Yatton adjoining Slaughterford was, within the memory of living men, an open down, and known by the name of Etton-down. He even demurs (p. 182,) to Dr. Thurnam's assertion of the similarity of the two names. I am much mistaken, however, if my readers will not agree with me that, both in orthography and sound, the word Etton-dun bears as close, or even a closer resemblance to Ethandun than does Edintone or Edendone.

But passing to that which forms the staple of the argument of both Whitaker and Dr. Thurnam, namely the inconsistency of the position of Edington with the description given by Asser and the Saxon Chronicle of Alfred's proceedings previous to the battle; I

ton are mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle always under names terminating in *tune*; whence we may fairly conclude then, had Edington been mentioned at all in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles it would have been as Edintune, not as Ethandune; *e.g.*

Creditune	now	Crediton.
Bertune	„	Burton.
Hamtune	„	Hampton.
Kingestune	„	Kingston.
Middletune	„	Middleton.
Tantune	„	Taunton.
Huntendune	„	Huntington, &c.

must observe that Mr. Matcham is not justified in throwing any doubt on the statement of Dr. Thurnam that "the Danes had their head-quarters at Chippenham both before and after the battle." Asser and the Chronicle unite in declaring that their army passed the previous winter at Chippenham, and there is not the slightest ground for supposing that it had moved to any considerable distance from thence by the beginning of May, which all agree to be the date of the battle of Ethandun.¹ Nothing however, can be more probable than the supposition that at the commencement of the summer the army was stationed at one or other of the many strong camps which then formed a connected chain of defence along the hill range west of Chippenham, (a prolongation of the Cotswolds): more especially as it must have been well-known to their leaders that Alfred was somewhere in the west, collecting forces to attack them. Of these camps Bury Wood is one, Castle Combe another, Ebdowne, in West Kington parish, a third; to which Banner-down and others might be added; all within a few miles west of Chippenham. On the other hand, it appears improbable that the entire army of Guthrum should have quitted Chippenham for any spot so far removed to the south as Bratton camp; separated moreover from it by the intricate forests of Pewsham and Melksham, and the deep and miry vale of the Avon; inasmuch as such a removal would have left Chippenham, the royal vill and their head-quarters, open to easy capture by an enemy from the west.

I return, however, to the main argument relating to Alfred's line of march. All parties concur in considering Brixton Deverill as the position of Ecgbright's stone, the 'trysting place' of his forces. The divergence of opinion begins with regard to the site of Iglea, the place to which he marched his army on the first day. Asser whose statement is more full than that of the Chronicle, expressly says

¹ The words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are, "A°. 878. This year during mid-winter, . . . the army stole to Chippenham, . . . and sat down there." "*Et ibi hiemavit,*" says Asser. Again of the next year, "A°. 879. This year the army went to Cirencester *from Chippenham.*" (A.S.C.) "*Anno 879, . . . exercitus Paganorum de Cipanhamme ut promiserat, consurgens, Cirencestre adiit.*" Asser. Surely these passages afford the most complete confirmation of Dr. Thurnam's statement.

that he moved from Brixton in the early dawn, "*diluculo illucescente*," and encamped for the night at Iglea. Now the argument of Dr. Thurnam and Whitaker is, that Iglea is most probably Highley common near Melksham, for the following three good reasons:—First. The name of the place is as nearly as possible the same—at all events far nearer than Clay-hill, Bucley, or Westbury Leigh, the places between which Mr. Matcham and his authorities hesitate in their choice. Secondly. It is on the direct road from Brixton to Chippenham, where, or in its immediate neighbourhood, there is every reason to believe the Danes were stationed. Thirdly. Its distance from Brixton is eighteen miles, a fair day's march; while Clay-hill and Westbury Leigh are only, the one five, the other less than nine miles distant, too little for a summer day's march, commenced at "early dawn." Again, as relates to the next day, Asser, repeating his phrase, declares Alfred to have moved off very early in the morning "*mane illucescente*," and to have reached a place called Ethandun, where he attacked the army of the Danes, &c. But Edington is only four miles from Westbury, and but eight from Clay-hill or Bucley. Highley, on the other hand, is about ten miles from Etton-down, a reasonable distance for a summer morning's march. It is moreover, doubtful, as Dr. Thurnam remarks, whether the battle did not take place on the third, instead of the second day, for this is expressly stated by Simeon of Durham, and is not inconsistent with the narrative of Asser. Mr. Matcham, indeed, rejects the authority of Simeon on the ground "that this author lived in the reign of Edward III., and did not depart this life till 479 years after the victory of Ethandun was gained." This, however, is an error. Simeon of Durham lived in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I., and his death occurred in 1129, near two centuries and a half before the date Mr. Matcham assigns to it.¹ Upon this point as to the probable distance of Ethandun from the starting place, Brixton, some light may be gathered from the "Metrical Chronicle of Geoffrey Gaimar." The basis of this poem, composed about the middle of the 12th century, was no doubt supplied by the Saxon Chronicle, but it received many and large

¹ See Monumenta Britannica p. 87.

additions from other sources, for the greater part unknown to us in this day, but not on that account to be disbelieved when not in contradiction to earlier and higher authorities. Now Geoffrey Gaimar, as will be seen from the translation subjoined, says that on quitting Brixton, the Saxon army "rode *through the whole night and the next day as far as they could*, until they came to Aclee, *that they went on that night, and the next day at nine o'clock they had reached Edenesdune*," now this would accord very tolerably with a march on the first night and day from Brixton to Highley (18 miles), and thence on the second night up to nine in the morning to Etton-down (10 miles). But in no manner of way is it intelligible that a march of [in the whole] twelve miles (from Brixton to Edington) should be thus described as occupying two entire nights and one day.

It is reasonable to suppose that Alfred preferred to pass the Avon at Highley, or Melksham which is close by, leaving the deep clayey forests of the vale on the eastern side, and take his line of march along the rising and open western ground, which would enable him to intercept the communication of the Danes with Chippenham, supposing them to be encamped at or near Bury Wood. It is worthy of remark, that Etton-down is traversed by the ancient highway from London through Chippenham to Bristol, which also passes close to Bury Wood camp, two miles further on, just at the intersection of this road with the great Roman Foss road. So that the Danes at the approach of the Saxon army to this spot, would, in order to protect Chippenham, be placed under the necessity of leaving their entrenched camp, and meeting Alfred in the open field. Moreover, Etton-down, the supposed field of battle, overhangs the valley and brook of Slaughterford, which the routed Danes would necessarily have to cross in the retreat to their hill-fortress; a retreat throughout which Asser expressly states them to have been pursued with great slaughter by Alfred's forces. "*Paganos maxima cæde prostravit, et fugientes usque ad arcem percutiens persecutus est.*" The prevalence of a herb called 'Dane's blood' about Slaughterford, as attested by Aubrey, may be taken as a minor link in the chain of proofs, of more or less weight. Another, hitherto unmentioned,

I can supply myself, namely, that a field in the parish of Castle Combe, commanding the supposed scene of the action, and immediately above the brook of Slaughterford, has always gone by the name of *Danks* i.e. *Danes-down*. And surely, although it may suit Mr. Matcham's argument to depreciate it, there is some strong evidence in that word 'Slaughterford,'—the ancient name of the entire parish—and in the tradition which Aubrey tells us was in his time prevalent through the neighbourhood, of a great and bloody fight having taken place there between the Saxons and Danes.

And now a word upon Bury Wood camp, which Mr. Matcham never having seen, and judging only from the description given of it in "Ancient Wiltshire," (by the bye Sir R. Hoare admits he never examined it either,) considers "not to present the formidable appearance of a fortification which for fourteen days would deter, perhaps defy, the assault of an army flushed with victory." (p. 184.)

I beg to assure him and those of my readers who are not acquainted with the spot, that Bury Wood camp is, contrary to these mere suppositions, one of the very strongest earthworks in Britain. Indeed I know no where one so strongly defended by nature and art combined. It occupies a promontory forming the angle of intersection of two very deep glens that unite above the hamlet of Ford, and about a mile in a straight line from Slaughterford. It is, as I have already said, close to the intersection of the great Roman N. and S. highway, called the Fosse, with the ancient E. and W. highway between Chippenham, London, and Bristol. It encloses a triangular space of twenty acres, and has a vallum and foss along the two sides of the triangle which border the precipitous steeps of the two glens, each of which is about 200 feet deep. The third side facing the flat table land behind is protected by a double ditch and two embankments of very great size and strength. It is just such an encampment as one may readily believe to have been in the days of Alfred (and after our recent experiences, one would be almost inclined to add, if bravely defended, even at the present day) impregnable,—unless, as Alfred is reported to have subdued the Danes in their fortress, the garrison were starved into surrender.

Another of Mr. Matcham's arguments is the following, "If the Saxons attacked their enemy from the south, since Bury Wood lies south west of Yatton, the Danes in their retreat, must have passed through the lines of the victorious army, crossing Slaughterford with the stream in their rear, and their conquerors in their front, &c. I cannot conceive with Dr. Thurnam that this is a very probable position." (p. 183.) But all this again is grounded on a complete misconception of the topography of the country round Etton-down. Bury Wood is *not* to the S.W., but due west of this position. And the Saxons attacking their enemy from the south would do so from the high ridge of hill *above and to the east* of the deep valley of the Slaughterford river, which the Danes would necessarily have to cross in their retreat to Bury Wood camp on the west, with the victorious army of Alfred in their rear, as Dr. Thurnam justly represents.

I have said enough, perhaps, to shew that Sir Richard Hoare was not justified in accusing Whitaker of having disputed Camden's loose assumption of Edington for the representative of Ethandun on no other ground than for difference sake and upon the dictatorial principle of "*Sic volo*." If dogmatism is justly to be charged on any one, what does Mr. Matcham think of the language of Sir Richard himself, who thus lays down the law on this much disputed point. "*No room* is left either for etymology or conjecture as to the line of march which Alfred followed in pursuit of his enemies. By any person acquainted with the locality of the county, *no doubt can be entertained!*" And this is said of a matter upon which at least a dozen varying opinions have been, and still are, entertained by as many different authorities; and on which even Mr. Matcham himself differs from Sir Richard, since he prefers Westbury Leigh to Clay-hill for the modern Iglea. Indeed Sir Richard himself held at different times two opinions on this point.¹

And while on the subject of authorities, which Mr. Matcham seems to consider to preponderate on his side, let me observe that

¹ See his 'Ancient' and 'Modern Wiltshire.'

he omits all mention of Carte,¹ Milner,² and Beke,³ all opposed to his view of the question, quite as much as Whitaker and Dr. Thurnam. Mr. Matcham lays some stress on the mention of Ethandun in the Will of Alfred, a fact which but for Dr. Thurnam's remark upon it in a note would probably have remained unnoticed. But there can hardly be a question that the vill so named in the Will (and also in a charter of Edwy executed A°. 957),¹ is the place now called Yattendon (or Yattingdon of some maps) in Berkshire; since it occurs in the Will in close conjunction with Lambourne and Wantage, both neighbouring Berkshire manors. ("Insuper concedo Ælswythæ villam de Lamborne et de Wantingh et de Ethandune.") And this indeed gives some additional probability to my argument; because if the Ethandune of Alfred's Will is the present *Yattendun* of Berkshire, the Ethandun of Asser, where the battle was fought, may with the more probability be ascribed to the *Yatton-down* (or *Etton-down*) of Wiltshire. For that the fight could have taken place so far from the line of Alfred's march from Selwood forest towards Chippenham as a place in Berkshire, east of Newbury, and therefore some sixty miles away, Mr. Matcham will, of course, readily admit to me.

Neither can Mr. Matcham be allowed to ride his White Horse of Bratton in emblematic triumph. Mr. Wise writing in 1738 and 1742, expressly states his belief, on sufficient authority, that this figure was made as recently as the last century. And even were evidence wanting on this point, it could have no better right to be considered a monumental record of Alfred's victory than any other of the team of eight which are to be seen in as many places on the steep Wiltshire chalk downs. Moreover, Mr. Matcham is again incorrect in his assertion, that "the White Horse is the ensign of the (West) Saxons." (p. 121.) Henry of Huntingdon expressly speaks (A°. 752 and 1016) of the golden dragon as the standard of the West Saxons. Nor is it true that (same page) "the White Horse of Berkshire, is, in the opinion of all antiquaries, the undoubted

¹ Carte's History of England, 1747, vol. i. p. 300.

² Milner's History of Winchester, 1798, vol. i. p. 129.

³ See Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, Berkshire, 1813, p. 163, for Dr. Beke's views.

⁴ Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. ii. p.p. 112, 342, and vol. v. p. 127.

memorial of the victory of the Saxons obtained over the Danes at *Æscesdun* (i.e. *Ash-down*) in that county," as may be seen in reference to an able paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 289.

On the whole without meaning that there is no room for doubt upon the point, I think what I have said will shew that there are, at least, as strong grounds, indeed stronger, for believing the battle of Ethandun to have been fought at Etton-down, as at Edington or any other place yet suggested.

I add a translation of the passage in Geoffrey Gaimar's metrical romance "*L'Estorie des Engles*," which relates to this celebrated fight.

Then (878) at Christmas, the felon Danes
 Who had sworn to keep the peace
 Broke it like knaves,
 And marched into Wessex.
 At Chippenham they halted for a time,
 And took pleasure in doing mischief.
 They destroyed houses and crops,
 Chapels, and their religious.
 They drove the people from their country,
 And put many in prison.
 The King Alfred, who was their father,
 Knew not what to do or to say.
 From all parts he called for aid,
 But few was he able to assemble.
 When he saw how he was situated
 So grievously encompassed by his foes,
 He took refuge in the forests and thickets,
 To escape from their blood-thirsty hands.
 Nevertheless, whenever he was able,
 With such folk as he could obtain,
 He met their squadrons,
 And slew often many of them.

* * * * *

After Easter in the same year,
 The good King Alfred had shut himself
 In a castle he had for defence
 At Ethelingay,
 And troubled the Danes.
 Four weeks after Easter,
 He rode to Ecbrichstano
 Which is east of Selwood.
 Ceolmer came to meet him and Chude

And the Barons of Somersetshire
 Of Wiltshire and of Dorset.
 From Hampshire came Chilman,
 He assembled the barons by ban,
 And all those he sent for came
 Who had not fled beyond the seas.
 And when they saw their Lord,
 They much praised the Creator
 That they had found him ;
 For long had they desired to see him,
 And they had supposed
 That the Danes had slain him.
 They were greatly rejoiced that the King
 Was alive and not dead.
 Then Alfred took counsel with them,
 And as they determined they did.
Through the whole night they rode,
 And the next day as long as they could,
 Until they came to Aclee.
 Then they went on that night
 And the next day at nine o'clock
 They had reached Edenesdone.
 There they found the Danes,
 And Alfred fought with them.
 I cannot say by guess
 Of which there were the most slain,
 Of the Danes or the English.
 But this I know well that the good King
 Alfred had then the victory,
 And his barons, to their great honour.
 Then he attacked them frequently
 And with such violent assaults,
 That in fifteen days he so daunted them,
 Those Danes of whom I speak,
 That they begged for peace, and agreed
 To deliver up hostages.
 And swore as long as they lived
 Never more to make war.
 And further they promised
 And asked to be made Christians.
 The King said when he heard this
 That he would make them so with pleasure.
 He appointed a certain day,
 On which they brought Guthrum their King.
 Who was baptized under the name
 Of Athelstan with thirty companions. &c., &c.

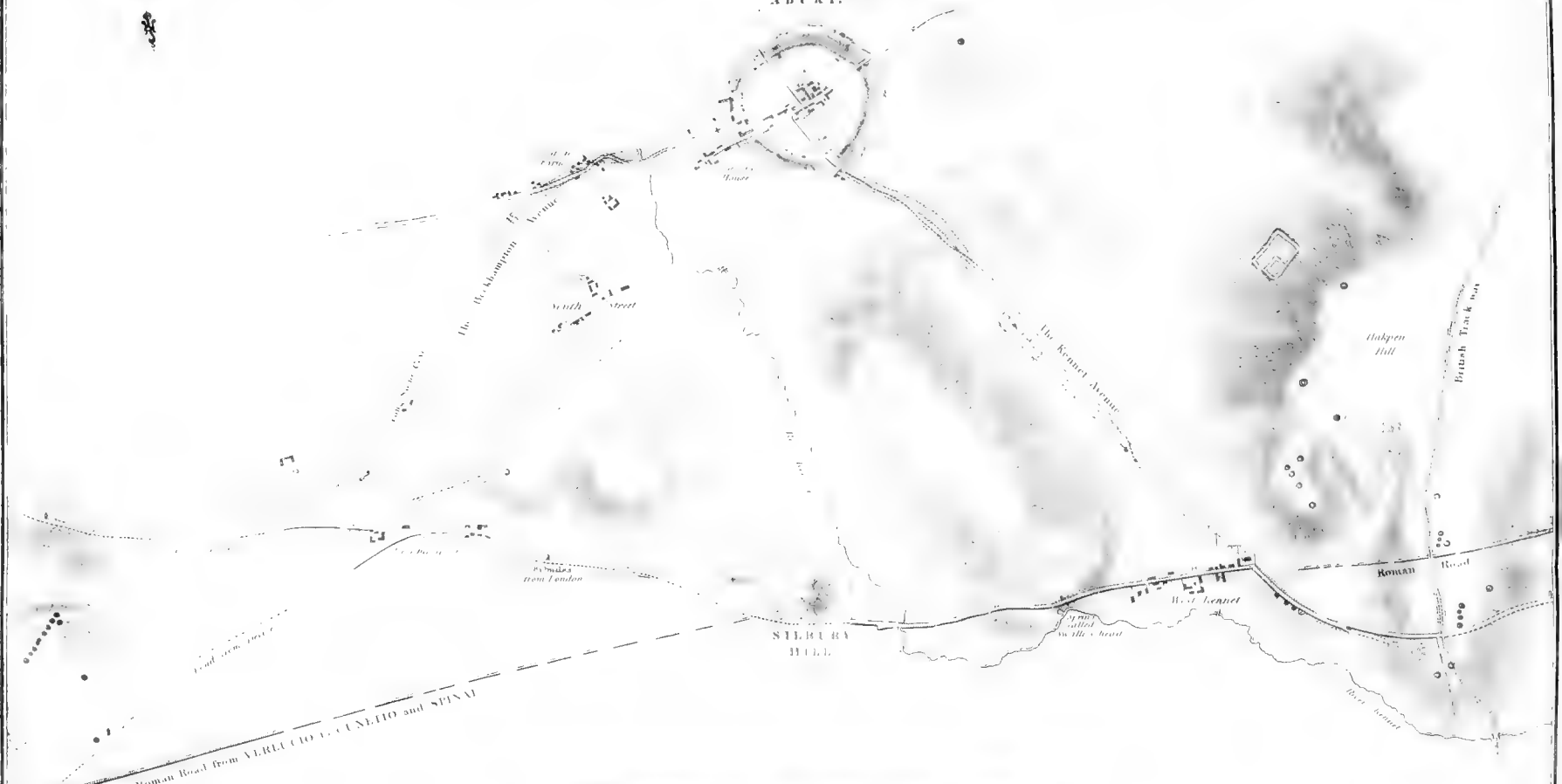


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ABURY.



ABURY AND SILBURY HILL.



Scale of One Mile

Abury.

By WILLIAM LONG, Esq., M.A.

THERE is no district in the British Isles of greater interest to the antiquary than the tract of country between Devizes and Marlborough. Within it may be seen the Wansdyke, that last and largest of the boundaries between the Belgic and aboriginal tribes, stretching for miles along the summit of the hills; earth-works of various forms on the adjoining slopes; barrows large and small, long and round; the remains of a British settlement on Huish Hill; the camps of Oldbury, Rybury, Knap-hill, and Martin's-hill; a British trackway, which at a subsequent period formed a part of the Icknield way;¹ the Roman road from Bath, which, after making use of the fosse of the Wansdyke, traverses the open downs in its course towards Cunetio² and Londinium; the gigantic hill of Silbury; and lastly, one of the oldest,³ most extensive, and most interesting relics of antiquity we possess,—the remains of the temple of Abury.

The pretty village of Abury or Avebury, within the parochial

¹ Dr. Guest on the Four Roman Ways, p. 13 and 22 (Archæol Journal No. 54).

² 'Cunetio' is evidently the Latin form of the word 'Kennet,' or 'Cunnet' as Stukeley says it was called by the country people in his time.

³ The temple at Stanton Drew is supposed by many to be of older date than that at Abury. The temple which appears to correspond more nearly than any other in character and features, (being far inferior in size,) with the gigantic monument in Wiltshire, is that of Arbor Lowe in Derbyshire. It is circular, or rather elliptical: has a ditch six yards wide, within a high vallum: the area, within the ditch, fifty yards in diameter: a large circle of about 30 huge unhewn stones: an inner circle of smaller ones (*doubtful*), and near the centre three larger ones. The circumference of the vallum about 270 yards. There are two entrances, N. and S.: and about a quarter of a mile off towards the west is a large conical tumulus called "Gib Hill" connected with the vallum of the temple by a rampire of earth running in a serpentine direction. See "Bateman's Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire, 1848, p. 109." For a suggestion as to the origin of the names *Arbor* and *Abury*, see a Note further on.

boundaries of which these ruins are comprised, is about a mile from Beckhampton, and as it lies out of the main road from London to Devizes and Bath, it is perhaps not surprising that it did not earlier attract attention. The only mention Leland makes of it is in the following scanty allusion; "*Kenet* risithe north north-west at *Selbiri* hille botom, wherby hath ben camps and sepultures of men of warre, as at *Aibyri* a mile of, and in dyvers places of the playne." Camden seems not to have been aware of its existence; and Dr. Philemon Holland, his first translator, writes thus of it, "Within one mile of Silbury is Abury, an uplandish village, built in an old camp, as it seemeth, but of no large compass. It is environed with a fair trench, and hath four gates, in two of which stand huge stones as jambs, but so rude that they seem rather natural than artificial; of which there are some others in the said village."¹

The first person who examined it with attention was John Aubrey, whose memory will long be preserved by his graphic description of persons and things connected with his native county, Wiltshire. As he was only in his 23rd year when he made his discovery of Abury, and as the work in which he has preserved his early reminiscences of it (the "*Monumenta Britannica*" now in the Bodleian Library), though often partially quoted by various writers, has

¹ In the 3rd song of his '*Polyolbion*' (published in 1612) in which the Wiltshire rivers are celebrated, Drayton mentions '*Ouldbry*,' Saint Ann, Barbury, and Badbury Hills, and Mount Marting-sall; and feigns an altercation, in language rather of a Billingsgate stamp, between '*Stonendge*' and Wansdyke; but he makes no allusion either to Abury or Silbury Hill. Selden, his annotator, is equally silent respecting them.

In the notes to the Third Book of *Orlando Furioso* "in English historical verse by Sir John Harington, of Bath, Knight," London, 1634, is the following passage;—"But concerning his (Merlin's) life, that there was such a man, a great counsellor to King Arthur, I hold it certaine; that he had a castle in Wiltshire called after him Merlinsbury (now Marlborow) it is very likely, the old ruines whereof are yet sene in our highway from Bath to London. Also the great stones of unmeasurable bignesse and number that lie scattered about the place have given occasion to some to report, and others to beleeve wondrous stratagems wrought by his great skill in magick, as likewise the great stones at Stonage on Salisbury plaine, which the ignorant people beleeve he brought out of Ireland: and indeed the wiser sort can rather marvell at than tell why or how they were set there." It is by no means clear from this that Sir John had seen Abury.

never yet been fully published; it may not be amiss to take the present opportunity of presenting to the reader the entire passages relating to this place¹:—

“I was inclin’d by my Genius from my childhood to the love of antiquities: and my Fate dropt me in a countrey most suitable for such enquiries.

“Salisbury-plaines, and Stonehenge I had known from eight years old: but, I never saw the Countrey about Marleboruogh, till Christmas 1648: being then invited to the Lord Francis Seymour’s,

by the Honorable Mr. Charles* Seymour, with whom I had the honor to be intimately acquainted, and whose Friendship I ought to mention with a profound respect to his memorie.

“The morrow after Twelfday, Mr. Charles Seymour and S^r William† Button, mett with their packs of Hounds at the Grey-Weathers. These downes looke as if they were sown with great Stones, very thick, and in a dusky evening, they looke like a flock of Sheep: from whence it takes its name: one might fancy it to have been the scene, where the giants fought with huge stones against the Gods. ’Twas here that our game began, and the chase led us (at length) thorough the village of Aubury, into the closes there: where I was wonderfully surprized at the sight of those vast stones, of w^{ch} I had never heard before: as also at the mighty Bank and graffe¹ about it: I observed in the inclosure some segments of rude circles, made with these stones, whence I concluded, they had been in the old time complete. I left my company a while, entertaining myselfe with a more delightfull indagatation: and then (steered by the cry of the Hounds) overtook the company, and went with them to Kynnet, where was a good hunting dinner provided.

“Our repast was cheerfull, which being ended, we remounted, and beat over the downes with our greyhounds. In this afternoon’s

¹ It is here printed from a transcript from the original MS. taken for the purpose of the present paper, and the accompanying illustrations have been reduced from very accurate fac-similes of Aubrey’s sketches, which the writer has presented to the Society’s Library and Museum at Devizes.

² Ditch.

diversion I happened to see Wensditch (*sic*), and an old camp and two or three sepulchres. The evening put a period to our sport, and we returned to the Castle at Marleborough, where we were nobly entertained; *juvat hæc meminisse*. I thinke I am the only surviving gentleman of that company.

“In the year 1655 was published by Mr. Webb, a book entitled “Stonehenge Restored,” but written by Mr. Inigo Jones; which I read with great delight. There is a great deale of learning in it, but having compared his scheme with the monument itself, I found he had not dealt fairly, but had made a Lesbian’s rule, which is conformed to the stone; that is, he framed the monument to his own hypothesis, which is much differing from the thing itself; and this gave me an edge to make more researches; and a further opportunity was, that my honored and faithfull friend Colonel James Long,¹ of Draycot, was wont to spend a week or two every autumn at Aubury in hawking, where several times I have had the happiness to accompany him. Our sport was very good, and in a romantick countrey, for the prospects are noble and vast, the downs stockt with numerous flocks of sheep, the turfe rich and fragrant with thyme and burnet.

‘Fessus ubi incubuit baculo, saxoque resedit,
Pastor arundineo carmine mulcet oves.’

Nor are the nut-brown shepherdeses without their graces. But the flight of the falcons was but a parenthesis to the Colonell’s facetious discourse, who was ‘*tam Marti quam Mercurio,*’ and the Muses did accompany him with his hawkes and spaniels.

“1663. King Charles II. discoursing one morning with my Lord Brownker and Dr. Charleton² concerning Stoneheng, they told his Majestie, what they had heard me say, concerning Aubury, *sc.* that it did as much exceed Stoneheng as a Cathedral does a Parish Church. His Ma^{tie} admired that none of our Chorographers had

¹ Afterwards Sir James Long. There is an amusing sketch in water colours of Sir James and Aubrey on one of these hawking expeditions, in Aubrey’s MS. “*Hypomnemata Antiquaria, A.*,” in the Ashmolean Museum.

² William Visc. Brounker of Earlstoke, was the first President of the Royal Society. Dr. Walter Charleton was the King’s Physician, and author of a treatise advocating the Danish origin of Stonehenge.

taken notice of it: and commanded Dr. Charlton to bring me to him the next morning. I brought with me a draught of it donne by memorie only: but well enough resembling it, with w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} was pleased: gave me his hand to kisse and commanded me to waite on him at Marleborough when he went to Bath with the Queen (w^{ch} was about a fortnight after) which I did: and the next day, when the court were on their journie, his Ma^{tie} left the Queen and diverted to Aubury, where I shewed him that stupendious Antiquity, with the view whereof, He and his Royal Highness, the Duke of Yorke, were very well pleased. His Ma^{tie} commanded me to write a Description of it, and present it to him: and the Duke of Yorke commanded me to give an account of the old Camps, and Barrows on the Plaines.

“As his Ma^{tie} departed from Aubury to overtake the Queen, he cast his eie on Silsbury-hill about a mile off: w^{ch} they had the curiosity to see, and walkt up to the top of it, with the Duke of Yorke, Dr. Charlton and I attending them. They went to Lacock¹ to dinner: and that evening to Bath; all the Gentry and Commonaltie of those parts waiting on them, wth great acclamations of joy, &c.

“In September following, (1663), I survey'd that old monument of Aubury with a plain-tables, and afterwards tooke a Review of Stonehenge: and then I composed this following discourse in obedience to his Ma^{ties} command: and presented it to Him: w^{ch} he commanded me to put in print.

“There have been several books writt by learned men concerning Stoneheng, much differing from one another, some affirming one thing, some another. Now I come in the rear of all by comparative arguments to give a clear evidence that these monuments were pagan temples, which was not made out before; and have also (with humble submission to better judgments) offered a probability, that they were temples of the Druids.

“When a traveller rides along by the ruines of a Monastery, he knows by the manner of building, *sc.* Chapell, Cloysters, &c., that it was a Convent, but of what order (*sc.* Benedictine, Dominican, &c.) it was, he cannot tell by the bare view. So it is cleer that all

¹ Sir John Talbot's.

the monuments, which I have here recounted were Temples. Now my presumption is, That the Druids being the most eminent Priests [or Order of Priests] among the Brittaines, 'tis odds, but that these ancient monuments [*sc.* Aubury, Stonehenge, Kerrig y Druidd &c.] were Temples of the Priests of the most eminent Order, viz., Druids, and it is strongly to be presumed, that Aubury, Stoneheng, &c., are as ancient as these times.

“This inquiry, I must confess, is a gropeing in the dark: but although I have not brought it into a cleer light, yet I can affirm that I have brought it from an utter darkness to a thin mist, and have gonne farther in this essay than any one before me.

“These antiquities are so exceedingly old that no bookes doe reach them, *sc.* that there is no way to retrive them but by comparative antiquitie, which I have writt upon the spott from the monuments themselves,—‘*Historia quoque modo scripta, bona est;*’ and though this be writt, as I rode a gallop, yet the novelty of it, and the faithfulness of the delivery, may make some amends for the uncorrectness of the style.

“The first draught was worn out with time and handling, and now, methinks, after many years lying dormant, I come abroad, like the ghost of one of those Druids.

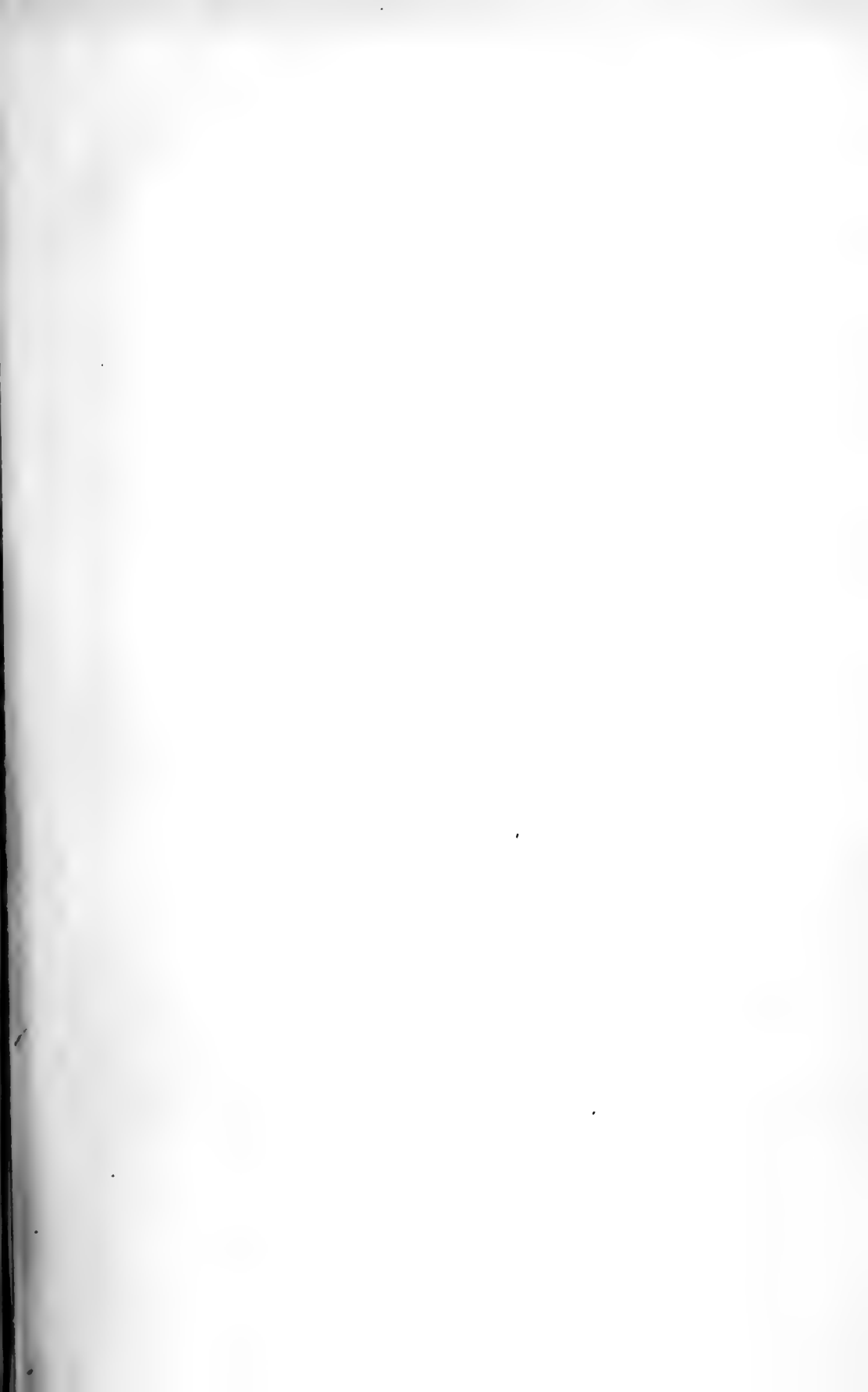
“I beg the reader’s pardon for running this preface into a storie, and wish him as much pleasure in reading them, as I met in seeing them. *Vale.*

“JOHN AUBREY.”

AUBURY.

“Aubury is four miles west from Marleborough in Wiltshire, and is peradventure the most eminent and entire monument of this kind in the Isle of Great Britaigne. (I take this old ill-shapened monument to be the greatest, most considerable, and the least ruined of any of this kind in our British Isle.) It is very strange that so eminent an Antiquitie should lye so long unregarded by our Chorographers: Mr. only names it.

“It is environed with an extraordinary great vallum [or Rampart] as great, and as high as that at Winchester, [*w^{ch}* is the greatest Bulwark that I have seen]: *within which* is a Graffe of a depth and



Survey of AUBURY.

1.

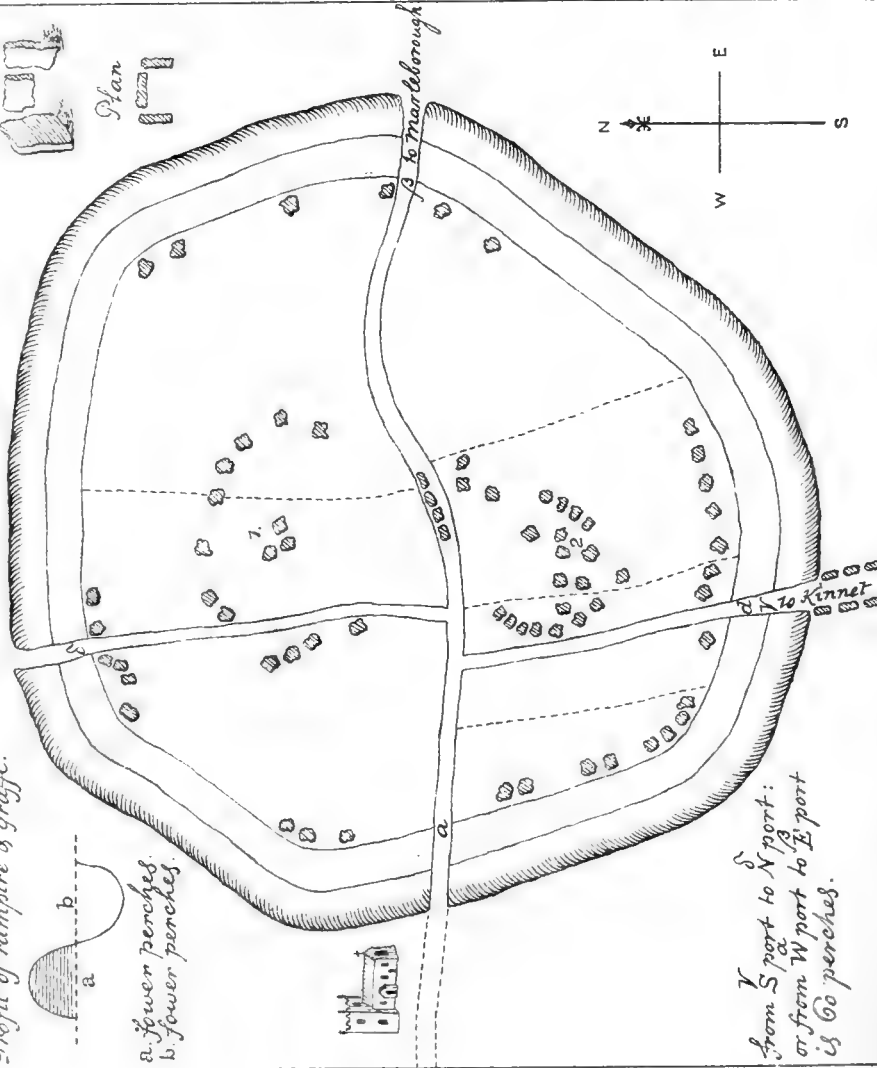
Profile of rampire & grafc.



a. fewer perches.
b. fewer perches.



Plan



from S port to N port:
or from W port to E port
is 60 perches.

2.

AUBURY.

The whole view of Aubury
with the Walke, and the
Laffer Temple appendant
to it.



Selbury or Silsbury hill.



Road from Marlborough to Bristol
West Kynnet

Fluvius Kynnet

Edw. Little, del.

PLAN OF AUBURY, ABOUT A. D. 1663; FROM A RUDE SKETCH BY JOHN AUBREY.

breadth proportionable to it: wherefore it could not be designed for a Fortification, for then the Graffe would have been on the outside of the Rampart.

“From the entrance at a to that at β is sixty perches.

“From the entrance at γ to that at δ the same distance: and the breadth of the rampart is fower perches; and the breadth of the Graff the same distance. (See plate 2, section 1.)

“Round about the Graffe, (*sc.* on the edge or border of it) are pitched on end huge stones, as big, or rather bigger than those at Stoneheng: but rude and unhewen as they are drawn out of the earth:—whereas those at Stoneheng are roughly-hewen. Most of the stones thus pitched on end, are taken away: only here and there doe still remain some curvilinear segments: but by these one may boldly conclude, that heretofore they stood quite round about, like a Crowne;

Ovid's Pastor. lib.
v. l. 131.

“ ‘sed longa vetustas
Destruit, et saxo longa senecta nocet.’

Within this circumvallation are also (yet) remaining segments [of a roundish figure] of* two (as I doe conjecture) *Sacella*, one the fig. 1, the other fig. 2, and their ruines are not unlike Ariadne's Crowne: and are no neerer to a perfect circle than is that Constellation.† So within Christian churches are severall chapelles respectiue to such or such a saint: and the like might have been in the old time.

“This monument does as much exceed in greatness the so renowned Stoneheng, as a Cathedral doeth a parish Church: so that by its grandure one might presume it to have been an Arch Temple of the Druids.

“It is situated in the countrey of the stones called the Grey-Weathers: of which sort of stones, both this Antiquity, and that of‡ Stoneheng were built. From the south entrance runnes a solemne Walke, *sc.* of stones pitch'd on end about seven foot high, w^{ch} goes as far as Kynet [w^{ch} is (at least)§ a measured mile from Aubury] and from Kynet it turnes with a right angle eastward crossing the river, and

* His Majestic commanded me to digge at the bottom of the stones within the fig. 1, to try if I could find any human bones: but I did not doe it.

† Aurea per stellas nunc micat illa novem. Ovid's Pastorum, lib. iii. 516.

‡ 14 or 15 miles from the Grey Weathers.

§ A shower of rain hindred me from measuring it.

ascends up the hill to another monument of the same kind [but less] as in plate (2, sec. 2.) The distance of the stones in the walk, and the breadth of it, is much about the distance of a noble walke of trees of that length: and very probable this walke was made for Processions.

Mdm. The great stone at Aubury's towne's end, where this Walke begins, fell down in Autumn 1684, and broke in two, or three pieces: it stood but two foot deep in the earth. From Mr. Walter Sloper, of Munceton, Attorney.

rise of this village, Kynet.

“Within the circumference or Borough of this Monument, is now the village of Aubury, which stands *per crucem*, as is to be seen by Scheme (pl. 2, sec. 1.) The houses are built of the *Frustums* of those huge stones (for hereabout are no other stones to be found (except flints) which they invade with great sledges. I have
 • Parson Bruns-
 don of Mounckton. *verbum Sacerdotis** for it, that these mighty stones (as hard as marble) may be broken in what part of them you please, without any great trouble: *sc.* make a fire on that line of the stone, where you would have it crack; and after the stone is well heated, draw over a line with cold water, and immediately give a knock with a smith's sledge, and it will break like the collets at the Glass-house.¹

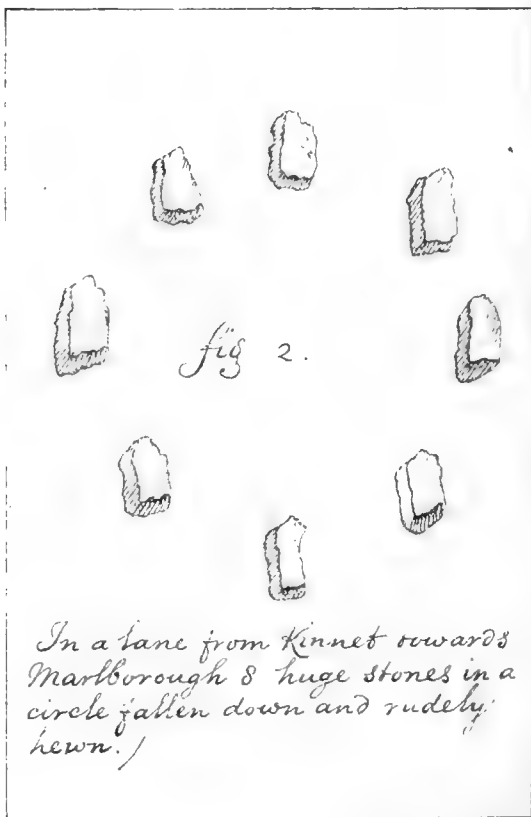
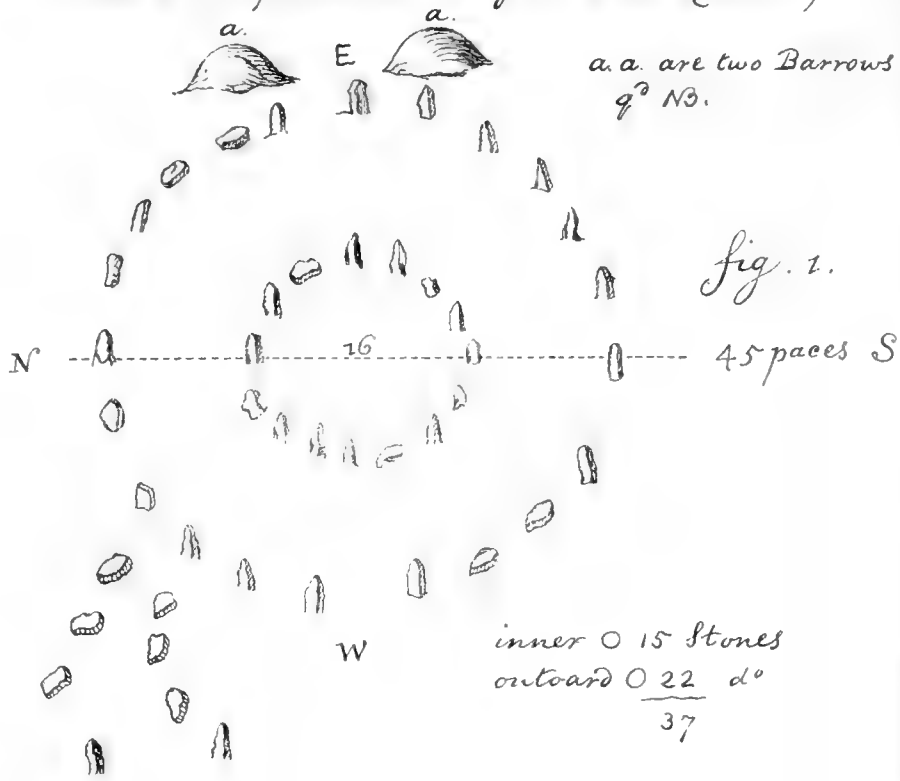
“The Church is likewise built of them: and the Mannour-house w^{ch} was built by the Dunches, temp. Reg. Elizabethæ: and also another faire House not far from that.

“By reason of the crosse streates, houses, gardens, orchards, and several small closes, and the fractures made in this Antiquity for the building of those houses, it was no very easy taske for me to trace out the *Vestigia* and so to make this Survey. Wherefore I have dis-empestred the Scheme from the enclosures, and houses, &c.: w^{ch} are altogether foreigne to this Antiquity, and would but have clouded and darkned the reall Designe. The crosse street

¹ Compare with this extract from the ‘*Monumenta Britannica*’ Aubrey's account of these stones in his “*Natural History of Wilts,*” p. 44, 1847.



On the brow of the hill East from West Kinnet. /



Edw. Kite, lith

1. ENLARGED PLAN OF THE "LESSER TEMPLE". 2. ANOTHER CIRCLE OF STONES, (SITE UNKNOWN); FROM SKETCHES BY JOHN AUBREY.

within this monument, was made in process of time for the convenience of the roads.

“One of the Monuments, in the street that runnes East and West, [like that above Holy-head] is converted into a pigstye, or cow-house;—as is to be seen in the roade.

“On the brow of the hill above Kynet, on the right hand of the high way which goes from Bristow to Marleborough, is such a monument as in pl. (2, sec. 2. and pl. 3, f. 1.) called The stones are fower and five feet high, in number; most of them (now) are fallen downe. I doe well remember there is a circular trench about this monument or temple.¹ Here remains a kind of solemne walk from Kynet to the top of the hill where this monument is. It is at least a quarter of a mile in length, foot broad, and the stones distant one from another about foot. West Kynet stands in the angle where the walke from Aubury hither, and that from the top of the hill did joine. It lies by the side of a little rivulet called Kynet, which runnes to Marleborough, from whence Cynetium hath its denomination: and 'tis likely that here might in the old time have been the celle or Convent for the priests belonging to these temples.

Mr. Edw. Philips.

“I am enformed that as one rides from Marleborough to Compton Basset [a village not far from hence Westward] are to be seen Houses, part whereof are stones pitched on end, as big as those of Stonehenge.

“As to the Etymologie of the word *Aubury*: it is vulgarly called *Abury*: and is writt of late times by ignorant scribes *Auebury*: (the *e* quiescent being interposed after *y*^o old fashion). But in the legier-book of Malmesbury* Abbey it is writt *Aubury*; and so it is in the Records of *y*^o Tower. But here (methinkes) I see some Reader smile to himselfe, thinkinge how I have strained this Place to be of my owne Name: not heeding that there is a letter's difference, which quite alters

¹ “Mr. Aubury erred in saying there was a circular ditch on Overton Hill.” Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 32.

² The name may have been in the book, as Malmesbury Abbey had a small pension and a few shillings of tithe from Beckhampton in this parish. But *Abury Manor* never belonged to Malmesbury Abbey.

the signification of the words. For Aubery [*Alberic*] is a Christian Name, as Godfrey or Rowland, &c., the *l* before a consonant is frequently turned into *u* by the Northern people. But begging pardon

* Et facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni. Juven. Sat. x.

for this digression to obviate the scornfull* smile, I come back to the Etymologie. What *bury* [borough]

signifies, every one knows: but I was at a great losse for the mean-

+ He was Governour to the Lord Spar of Swedland, who is of the blood Royal: and is a very fine Gentleman.

ing of the first syllable [*au*], till Mr. Johannes Heysigt (a learned Swede) enformed me that *Au* signifies *amnis, fluvius, fluentum*, in linguâ Suecicâ. *Au* is not

to be found in the Dutch, or Saxon Dictionaries: but he affirmes, that *Au* is always *fluvius*, and that *eau* in

French comes from *Au*, or *Aa*; as also *ea*, as in Eaton, which is a name given to many waterish Townes, e.g. Eaton neer Windsor, Water-Eaton in Oxfordshire, &c. So likewise *ey* and *ay*, as Ayton in the North: Chelsey, Chertsey, &c.: so Breda, that is Broadwater. At this Towne's end [*sc.* Aubury] by the church, is a watery place, w^{ch} (I thinke) is the source of the River Kynnet.

“But after all that hath been said, I have a conceit, that *Aubury* is a corruption of *Albury* that is, Oldbury; or the Old Borough: changeing as is aforesaid *l* before a consonant, into *u*: and well agrees with the nature of this Old Place.”¹

¹ It is, upon the whole, not improbable that this last explanation is, after all, the true one, and that the various names attached by corrupt pronunciation to antiquities of a similar kind, as Aldborough, Albury, Arbury, Arbor, Aubury, Abury, &c., are only so many different provincial varieties of Old-bury (old camp, burying-place, or town). But if in this particular case the letter *v* is really and properly one of the letters of the name, there must have been some different origin, and what that was it is not easy to say. In the Sarum Registers (as printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps,) it is constantly spelled Avebury, from A.D. 1297 downwards. In the Valor Ecclesiasticus, it is printed, Abery, Aubery, and Avebury. Bishop Tanner was for Avebury, and rebukes the Editors of the Old Monasticon for “Anebury.” The last variety looks not unlike a corruption of *Avon*: and in one of the Charters of Monkton Farley Priory dated, c. 1255, and printed in the New Monasticon, Walter and Osbert de Avenebiri occur as witnesses. But it is not clear that this alluded to the place in Wiltshire. It is much more likely that it refers to Avenbury, near Bromyard in Herefordshire, as one of the early Bohuns, Earls of Hereford and founders of Monkton Farley Priory (by whom the charter is granted), married a Maud of “Avenbire,” believed to have been of Co. Hereford: and the witnesses above-mentioned would probably be her relatives. Had the river Avon taken its source from, or flowed

The Beckhampton avenue escaped Aubrey's notice ; and it does not appear that he regarded Silbury Hill as in any way connected with the 'antiquitie' to which it is so near.

Pepys passed through Abury in 1688, and thus describes what he saw here and at Overton Hill. "In the afternoon came to Abury, where seeing great stones like those of Stonchenge standing up, I stopped, and took a countryman of that town, and he carried me and showed me a place trenched in like Old Sarum almost, with great stones pitched in it, some bigger than those at Stonehenge in figure, to my great admiration: and he told me that most people of learning coming by do come and view them, and that the King (Charles II.) did so: and the mount east hard by is called Silbury, from one King Seall buried there, as tradition says. I gave this man one shilling. So took coach again, seeing one place with great high stones pitched round, which I believe was once a particular building in some measure like that of Stonehenge. But about a mile off, it was prodigious to see how full the downes are of great stones; and all along the valley, stones of considerable bigness, most of them certainly growing out of the ground: which makes me think the less of the wonder of Stonehenge, for hence they might undoubtedly supply themselves with stones as well as those at Abury."¹

Mr. Thomas Twining published in 1723 a work, entitled "Avebury in Wiltshire, the remains of a Roman Work erected by Vespasian and Julius Agricola during their several commands in Brittany, a short essay humbly dedicated to the Right Hon^{ble} The Earl of Winchilsea." In this treatise, he stated his belief that Abury was

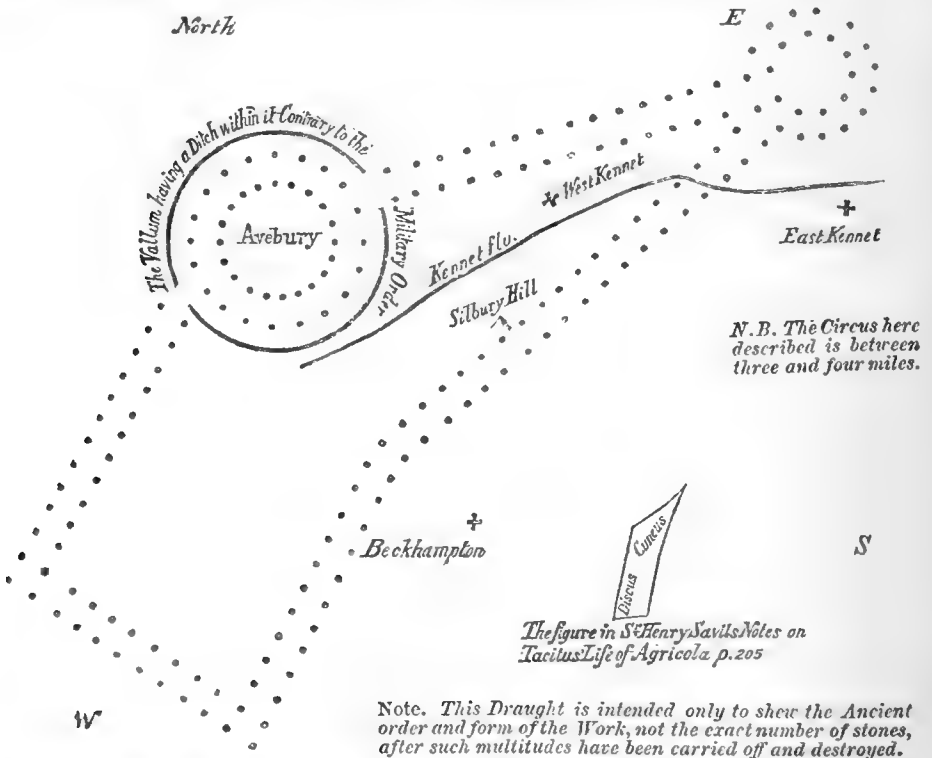
near, Abury, the derivation would have been palpable. But unluckily it does neither. The occurrence of the perplexing letter *v* in the name, perpetuated one after another by the "ignorant scribes" denounced by the Antiquary, is probably to be attributed to the original spelling in Domesday Book, *Ayreberic*, where the copyist was left in a pleasing uncertainty as to whether he should consider the second letter, *u* or *v*. With respect to the derivation, *Abiri*, suggested by one or two who conceived the Temple to have been connected with the worship of the Cabiri or Abiri ("the Three mighty ones"), it is a theory that has had very few advocates, and is not likely to have many more.

REV. J. E. JACKSON.

¹ Pepys's Diary, vol. iii. p. 466, 1854.

a temple to Terminus, erected by the Romans under Vespasian to mark the northern boundary of the Belgæ, and that it had been constructed in the form of a wedge, which the Roman Geographers, according to Tacitus, considered to be the shape of Britain. He also maintained that upon the death of Titus Vespasian, "Agricola caused Selbury Hill to be cast up for his honorary monument." From the supposed resemblance of the temple and its adjuncts to a wedge, Twining gave it the name 'Cunetium.' The accompanying cut is reduced from Twining's plan of Abury, which is interesting from its inaccuracy and absurdity.

CUNETIUM. Romano-Britannicum Insulæ totius Secundum veterem Formam indigitans, sive Circus Lapidæus Aveburiensis Ad Ordinem primarium in dies periturum Revocatus.



Note. This Draught is intended only to shew the Ancient order and form of the Work, not the exact number of stones, after such multitudes have been carried off and destroyed.

From the discursive account of Twining, in which there is much that is altogether irrelevant, all that bears on the actual condition of Abury and its precincts, as observed by him in 1723, five years after Dr. Stukeley's first visit, is here introduced in his own words.

"I take Avebury to have been a temple to Terminus; and that Mr. Cambden meeting with some such tradition, was inclined to

think Selborough a boundary, as he doth in his *Britannia*, (§ 10,14). At Avebury (itself) with its many inward circles of stones (§ 14) the solemnities began and concluded. The circular entrenchment so contrived that the vulgar from thence might view the ceremonies without breaking in on those that officiated (§ 14). Hence they marched with ceremony along the double range of stones for a mile in length, even to the eminence overlooking East Kennet; then halted at the two circles of stones one within another, standing not long since entire. Some remains of the greater circle are yet to be seen (§ 11). The inhabitants have a tradition this was once a place of worship, as I verily believe it; the Romans here keeping their *Feralia*, in memory of their dead friends, they crowned the stones with garlands and made their offerings to the Manes (§ 12). Then followed the *Ludi Funebres* in the small plain Selborough-hill stands in; whither by turning to the right, the other range of stones that helps form the *Cuneus* (*Cunetium*, Kennet § 49, 50) conducted them cross the current to a place by nature so fitted to the purpose, (§ 12). Though the neighbouring 'Backhampton' is but a small village, its name seems to discover somewhat of the extent and use of the Circus (the whole *Cunetium*, as he terms it, he defines as a *Circus Lapidus*, of between three and four miles¹) whether we say that it stood on the *back* of the Circus, or that they returned this way *back* in procession (§ 34). To the oblong part of the Circus this village joins, the Romans, I conceive, gave the name of *Discus*, in our language a coit, one of the exercises here used. Hence the large stones to the west, the remains of the *Discus* now standing, are still called the 'Devil's Coits'² (Gale's *Iter*, p. 135). Not that these two stones were ever British Deities, as some learned men have fancied, but a part of the *Discus*, as other stones lying in the same field do shew, to justify the figure I have assigned the whole" (§ 36).

It is observable, that Twining no where alludes to any stones re-

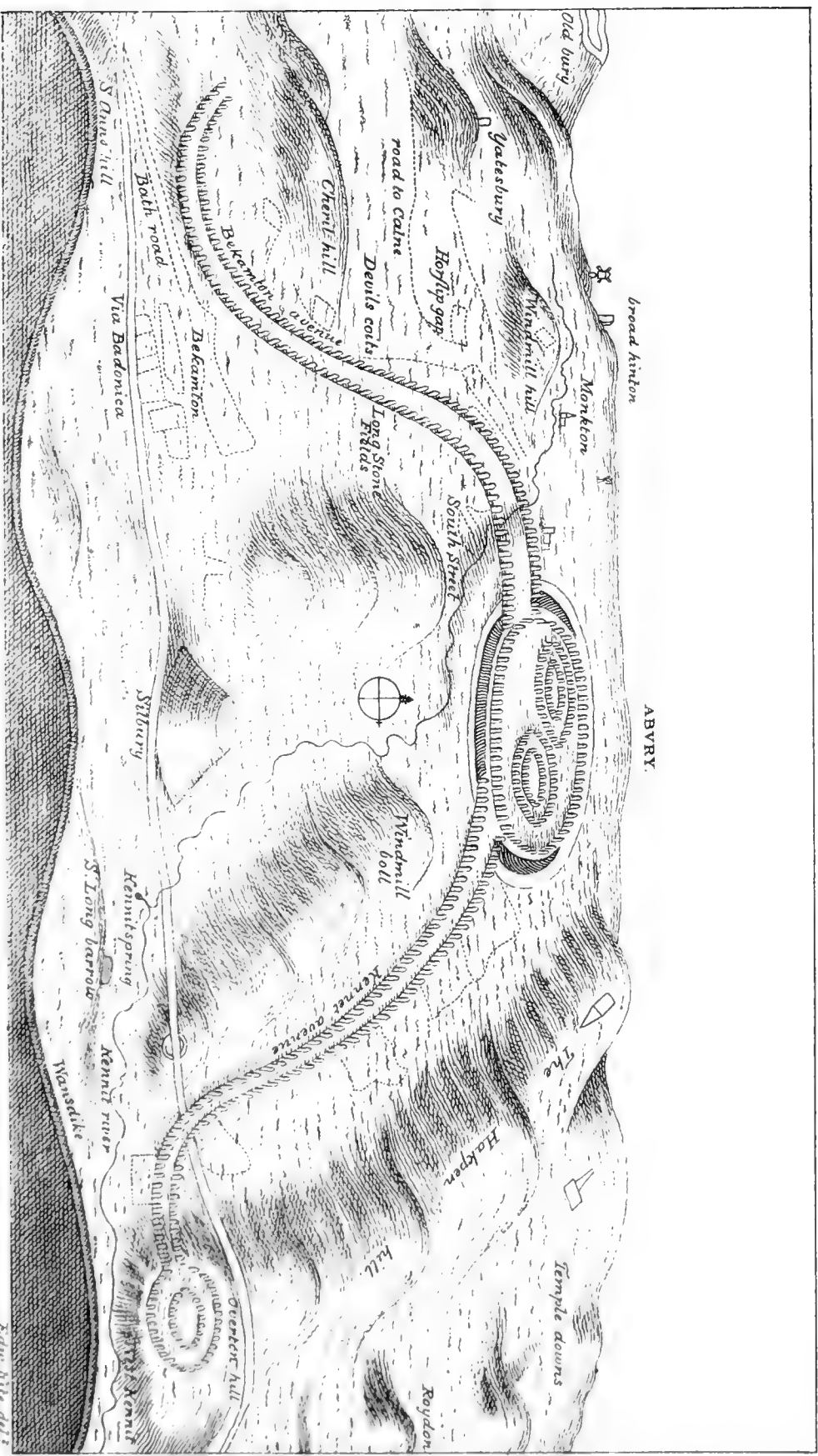
¹ He insists on the river Kennet "rising within the work," and so shows it in his plan, though it really rises some miles farther north in the *winter bourns*, giving their names to the villages so called.

² The stones called the 'Devil's Arrows' at Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, doubtless derive their name in the same way as these.

maining between West Kennet and the long stones called the 'Devil's Coits,' nor any tradition of such. They may be clearly concluded never to have existed except in his own fancy.

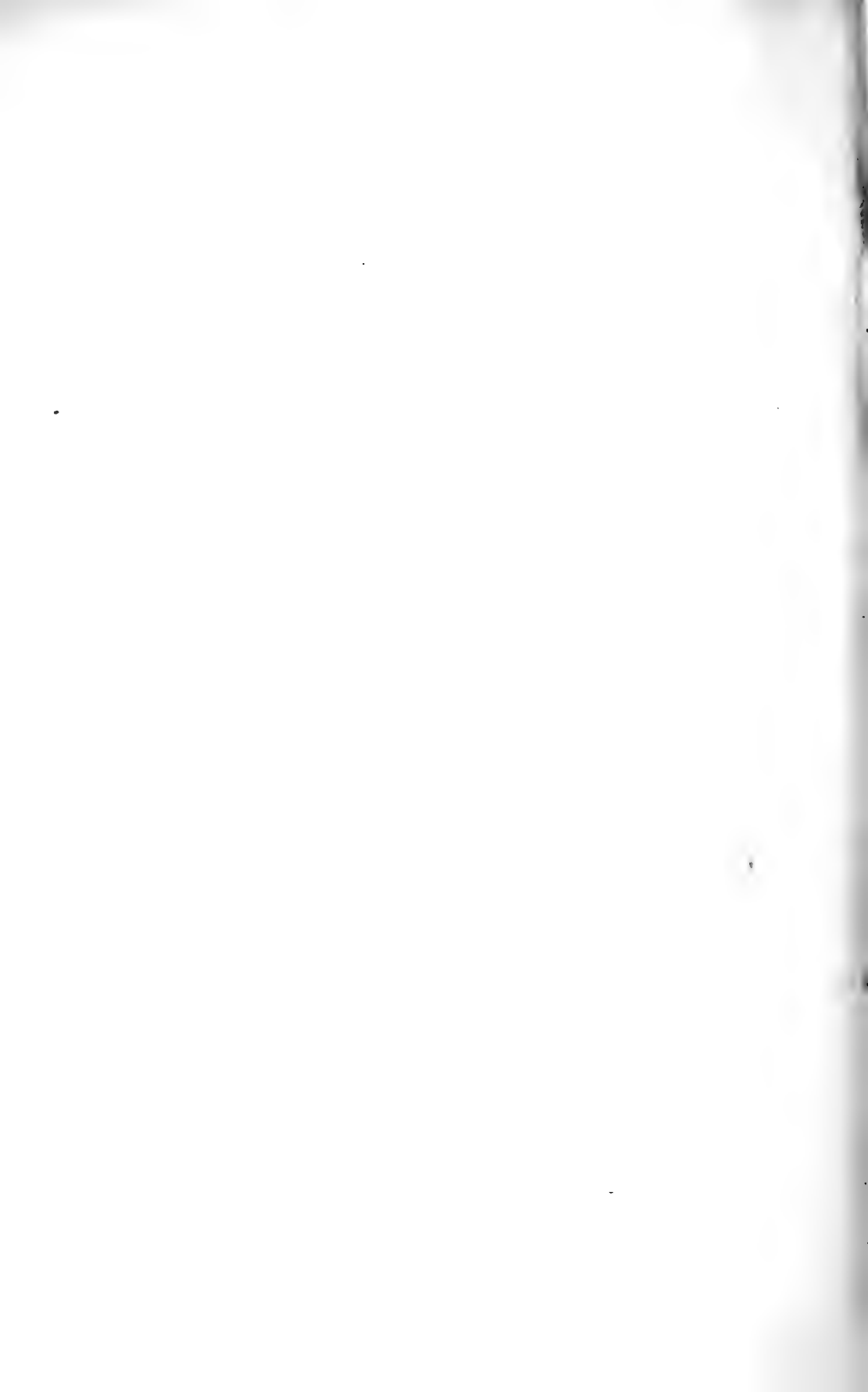
It was reserved for Dr. Stukeley¹ to give to the world, in 1743, a detailed account of the plan upon which the temple at Abury was constructed. He spent much time on the spot, surveyed it thoroughly, reckoned the stones which were standing, those which were prostrate, and the hollow places indicating the sites of those which had been destroyed. And this he did not merely within the vallum, but in the avenues and the 'Sanctuary' (as it was called) on Kennet Hill. "When I frequented this place," he says, "as I did for some years together, to take an exact account of it, staying a fortnight at a time, I found out the entire work by degrees. The second time I was here, an avenue was a new amusement. The third year another. So that at length I discover'd the mystery of it, properly speaking; which was, that the whole figure represented

¹ The Rev. Wm. Stukeley, M.D., was born at Holbech in Lincolnshire, Nov. 7th, 1687. He was admitted into Bene't College, Cambridge, Nov. 7th, 1703, and chosen scholar there in April following. He applied himself to the study of medicine and anatomy and took the degree of M.B. in 1709, and of M.D. in 1719. He practised for some time in Boston, in London, and in Grantham. In 1728 he married Miss Frances Williamson of Allington, near Grantham. Suffering much from the gout during the winter months, it was customary with him to take several journeys in the spring, in which he indulged his innate love of antiquities. The fruit of these travels was the fol. '*Itinerarium Curiosum,*' Centuria I., London, 1724. The 2nd volume was published in 1776, after his death. In 1729 he was ordained by Archbishop Wake and presented by Lord Chancellor King to the living of All Saints, Stamford. In 1737 he lost his wife, and in 1738 he married the only daughter of Dr. Gale, Dean of York. In 1740 he published his account of Stonehenge, and in 1743 his description of Abury. In 1747 he vacated his preferments in the country, being presented by the Duke of Montagu to the Rectory of St. George's, Queen Square, London. On the 27th of February, 1765, Dr. Stukeley was seized with a paralytic stroke, of which he died on the 3rd of March in his 78th year. He was buried, by his own desire, in the Churchyard of East Ham, in Essex. He left three daughters by his first wife, but had no child by the second. (*Vide Nichols's Lit. Anecd. vol. v.*) Dr. Stukeley's MSS. were for some time in the possession of the late Mr. Britton, and it is understood that a little before his death, he disposed of them to one of the representatives of the Doctor's family. It is to be hoped that they may be subjected to a careful examination, with a view to the publication of such portions as may still possess an antiquarian value.

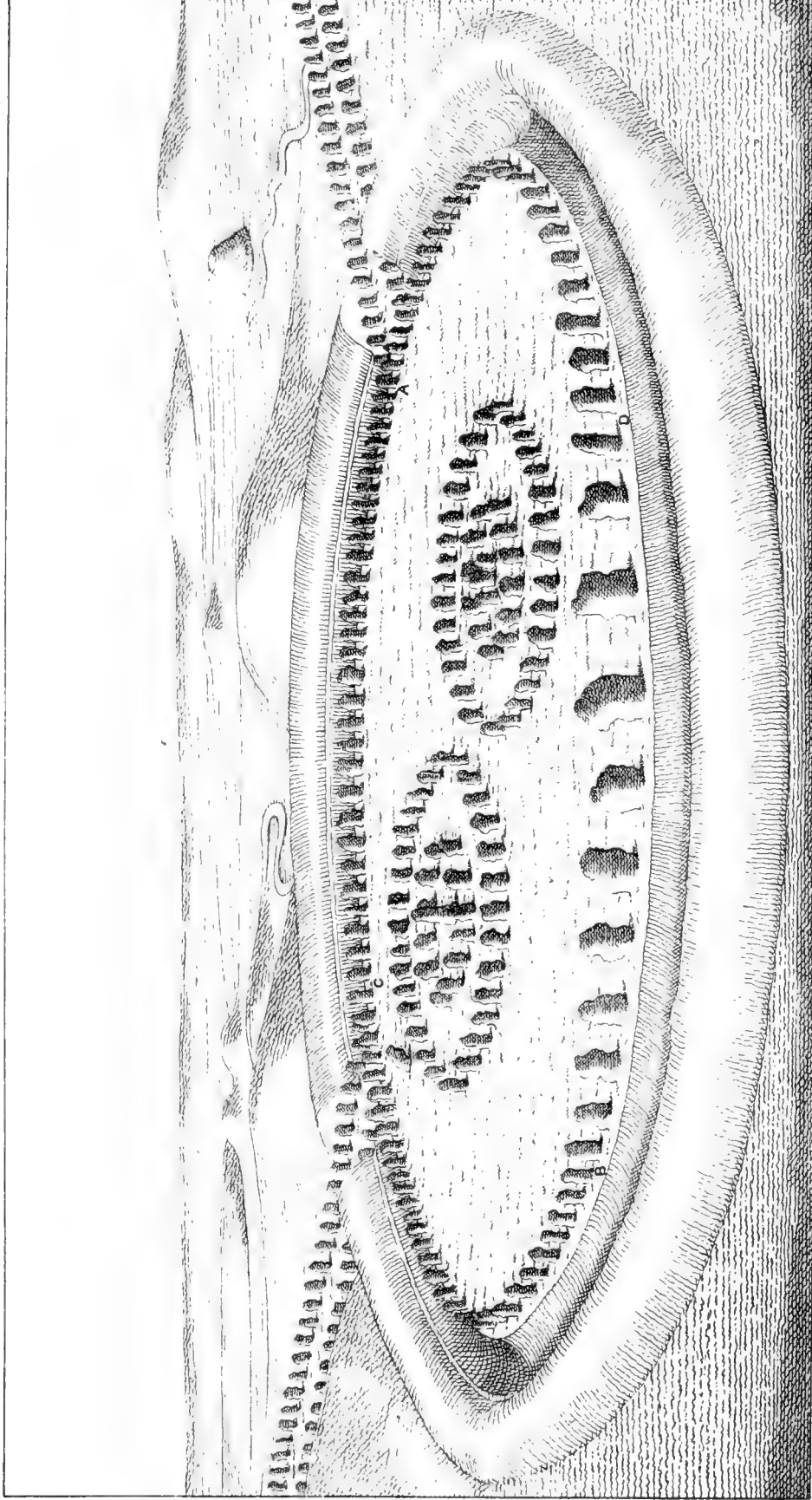


ABURY, IN ITS ORIGINAL STATE, AS SUPPOSED BY STUKELEY.

2000. Ant. del. f.







Edw. Aste, del.

ABURY, RESTORED, AFTER STUKELEY AND HOARE - VIEW FROM THE NORTH.
Area within the Ditch, 28½ Acres. Circumference on ridge of Vallum, 4442 Feet. Diameter, A to B 1260 Feet; C to D 1170 Feet.

a snake transmitted thro' a circle; this is an hieroglyphic, or symbol of highest note and antiquity."

That the avenues and the circles on Overton (or rather Kennet) Hill existed originally in the form laid down by Stukeley, cannot reasonably be doubted. Fanciful and credulous as he may occasionally appear, he evidently aimed at accuracy and truthfulness. At the period of his frequent sojournings at Abury, much had been done in the way of destruction, but it had been done for the most part within the memory of the existing generation, so that the Doctor was able to satisfy himself respecting the site, the destroyer, and the mode of destruction of almost every missing stone. "The custom of destroying them," he writes, "is so late, that I could easily trace the *obit* of every stone; who did it; for what purpose, and when, and by what method, what house or wall was built out of it, and the like. Every year that I frequented this country, I found several of them wanting; but the places very apparent whence they were taken. So that I was well able, as then, to make a perfect ground-plot of the whole, and all its parts. This is now 20 years ago. 'Tis to be fear'd, that had it been deferr'd till this time (1740) it would have been impossible."¹ He describes with minuteness the particular portions of the temple and avenues which were laid low in his time by Farmers Green and Griffin, and by Tom Robinson, (whose ugly face with a bird of ill omen hovering over it, and his manner of breaking the stones are commemorated in the vignette to page 53 of his work); and does not fail to make honorable mention of Sir Robert Holford, Mr. Charles Tucker, and Reuben Horsall, the Parish Clerk of that day, who all resented these ruthless proceedings, and will be held in grateful remembrance by succeeding generations of English Archæologists.

Should any visitor of the antiquities of Abury be sceptical as to the form and extent of them, I would recommend him to walk down the road to Kennet, and observe the remains of the avenue on the right hand side of the road. He could not look upon those two stones and nine stumps of stones and feel a doubt

that they had formed a portion of such an avenue as Stukeley has described. The result of the Doctor's long and careful investigations, made as they were before the work of destruction had proceeded too far, was to establish, to his own satisfaction, not only the form of this stupendous work, but the actual number of stones of which each component part had been constructed. He found that the large outer circle within the mound and fosse had been composed of 100 large and unhewn stones, placed about 27 feet asunder. Of these there are at present remaining 10 erect and 8 prostrate, and of some of these last the stumps are so embedded in a bank, as to be almost hidden from view. The dimensions of the two stones of this circle near the turnpike are as follows¹:—That nearest the road is 13 feet high, 16 feet wide, and 4 feet thick; the other is 13 feet 10 inches high, 18 feet wide, and 5 feet 6 inches thick. Five stones or portions of stones marked as recumbent in Sir R. Hoare's² plan have since disappeared, and a sixth, of which a portion then remained above ground, is now reduced to the level of the surrounding meadows.

Within this large outer circle were two smaller ones, not concentric, each, according to Stukeley, composed of thirty stones.³

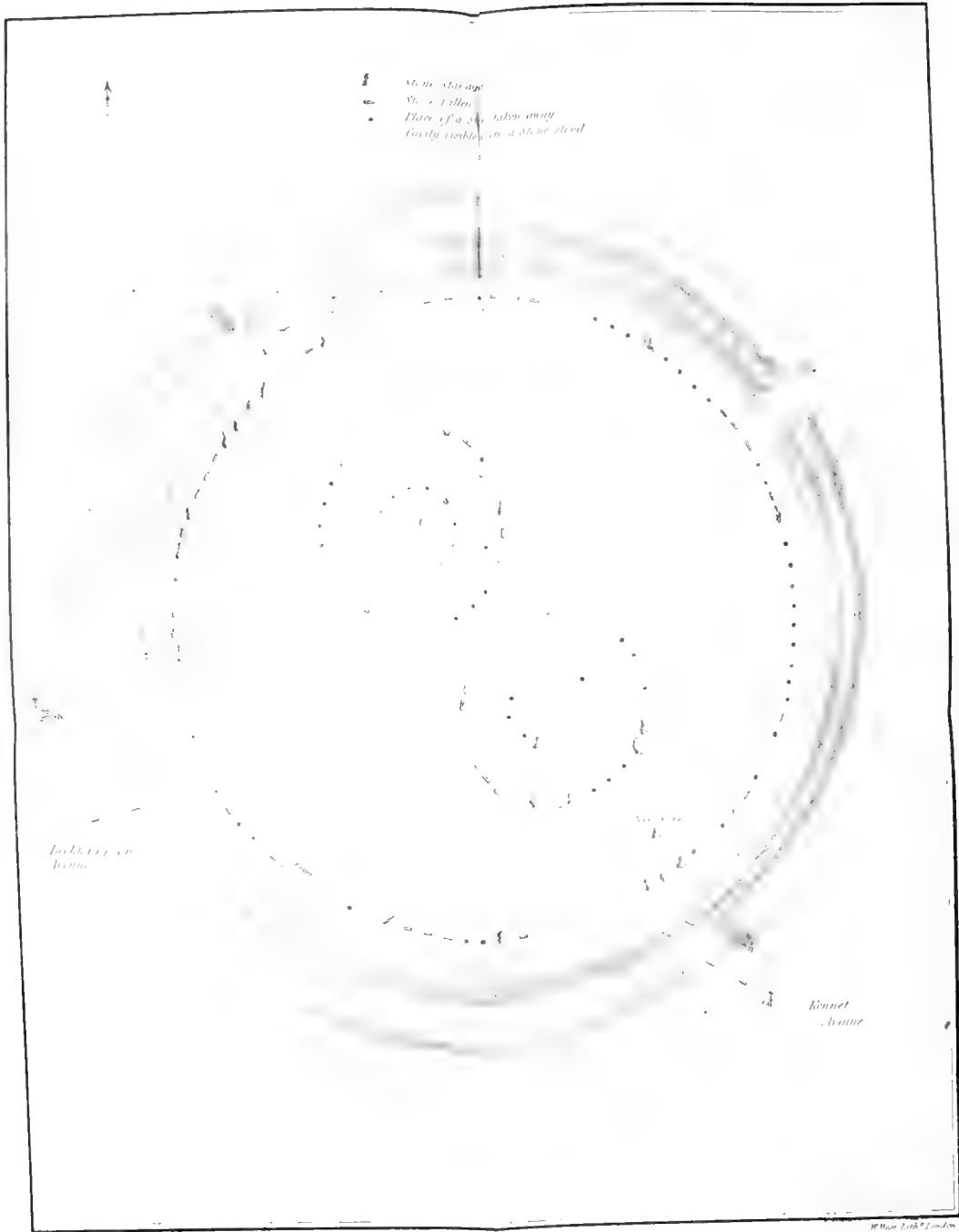
Of the southern of these circles two stones remain erect and three prostrate. Three recumbent stones marked in early impressions of Sir R. Hoare's survey of 1812, were removed between that year

¹ The measurements have in all instances been made at the highest, broadest, and thickest parts, and were taken for me by Mr. Shepherd, land surveyor, of Abury.

² It is impossible to write this name without feeling how great are the claims of Sir R. Hoare upon the gratitude of all English Antiquaries for the two magnificent and truly precious volumes which compose his "Ancient Wiltshire." The first was published in 1812, the second in 1819. Mr. Crocker's surveys are of great value, and greatly enhance the importance of the work. I will take this opportunity of tendering my best thanks to John Gough Nichols, Esq., the proprietor of the copper-plates of the 'Ancient Wiltshire,' for the courteous, prompt, and kind manner in which he acceded to my application for the loan of the three plates of plans, which have been so skilfully transferred to the stone by Mr. West, and which have been adapted to the state of Abury at the present time.

³ It would be difficult to make out Stukeley's double circles in Aubrey's sketch. It will be seen from plate 2, sec. 1., that the latter makes the diameter of the northern circle considerably larger than that of the southern.





THE TEMPLE AT ABRURY.
 Surveyed by D. Stukeley, in 1723.

W. Woodcut London

and 1819. Mr. Lawrence, the venerable Clerk of Abury, pointed out to me their sites in a garden adjoining his own.

Of the northern circle three stones (one of them much reduced in size) are now erect and one prostrate. One which was standing when Sir Richard Hoare described Abury has since been broken up. It projected into the road leading to Winterbourne Monkton, as may be seen in Stukeley's large plan; and as the carters were constantly driving against it, it was removed when the road was widened, and its fragments now form the wall which serves for the eastern boundary of the road.

Within each of these two circles Stukeley thinks there was a concentric circle of twelve stones. Of that within the northern circle, the last remaining stone when Mr. Crocker's survey for Sir R. Hoare was made in 1812, was removed about thirty years ago, as it unfortunately stood near the entrance to the farmer's rick yard. Of that within the southern circle nothing now remains.

Within the northern of these circles, in its centre, were three very large stones which formed the Adytum or Cove of the Temple, as Stukeley termed it. "These were plac'd with an obtuse angle towards each other, and as it were, upon an ark of a circle, like the great half-round at the east end of some old Cathedrals."¹ Of these two remain, standing at an angle of about 110 degrees. The third, 7 yards in length, fell in 1713, and was broken up. The taller of the two is 17 feet high, 7 feet 7 inches wide, and 2 feet 4 inches thick. The other is 14 feet 7 inches high, 14 feet 7 inches wide, and 4 feet thick. "The altar properly lay upon the ground before this superb nich. That no doubt was carry'd off long ago, as not being fix'd in the earth."² The late Mr. Brown of Amesbury says, "Before the central one of the three, facing, (like the altar trilithon of Stonchenge) the north east, was placed the stone on which the sacrifices were burnt. This I ascertained myself by digging, the place being still apparent where it lay, but now filled up with rubbish."³ In an interesting paper on the state of Abury in 1829, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,

¹ Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 23. "The vulgar call them 'the Devil's brand irons.' p. 24.

² *Do.* p. 24. ³ Brown's *Stonchenge and Abury*, 4th edition, p. 34.

Mr. Joseph Hunter states that he was informed by a labourer that the earth had been examined to the depth of a yard or more, at the foot of these stones, to see if there were any evidences of sacrifices having been performed there, but nothing peculiar was observed.

In the centre of the southern inner circle of twelve stones was one stone, described by Stukeley as having been of a circular form at the base, of a vast bulk, 21 feet long, 8 feet 9 inches in diameter, and when standing, higher than the rest. It formed, in Stukeley's opinion, the "Kibla," "Ambre," or central obelisk of this temple. Nothing now remains of it.

In the southern end of the line that connected the two centres of these temples, and between the southern temple and the circumvallation, a single stone was standing in Stukeley's time. It was not of great bulk, but it had a hole wrought in it, to which Stukeley thought that the victim was attached before it was slain. This, which he called the "Ring Stone," has entirely disappeared.¹

With respect to the mode of arrangement of the stones composing these circles, Stukeley says, "that as they generally have a rough

¹ Number of Stones calculated to be standing or fallen, at different periods:

	AUBREY, 1663.	STUKELEY, 1724.	SIR R. C. HOARE, 1819.	LONG, 1857.
	Standing	Standing	Fallen	Standing
Outer Circle of 100	31	18	25	10
Northern outer Circle		4†	9	4
,, inner Circle	16*	1	5	1
,, central cove stones . .	3	2		2
Southern outer Circle		4	10	2
,, inner Circle	21*	1		
,, central stone or obelisk }			1	and 12 re- cumbent.
Ring Stone	1	1		

* As Aubrey's plan does not recognize the distinction of inner and outer circles in the Northern and Southern temples, the numbers he gives are reckoned together.

† From Stukeley's plan it would appear that only 3 stones of this circle were then standing. He has, however, marked the half-remaining stone next to stone g in Sir R. Hoare's plan, as recumbent instead of erect, as it now is.



*The Area of this Work contains 26 acres and 27 perch
 The Circumference of this Work on the ridge of the vallum is 1112 feet*

*100 feet
 100*

1000

*1 foot
 100*

The stones marked thus, have been removed between 1819 & 1857



North of the Vallum

THE TEMPLE AT ABERY.

W. Wood 1857 London

and a smoother side, care was taken to place the most sightly side inwards, towards the included area." "They set the largest and handsomest stones in the more conspicuous parts of the temple, which is that southward, and about the entrances of the two avenues."

THE VALLUM.

The vallum or rampart enclosing the great circle at Abury, and which, unlike military works, has the fosse adjoining it on the inside,¹ contains, according to Sir Richard Hoare, an area of 28 acres and 27 perches, and has a circumference of 4,442 feet.² It is not quite circular, being from the Kennet entrance to the opposite side 1170 feet, and from the Beckhampton entrance to its opposite side 1260 feet wide. It rises 34 feet above the surrounding field and descends into a fosse 9 feet wide at the bottom, at a depth of 33 feet below the level of the meadows in the interior. The whole slope of the vallum on the inside is upwards of 70 feet, and about half-way between the top of the mound and the bottom of the fosse is a flat ledge, 12 feet wide, supposed to have been for spectators at the public festivals. In making its circuit, the visitor will come upon a portion near the church which has been obliterated. Dr. Stukeley says respecting it, "When the Lord Stowell, who own'd the manor of Abury, levell'd the vallum on that side of the town next the church, where the barn now stands, the workmen came to the original surface of the ground, which was easily discernible by a black stratum of mold upon the chalk. Here they found large quantities of buck's horns, bones, oyster shells, and wood coals. The old man who was employ'd in the work says, there was the quantity of a cart-load of the horns, that they were very rotten, that there were very many burnt bones among them. They were the remains of sacrifices."³

¹ At Stonehenge the ditch is on the outside of the vallum.

² "The compass of this, on the outside, Mr. Roger Gale and I measured about 4800 feet, August 16th, 1721." Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 20. Aubrey's plan of the vallum, taken with the plane table, is more correct than Stukeley's, and nearly resembles that of Mr. Crocker. "It was projected" he says, "by the halfe inch scale."

³ Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 27.

THE AVENUES AND SANCTUARY.

We now proceed to the avenues, each of which was composed of 200 stones, and was of a sinuous course, and about a mile and a half in length. The head of the serpent, (which reptile the whole work was supposed by Stukeley to have been designed to represent,) rested on Overton or Kennet Hill, and the tail extended from Abury in the direction of Beckhampton. The head was called the "Sanctuary," and was composed of two concentric ovals, the outer containing 40, the inner 18 stones.¹ The diameter of the outer oval, according to Stukeley, was 138 feet 4 inches by 155 feet 6 inches. That of the inner one was 44 feet 11 inches by 51 feet 10½ inches. Of these circles, as he found them in 1723, Stukeley gives an engraving.² They stood in what is still called Mill Field, and their sites are shown in Nos. 20, 21, and 29 of Stukeley's illustrations. Farmer Green took away the stones and Farmer Griffin ploughed up the ground, in 1724. "The loss of this work," says Stukeley,³ "I did not lament alone; but all the neighbours (except the person that gain'd the little dirty profit) were heartily griev'd for it. It had a beauty that touch'd them far beyond those much greater circles in Abury town. The stones here were not large, set pretty close together, the proportions of them with the intervals, and the proportions between the two circles, all being taken at one view

¹ "It can hardly now be thought that the number was really 19, as some have supposed, *e.g.* the Rev. E. Duke, 'Druidical Temples of Wiltshire,' p. 64, 178. Several megalithic circles in Cornwall are of 19 stones, also the inner oval at Stonehenge, as is thought; and each side of the avenue at Classerness; in all of which the number 19 is with some reason believed to refer to the Metonic Cycle." —[Dr. Thurnam.]

² For Aubrey's account of these circles on Overton Hill, see above p. 317, and for his plan of them, see plate 3, fig. 1. He makes the diameter of the outer circle 45 paces, of the inner 16; the outer circle to consist of 22 stones, the inner of 15. There are no traces on his plan of the circular trench around it, which he mentions in his description. The mode in which the avenue narrowed and bent at its junction with the outer circle, as shown by him, is very curious, and favours the notion of a dracontine form.

³ It is difficult to discover the extent of Stukeley's acquaintance with the 'Monumenta Britannica.' With reference to the 'Sanctuary,' he writes as if he had not seen more than the short account published in Gibson's edition of Camden's 'Britannia;' while it is clear from pages 33 and 45 of his "Abury," that he must have known more of the MS. than is there printed.

under the eye, charmed them. The great stones of the great circles at Abury were not by them discern'd to stand in circles, nor could they easily be persuaded of it. But these of the sanctuary they still talk of with pleasure and regret."

Outside this temple, and at a little more than a foot below the surface, Dr. Toope, then living at Marlborough, found in 1678 the ground full of human skulls and bones. The feet lay towards the temple. In a letter to Aubrey, from which an extract is given below, the Doctor describes his discovery, as well as the professional use which he made of it, for the benefit of his fortunate patients at Marlborough.¹ "Mr. Aubrey says, sharp and form'd flints were found among them."²

THE KENNET AVENUE.

Of the Kennet avenue, the eastern part of which represented the neck of the serpent, and which narrowed as it mounted Kennet Hill to join the head, Stukeley says, "Mr. Smith living here, informed me that when he was a schoolboy, the Kennet avenue was entire, from end to end." As however the stones composing it covered a few feet of ground which the Greens and Griffins coveted,

¹ "In Wilts, between Kinnett and Overton, on the lands of one Captayne Walter Grubb, I approach'd workmen digging not far off the roade; I inquir'd their digging, who answer'd, 'making new boundaries to enclose for French grasse or 5 foile.' Said the men, 'we throw up many bones here, but know not of what creatures.' I quickly perceiv'd they were humane, and came the next day and dug for them, and stored myselfe with many bushells, of which I made a noble medicine that relieved many of my distressed neighbours: the bones large, and almost rotten, but the teeth extreme and wonderfully white, hard and sound. (No tobacco taken in those daies.) About eighty yards from it is a large spherical foundation, (he means circular) whose diameter is forty yards, by which you know the circuit. Within this large temple there is another orbe, whose sphere is 15 yards in diameter; round about this temple a most exact plaine and superficies; under this superficies layd the bones soe close one by another, that seul toucheth seul. I exposed 2 or 3, and never took up a bone of them to observe and see in what manner they lay. I perceived their feet lay toward the temple, and but little more than a foot under the superficies. At the feet of the first order, I saw lay the heads of the next, as above, their feet intending the temple; I really believe the whole plaine, on that even ground, is full of dead bodies."

(Dr. R. Toope to Mr. Aubrey, from Bristoll, 1 Dec., 1685.)

Note by Mr. Aubrey relating to the above letter. "This was discovered in 1678, and Dr. Toope was lately at the Golgotha again to supply a defect of medicine he had from hence."

² Stukeley's Abury, p. 33.

a war of extermination was waged against them; and when the stubborn blocks refused to succumb to fire and the hammer, they were buried in pits dug about them; "Two of them lie six feet under ground in the premises of Mr. Butler of Kennet, and over another the Bath road passes."¹ The work of destruction has been so successfully carried out that only 19 stones, or their stumps, are now visible between West Kennet and Abury; four in the bank on the left hand side of the road from Marlborough as it enters Kennet, and which can only be seen by going into the adjoining field;² two on the Abury side of Kennet, between which the road passes; eleven in the field on the left of the road; one on the brow of the hill by the road side; and one close to the turnpike gate outside the vallum. Measuring the breadth of the avenue in several places, where Stukeley "had an opportunity of two opposite stones being left, he found a difference; and the like by measuring the interval of stones sideways; yet there was the same proportion preserved between breadth and interval, which he found to be as 2 to 3. So that by Abury town in a part that represented the belly of the snake, the breadth of the avenue was 34 cubits (56½ feet) and the intervals of the stones sides 50 cubits (86½ feet,) the proportion of 2 to 3."³

Upon the ground plan on the opposite page, the distances between the eleven stones, above mentioned, are laid down. The only stone now standing is 8 feet 9 inches high, 9 feet 9 inches wide, and 3 feet thick. The stone nearer Kennet, but on the same side of the road from Abury, is 7 feet high, 3 feet 6 inches thick, and 5 feet wide. Mr. Shepherd of Abury, who took these measurements for me, informed me that he well remembered the removal, about 35 years ago, of three stones near this last, all on the right hand side of the road from Abury. The horses used to shy at them in the dusk of the evening, and bolt down the bank on the other side of the

¹ The Rev. J. B. Deane's "Worship of the Serpent traced throughout the World," p. 381, 1833.

² These four stones lie about 30 paces apart. That these were the original, or nearly the original distances, seems confirmed by Stukeley's 20th plate.

³ Stukeley, p. 29. In the Charter of Athelstane quoted hereafter, will be found the earliest notice (probably) of this avenue, or indeed of any part of Abury.

road.¹ The stones composing this avenue were, according to Stukeley, "of all shapes, sizes, and height that happen'd, altogether rude." Some which he measured were 6 feet thick and 16 in circumference. "If of a flattish make, the broadest dimension was set in the line of the avenue, and the most sightly side of the stone inward. The founders were sensible, all the effect desired in the case, was their bulk and regular station."²

THE BECKHAMPTON AVENUE.

The Beckhampton avenue which, according to Stukeley, formed the tail of the sacred reptile, and like the other, was composed, as he calculated, of 200 stones, left the vallum nearly at the W. point, and passing by the south side of what is now the churchyard, took the direction of Beckhampton. It was about the same length as the Kennet avenue, and narrowing gradually ended (as he believed), in a single stone in a low valley on the down between the Devizes and Calne roads, near a fine group of barrows.³ Stukeley speaks of ten stones of this avenue known to have been standing within memory, between the exit of the avenue from the vallum and the brook. Four



¹ "Mr. Butler of Kennet informed me, in 1829, that these stones were removed by order of the Trustees of the Turnpike Road for the reason alleged by Mr. Shepherd, viz.; because horses used to shy at them! Mr. Butler did all he could to dissuade the Magistrates and Farmers from destroying them, but they were inexorable."—(Rev. J. B. Deane, 1857.)

² Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 30. Aubrey's sketch of this avenue (pl. ii. fig. 2,) was doubtless drawn from memory, and hence its obvious inaccuracies.

³ Of ten barrows composing this group, four only have escaped the plough.

stones were visible between this point and the entrance of the avenue upon the open cultivated fields. "When it has cross'd the way leading from South street, we discern here and there the remains of it, in its road to Longstone Cove. Farmer Griffin broke near 20 of the stones of this part of the avenue." The two large stones near the Long barrow stand "on the midway of the length of the avenue," and are "placed upon an eminence, the highest ground which the avenue passes over." One of these stones set upon the arc of a circle at an obtuse angle with two others, which have disappeared, formed a cove resembling that in the centre of the northern temple at Abury, of which Aubrey has preserved a sketch. The stone now standing is 16 feet high, as many broad, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ thick, and formed the eastern jamb of the cove. The back stone, of like dimension, which was lying on the ground when Stukeley wrote, has been removed many years; while the third was carried away by Richard Fowler when Stukeley was at Abury. Aubrey, in his 'Monumenta Britannica,' thus speaks of the stones he saw at this spot; "Southward from Aubury in the ploughed field, doe stand three huge upright stones, perpendicularly, like the three stones at Aubury; they are called the Devill's Coytes." (See plate viii. 2.¹) Dr. Musgrave speaks of them as 'Diaboli Disci,' and says that Dr. Gale considered them to have been Belgic Hermæ.² Of the stones which formed the part of the avenue between Abury and this cove, Stukeley says, "Many stones by the way are just buried under the surface of the earth. Many lie in the balks and meres, and many fragments are remov'd to make boundaries for the fields; but more whole ones have been burnt to build withal, within every body's memory. One stone still

¹ Aubrey's sketch gives the position, not the form of these stones. For a representation of the remaining one, see Hoare's 'Ancient Wilts,' ii. pl. xv. f. 2.

² "De lapidibus altis immensæ magnitudinis quos Diaboli Discos appellat vulgus, plurimæ sunt conjecturæ, quarum unam alibi tangam." Musgrave's 'Belgium Britannicum,' vol. i. p. 44, 1719. "Sed ut hanc rem extra dubium ponam doctissimus Galæus, in explicandis veterum monumentis cum primis sagax, Agro Cunetioni vicino (est illud oppidulum Belgii) tres lapides pyramidales esse tradit, quos Hermas esse non sine ratione judicat, iisque non absimiles, quos prope Isurium (Aldborough) inventos ære insculpi fecit. Tres erant hujusmodi lapides in hoc agro, ut in Isuriano, et forte ad eundem usum nempe viam commonstrandam, unde Mercurius dicebatur *εὐόδιος*." Ibid, p. 111.

fig. 2.

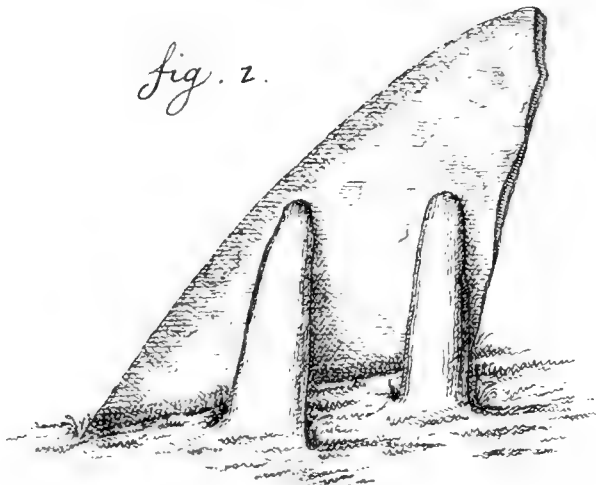
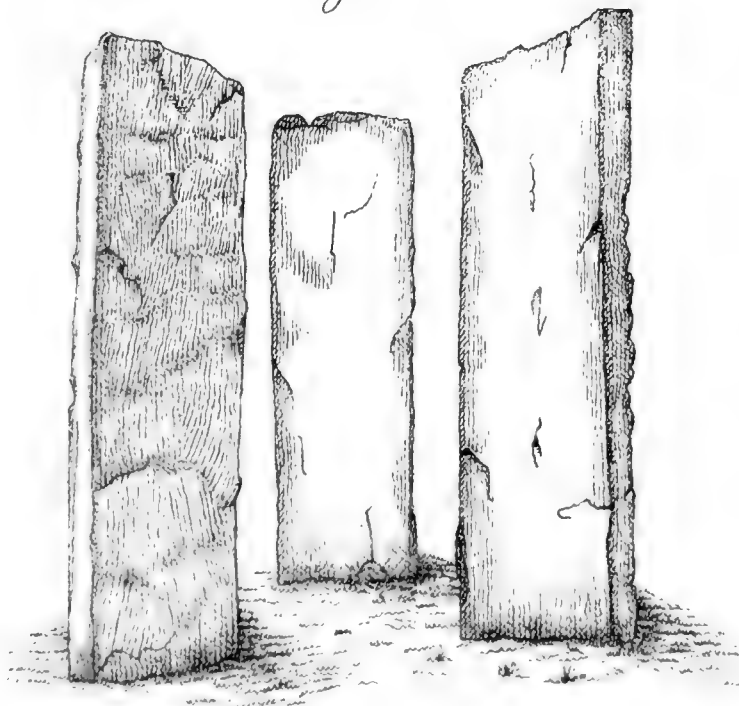


fig. 2.



1. SHELVING STONE IN MONKTON FIELDS.
2. THE DEVIL'S COITS,
FROM AUBREY'S 'MONUMENTA BRITANNICA.'

Edw. Kite, del.



remains standing, near Longstone Cove.”¹ Describing the course of the avenue from the cove towards its end, he says, “The avenue continu’d its journey by the corn-fields. Three stones lie still by the field-road coming from South street to the Caln road. Mr. Alexander told me he remember’d several stones standing by the parting of the roads under Bekamton, demolish’d by Richard Fowler. Then it descends by the road to Cherill, till it comes to the Bath road, close by the Roman road, and there in the low valley it terminates, near a fine group of barrows, under Cherill-hill, in the way to Oldbury-camp; this is west of Bekamton village.” “In this very point only you can see the temple on Overton Hill, on the south side of Silbury Hill. Here I am sufficiently satisfied this avenue terminated, at the like distance from Abury-town, as Overton Hill was, in the former avenue; 100 stones on a side, 6000 cubits in length, ten stadia or the eastern mile. Several stones are left dispersedly on banks and meres of the lands. One great stone belonging to this end of the avenue, lies buried almost under ground, in the plow’d land between the barrow west of Longstone long barrow, and the last hedge in the town of Bekamton. Richard Fowler shew’d me the ground here, whence he took several stones and demolish’d them. I am equally satisfied there was no temple or circle of stones at this end of it” Had there been, “it would most assuredly have been well known, because every stone was demolish’d within memory when I was there. I apprehend this end of the avenue drew narrower in imitation of the tail of a snake, and that one stone stood in the middle of the end, by way of close.”²

I have been more particular in giving a full account of this avenue, as the question naturally arises, how far should Aubrey’s silence respecting the Beckhampton avenue affect our faith in Stukeley’s description of it?³ Aubrey and Dr. Musgrave, both mention

¹ This stone, the solitary remnant of the Beckhampton avenue, is still standing (1857). It is shown to the N. of the Cove Stone in the large ground plan, and it is figured in ‘Ancient Wilts,’ ii. pl. xv. 2.

² Stukeley’s Abury, pp. 34, 35, 36, and plates i., xxiv., and xxv.

³ It is possible that Mr. E. Philips’s information (see p. 317) may have referred to some of the buildings in the neighbourhood of ‘South Street’, on the line of this avenue.

the 'Devil's Coits' only, and we have no one to speak to the fact of there having been other stones in that neighbourhood but Twining, who mentions "other stones lying in the same field." It must, however, be observed that the course of the Beckhampton avenue from Abury is of a more private character than that of the Kennet avenue. It does not adjoin any public road until it approaches Beckhampton, and it passed for the most part over fields, which have been for a long time in cultivation. Scattered stones might therefore have been lying about on the line of it which would not attract the notice of a careless observer, while the great size of the stones called the 'Devil's Coits' would throw smaller ones into the shade. And except in the open fields leading to Beckhampton, it would have been difficult, one would think, to find any stones remaining; as, unlike the line of the other avenue, this one has a great many cottages and a bridge on its course, which would naturally be constructed out of so convenient a quarry. Many stones, too, besides those brought thither by Farmer Green, must have been used in building at Beckhampton. It is very likely that Stukeley's "original memoirs which he wrote on the spot very largely," and of which he adds "that it was necessary for him then to do it, in order to get a thorough intelligence of it," (p. 16), may throw further light upon this matter and help to clear up the question, how far his Draconian theory, as applied to Abury, had its origin in facts; or how far his fancy for that particular theory may have led him to supply from his own imagination the deficiencies in the evidence necessary for its support. It must, at present, be admitted that the evidence for this western avenue is of a much less decisive character than that for the eastern. Different minds will regard it in different ways. Some will think that it extended no further than the "Cove" or "Long Stones;" some that it ended, like that leading to Kennet, in a circle, or double circle of stones; whilst others, among whom the favorers of Ophite theories of various kinds will be found, will with Stukeley, (and perhaps truly,) see in its "disjecta membra" the tail of the Great Serpent, forming an avenue of equal length with that which leads to Kennet.

THE SARSEN STONES.

The entire number of stones composing the serpent in its course from Overton to Beckhampton, including those within the circuit of the vallum, was calculated by Stukeley to be 650. They were brought from the adjoining vallies, and are thus described by Aubrey in his 'Natural History of Wiltshire;' "They are also (far from the rode) commonly called Sarsdens, or Sarsdon stones. About two or three miles from Andover is a village called Sersden, i.e. *Csars dene*, perhaps *don*: Cæsar's dene, Cæsar's plains; now Salisbury plaine. (So Salisbury, *Cæsaris Burgus*.) But I have mett with this kind of stones sometimes as far as from Christian Malford in Wilts to Abington; and on the downes about Royston, &c., as far as Huntington, are here and there those Sarsden stones. They peep above the ground a yard and more high, bigger and lesser. Those that lie in the weather are so hard that no toole can touch them. They take a good polish. As for their colour, some are a kind of dirty red, towards porphyry; some perfect white; some dusky white; some blew like deep blew marle; some of a kind of olive greenish colour; but generally they are whitish. Many of them are mighty great ones, and particularly those in Overton Wood. Of these kind of stones are framed the two stupendous antiquities of Aubury and Stone-heng. . . . Sir Christopher Wren sayes they doe pitch all one way, like arrowes shot. . . . Sir Christopher thinks they were cast up by a vulcano."¹

Stukeley's theory respecting the Sarsen stones is amusing enough; "This whole country, hereabouts, is a solid body of chalk, cover'd with a most delicate turf. As this chalky matter harden'd at creation, it spew'd out the most solid body of the stones, of greater specific gravity than itself; and assisted by the centrifuge power, owing to the rotation of the globe upon its axis, threw them upon its surface, where they now lie. This is my opinion concerning this appearance, which I often attentively consider'd."²

Mr. Cunnington, who is as distinguished an illustrator of the geology of his native county, as his grandfather was of its primæval

¹ p. 44. See the account of a plain of stones near Marseilles, in Strabo B. iv. c. 1. § 7.

² Stukeley's 'Abury,' p. 16. See also his 'Stonehenge,' pp. 5, 6.

antiquities, in a communication to the *Devizes Gazette*, in June 1852, says; "The composition of the Sarsens is nearly pure siliceous, that is, they consist of fine siliceous sand, agglutinated by a siliceous cement—a process which may be familiarly illustrated by what may be observed when a small quantity of water is dropped into a basin of dry, granular sugar; a portion of the sugar dissolves, and causes the grains to adhere to each other, thus forming a mass which on drying becomes solid.

"They contain no carbonate of lime, and the slight trace of oxide of iron may be due to the infiltration of ferruginous particles from the neighbouring soil, as it may be remarked that the exterior of the stones only is stained with iron, the interior being generally beautifully white. Mr. R. Clark, chemist, of *Devizes*, has recently confirmed this opinion by a fresh analysis. They appear to contain no saline particles whatever, and the dampness observed on walls built with this material is due to the precipitation of the moisture of the atmosphere upon the cold surface of the stone.

"With regard to the origin of these remarkable masses of rock, but few facts have been absolutely established. An examination of the MSS. of Mr. *Cunnington*, the antiquary, has recently brought to light the interesting fact that *William Smith*, "the father of English geology," was the first who advanced the opinion, still held by our leading geologists, that an extensive stratum of sand, containing these stones, once covered the chalk in these districts; that the softer portions were carried away by the action of water, leaving the solid blocks behind, on the surface.

"That they belong to the 'tertiary formations' (the strata above the chalk) is evident, from the fact that they frequently contain chalk flints: these having been, in all probability, derived from the destruction of elevated and exposed portions of the chalk stratum. That the Sarsens were not transported from any great distance would also appear from the circumstance that they are co-extensive with and confined to, the surface of the chalk, from the wolds of *Yorkshire* to the hills of *Sidmouth* in *Devonshire*. Instances, however, occur (although the contrary has lately been asserted) where, as stated by *Dr. Buckland*, (*Geol. Trans.* vol. ii. p. 1), they have

been drifted beyond the present area of the chalk, for example, at Portisham in Dorsetshire.

“With the exception of some traces of vegetables (apparently fucoids) no organic remains have been found in these rocks; hence it is difficult to ascertain to what member of the tertiary series they belonged: but it may be remarked that they have a great resemblance to some of the sands of the Bagshot sand formation. The finding of a few shells in the Sarsens would go far to give them a respectable “*locus standi*” among other rocks. The Sarsen stones have furnished the materials for the construction of the whole of the Druidical temple of Avebury, and the outer circle and the large trilithons of Stonehenge as well as the Cromlech at Clatford, and other similar remains in various parts of England.¹ From this circumstance the term “Druid sand-stone” has been applied to them by geologists. It may not be amiss to notice here one other circumstance connected with these stones. From time to time fresh blocks appear above the surface of the earth, and the plough occasionally strikes one hidden in a field, where similar operations had been carried on for years, without any such obstruction presenting itself. This has induced the country people to adopt the belief (to which they adhere most pertinaciously), that *stones grow*. Such appearances, however, are readily accounted for when we remember that the earth surrounding these stones is constantly being reduced in level (especially in sloping fields) by the combined action of the plough and atmospheric influences; whilst the stones themselves, resting on a solid bed of chalk or gravel, cannot sink lower.

“The abundance of these remains, particularly in some of the vallies of North Wilts, is very remarkable. Few persons who have not seen them, can form an adequate idea of the extraordinary scene presented to the spectator, who, standing on the brow of one of the hills near Clatford, sees, stretching for miles before him, countless numbers of these gigantic stones, occupying the middle of the valley, and winding like a mighty stream towards the south.

¹ Amongst others the stones of Weland’s Smithy, near the White Horse, in Berkshire.

Three or four small lateral vallies, containing a similar deposit, and converging to the main valley, add to the impression which almost involuntarily forces itself on the mind, that it must be a stream of rocks, e'en now flowing onward.

“The lichens growing on the surface give a delicate blue tint to the stones, and when seen by the light of the afternoon's sun, especially towards the close of the summer season, the *tout ensemble* presents a picture of striking and peculiar beauty.

“The specific gravity of Sarsen stone is about 2500 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than that of water. The weight per cubic foot is 154 lbs. The length of the largest stone at Stonehenge is 25 feet. The weight of the largest stone at Avebury (in the cove of the north circle of the temple), being probably the most massive Sarsen in Wilts, is 62 tons. A larger specimen stood in the same structure a few years since, but is now unhappily destroyed, the weight of which was not less than 90 tons.”

In a subsequent communication to the same paper (June, 1853), Mr. Cunnington says, “Some important information as to the original stratum from which these masses of rock were derived, has lately been communicated to the Geological Society by Jos. Prestwich, Esq., F.G.S. Mr. Prestwich is of opinion that they belonged to a series of beds beneath the London Clay, which he proposes to call the ‘Woolwich and Reading beds,’ and which constitute the second group above the chalk, in the South Eastern districts of England.

“The mottled clays adjacent to the chalk at Alum Bay in the Isle of Wight, the sands and mottled clays of Hungerford, Newbury and Reading and the shelly strata of Woolwich, all belong to this group. In some localities (as at Nettlebed Hill, near Oxford) masses of rock similar to the Sarsen stones of the Wiltshire Downs, may be seen in their original position in the beds of sand: and near Dieppe there is a continuous bed of them a mile in length.

“In this county, however, not only the Woolwich and Reading beds, but the associated tertiary strata, have mostly been removed by some powerful agency. The only remaining traces of them are to be found in the outliers of sand and clay in the neighbourhood

of Marlborough, and on the higher hills of Salisbury Plain, and in the blocks of sandstone (Sarsens) which are so numerous on some of our downs. The latter are most interesting, as having supplied the whole of the material of the temple of Avebury and the larger stones of Stonehenge.”

SILBURY HILL.

I must proceed to say a few words respecting that remarkable conical and artificial mound, Silbury Hill, which stands due south of the great circle, and midway between the extremities of the avenues. Its name is supposed, by some, to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon words ‘Sil’ or ‘Sel,’ great, and ‘bury,’ mound:¹ by others, Silbury is interpreted to mean the ‘hill of the sun,’ and to have had a similar dedication to that of the hills of Salisbury and Sulisbury at Sarum and Bath. This great work is supposed by Mr. Davies (‘Celtic Researches’) to have been the third of the mighty labours of the Island of Britain, viz., the piling up of the Mount of Assemblies. Upon this subject, Sir R. Hoare says, “In the Welsh Traids, perhaps some allusion may have been made to this stately mount, in the fourteenth Triad.” ‘The three mighty labours of the Island of Britain: erecting the Stone of Ketti; constructing the work of Emrys; and heaping the pile of Cyvrangon.’ The Stone of Ketti is, upon good authority, supposed to be a great cromlech, in the district of Gower in Glamorganshire, still retaining the title

¹ Aubrey’s account of Silbury is as follows. “I returne now to the Mausolea of our owne countrey, and will first set down Silbury Hill in Wiltshire, a little on the right hand of the rode from Marleborough to Bristow, about a mile from Kynet, west. I am sorry that I did not take the circumference of the bottom and top and length of the hill: but I neglected it, because that Sir Jonas Moor, Surveyor of the Ordnance, had measured it accurately, and also tooke the solid content, which he promised to give me; but upon his death, that amongst many excellent papers of his, was lost. I remember, he told me, that according to the rate of work for labourers in the Tower at . . . the floor, it would cost three-score or rather (I think) fourseore thousand pounds to make such a hill now.

“No history gives any account of this hill; the tradition only is, that King Sil or Zel, as the countrey folke pronounce, was buried here on horseback, and that the hill was raysed while a posset of milke was seething. The name of this hill, as also of Silchester, makes me suspect it to be a Roman name, sc. Silius.”—*Mon. Brit.*, vol. ii. pt. 3, page 6.

of Maen-Cetti; and the work of Emrys or Ambrosius has been applied to Stonehenge. Why may not the heaping of the pile of Cyvrangon allude to Silbury? The three primary circles of Britain have been named Gorsedd Beisgawen, Gorsedd Bryn Gwyddon, and Gorsedd Moel Ewvr; upon which Mr. William Owen, the celebrated Welsh scholar, has sent me the following explanation: "Cludair Cyvrangon and Gorsedd Bryn Gwyddon must have had their appellation, one from the other, as the names imply as much. For Cludair Cyvrangon means the heap of congregations or assemblies; not that the assemblies could have been held on Bryn Gwyddon or Silbury Hill, but that they were contiguous; that is, in the circle of Brynn Gwyddon, or the hill of the conspicuous or men of the presence; so that each of these places took their names respectively from each other; and it is thus that I identify Bryn Gwyddon and Cludair Cyvrangon in Silbury Hill and Abury."¹

Silbury has been raised upon a jutting-out promontory, and the earth and chalk of which it was composed were taken from the adjoining land. The extent of ground from which the surface was removed for this purpose may be easily traced in the meadow which surrounds the hill. Its construction must have been a Herculean labour even for a large body of men, at a time when the means and appliances for such undertakings were probably very imperfect when compared with those of the present day. Several calculations have been made of the dimensions of the hill, but they vary materially, and it may be doubted whether any, yet made, can be relied on. That given by Sir Richard Hoare makes the circumference of the hill at the base, 2027 feet, the diameter at the top 120 feet, the sloping height 316 feet, and the perpendicular height 170 feet,²

¹ Ancient Wiltshire, vol. ii., p. 83.

² The Pyramid of Mycerinus is 174 feet high:—the tomb of Alyattes near the ruins of Sardis, is more than 200 feet high, and 6 furlongs in circumference. The tumulus on the crest of Mount Mithridates near Kertch, which is unlike those in the neighbourhood, being walled from top to bottom, like a Cyclopean monument, is 100 feet high and 150 feet in diameter. An account has recently appeared in the newspapers of the removal of a cairn, 250 feet in height, in the Russian province of Ekatarinoslaw. It is supposed to have been one of the burial places of the Scythian Kings, mentioned by Herodotus, and was found to contain numerous articles of gold, silver, bronze, iron, clay, skeletons of horses, &c.

while the space covered by the hill is 5 acres and 34 perches. Dean Merewether has stated that he saw sarsens set round the base of the hill and that he counted eight of them. A close examination, with a friend, has, however, convinced me that the Dean was in error, unless there has been a removal of stones since his sojourn at Beckhampton, which we have no reason to suppose has been the case. We found one or two under the turf, entirely covered, and another small one above the turf, but these are clearly insufficient to bear out the Dean's assertion.¹

Stukeley considered Silbury to be the tomb of some Royal Founder of Abury, and tells us that the royal remains were dug up on the top of the hill in 1723, together with the King's bridle, of which he gives an engraving in his 36th plate. That the hill, however, was not a sepulchral mound² has been proved, to the satisfaction of many, by the searching examinations of the interior which were made by workmen employed by the Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Drax in 1777, when a shaft was sunk from the top to the bottom; and by Mr. Blandford, for the Archæological Institute, in 1849,³ when a tunnel was bored at the natural level of the ground upon which the mound had been raised. Of those who with Sir Richard Hoare, discountenanced the idea of its being a gigantic tumulus, some have entertained the belief that it was a component part of the temple of Abury; others have considered it to have been constructed for a secular purpose, such as the solemn promulgation of laws to the people, as is now done in the Isle of

¹ The Dean's enumeration of the stones remaining in 1849 of the circles within the vallum, (p, 89, Salisbury volume of the Arch. Institute,) is far from correct, and must not be quoted hereafter as giving a true account of the state of the temple in that year. Had he lived to superintend the publication of his paper, he would doubtless have detected and corrected the errors. He gave the number of stones in the outer circle then erect to be 7, prostrate 5. The number erect in the *present* year (1857) is 10, prostrate 8. Again, he says that of the inner circle of the northern temple, there are 2 prostrate stones. This was a mistake, as neither in 1849 or 1857 were any stones remaining of this circle.

² Twining supports his statement that Silbury Hill was a monument to Titus Vespasian by the fact of the stile leading to it, as he was "credibly informed, being called Titus's stile to this day." (§ 33.)

³ A full account of this examination of the hill is given in the Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute.

Man at the meetings of the Tinwald in the open air, on a hill top near the middle of the Island; while others again have conjectured that it was erected for astronomical observations, and it is perhaps not improbable that it was made use of for this purpose and also for religious rites.

The practice of resorting to the top of Silbury Hill on Palm Sunday which Stukeley mentions, and in which traces of the old Pagan processions may perhaps be recognized, is still kept up by the children of the neighbourhood.¹ On these occasions it was the custom in Stukeley's day for the country people to "make merry with cakes, figs, sugar, and water fetched from the 'Swallow head,'" which was the sacred spring of the district, and the principal source of the River Kennet.²

THE ROMAN ROAD.

"The Roman Road" says Stukeley, "in its course from Overton Hill to Runway Hill should have pass'd directly through Silbury Hill; wherefore they curv'd a little southward to avoid it, and it runs close by the isthmus of the hill, then thro' the fields of Bekampton. This shews Silbury Hill was ancients than the Roman Road."³ Any one who will take the trouble to rule a line on the Ordnance Map between Overton Hill and Morgan's Hill (Stukeley's "Runway Hill," see 'Itin. Cur.' Iter. vi. p. 133, 1724, and plate at page 20 of his 'Abury,') will see how erroneous the first part of this statement is, and how much more correctly Stukeley wrote in his 'Itinerary.' He there says, "When from the top of this hill you look towards Marlborough, which is full east, you may discern that the road curves a little northward, not discernible but in the whole. The reason is to be attributed to the River Kennet, thrusting it out somewhat that way, otherwise the true line should have lain a little more to the south of Silbury."⁴ Had the road from Runway Hill been carried straight to Marlborough, it would have passed con-

¹ A similar custom with respect to Clea Hill, near Warminster, is stated by Sir R. Hoare to have prevailed on Palm Sundays, when he wrote his 'Ancient Wiltshire.' See vol. ii. p. 80, note.

² Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 44. ³ p. 133. ⁴ p. 134.

siderably to the south of Silbury, but in so doing, it must have crossed the Kennet several times, and it was doubtless to avoid this that the framers of the road conducted it to the north of the river, and brought it near the base of Silbury. The course of the road over the downs is very far from being a straight one, and certainly no deflection was necessary to avoid cutting into the side of the old British Mound. It is right, however, that I should add that many persons believe that Stukeley was right; and it is stated in the Salisbury volume of the *Archæological Institute*¹ that Mr. Blandford, the engineer who directed the opening of the hill in 1849, came to the conclusion, "that the road was carried *round* the base of the tumulus to avoid it, and was thereby diverted from its otherwise direct course."

It was the opinion of Stukeley, that this road, although 'chalked out,' as he calls it, was never completed; the framers of it having undertaken it "toward the declension of their empire here, when they found not time to finish it."² This, however, is opposed by the fact that the stations on this road, Cunetio, Verlucio, &c., are enumerated in the 14th Iter of Antoninus. The pits or cavities at the sides, from which they took the materials for forming it are very visible, and it is curious to see in one place, how they dug into what is called a Druid's barrow, which happened to be on the line they had selected.³ On the top of the hill above this spot the flint diggers have recently cut into the middle of the road and made it clear that there was no foundation of stones or rubble, but that it consisted merely of the chalk and earth thrown up from the excavations made at its sides.

Rickman⁴ has objected to an earlier date for Abury than one posterior to the Roman Conquest, "because it adjoins a Roman Road; because it resembles a Roman Amphitheatre; because its dimensions seem to be adjusted to the measure of a Roman mile;

¹ p. 303,

² Stukeley's Abury, p. 26.

³ From Stukeley's description and 9th plate, it would appear that they also helped themselves very freely to the crown of a barrow (now planted,) on the other side of the road.

⁴ *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.

and lastly, because the engineer, who made the Roman Road, did not avail himself of the deep ditch round Silbury, to lessen the steepness of the ascent; whence we may conclude that such ditch was not in existence when the road was made. His attempts to support the second and third¹ of these positions appear to be most unsatisfactory; and with respect to the first, it might be answered, that the Roman Road from Silchester to Bath was, in all probability, preceded by a British trackway, and that the point where the Ikneld road crossed such trackway, was well suited for the site of a great national temple; while the fact that the Roman engineers did not avail themselves of the lower level afforded them by the ditch might be owing to their unwillingness to wound the national prejudices by violating unnecessarily a national monument."¹

BARROWS, ETC., IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF ABURY.

In perfect keeping with the *genius loci*, are the numerous barrows which crown the hills and stud the plains which surround the village of Abury. On the Windmill, Overton, and Hakpen Hills, are several of various dimensions and elegant form. On the elevated ground between the Kennet Avenue and Silbury Hill, which in Stukeley's book is called Weedon Hill and Windmill Boll, were others, but the plough and cultivation have obliterated these, as well as many other interesting antiquities which were in existence at the time he wrote. Of several long barrows which he described, the most remarkable at the present time is that on the brow of the

¹ "The avenue which south east from the main temple, was intersected by the Roman road, and according to Rickman, the distance of Silbury both from the point of intersection and from the centre of Avebury circle, was a Roman mile. I can only say that according to *my* measurement, Silbury Hill is distant from the centre of the circle *more* than a Roman mile, and from the point of intersection *very considerably less*. But even were the measurement correct, how could the symmetry of the structure be any way dependant on the distance of Silbury from the point where the road cut through the avenue? The proper inference seem to be, that the Romans would not allow a great public road to be diverted out of its course, in order to spare the mere adjuncts of a building, whose hold upon the respect and reverence of the people had probably been for some time declining."—Archæological Journal, vol. viii. p. 153.

² Archæological Journal 1851, p. 152. Dr. Guest's paper "on the Belgic Ditches and the probable date of Stonehenge."

hill south of Silbury. It is about 300 feet long and 35 feet wide, and is called the Long Barrow. At the east end are about 40 large sarsens (one of them is 11 feet long and 6 wide, another is 9 feet long, 7 broad, and 2 thick) lying confusedly one over the other. They doubtless originally formed a chamber. A farmer cut a wagon drive through this barrow, some time ago, much to the annoyance of his landlord.¹

Another long barrow, about a mile to the south east of the last, is now planted with trees. It was opened, a few years ago, by the Rev. Mr. Connor of East Kennet.

The Mill barrow at Monkton, a mile or more north of Abury, and of which Stukeley gives an engraving, was 215 feet long and 55 broad, and was set round with great stones, the broad end east, the narrow west. Aubrey says, "The barrow is a yard high at least." It was levelled not many years ago. Dr. Merewether "saw the man who was employed in the profanation. It contained," he said, "a sort of room built up wi' big sarsens put together like, as well as a mason could set them; in the room was a sight of black stuff, and it did smill nation bad."

In a field about 300 yards west of Mill barrow. was the large sarsen, upon the removal of which several skeletons were found a few years ago. Since this discovery (which is described in the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. i. p. 303,) several other sarsen stones have been taken up in the same field, with similar results. With one of these deposits were jet ornaments, objects of stone and pottery, including two drinking cups, now preserved in the Society's Museum at Devizes.

"In Monkton fields," says Aubrey (in his *Monumenta Britannica*), "is a long pitched stone seven foot and more; it leaneth eastward upon two stones. It is called Shelving stone."² (Plate viii.

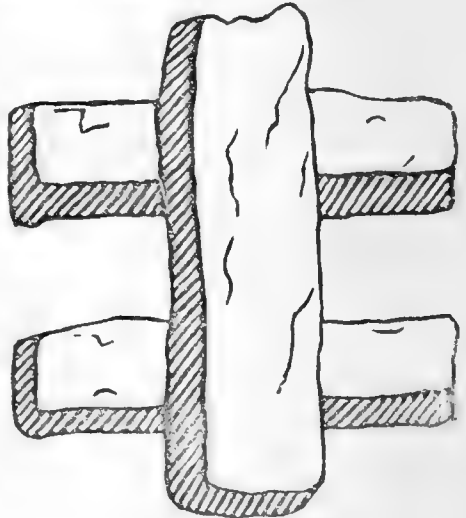
¹ This barrow deserves a careful and thorough examination, and when the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society hold their meeting at Marlborough, they would do well to turn their attention to it, and apply for permission to open it. Aubrey gives rude sketches of this and the Mill barrow.

² "A Kist-vaen certainly sepulchral," says Sir R. C. Hoare. This, however, may be doubted, as Mr. Hillier, of Monkton, last year examined the site of these stones, but found no traces of burnt bones, or of any thing to show that there

fig. 1. and Stukeley's plate xxxvii.) This too has been removed within a few years.

In the district of the Sarsen Stones, which extends several miles to the south and east of Abury, is situated the fine cromlech, called the "Devil's Den." It stands in Clatford Bottom at the termination of a stone-valley, which is the most extensive, (as that opposite to it, Lockeridge Dean, is the most picturesque,) of these remarkable combes. Within the memory of living men this cromlech formed a part of the valley of stones, but it is now grazed by the plough-share, year by year. Stukeley has given three, and Sir R. Hoare two, engravings of it. Both appear to have regarded it as sepulchral.¹

Aubrey gives a sketch of an oblong stone lying across the top of two others, and at right angles with them. He says, "This monument is in the parish of Kynnet, where one Mr. Kinsman digging underneath, about 1643, found the skeleton of a man and a sword and dagger, as they report. In these parts are five or six such monuments. The stones are of a great length, at least ten or twelve foot, as I remember."²



"Monument, Kynnet Parish." (Aubrey, 1643.)

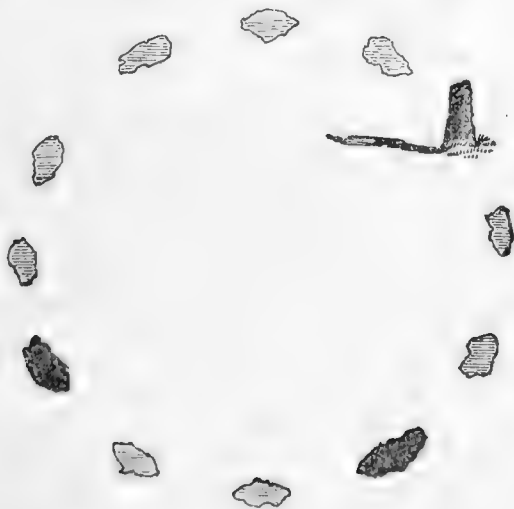
"At Winterbourne Basset, (about three miles) north of Abury, in a field north west of the church, upon elevated ground, is a double circle of stones, concentric, 60 cubits diameter. The two circles are near had been an interment on the spot. It would be more correctly termed a Cromlech. It is shown in the foreground of the plate of Abury restored, given by Mr. Britton, 'Beauties of Wilts', vol. iii. 1825, p. 280; see p. 276, note.

¹ There were probably two forms of the cromlech, the sepulchral and sacrificial. Whether this and the "Shelving stone" at Monkton were ever employed for the dreadful rites of sacrifice and augury from human victims, as practised by the Druids, cannot be asserted, though it is possible. "Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere deos, tas habebant,"—says the historian, of the British Druids. Tacitus, Ann. lib. xiv. c. 30.

² Monumenta Britannica. (This MS. was purchased by the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, for the Bodleian Library, of Colonel Greville, in 1836.)

one another, so that one may walk between. Many of the stones have of late been carried away. West of it is a single, broad, flat, and high stone, standing by itself; and about as far northward from the circle, in a ploughed field, is a barrow set round with, or rather composed of large stones."¹ "By the above description, I was enabled," says Sir R. Hoare, "to find the remains of this circle, which is situated in a pasture ground at the angle of a road leading to Broad Hinton, and consists at present only of a few inconsiderable stones."²

In the dip of the hill between the Kennet avenue and a slight oblong earthwork on the slope of Hakpen Hill,³ a solitary stone is standing. Mr. Falkner of Devizes, has favored me with the following account of his observations in connection with it. "The stone which you saw in a field on the left, when you went along the avenue towards Kennet, was seen by me in 1840. I went to it, and found it was one of a circle that had existed at some former period. There were two other stones lying on the ground, and nine hollow places, from



Small Circle near Kennet. (Falkner, 1840.)

which stones had been removed, making twelve altogether. I made a note of it at the time, and the person with whom I was riding

¹ Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 45.

² Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*, ii. p. 95.

³ I use the words 'Hakpen Hill' because this hill is so designated in the plan, but the Hakpen Hill, properly so called, does not extend so far to the south, or beyond the road leading from Abury to Rockley. See Ordnance Map.

observed it also. The circle was then in a meadow, which was broken up a few years afterwards, and two of the stones removed. The circle was $282\frac{1}{2}$ yards from the nearest part of the avenue. I could not have been mistaken as to the fact of a circle being there, and considered the discovery of sufficient importance to write to the Rev. E. Duke on the subject, who was not aware of what I told him, nor could he explain the matter at all,—only suggesting that the stones might have been set round a large tumulus,—but the ground was quite flat within the circle, which was about 120 feet in diameter.”

“In a lane leading from Kennet to Marlborough,” says Aubrey, “are eight huge large stones in a circle, which never could be by chance, and besides they are rudely hewen.” (Plate iii. fig. 2.) It was probably this circle which Stukeley has described in his ‘Itinerarium Curiosum’ (part I. page 132). “Over against Clatford at a flexure of the river, we meet with several very great stones, about a dozen in number, which probably was a Celtic temple, and stood in a circle; this form in a great measure they still preserve.”

In Sir Richard Hoare’s second volume of ‘Ancient Wiltshire,’ in Dean Merewether’s paper in the Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute, and in the ‘Crania Britannica,’ by Mr. Davis and Dr. Thurnam, may be found very interesting accounts of the examination of barrows in the vicinity of Abury. Sir Richard Hoare thus describes the conclusion he arrived at, from the investigations carried on under his superintendence: “The result of these underground researches will prove to us the very high antiquity of the tumuli raised on this conspicuous eminence (Overton Hill); and at the same time the poverty of those Britons over whose ashes these sepulchral mounds were elevated. We find no costly ornaments of jet, amber, or gold, but very simple articles of brass and vessels of the coarsest pottery. Cremation seems to have prevailed, except in one instance, where the post of honour, adjoining the sacred circle, might possibly have been reserved for the chieftain of the clan that inhabited these downs.”¹ Again, “In my late researches

¹ Ancient Wiltshire, ii. p. 91. This barrow is no doubt the more southerly of the two shown in Aubrey’s sketch (plate iii. fig 1). The other, as Dr. Stukeley

near Abury, I had the satisfaction to substantiate the conjectures I had previously formed, respecting the nature and contents of the barrows in this district. I had ever considered the stone circle at Abury to be of a much older date than that of Stonehenge; and in the same light I had always considered the tumuli. These conjectures have been corroborated by our late researches; for although we find the same modes of interment adopted here, as in South Wiltshire, yet we have found none of those costly articles which have so often rewarded our labours in the southern district of our county."¹ "The absence of costly ornaments of amber and gold, in the barrows of this district, as distinguishing them from those near Stonehenge," says Dr. Thurnam, "is borne out by all the more recent excavations of these tumuli. The immigrant tribe of Belgæ were doubtless more wealthy than the aboriginal Dobuni of North Wilts, and also kept up a more intimate traffic with Gaul."²

These mute memorials of a remote age, over which, without impairing them, the seasons have for centuries rolled their uninterrupted course, and to which we are indebted for such glimpses as we have been able to catch, of the arts and customs of our British ancestors, are full of interest to the thoughtful mind. They carry it back to a time when the now deserted downs and lofty hills were thickly-peopled tracts, when the wattled hut was the habitation, when cattle were the riches, and the worship of the heavenly bodies³ the religion, of the Britons. How do they not bridge over the interval between the present and a past long anterior to Saxons, Danes, and Romans; and in their presence, what recent events do the Great Rebellion, the Wars of the Roses, and the Norman Invasion appear to be! The knowledge, too, that they were raised

tells us, was levelled in 1720; "a man's bones were found within a bed of great stones, forming a kind of arch. Several beads of amber, long and round, as big as one's thumb end, were taken from it, and several enamel'd British beads of glass: I got some of them white in colour, some were green." This seems to have been the solitary exception to the absence of amber in these barrows.

¹ Ancient Wiltshire, ii. p. 93.

² 'Crania Britannica,' "Description of Skull from Barrow at Kennet," p. 5. The writer is indebted to Dr. Thurnam for much valuable assistance in the compilation of the present paper.

³ "The circle of the stars" and "the lights of heaven."—See Wisdom of Solomon, xiii. 2.

over the bodies or ashes of some great ones of their day tends to increase the mystery and awe with which they are invested. It is to be wished that they might be spared further disfigurement from the furrow and the plantation. There is one cluster which from their elegant forms and elevated position, are strikingly beautiful, especially when seen against the horizon in the evening twilight; and for the preservation of which I would earnestly plead. They compose the group alluded to by Sir R. Hoare, in one of the previous extracts, and are situated upon Overton Hill, near the Roman road and the turnpike road to Marlborough.¹ The barrow which adjoins the site of the 'Sanctuary,' to which we have already alluded, and from which Dr. Thurnam, in 1854, obtained the fine skull which has been figured and described in the 'Crania Britannica,' has this year been divested of its turf for the sake of the ashes. The same process of excoriation has been extensively carried on, during the last few months, upon the Down between Beckhampton and Shepherd's Shore, and it seems likely that every year will show a further contraction of our open downs. Might not the owners and occupiers of land be induced to plough round the barrows and leave their surface intact? In many instances, I doubt not, they have been found as unproductive as that upon which the Cromlech in Clatford Bottom, called the 'Devil's Den,' was erected; and, for a few stalks of corn or a dozen turnips annually, it is a pity to obliterate or degrade these interesting traces of Britain's earliest inhabitants.² At all events, it

¹ In this group is a beautiful example of the triple barrow. There is another at Shepherd's Shore.

² "It is not to be desired that the ancient barrows belonging to the times of paganism, should be . . . removed. It is true they occur, in certain parts of the country, in such numbers as to offer serious impediments to agriculture; while they contain beside large masses of stone, which in many cases might be used with advantage. Still they deserve to be protected and preserved, in as great a number as possible. They are national memorials, which may be said to cover the ashes of our forefathers; and by this means constitute a national possession, which has been handed down for centuries, from race to race. Would we then unconcernedly destroy these venerable remains of ancient times, without any regard to our posterity? Would we disturb the peace of the dead, for the sake of some trifling gain?"—*Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*, by J. J. A. Worsaae, 1849, p. 153.

deserves the consideration of the members of this Society whether they should not map the barrows which remain, and collect for those who come after us what information has been or may be procured respecting the examination and contents of those which have been opened.

THEORIES RESPECTING THE OBJECT FOR WHICH THE TEMPLE WAS
CONSTRUCTED.

The object for which the great work at Abury was constructed will probably ever be involved in mystery. We know so little of the Druids and their forms of worship, that to more than conjectural approximations to the truth we can hardly hope to attain. An astronomical, a civil, and a religious purpose have each had their advocates. The erection, too, of circular temples, like this and Stonehenge, has been assigned by different writers to different nations; to the Phœnicians, the ancient Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Danes. There can, however, be little doubt that the temple at Abury dates from a period long anterior to the Roman connection with Britain, and that it was a much older work than Stonehenge. "I think we may fairly conclude," says Dr. Guest, "that Stonehenge is of later date than Avebury and the other structures of unwrought stone; that it could not have been built much later than the year 100 B.C., and in all probability was not built more than a century or two earlier. As to the antiquity of Avebury, I dare offer no conjecture. If the reader be more venturesome, and should fix its erection some eight or ten centuries before our era, it would be difficult to advance any critical reasons against his hypothesis."¹ "The Rev. Richard Warner was the first," says Mr. Bowles,² "who started the idea,—in my opinion a most happy one, that the Belgæ, having taken this (the southern) part of the country from the Celts as far as Wansdyke, raised this monument of Stonehenge in rival magnificence to that of Abury." Dr. Guest writes, "It will be seen that the Wansdyke bends to the south, as if to avoid Avebury, and approaches close to it, but does not include Bath.

¹ *Archæological Journal*, 1851, p. 157.

² *Hermes Britannicus*, 1828, p. 123.

It seems reasonable to infer that when the line of demarcation was drawn, the Dobuni insisted on the retention of their ancient temple and of their hot baths; and if this inference be a just one, another and a more important one seems naturally to follow. Assuming that the Belgæ were thus excluded from Avebury, is it not likely that they would provide a "locus consecratus" at some central point within their own border—a place for their judicial assemblies, like the Gaulish temple, "in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur?" May not Stonehenge have been the substitute so provided?"¹

It would be wearisome to give an account of all the theories which have been propounded respecting the temple of Abury, and the objects for which it was constructed. I will briefly notice a few which seem most deserving of attention, premising that while I can quite understand the devotion of the enormous amount of human labour, requisite for the removal from a considerable distance and the setting up of the stones of Abury, and for the heaping together of Silbury Hill, to a religious purpose, I cannot believe that for any object less influential and absorbing, so vast an amount of human power could ever have been brought to bear.

Dr. Stukeley makes the foundation of Abury to date from the year of the death of Sarah, Abraham's wife, 1859 B.C.! He says, "By the best light I can obtain, I judge our Tyrian Hercules made his expedition into the ocean, about the latter end of Abraham's time: and most likely 'tis, that Abury was the first great temple of Britain, and made by the first Phœnician colony that came hither; and they made it in this very place on account of the stones of the grey-weathers, so commodious for their purpose."² The ancient Druids, says Stukeley, were not idolators, but "in effect Christians."! "This I verily believe to have been a truly patriarchal temple, as the rest likewise, which we have here described; and where the worship of the true God was performed."³ "The plan on which Abury is built, is that sacred hierogram of the Egyptians, and other ancient nations, the circle, snake and wings.

¹ *Archæological Journal*, 1851, p. 152.

² *Stukeley's Abury*, p. 53. ³ *Ib.* p. 102.

By this they meant to picture out, as well as they could, the nature of the divinity. The circle meant the supreme fountain of all being, the father; the serpent, that divine emanation from him which was called the son; the wings imputed that other divine emanation from them which was called the spirit, the *anima mundi*." "The serpent," says Maximus of Tyre, (Dissert. 38,) 'was the great symbol of the deity to most nations, and as such was worshipped by the Indians.' The temples of old made in the form of a serpent, were called, for that reason, Dracontia."¹

The Rev. William Cooke, Vicar of Enford, in Wilts, in 'An enquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical Religion, Temples, &c., wherein the Primæval Institution and Universality of the Christian scheme is manifested, &c.,' (2nd edition, 1755,) endeavours to prove that Abury "was really a temple sacred to the ever-blessed and undivided Trinity"! This book is little more than a brief epitome of Stukeley's. Mr. Cooke appears to have been the first to suggest the derivation of the word 'Abury' from 'Cabiri.' In this strange etymology he was followed by Higgins, ("Celtic Druids," 1827,) Bowles and Duke.²

Mr. Edward King, in his 'Munimenta Antiqua,' considers "that the great stone pillar in the centre of the southernmost double circle seems to intimate that the area there enclosed was designed for holding great councils, and for inaugurations; whilst the cromlech and great altar, in the centre of the northern double circle, indicates that enclosure to have been designed for sacrifices. And the great circle of an hundred stones, and the vast ditch and rampart surrounding the whole vast area, in which both these solemn places

¹ Stukeley's Abury, pp. 54, 55. Mr. P. Crocker, who surveyed Abury for Sir R. Hoare, in 1812, considered the Dracontian theory a probable one; although he could not say "that all the distances between the stones, the diameters of the circles, and the precise measurements, as given by Stukeley, were exact, or that they were constructed with geometrical precision." See Britton's 'Beauties of Wilts,' iii. p. 284.

² Sir R. Hoare noticed this derivation, and supported it by a quotation from the learned Parkhurst; "that the Phœnicians or Canaanites worshipped their God, the heavens, under this name, is highly probable, from the plain remains of a Phœnician temple at Abury in Wiltshire, which still retains the name."—'Ancient Wiltshire,' ii. p. 63, note.

stood, indicates a boundary of that awful regard that was paid to them.”¹

The Rev. Wm. Lisle Bowles in his ‘Hermes Britannicus,’ 1828, argues for the dedication of the temple at Abury, to the worship of the Celtic deity Teutates or Mercury. He says, . . . “I should thus designate the intent and character of the whole work at Abury. The vast pile, in the first place, I consider as sacred to that great instructor, symbolised and worshipped in Egypt, who unfolded the heavens, and brought intelligence of one infinite god, and of eternal life to man: which knowledge, in remote ages, was communicated to the Celtic Druids by the Phœnicians. The inner circles, represent, severally, the months, the year, the days, and the hours, included in the great circle of eternity, representing the god over the heavens, stretching on each side in the form of the ‘serpent,’ the well known emblem, both of the course of the stars and of restoration and immortality; whilst, if we admit the single stone within one of the circles as the gnomon of a vast dial, according to Maurice,² the shadow of passing life is still more obvious. Exactly in the middle, (*i.e.* on Silbury Hill, p. 21, &c., and *seq.*) and upon a line with the two extremities of the serpent’s body, and opposite the great circle, in front, stood, according to my conjecture, whether right or wrong, the *simulacrum*, such as those of which Cæsar speaks—the simulacrum of that sublime Teacher who will appear hereafter as the awakener and restorer of the dead, now sleeping, each in his silent grassy heap, at his feet; whilst he, pointing to the tracks over the waste and wildering downs, stands thus to be considered also as the guide of the darkling travellers along the ways of life, and the AWAKENER and RESTORER of the dead, when the various ways of that life shall end in the forgotten dust of the barrow or the tomb; such is the moral lesson taught by this mysterious monument, the dark adumbration of the only hope of the Celtic

¹ Munimenta Antiqua, 1799, vol. i. p. 202.

² Rev. T. Maurice. Indian Antiquities, 1801, vol. vi. p. 118. In his “Dissertation,” in this work, “On the Indian origin of the Druids,” Mr. Maurice appears to have been the first to insist on the astronomical significance of the numbers of the stones in the circles, &c., at Abury, and in other megalithic monuments; a view which, by such writers as Higgins and Duke, has been so greatly abused.

Briton, who, before the light of revelation or civilization dawned, traversed these solitary plains.

“The Phœnicians brought the knowledge of this personage to Britain; this personage, as described by the Phœnicians, was the great instructor; the greatest instructor became the greatest deity, and the temple at Abury records the truth respecting the sole Deity which he taught. On the mound in front, stood the image or simulacrum of the great deified teacher of this truth; and this most magnificent Celtic Temple stood as emblematical of the One God, having in front the image of him who was the greatest of the subordinate popular Celtic deities, who instructed the Phœnicians in the knowledge of this one God, and which they, with all the mysterious discipline of Druidism, taught to the British Celts; and that Silbury-hill was the mound of Mercury; and Abury the greatest Celtic temple, sacred to him, and emblematical both of the knowledge he taught and the God he revealed.”¹

“The worship of the serpent” says Mr. Bathurst Deane, “may be traced in almost every religion through ancient Asia, Europe, Africa, and America. The progress of the sacred serpent from Paradise to Peru is one of the most remarkable phenomena in mythological history, and to be accounted for only upon the supposition that a corrupted tradition of the serpent in Paradise had been handed down from generation to generation.” Other temples supposed to have been dedicated to this kind of worship are to be seen at Carnac in Brittany, at Stanton Drew in Somersetshire, on Dartmoor, and at Shap in Westmoreland.² In the time of Dr. Stukeley, the country people of the neighbourhood had a tradition that “no snakes could live within the circle of Abury.” This notion may have descended from the times of the Druids, through a very natural superstition that the unhallowed reptile was divinely restrained from entering the Sanctuary, through which the

¹ Hermes Britannicus, pp. 63, 64, 65. See also Parochial History of Bremhill, by the same writer, 1827.

² In the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1844, is a sketch of the circle of stones at Shap. It was then threatened with destruction, by a railway which was to pass over it. The avenue there is supposed to have almost rivalled those at Carnac, *in length*.

mystic serpent passed. There have been found at Abury, the usual Druidical relics of celts, anguina, etc.; and a proof that this was once a temple of very great resort is afforded by the immense quantities of burnt bones, horns of oxen, and charcoal which have been discovered in the agger of the vallum. These are indications of great sacrifices. . . . The temple was the ophite hierogram, the priests were Druids, whose religion recognized the sun as a deity and the serpent as a sacred emblem; the name of that mystic serpent" (in the Hebrew) "was *Aub*, and a title of the solar deity, *Aur* or *Ur*: the whole temple represented the union of the serpentine with the circular sanctuaries, that is of the ophite and solar superstition. What name then could be more expressive than *Aubur* or *Abur*, the '*Serpent of the Sun*'?"¹ Silbury Hill, supposed by Stukeley to be the sepulchral monument of the founder of Abury, "is doubtless," says Mr. Deane, "a mound dedicated to the solar deity, like the Pyramids of ancient Greece and Egypt; and corresponds with the OPHELTIN of classical mythology, and the Mont St. Michel, of Carnac. In connection with the Serpent temple, it identifies the whole structure as sacred to the deity known by the Greeks as Apollo. Its very name imports 'the hill of the Sun.'"²

The Rev. Edward Duke, says, "My hypothesis then is as follows: that our ingenious ancestors portrayed on the Wiltshire Down, as a Planetarium or stationary orrery, located on a meridional line, extending north and south, the length of sixteen miles; that the planetary temples thus located, seven in number, will, if put in motion, be supposed to revolve around Silbury Hill, as the centre of this grand astronomical scheme; that thus Saturn, the extreme planet to the south, would in his orbit describe a circle with a diameter of thirty two miles; that four of the planetary temples were constructed of stone, those of Venus (the circles of stones at Winterbourne Bassett), the Sun (the southern circle at Abury), the Moon (the northern circle at Abury), and Saturn (the circle at Stonehenge); and the remaining three of earth, those of Mercury (at Walker's Hill), Mars (at Marden), and Jupiter (Casterly Camp), resembling the 'hill altars'"

¹ Deane "on the Worship of the Serpent," pp. 32, 382, 383, 2nd edition, 1833. ² *Ib.* p. 379.

of Holy Scripture; that the Moon is represented as the Satellite of the Sun, and passing round him in an epicycle, is thus supposed to make her monthly revolution, while the Sun himself pursues his annual course in the first and nearest concentric orbit, and is thus successively surrounded by those also of the planets Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn; that these planetary temples were all located at due distances from each other; that the relative proportions of those distances correspond with those of the present received system; and that, in three instances, the site of these temples bear in their names at this day plain and indubitable record of their primitive dedication. Now, further, as to the four temples constructed of stone, I shall be able to shew that they consisted of a certain definite number of stones, and by an analysis of their details I shall show, that these details are resolvable into every known astronomical cycle of antiquity, whilst the other appendages attached to, but not forming component parts of three of such temples, are resolvable only into numerical cycles; and that these planetary temples taken synthetically, and as a whole, were intended to represent the *magnus annus*, the great year of Plato, the cycle of cycles, when the planets, some revolving faster, some slower in their several courses, would all simultaneously arrive at the several points from whence they originally started, and that then the old world would end and a new world spring into being.”¹

In connexion with this system, he considers that Silbury Hill represented the Earth; the serpent, ranging from east to west of Silbury Hill, and embowed to the north, represented the northern portion of the ecliptic; and that the temples on that ecliptic represented the Sun, and the Moon, as his satellite, revolving around him. He considers the 30 stones of which each of the two circles was composed to have represented the cycle of the days of the month; the inner circle of 12 stones the cycle of the months of the year; the single stone in the Temple of the Sun, the cycle of the entire year; and the three stones in the interior of the temple of the Moon, the cycle of the seasons; of which earlier nations than the Greeks and Romans reckoned only three of four months each, viz.,

¹ ‘Druidical Temples of the County of Wilts,’ 1846, pp. 6, 7, 8, 186, *et seq.*

spring, summer, and winter. The stone which Stukeley called the 'Ring' Stone and considered to be that to which the victim about to be slain was fastened, Mr. Duke pronounces to have been a gnomon; and the name Abury to be a corruption of the word "Abiri," (Cabiri) signifying in Hebrew "the mighty ones," in allusion to the two temples as the representatives of the sun and the moon, the two chief deities in the Sabæan or planetary worship.¹

Mr. Herbert,² in his learned work, 'Cyclops Christianus' (1849), expresses his belief that the Stonehenges, Aveburies, Carnacs, etc., did not exist in Britain or Gaul when Cæsar, Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, Pliny, and Tacitus wrote, otherwise these writers would have certainly made mention of them; but that groves of upright stones were substituted by the later Britons for the oak tree groves of obsolete Druidism. He treats the "Dracontian" theory with great scorn, and says, "When the case of Avebury is divested of lies and forgeries, I see nothing in it but great circles and avenues, with some reason for thinking that groves and woodland walks were typified by them, none for supposing the form of a snake was expressed." He continues, "It would be no reasonable supposition, that the same people should at one time have venerated their oaken groves with that zeal and love, of which the name has become so famous, and also have expended energies immensely great to repeat and imitate in lifeless stone the living symbol of their system; for substitutes are seldom used concurrently with their prototypes. It follows that they did so at a different time, and under altered circumstances, and, we should add, in altered localities. For their solemn rites were then called out of the woods, in which their wooden idols stood, in which their sacrifices were performed, and

¹ 'Druidical Temples of Wilts,' pp. 59, 60, 188. See, on Mr. Duke's theory, the Christian Remembrancer, vol. xii. 1846. One cannot but remark, how much the disposition to theorize about Abury would have been checked, by the publication of Aubrey's plans by Sir R. Hoare.

² The Honble. Algernon Herbert, who was a member of the noble house of Carnarvon, was born 1792, was placed in the 1st class in Lit. Hum. in the year 1813, became a Fellow of Merton College, and was called to the bar. He died in June 1855. A short notice of him appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1855.

of which the sacred trees were aspersed with the piacular blood, and came to be celebrated in the most open and champaign places that could be chosen, and where the circles or avenues would stand most conspicuous. These plains had anciently been unadapted to Druidism, but were peculiarly suited to the construction of sepulchral tumuli; by which it is consequently found that the greatest *cors* (such as the Stonehenge and the Rollrich) are surrounded.”¹

The mediæval view of Abury would appear to resemble that adopted by Stukeley, if we may form any opinion upon the subject, from the Norman Font in Abury Church, which, writes my friend Mr. Falkner, “is somewhat remarkable, not only as being very ancient, but from having so appropriate an ornament round the outside, which may easily be construed into the triumph of Christianity over the Pagan worship that existed on the spot previously. There is a serpent at the foot of an ecclesiastic who, with his left hand presses a book to his breast, and in his right he holds a spear, the point of which he forces into the serpent’s head. It is not the emblem so often found of Michael and the Dragon, but seems to have had a closer and more direct allusion to the serpent temple and its heathen worship that had hitherto prevailed.” Mr. Paley, in his ‘Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts,’ (1844,) gives the following account of this symbol; “On the east side of the bowl is the figure of a bishop with mitre and crosier, holding a closed book in his left hand; on each side of him is a dragon, whose tail flows off into the foliage which surrounds the upper part, a Norman intersecting arcade running round the lower part.”

Such are some of the many theories which have been propounded respecting the object of the founders of Abury. “Men of the greatest learning, and most subtle intellect have felt the difficulty, as well as importance of the subject: it has been acknowledged by hundreds, who have started, full of energy, in the pursuit of their

¹ pp. 108, 109. See a paper on the ‘Cyclops Christianus,’ attributed to the Rev. J. B. Deane, in the Gentleman’s Magazine, 1849, vol. xxxii, N. S.; also an article in the Quarterly Review, vol. xci. In the former, the claim of Abury to be considered the circular temple of the Hyperboreans named by Hecateus of Abdera (Diod. Sic. ii. 47), and even the winged temple of the same mythic people, the *ναὸς ὁ πτερινός* of Eratosthenes, is vindicated.

true history, and have in the end wisely kept silence. . . . And Stonehenge and Abury continue as before,—apparently incapable of explanation: still inexpressibly, awfully majestic, in the now feebleness, so to say, of their abused remains; fragments, rather than ruins; shadows of skeletons, rather than presenting to the common observer even a rude outline of their original structure; exciting a solemn veneration; raising up question after question, theory upon theory; and still the same now as yesterday,—falling back into the dark obscurity of a hundred generations.”¹

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF ABURY IN CONNECTION WITH ITS
ANTIQUITIES.

For the following notice of the ecclesiastical history of Abury, and its connection with the preservation of the antiquities of the place, I am indebted to Mr. Hunter’s paper before referred to.² “Before the Norman Conquest a Christian church was erected, a little without the mound, on the western side. There is nothing to show *when* it was erected, but it is mentioned as existing in Domesday Book.³ It is worthy of notice that the church was not erected within the enclosure, which would seem to have been its natural position: and perhaps it may be inferred from that circumstance, that the persons who erected the church did not contemplate the destruction of the fabric of the older temple, and intend to raise the Christian edifice on the ruins of one which had (probably) been used in Pagan superstitions. Some portions of the fabric of the present church appear to have belonged to the original edifice, proving that the present church is on the site originally chosen by Saxon piety. Another circumstance worthy of notice in the Domesday account of Abury is, that it was Terra Regis, and that the only land in cultivation about it was two hides attached to the church, which was held by one Rainbold the Priest. He had the church of Pewsey also. But at Pewsey we find there was a lay-manor also, while

¹ Christian Remembrancer, vol. xii. 1846.

² Gentleman’s Magazine, July, 1829.

³ In the list of the “King’s Lands.” “Rainbold a priest holds the church of *Avreberie*, to which belong two hides. It is worth 40 shillings.”—Wyndham’s Wilts Domesday, p. 51.

no other manor is noticed at Abury, but that of the church held immediately of the King. There was probably some reason why the crown reserved its rights here; and that there was no manor but the manor of the church, may I think be taken as proof of a very early foundation of a Saxon church here, and that the erection of a church preceded the erection of any dwellings. Perhaps at the beginning it was a *Feld-cyrc* (field-church), intended for the use of the shepherds and the few inhabitants dispersed over the plain from the borders of Bishops Cannings to the borders of Marlborough, and to a great extent to the northward and southward. It must have been erected by some person of eminent rank, perhaps a Saxon sovereign, and not merely (as some of the country churches were) by some lord of the soil living there, that he might have the offices of religion brought home to the doors of himself and his vassals.

“Abury remained a place peculiarly *ecclesiastical* till the Reformation. Rainbold doubtless held his two hides here only in right of his church, and they would descend not to his heirs but to his successors. A foreign house, the Benedictines of St. George of Bocherville, was placed in the reign of Henry I. in the position in which Rainbold stood. The gift of the church was by William de Tankerville, a person to whom the Crown must have conveyed its right soon after the date of Domesday, and of whom it may be conjectured that he had never any intention of changing the ecclesiastical character of Abury. The foreign house retained possession of Abury till the time of Richard II., in which reign many of the foreign houses were deprived of their English possessions. The patronage and protection of Abury and its curious remains were then committed, first to New College, Oxford, and then to the College of Fotheringay: and it was not till the 2 Edward VI. that any private person had power over this temple to pull down and destroy.¹

¹ These observations relate to the *Rectorial* estate and manor. The patronage of the *Vicarage* of Abury was in the gift of the Abbots of St. Mary's, Cirencester, from 1297 to 1538 (see Wilts Institutions); and since the Dissolution, in the Crown. The place still gives its name to the Deanery of Abury.

“In the interval between the Conquest and the Reformation, the temple at Abury being under the protection of these communities, perhaps suffered but little from dilapidation. If any Court Rolls¹

¹ The following extract from the late Mr. Kemble’s “Notices of Heathen Interment in the Codex Diplomaticus,” printed in the *Archæological Journal*, No. 54, is inserted here, although it has no reference to the period mentioned in the text.

“The Anglo-Saxon boundaries then, do very frequently run to the old grey stone, or hoary stone or stones, and among these it is reasonable to believe that sometimes cromlechs or stone-rings were intended. There is one case of considerable interest, and I will request your particular attention to it, because it contains the clearest possible allusion to the great stones at Avebury, and besides furnishes a singularly interesting example of the accuracy with which the lines of boundaries may, even to this day be followed. It occurs in Cod. Dip. 1120, (one of Athelstan’s charters, A.D. 939,) and is the limitation of the territory of Overton, a little village in Wiltshire, near the Kennet. The Saxon estate comprises very nearly what is now known as Overton town. The words are as follows:—

“These are the bounds of Overton. From Kennet to the Elder tree; thence to Wódens den; thence to the wood on the main road; thence upon Horseley up to Wansdyke upon Tytferð’s road; thence upon the hedge of Willow mere (or Withy mere) eastward by south round about to Æðelferðe’s dwelling on the stony road; thence to the narrow meadow; then through Shothanger along the road to the rising ground, or link; thence to the west head; then northward over the down to the right boundary; then to the town or enclosure; thence to Kennet at the Saltham; from the Saltham up between the two barrows; from them to the furlong’s west head; thence to Scrows pit; thence to the Pancroundel, in the middle; then by Coltas barrow as far as the broad road to Hackpen; then along the road on the dike to the south of Æðelferðe’s stone; then south along the Ridgeway to the dun stone; then south-west over the ploughed land to Piggles dean; then up to Lambpath, southward up to the link, to the hollow way; then back again to Kennet. Now this is the boundary of the pastures and the down land at Mapplederlea, westward. Thence northward up along the stone row, thence to the burial places (“byrgelsas”); then south along the road; from the road along the link to the south head; thence down upon the slade; thence up along the road, back again to Mapplederlea.”

“I do not know whether there is any place called *Maple Durley* in the neighbourhood, but nothing can be more accurate than the boundary which takes in nearly the whole of Overton town, extending, however, at first southward from the river Kennet, at East Kennet, to the Wansdyke; re-ascending on the east by a road still very remarkable for the great stone blocks which lie about it, till crossing the river again it runs northward up towards Hackpen Hill, then turns westward and southward in the direction of Avebury, and declining again to the south, crosses the little spot then called Pyttelden, now Pigglesdean, and returns to where it commenced at the corner of East Kennet. The *stone row* here is no doubt the great avenue. Hackpen or Haca’s pen enclosure, &c., is the well-known stone ring; what the *byrgelsas* are, it is, of course now, impossible to identify; it may have been some particular set of barrows, but it may, I think,

of the ecclesiastical manor now exist, they should be carefully examined; and I make no doubt that much interesting matter might be collected from them. If they contained no notices of grants to the tenants of portions of the stones, or of land within the area, they would at least show the number of freeholders, and perhaps of other tenants, and a guess might be made at the population which had collected round the church in the middle ages of our history. I suspect that it was very small, and that the extension of the village within the bounds of the enclosure has been the work of the three last centuries. It is manifest that many of the houses are recent erections: some of them are certainly on new sites, and even those which are supposed to be re-edifications, may be on sites not more than two or three centuries old.”¹

very possibly have been Avebury circle itself.” It may be questioned whether Mr. J. M. Kemble was able to give the requisite attention for the identification of the different localities specified in this charter; and he will not carry many readers with him in his assertion that Hackpen means the circle itself. With perhaps somewhat unjust sarcasm, he concludes:

“The avenue you see, which my friends the Ophites consider so mysterious, was only a common stone row, and the ‘temple’ itself of the snake, the sun, the Helio-Arkite cult, the mystic zodiac, and a number of other very fine things—so fine that one cannot understand them—is very probably, in the eyes of this dull dog of a surveyor, only a burial place. As for the stone ring, it was only Haca’s pen or enclosure, though I dare say Haca himself was some mythical personage whom I have not been able to identify. . . . The Anglo-Saxon did not know that *Hac* in Hebrew meant a serpent, and *Pen* in Welsh a head; and would hardly have been ingenious enough to fancy that one word could be made up of two parts derived from two different languages! though he raved about snakes, he does not seem to have raised his mind to the contemplation of Dracontia. And he was quite right. Would that some of his successors had been as little led away by their fancy!”

¹ Unlike Stonehenge, which has been so often celebrated in song, Abury has been, as far as the writer is aware, the subject of only two poetical effusions. One entitled “The Old Serpentine Temple of the Druids at Avebury, in North Wilts, a Poem,” printed at Marlborough in 1795, was the composition of the Rev. Charles Lucas, A.M., when he was curate of Avebury. Mr. Lucas was for many years curate at Devizes, and died there in 1854, aged 85. He was also the author of “Joseph,” a poem, in two volumes 8vo. He was a man of fortune, and never held any church preferment. His poem on Abury extended to 29 pages, and is a versification of Stukeley’s description. Another is a MS. poem by the Rev. John Skinner, the Somersetshire antiquary, and Rector of Camerton, entitled “Beth Pennard, or the British Chieftain’s Grave.” It was written “to commemorate the opening of an ancient British barrow near the

In the foregoing sketch, I have endeavoured to give to those who are unacquainted with Abury, an idea of the remarkable works of man which it contained, and which, although little known even in our own country, would have formed, had they remained entire, one of the Wonders of the World. I would urge all who have not done so, to visit them, and they will find that Stukeley said truly, "that the pleasure arising from them is in being on the spot and treading the agreeable downy turf, crowded with those antiquities, where health to the body and amusement to the mind are mingled so effectually together." And not only will amusement be afforded to the mind, but the sight of this wonderful ruin will open to the intelligent visitor a mine of profitable subjects for study and investigation. Let him not omit to view the Church, with its Norman doorway and font, and the interesting remnant of the roodloft. The lime-tree avenue at the rear of the picturesque manor-house, should not be neglected; and I think he will return home with the conviction that it would be difficult to find in England a more interesting spot than the village of Abury.

One word in conclusion to the landowners and tenants at Abury. I am sure that I am uttering the sentiments, not only of every English, but of every European antiquary, when I entreat them religiously to spare the few stones that remain. Sir Richard Hoare finished his account of Abury (as Stukeley did the 5th chapter of his book,) with the following lines, from one of the Triopian inscriptions.

" Ne cuiquam glebam, saxumve impunè movere
Ulli sit licitum. Parcarum namque severæ

village of Abury, on the Wiltshire Downs by Sir Richard C. Hoare," Aug. 11, 1814. Within the barrow at a foot and a half below the surface was a perfect skeleton and a clay cup, as described in Hoare's 'Ancient Wilts,' vol. ii. pp. 92, 93. The Rev. J. Douglas, author of the "Nenia Britannica," urged Mr. Skinner to publish it. A copy of this poem is in the Library of the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution at Bath; and in the same MS. volume are copies of a very interesting correspondence between Mr. Skinner and Mr. Douglas on various antiquarian subjects. The letters in which Mr. Skinner describes the results of his examination of the Mendip barrows and of the Wellow tumulus should, at all events, be printed in the Journal of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

Pœnæ instant: si quis sacra scelus edat in æde.
Finitimi agricolæ, et vicini attendite cuncti!
Hic fundus sacer est."

I will bring my paper to a close, with a free translation by my friend, the Rev. F. Kilvert:

"Let no rude hand disturb this hallowed sod,
Or move stones sacred to the Briton's god—
Avenging spirits o'er the place preside,
And bold profaners evil will betide.
Sons of the soil,—with faithful watch and ward
This holy precinct be it your's to guard."

W. L.

Contributions to the Museum and Library.

The Committee feel great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the following articles, presented to the Society:—

By J. YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.—“Some account of the Possessions of Malmesbury Abbey in the Days of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, with remarks on the ancient limits of the Forest of Braden,” by the Donor. Reprinted from the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii., 1857, 4to.

By T. HERBERT NOYES, Esq., Jun., *East Mascalls, Sussex*.—“Some Notices of the family of Newton, of East Mascalls in Lindfield, and Southover Priory, near Lewes; and of Newton, and Pownall Hall in Cheshire; with a short account of the Manors and Rectory of Lindfield,” by the Donor, 1857, 8vo.

By MRS. BRITTON.—“Letters from the Bodleian Library, and Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Men,” 3 vols. 8vo. “History of the Manor and Ancient Barony of Castle Combe,” by G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M.P. 1852, 4to. Printed for private circulation. “Wilton and its Associations,” by James Smith, 4to. 1851. “Akerman's Wiltshire Tales,” 12mo. 1853. “Britton's Topographical and Historical Description of Wiltshire,” from the ‘*Beauties of England and Wales*,’ 8vo. 1814. “Britton's Autobiography,” 2 vols. 4to. “Stukeley's Stonehenge and Abury,” folio, 1740-3. “Britton's History of Fonthill Abbey,” 1823, large paper, illustrated with numerous additional plates, drawings, and autograph letters. Also, several pamphlets and a large number of engravings relating to Wiltshire.

By G. POULETT SCROPE, Esq., M.P., *Castle Combe*.—Maps and Plates to the “Memoir on the Geology and Volcanic Formations of Central France.” 1 vol. oblong folio, by the Donor.

- By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, *London*.—Nos. 44, 45, 46, of their Proceedings, and List of Fellows for 1857.
- By THOMAS BRUGES FLOWER, Esq., *Bath*.—"The Botanist's Guide through England and Wales," by Turner and Dillwyn. 1805. 2 vols, 8vo.
- By the REV. EDWARD J. PHIPPS, *Stansfield Rectory, Suffolk*.—"Two grants by the Procurators of the Church of St. Mary's, Devizes, of tenements belonging thereto," 12th and 46th Edward III. Also, a small collection of Tradesmen's Tokens, issued in the counties of Wilts and Somerset.
- By W. LONG, Esq., *Bath*.—Aubrey's Survey of Abury, A.D. 1663: in three drawings accurately copied from the original MSS. of the 'Monumenta Britannica,' now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- By T. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, Esq., M.P., *Estcourt House*.—Horns and portion of cranium of *Bos primigenius*, fragments of British pottery, bones, horns of deer, &c., found in a tumulus at Calston, 1833. See "Wood's Description of Fossil Ox found in the river Avon, near Melksham," and "Wilts Magazine," vol. iv. p. 139.
- By MR. CUNNINGTON, F.G.S., *Devizes*.—Cranium of *Bos longifrons* found in the river-drift at Avon bridge, near Chippenham. Skull of recent Devonshire Ox. Fragment of Granite found in the Upper Chalk, near Maidstone.
- By the REV. W. C. LUKIS, *Collingbourne Ducis*.—Fragment of Primary Slate embedded in a Chalk Flint, found at Collingbourne, Wilts.
- By the REV. G. ASHE GODDARD, *Clyffe Pypard*.—Vertebrae of Plesiosaurus, and Humerus of Saurian, from the Kimmeridge Clay, Wotton Bassett.
- By MR. J. G. FOLEY, *Trowbridge*.—Fossil molar tooth of Elephant, found at Westbury.
- By JAMES WAYLEN, Esq., *Etchilhampton*.—Two portions of Encaustic tile, from Patney Church, Wilts.
- By MR. W. F. PARSONS, *Wotton Bassett*.—Final agreement between John G. Gallamore, on the one part, and Gabriel Church, Mary his wife, and John Church, on the other part, respecting certain lands and tenements in Shropshire-marsh and Wotton Bassett; made at Westminster in the octaves of St. Hilary, 34 Charles II., before Francis Pemberton, Hugh Wyndham, Job Charlton, and others.

Errata.

- Page 320, in the wood-engraving. For "Beckhampton, read "Backhampton."
- Page 323, line 20. For "(1740)" read "(1743)."
- Page 330, line 9. For "formed a cove," read "formed, with them, a cove."
- Page 337, line 17. For "Traids" read "Triads."
- Page 342, note 1, line 1. For "The avenue which south east" read "The avenue which stretched south east."
- Page 342, note 1, line 9. For "seem" read "seems."



END OF VOL. IV.

