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WILTSHIRE

Archæological & Natural History

MAGAZINE

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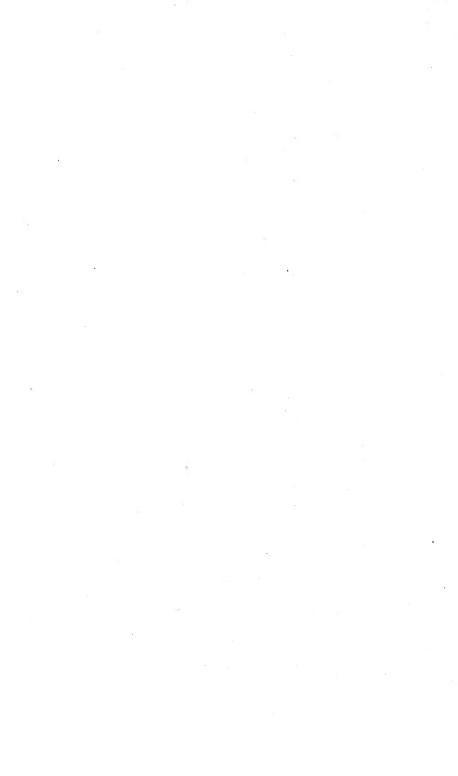
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DEVIZES:

C. H. WOODWARD, EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, STATION ROAD.

DECEMBER, 1944.



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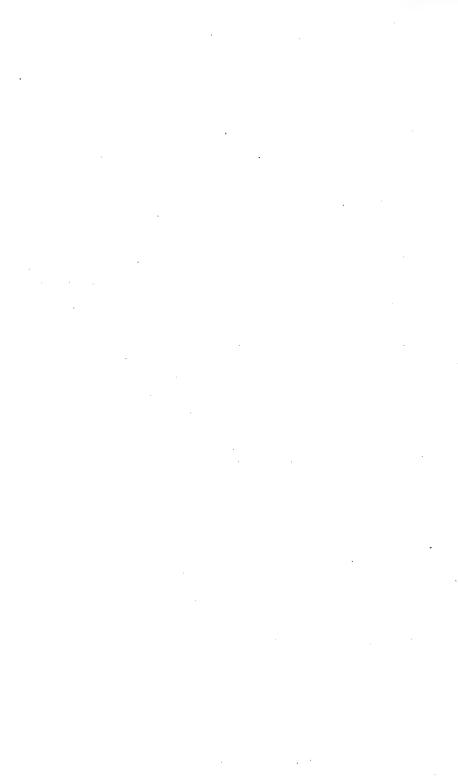
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Vol. L.

THE

WILTSHIRE

Archæological & Natural History

MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY A.D. 1853.

EDITED BY

CANON E. H. GODDARD, F.S.A., Red Gables, Nursteed Road, Devizes.

[The authors of the papers printed in this "Magazine" are alone responsible for all statements made therein.]



DEVIZES

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY C. H. WOODWARD, EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, STATION ROAD.

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- TAKE NOTICE that a copious Index for the preceding eight volumes of the *Magazine* will be found at the end of Vols. viii., xvi., xxiv., and xxxii. The subsequent Volumes are each fully indexed separately.
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THE

WILTSHIRE

Archæological & Natural History MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1942.

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THE WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

Resignation of Canon E. H. Goddard.

At a meeting held on December 11th, 1942, the Committee of the Society received with very great regret an announcement from Canon Goddard that he has decided, on account of advancing years, to resign his offices of Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society, and Hon. Editor of the Magazine. The Committee's regret will be shared to the full by every member of the Society, and indeed by many others outside it who have known and appreciated the great work he has done for archæology for a period of over fifty years. The following resolution was unanimously passed by the Committee and is recorded in the minutes: —

"The Committee has received with the deepest regret the resignation by Canon E. H. Goddard of the offices of Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of the Society and Editor of the Magazine. which he has held with such distinction for fifty three years. In the face of such a record and of his advancing years it would have been ungracious to challenge Canon Goddard's decision, and the Committee has reluctantly accepted it. It feels, however, that it cannot let the occasion pass without placing on record the debt which is owed by the Society, and indeed by a far wider circle, to Canon Goddard for the immense contribution he has made to the study and advancement of Natural History and Archæology. comprehensive range of his knowledge, his accuracy and lucidity in exposition, and his unwearied industry over more than fifty years have combined in establishing a tale of service second to none in the long and distinguished line of Wiltshire archæologists. It is with the deepest gratitude that the Society acknowledges the debt '.

Mr. H. C. Brentnall, F.S.A., Granham West, Marlborough, has kindly consented to become Hon. Editor of the *Magazine* in Canon Goddard's place, and Mr. C. W. Pugh, M.B.E., Hadleigh Cottage, Devizes, to take over the duties of Hon. Secretary and Treasurer,

At the same meeting Mr. C. P. Isaac, Wynnstay, Devizes, was appointed Honorary Auditor in the place of the late Capt. Gundry.

R. W. AWDRY,

President.



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WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."-Ovid.

No. CLXXVII.

DECEMBER, 1942.

Vol. L.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE BASIDIOMYCETES IN SOUTH-WEST WILTSHIRE, ESPECIALLY ROUND DONHEAD ST. MARY.

By T. F. G. W. Dunston, B.A., and Captain A. E. A. Dunston.
Part IV.

The late summer and early autumn of 1941 were as good for fungus growth as the two previous years had been bad. During the earlier period we had little time for collection as one of us was busy elsewhere, but during 1941 full advantage was taken of the favourable conditions and the swarms of agarics that adorned our woods yielded many species not previously recorded in our lists. More attention was also paid to the resupinates, mostly flat growths on stumps and the underside of prostrate logs or sticks. These fungi are usually passed over by the collector as they have few outward characters to distinguish them and examination under the microscope is essential for their determination.

Once more we have had recourse to Mr. A. A. Pearson, F.L.S., for the naming of most of our finds, and a few critical resupinates have been determined by Miss E. M. Wakefield, M.A., F.L.S. To both of these mycologists we tender our best thanks. Mr. Pearson has been good enough again to supply the notes to each species which give a value not usually to be found in local lists of species. These notes only point out the salient features so useful to the field botanist. For full descriptions it is essential to consult a Fungus Flora.

Pluteus pellitus (Pers.), Fr. An uncommon species; both cap and stem are silky white and hooked cystidia are present on the gills. Donhead St. Mary.

Lepiota carcharias (Pers.), Fr. This small Lepiota with its granular cap, white with a tinge of pink or flesh colour, belongs to the group with a peronate or sheathed stem, often placed in the genus Cystoderma. It has an unpleasant but characteristic smell. Donhead St. Mary.

L. micropholis, B. and Br. Very like Lepiota felina with white cap adorned with black concentric scales, but it has smaller spores and

¹ For parts I and II see W.A.M., vol. xlviii, pp. 321—347 and 471—487, and for Part III see vol. xlix, pp. 147—156.

always appears in greenhouses. Not common. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

Psalliota sylvicola, forma gracilis (Vitt.), Fr. The normal form of this species was recorded in our first notes. The present record relates to a slender form that appeared in quantities in a pine wood. Farnham Common Wood.

P. hortensis (Cooke), Lange; var. albida, Lange. This is a form of one of the cultivated mushrooms which sometimes appears in open and is now recognised as distinct from the field mushroom. The gills are a dull pink before the spores have ripened, and the basidia are consistently two-spored. Much work remains to be done before the mushroom species are clearly defined. Growing on old mortar, Donhead St. Andrew.

Amanitopsis nivalis (Grev), Rea. A white form of Amanitopsis vaginata. Donhead St. Mary.

 $A.\ inaurata$ (Secr.), Boud (=Amanitopsis strangulata (Fr.), Roze). Like a large form of $A.\ vaginata$, but with the remnants of the general veil encircling the stem and forming numerous rings. Farnham Common Woods.

Pholiota erebia, Fr. This fairly common terrestrial species of a dull brown colour usually puzzles the collector, but is easily named by the boat-shaped guttulate spores. The basidia have only two sterigmata. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

 $P.\ erinacea\ (Fr.),\ Quél.\ (=(Naucoria\ erinacea,\ Fr.).\ A\ small\ rusty\ brown\ agaric\ clothed\ with\ bristly\ squarrose\ scales.\ Modern\ mycologists\ have\ placed\ it\ in\ a\ separate\ genus\ Phalomarasmius,\ but\ though\ it\ has\ no\ distinct\ ring,\ it\ seems\ well-placed\ in\ Pholiota.\ Like\ the\ previous\ species,\ the\ basidia\ have\ two\ long\ sterigmata.\ Donhead\ St.\ Mary.$

Cortinarius (Phlegmacium) glaucopus (Schaeff.), Fr. Clay coloured cup, bluish-lilac stem with emarginate bulb, bluish gills at first and with elliptical spores measuring $7-9 \times 4-5\mu$ Donhead Hall, Donhead St. Mary.

C. (Phleg.) purpurascens, Fr. One of the most decorative of our agarics, all parts being dark violet when fresh, but soon changing colour. There are many forms of this fairly common Cortinarius. Donhead St. Mary.

Cortinarius (Myxacium) delibutus, Fr. Viscid both on the pale tawny cap and white stem. Easily distinguished from its near relatives by the bluish gills and almost globose spores. Rather small in size, Donhead St. Mary.

Cortinarius (Inoloma) bolaris (Pers.). Fr. Cap and stem with scarlet or saffron-red scales on a white background. The flesh is white but turns saffron or red, especially if rubbed. Usually rather small. Donhead St. Mary.

Cortinarius (Dermocybe) azureus, Fr. All parts hoary lilac; cap and stem remain this colour, which marks it off from the more common C. anomalus. Farnham Common Woods.

C. (Dermo.) phoeniceus (Bull.), Maire. Not always easy to recognize

as it is very close to several other species in this group. The vivid red fibrils on the stem are the chief "spot" point. Donhead St. Mary.

C. (Dermo.) tabularis (Bull.), Fr. Differs from C. anomalus by having

white gills when very young. Donhead St. Mary.

Cortinarius (Telamonia) gentilis, Fr. The main features are the acute cap and well-defined golden-vellow rings on the stem. It has been confused with C. saniosus and some further observations are necessary before these two species can be clearly differentiated. Woods round Donhead Hall, Donhead St. Mary.

C. (Tela) torvus, Fr. One of the few Cortinarii which it is easy to name. The thick white veil remains as a stocking on the bulbous or sub-bulbous stem. Common. Woods round Donhead Hall,

Donhead St. Mary.

Cortinarius (Hydrocybe) decipiens (Pers.), Fr. This species is closely related to C. erythinus, Fr. Subject to clearer definition later, we have given the name to a very common species which has a violaceous reddish stem and flesh.

The Hydrocybe section of the genus Cortinarius is very puzzling and until we have a monograph, by a competent authority, we must be content to leave many of our finds unnamed. Donhead St. Mary.

Inocybe cervicolor (Pers.), Quél. We call by this epithet what may only be a dark form of I. Bongardii. The smell is an important element in the diagnosis but it is necessary to smell both fresh and old specimens. Further observations are needed. Farnham Woods.

I. lucifuga, Fr., var. Hirtella (Pres.), Quél. Straw-coloured fibrillose cap and white stem. The gills are yellowish and the smell of bitter almonds. The variety is little more than a miniature of the type which, however, has an odour of radish. Uncommon. Farnham Common Woods.

I. descissa, Fr., var auricoma (Batsch), Fr. One of the two common forms of this species, the other being var. Brunneo-atra, Heim. It is usually small. In the var. auricoma the colour of cap is straw or ochre. Donhead St. Andrew.

I. posterula, Britzelmayr, Sensu Lange. Rather like a robust form of the last, with an acute umbo and smaller spores. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

I. dulcamara (A. & S.), Fr. Rarely recorded but not uncommon. It does not look like an Inocybe, having a flat ochraceous pileus with plushy squamulose surface. Donhead St. Andrew.

Astrosporina lanuginosa (Bull.), Schroët. There are several forms of this fairly common species which for the present we lump together. They all have a dark brown woolly cap and stem, and an oblong spore with prominent nodules. Donhead St. Mary.

A. napipes, Lange. Not uncommon; often confused with A. asterospora, but the cap is not so strikingly rimose, the bulbous base of the stem is not marginate and the spores instead of being stellate are oblong nodulose. Wardour Woods.

Tricholoma polioleucum, Fr. Differs from T. melaleucum in the grey colour of the pileus, but hardly a different species. Donhead S. Mary.

- T. equestre (Linn.), Fr. All parts sulphur or olive-yellow with brick-coloured scales on the cap. Not to be confused with Tricholoma sulphureum which is usually more slender and has a pungent smell of gas tar. Woods round Donhead Hall, Donhead St. Mary.
- T. acerbum (Bull.) Fr. A robust species, buff-coloured with a coarsely ribbed margin to the cap. As its name implies the flesh is bitter. Farnham Common Woods.
- T. fulvum (D.C.), Fr. More familiar under the name T. flavo-brunneum. Belongs to the brown group, but has light yellow gills often with rusty spots. Donhead St. Andrew.
- T. sulphureum (Bull.), Fr. All parts sulphur-yellow and smelling strongly of gas tar. Donhead St. Mary.

Clitocybe odora (Bull.), Fr. All parts green, with a pungent sweet smell of anise. In less typical forms or when old, the colour is greyish green. Donhead St. Mary.

Hebeloma versipelle, Fr. Closely allied to H. mesophæum, but larger and paler without the dark disc which is such a feature in the latter species. Donhead St. Mary.

Hypholoma chondrodermum (B. & Rr., Lange (=Psilocybe chondroderma, B. & Br., and Hypholoma instratum, Cooke non Britz.). As this uncommon species is not well defined in our books, we append a description:—

Pileus 2-5 cm., membranaceous and brittle, surface somewhat oily, conical with blunt apex, deeply plicate, dark brown or amber, paler towards margin which is white with appendiculate veil, incurved at first then upturned and undulate. Gills crowded, linear or slightly ventricose, 5-6 mm. wide, thin, smoky-purplish, edge white minutely fimbriate. Stem 5-7 cm. long, 6-8 mm. thick, cylindrical, straight or flexuous, hollow, fragile, white, striate with shaggy fibrils, smooth and silky above. Flesh white. No smell or taste.

Spores in mass dark brown, ovate or sub-cylindrical, $6-8 \times 3\frac{1}{2}-4\frac{1}{2}\mu$ (mostly 7×4), smooth. Cystidia on gill edge in bundles, sack or broadly flask-shaped with blunt apex $30-50 \times 10-12\mu$. Cuticle of pileus with globose cells, $15-20\mu$ wide.

Habitat on stumps solitary or fasiculate. Our specimens were in grass probably on underground stump. Found at Donhead St. Mary, Wiltshire, June, 1941.

The colour and furrowed radial marking of the cap gave our specimens a remarkable resemblance to some forms of *Cortinarius elatior*.

Hygrophorus (Limacium) lucorum, Katch. This was first recorded for Britain in 1938, but is not very uncommon. It has an egg-yellow slimy cap and a white stem usually tinged yellow. It grows under larch. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

H. agathosmus, Fr. The chief features of this sweet-smelling agaric with a grey viscid pileus and whitish stem, are the granular scales at the apex of the stem which often turn black. Not un-

common in some localities, but not often met with in our experience. Donhead St. Andrew.

H. lacmus, Fr. Though usually listed as a variety of H. subradiatus it is now considered a distinct species. The cap is tinged with lilac and the base of the white stem is yellow. Woods round Donhead Hall, Donbead St. Mary.

Flammula flavida (Schaeff.), Fr. All parts light yellow. Farnham

Common Woods.

Gomphidius gracilis, B. & Br. Usually recorded as a separate species, but it is doubtful whether it is more than a dwarf form of G. maculatus. It has the same reddish-brown pileus spotted with black. Donhead St. Andrew.

Collybia tylicolor, Fr., Sensu Lange. This small blackish-grey Collybia is often taken for a Mycena, but it has no cystidia and the spores are distinctly echinulate. It is the same as C. terquorum of many authors. Donhead St. Mary.

Leptonia æthiops, Fr. The cap is almost jet black. Coombe, Don-

head St. Mary.

L. sericella (Fr.), Quél, var. decurrens (Bourd.), Rea. All parts white till the spores begin to ripen and turn the gills pink. This variety is not uncommon and looks like an *Eccilia*. Donhead St. Andrew.

Naucoria arvalis, Fr. Looks rather like a short form of the much more common N. semi-orbicularis, but grows on cultivated soil, has a long "root" and the cystidia (as in our specimens) often have several finger-like appendages. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

Psilocybe physaloides (Bull.), Fr. This is the name we apply to the very common small agaric that grows in pastures and lawns. The cap is viscid, bay-brown when fresh, buff when dry and usually with a small papilla. The larger forms are often determined as P. bullacea, a

species which is not clearly defined. Donhead St. Mary.

Panaeolus subbalteatus, B. & Br. Very like a large form of Psilocybe foenisecii, but with black instead of brown spores. Fairly common in manured ground, but usually overlooked. Burltons, Donhead St. Marv.

P. retirugis, Fr. The wrinkled cap separates this from the common P.-campanulatus, but it is doubtful if it is a valid species. Donhead

St. Andrew.

Mycena hæmatopus (Pers.), Fr. Greyish-purple with a white bloom, growing on the stumps of deciduous trees and containing a blood-red juice. Farnham Common Woods.

M. coccinea (Sow.), Quél. Very small; cap and stem vivid pink. Closely allied to M. Adonis which has a white stem. Donhead St. Mary.

M. galopus (Pers.), Fr., var. Alba, Fl., Dan. Not so common as the type, but frequently occurs. Donhead St. Mary.

M. cinerella, Karst. This small species appears in myriads in the late autumn, especially in pine woods and under bracken. Cap and stem are pale grey, the cap strikingly striate. The gills are more

or less decurrent and some authors prefer to place it in the genus *Omphalia*. Donhead St. Mary.

Mycena lineata (Bull.), Fr., forma pumila, Lange. There is some confusion about the correct naming of this small greenish species, which may only be a pale dwarf form of M. chlorantha. It belongs to a large group which is characterised by warted cystidia and a smell of iodiform when drying; the common type being what we call M. metata. Kühner has linked them up under many different species and still more varieties and forms. His name for the present form is Mycena vitilis, sensu Ricken, non Lange, var. Olivascens, Quél, forma pumila, Kühner. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

Nolanea papillata, Bres. In the present state of our knowledge we lump together under this epithet all those small brown nolaneas with a small hard papilla in the centre of the pileus. Donhead St. Mary.

Psathyra gossypina (Bull.), Fr. When fresh the densely woolly veil on the pileus marks this out, but this may disappear and then it is not so easy to distinguish from the other puzzling species of Psathyra. Donhead St. Andrew.

Omphalia umbellifera (Linn.), Fr. This common little agaric is found in small troups or solitary, all the year round. There are many varieties mostly based on colour and some, perhaps, are worthy of specific rank. Donhead St. Mary.

- O. gracilis, Quél. We have given this name to a small pure white Omphalia with narrow hairs on the gill edge and cylindrical spores. We have also gathered some other pure white Omphalias, but not in good enough condition to assign them to any of the species, old or new, to be found in recent works on this genus. Donhead St. Andrew.
- O. wynniæ (Berk. & Br.), Quél. (= $Hygrophorus\ wynniæ$, B. & B.). All parts lemon-yellow except the white woolly base of the stem. Donhead St. Andrew.
- O. umbilicata (Schaeff.), Fr. Looks like one of the greyish-yellow hygrophanous Clitocybes which are so difficult to place. Together with O. hydrogramma, it is separated from this genus only by the cartilaginous stem. Donhead St. Mary.

Tubaria pellucida (Berk.), Fr. Differs from T. furfuracea in the deeper rusty cinnamon colour of the pileus, smaller spots and noncapitate hairs on the gill edge. In very large quantities up the trunk of a very large Siberian crab which had lost most of its branches in the ice age of 1940, and was obviously doomed. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

Pleurotus dryinus (Pers.), Fr. (=Pleurotus corticatus, Fr.). The white pileus is covered with grey downy scales and the stem, which is usually lateral, is provided with a ring, which, however, soon disappears or may be left in hanging fragments on the margin of the cap. The spores are cylindrical, $12-13 \times 3\frac{1}{2}-4\mu$. Donhead St. Mary.

P. ulmarius (Bull.), Fr. A very robust species with a pallid cap which is often cracked. The stem is only sub-excentric, sometimes

being almost central. The spores are globose, $5-6\mu$, with a large central guttule. Not confined to the elm. Donhead St. Andrew.

P. serotinus (Schrad.), Fr. This rather rare and striking fungus has an olive-green pileus with a plushy surface which is viscid in wet weather. The gills are a bright yellow and the stem, which is right on one side, and sometimes reduced to almost nothing, is dotted with black-brown scales. The spores are very small, $5-6 \times 1-1\frac{1}{2}\mu$, and cystidia abundant on gill edge. Donhead St. Mary.

Claudopus variabilis (Pers.), W. G. Sm., var. sphaerosporus, Patt. A variety of the common small shell-like fungus which grows all the year round on dead twigs. The spores of the ordinary type are $5-6\times 3-3\frac{1}{2}\mu$ and the variety now recorded has globose spores $7-9\mu$ minutely echinulate. Many modern authors confine the genus Claudopus to excentric agaries with pink angular spores, and place the species with smooth or rough spores in either Crepidopus or Dochmiopus. Donhead St. Andrew.

Russula lepida, Fr. Easily distinguished by its blood-red pileus covered with a white pruine suggestive of hoar frost. It is of solid structure and the stem is usually red. It is often confused with other species, especially R. rosea, Quél., which is without the pruinose cap. The spores in mass are a very pale cream. Donhead St. Mary.

R. alutacea (Pers.), Fr. Said to be the largest species among the Russulas. The cap is a red-purple, the stem pink, especially at the apex, and the gills egg-yellow, which is the colour of the spores. Not common in our experience, but when it does occur, usually under beech, it often grows in great abundance. In large numbers, Donhead St. Andrew.

Lactarius pallidus (Pers.). Always under beeches. The colour varies from flesh-pink to pale café au lait. Farnham Common Wood.

Androsaceus epiphylloides, Rea. (=A. hederæ, Kühner). This little white toadstool with its horny stem and distant vein-like gills, grows on dead ivy leaves. It differs from A. epiphyllus in its ionger spores, $12-17 \times 2\frac{1}{2}-3\frac{1}{2}\mu$ and the presence of brush-like cystidia on the gills. Donhead St. Mary.

Cantharellus tubaeformis, Fr. A funnel-shaped fungus, fulginous or smoky-yellow in colour, with fold-like gills. It is hardly distinct from Cantharellus infundibuliformis. Common. Donhead St. Mary.

C. cinereus (Pers.), Fr. Not so common as previous species from which it differs in having no trace of yellow, the whole plant being the colour of cinders. Woods round Donhead Hall, Donhead St. Mary.

Boletus parasiticus (Bull.), Fr. Usually rather small and growing on old fruit bodies of Scleroderma. Donhead St. Mary.

B. aurantiacus (Bull.), Roques. Under the above name we record one of the two forms or separate species that have always been recorded in this country as Boletus versipellis, Fr. Both have an orange or rufous brown pileus. The characters which separate them are briefly:—

B. aurantiacus. Scales on stem reddish-brown. Flesh turns black.

B. rufescens (Secr.), Konrad. Scales black. Flesh turns pink.

According to the botanical rules the epithet *versipellis*, Fr., should be retained for one of these two species, but which one we cannot say. Wardour Woods.

Polyporus radiatus (Sow.), Fr. One of the hard bracket fungi usually growing on old alders. It takes its name from the rugose pileus, but the chief features are the lemon-yellow margin and the greysilvery glistening surface of the pores. The cream-coloured spores are sub-globose, about $5\times 4\mu$. Uncommon. Donhead St. Andrew.

P. benzoinus (Walenb), Fr. Like the previous species, this has a rugose pileus, but there are well-marked zones with a bluish-black metallic lustre. The spores are white, $5-6 \times 1\frac{1}{2}-2\frac{1}{2}\mu$. Donhead St. Andrew.

Sistotrema confluens (Pers.), Fr. We used to find this curious fungus frequently, but it rarely turns up nowadays. Its colour is white then yellowish and the hymenium, which is porous in its early stages, breaks up into teeth or plates. Donhead St. Mary.

Polystictus abietinus (Dicks), Fr. Extremely common on prostrate trunks of pine trees, in dense clusters of small brackets or sometimes quite flat. The porous hymenium when fresh is violet, but fades when old. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

Fomes ribis (Schum.), Fr. Not confined to currant, but found on many other bushes and trees. Like another bracket fungus recorded above, the rusty-coloured pileus has a bright yellow margin but the spores are ochraceous, $5\times2\frac{1}{2}-4\mu$. Often occurs in resupinate form when it is remarkably like the common Fomes ferruginosus which, however, possesses mahogany-brown conical cystidia in the hymenium. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

F. ulmarius (Sow.), Fr. A robust whitish bracket fungus, easily recognized, when a section is cut, showing the pale brick-coloured tubes in contrast to the white flesh. Mostly on elm, though it has been recorded on other trees. Coombe Ponds, Donhead St. Mary.

F. connatus, Fr. Small white brackets growing into each other and turning grey or buff later. Uncommon. Donhead St. Mary.

Ganoderma lucidum (Leys.), Karst. Remarkable for the shining blood-red varnish on pileus and stem. Typically orbicular or kidney-shaped, but occurs in all sorts of contorted forms. The brown spores are truncate and warted. At the base and roots of deciduous trees, but not common in our experience. Donhead St. Mary.

Mycoleptodon fimbriatum (Pers.), Bourd. & Galz. In large flat patches, buff-coloured, often with a lilac tinge, the border strikingly fringed with thread-like rhigomorphs. The hymenium is granular and the granules are set with club-shaped and fusiform cystidia. Fairly common. Donhead St. Mary.

Radulum quercinum, Fr. White or buff patches, at first small discs which later merge into each other to form larger patches. On the surface of the hymenium are teeth and tubercles of different shapes and sizes. Very like R. orbiculare from which it differs in the longer spores. Donhead St. Mary.

Acia uda (Fr.), Bourd. & Galz. As the colour is bright sulphur or lemon-yellow and the fungus smells of Anise, there is little trouble in naming it. The spines are sharp and have no cystidia. Donhead St. Mary.

Grandinia helvetica (Pers.), Fr. This species also has sub-globose spores. It is not always easy to distinguish from the last. It has a

more pulverulent surface! Donhead St. Mary.

G. mutabilis (Pers.), Bourd. & Galz. Effused in patches, white at first, soon buff-coloured; sometimes with a greenish tinge when dried. The granules on the surface are usually hemisphaerical, Spores are globose, $3-5\mu$, smooth normally, but occasionally warted. Donhead St. Mary.

Odontia bicolor (A. & S.), Bres. The specific epithet suggests two colours, but the patches are multi-coloured: white, livid-bluish, tan or even reddish, according to age or weather conditions. The spines are blunt and granular. There are very characteristic cystidia, short with a globose head, to which crystals may adhere. Always in pine stumps and prostrate trunks. Donhead St. Mary.

Tomentella (Pers.), Pat. In our lists we are adopting the genus Tomentella for the resupinate hymenomycetes with coloured echinulate spores. This is in accordance with the usage of continental mycologists. Tomentella has been proposed for conservation instead of Hypochnus (Fr.), Karst., which has priority if the International Rules are strictly followed.

- T. fusca (Pers.), Schroet. (=Hypochnus fuscus (Pers.), Fr.). The commonest of our Tomentellas. Effused in patches of a loose texture, the colour being fuscous with a purplish tinge. Donhead St. Andrew.
- T. echinosphora (Ellis.), Bourd. & Galz. (=Hypochnus echinosphorus (Ellis.), Burt). More membranous and pellicular than the previous species and easily separable from matrix. The colour varies from lemon-yellow to rose or salmon-pink. Not uncommon. Donhead St. Andrew.
- T. zygodesmoides (Ellis) Von. Hochn. L. Lit. (=Hypochnus zygodesmoides (Ellis), Burt). The loose arachnoid texture is rather variegated in colour from cinnamon to rust. Usually found in pine woods on loose sticks or prostrate logs. Uncommon. Donhead St. Mary.

Hymenochaete corrugata (Fr.) Lév. Cinnamon-brown with very rugose surface. The sharp coloured spines are brown. Donhead St. Andrew.

H. cinnamomea (Pers.), Bres. Lighter in colour than the last and smoother. In old specimens there are several layers. Donhead St. Mary.

Corticium caeruleum (Schrad.), Fr. Easily identified by the deep blue velvety surface. Said to be common, but not so in our experience. Alec's Shade, Donhead St. Mary and Donhead St. Andrew.

C. bombycinum (Sommerf.), Bres. In small white or green patches, with a pulverulent surface and floccose margin. Mostly on willow. Donhead St. Andrew.

C. sambuci (Pers.), Fr. This is the white Corticium of elder, but appears on other wood. The sub-globose spores, $3-6\times 3-5\mu$, are 1-guttulate. Donhead St. Mary.

C. comedens (Nees.), Fr. On prostrate branches of oak; in long stretches, flesh-coloured or dingy lilac with white pruinose surface, finally reddish brown, lifting up the bark. It is somewhat gelatinous and the big spores which produce the pruinose effect are sausage-shaped, $15-22\times 6-7\mu$. Donhead St. Mary.

Corticium (Gloeocystidium) lactescens (Berk). Rather thick in wide patches, whitish or with a pinkish tinge. A white juice exudes when the fungus is cut. The glœocystidia have oily granular contents.

Wardour Woods.

C. (Gloeocystidium) albo-straminium (Bres.), Bourd & Galz. White on cream with a pulverulent surface sub lente. The spores are broadly oval or sub-globose, 7-9 \times 6-5 μ , with minutely warted surface. The contents of the gloeocystidia stain deeply. Rather common. Donhead St. Mary.

Peniophora ægerita, von. Hoehn. & Litsch., in its conidial form of Aegerita candida (Pers.), Lyman. Frequently to be found in wet places in woods or rotten sticks, the conidial form consisting of minute pure white or cream loose granules. The mature fungus is not so common, but when the granular patches are carefully examined a small membranous piece may be detected which will be found to have basidia, spores and cystidia. We have not yet come across it in this district. Donhead St. Mary.

P. pallidula, Bres., ex-Bourd & Galz. Perhaps the commonest of the pine wood resupinates, often covering whole logs with its cream or clay-coloured membrane. One looks for the narrow septate cystidia with a liquid globule at the apex and the small spores with a large guttule. Donhead St. Mary.

P. longispora (Pat.), Von Hoehu & Litsch. Usually pure white with a delicately woolly surface when seen under a lens. The spores are fusiform, $12-18 \times 1-3\mu$, and the cystidia needle-shaped and rough

with cystas. Not uncommon. Donhead St. Mary.

P. leprosa, Bourd and Galz. White thin buff with a pink or reddish tinge, sometimes with white string-like rhizomorphs on the margin. The cystidia are very rough and often in clusters. Uncommon. Wardour Woods.

 $P.\ setigera$ (Fr.). Bres. Often occurs in rather large patches, white, cream or with a tinge of pink. The surface is usually papillose, probably due to large projecting cystidia which are cylindrical, septate and often incrusted with crystals. Donhead St. Mary.

P. pubera (Fr.), Sacc. White, turning yellow or with a slight

bluish tint. Fairly common. Donhead St. Mary.

P. gigantea (Fr.), Massee. Like P. pallidula, it will often cover a pine log or stump, but in a much more spectacular way as it looks like a thick parchment. At first it is hyaline and waxy with a bluish or opalescent tint, finally turning white. Appears late in autumn and often persists till the following spring. Donhead St. Mary.

P. quercina (Pers.), Cooke. Rather thick in cushion-like patches which flatten later. The colour at first is deep violet but becomes a rather dull lilac which is largely due to the spores which in mass are salmon-pink. The margin has a tendency to lift up and show a black surface underneath. Mostly in oak woods. Donhead St. Mary.

Cyphella alboviolescens (A. & S.), Karst. A minute hairy white cup, with a pale violet hymenium which is on the outside of the cup. Said to be fairly common, but not in our experience. Doubtless it is so small that we overlook it. Farnham Common Woods.

Clavaria abietina (Pers.), Fr. Very much branched, thinly tufted; ochraceous at first then turning green. The flesh is greenish, especially at base. Often found on the ground in pine woods. Donhead St. Mary.

C. flaccida, Fr. Like the last, this is a much branched ochraceous plant which, however, does not turn colour. The flesh is whitish, yellowish above. Not common. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

C. fistulosa (Holmsk.), Fr. Unbranched single clubs up to 8 inches high; yellow then reddish. Usually grow from dead twigs in ground. Probably C. contorta and ardenia are the same. Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

Tremella foliacea (Pers.), Fr. Growing in gelatinous train-like tufts, very much lobed and waxy; cinnamon flesh-colour when fresh, turning brown and finally nearly black, in which respect it differs from F. frondosa, which see. Neuhoft remains yellow or olive-brown when dried. Not common, but turns up occasionally, sometimes in large tufts. Donhead St. Andrew.

Tulasnella allantospora, Wakef. & Pers. Most of the tulasnellas are little more than thin violaceous films that must be examined fresh before the delicate structure collapses. The species here recorded is known by its sausage-shaped spores. Uncommon, but will sometimes cover a whole log. Donhead St. Mary.

Abreviations of Names of Authors.

A. & S.—J. B. de Albertini and LD. de Schweinitz

B. & Br.—M. J. Berkeley and C. E. Broome

Batsch.—A. J. G. C. Batsch

Berk.—M. J. Berkeley

Bourd & Galz.—H. Bourdot and

A. Galzin

Bres.—J. Bresadola

Britz.—M. Britzelmayr

Bull.—P. Bulliard Burt.—E. A. Burt

Cooke.—M. C. Cooke

D.C.—A. P. de Candolle

Dicks.—J. Dickson

Ellis.—J. B. Ellis

Fl. Dan.—Flora Danica

Fr.—E. N. Fries

Grev.—R. K. Greville

Holmsk.—T. Holmskiold Kalch.—C. Kalchbrenner

Karst.—P. A. Karsten

Lange.—J. E. Lange Lév.—J. H. Léveillé

Levs.—F. W. Levsser

Linn.—C. von. Linnæus

Massee.-G. Massee

Nees -C. G. D. Nees von Esenbeck

Pat.—N. Patouillard

Pers.—C. H. Persoon

Quél.—L. Quélet

Rea.—Carleton Rea

Sacc.—P. A. Saccardo

Schæff. – J. C. Schæffer

Schrad.—H. A. Schrader

Schreet.-J. Schreeter

Schum.—C. E. Schumacher

Secr.—L. Secretan

Sommerf.—C. Sommerfelt

Sow.—J. Sowerby

Vitt.—C. Vittaclini

Wal.—G. Wahlenberg

Wakef. & Pers.—E. M. Wakefield and A. A. Pearson.

SWISS STAINED GLASS PANELS IN WILTSHIRE CHURCHES.

By Albert Hollaender, Ph.D.

The two little panels described in the following notes are, as the title indicates, of foreign origin. But the fact that they are the property of Wiltshire Churches and that they have been so for a considerable period, furthermore that foreign, and especially Swiss stained glass, has been made the subject of extensive and thorough research in this country, may justify the insertion of a short paper on two rather remarkable specimens in this *Magazine*.

I. A HOLBEIN DESIGN AT CLYFFE PYPARD?

About thirty years ago Canon Goddard recorded a small collection of 16th and 17th century foreign glass with which he had furnished the north aisle windows of the Parish Church of St. Peter, at Clyffe Pypard, near Wootton Bassett.² The panels once formed part of the collections of the late J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A., of Wilton, the well-known Wiltshire archæologist, who had picked them up in various places, probably on the Continent. Upon his death they were presented by his sister to Canon Goddard, then Vicar of Clyffe Pypard. The panel with which we are dealing here is placed in the centre light of the north aisle window to the west of the north door, below a panel made up of pieces of 13th century Grisaille glass, very like the original glass of Salisbury Cathedral, which has to remain undiscussed here. Our panel is described by Canon Goddard as follows:—"... A beautiful panel of probably 16th century German work representing the donor:

Acknowledgment.—In addition to the acknowledgments made in the body of this article, I desire particularly to extend my warmest thanks to the Rev. C. E. L. Cowan, M.A., of Clyffe Pypard, for his kind assistance and permission to have the photograph of the first panel taken by Mr. Paul J. Collier, of Swindon; to Mr. K. Karpel, of Richmond, Surrey, for his sketch of the twelve divisions of the second panel; and to Mr. Stanley Sutton, of Salisbury, for his photograph of the same. Above all I cannot be too grateful to Director Frank Stevens, O.B.E., J.P., F.S.A., and Mrs. Jean C. Stevens, of Salisbury, for their ceaseless helpfulness and kindest hospitality.

¹ Maurice Drake, A History of English Glass Painting, with some remarks upon the Swiss Glass Miniatures of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century, London, 1912, 131 sqq. Bernard Rackham, F.S.A., A Guide to the Collection of Stained Glass at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1936, 88 sqq. Christopher Woodforde, F.S.A., Stained and Painted Glass in English Churches, in the series Pages from the Past London, 1937, 44 sqq.

² W.A.M., xxvii, 179.

CONRAD MEYER PFARER ZUE KILCHBERG

kneeling before St. John the Evangelist who bears in his arms the Agnus Dei to which he points. In the background is a lovely little landscape view of an old walled, towered and spired town—doubtless Conrad's home. At the base of the panel is a shield of arms, or, two bendlets, gules ". (See Pl. I.)

This description is correct as far as it is concerned with the representation. It needs, however, an emendation in two important points. First of all it is not German, but Swiss work, and the background land-scape is not exactly "Conrad's home". Secondly no mention is made of the very significant architectural frame-work: two little antique pillars of elaborate structure. A banderol contains the words: "O.SANCTE.IOHANES. ORA PRO NOB(IS) DEV(M)".

Kilchberg is a little village and parish about five miles south of Zürich in the district of Horgen, beautifully situated on the Zürich Lake. In the later middle ages an imperial domaine, it was, in 1406, bought by the Free Town of Zürich and suffered considerable damage during the War of Independence against the Habsburgs, 1440 -1444. In 1443 the little Church was partly destroyed. Conrad Meyer, portrayed in cap and surplice, was rector of the parish during the first third of the 16th century⁴ and is probably identical with one of the ancestors of the famous Swiss poet and novelist, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (1825—1898), who made brief reference to his forefather in an autobiographical sketch printed about 1890, mentioning him as a partisan of Ulrich Zwingli, especially at the time of the religious controversies and the Cappel War, 1529—153I.⁵ The landscape view cannot be Kilchberg which was never walled, towered or spired, but shows apparently a part of Old Zürich with its mediæval fortifications on the right bank of the river Limmat near the former Wasserkirche.

The panel, the exact measures of which are 10½ inches in height and 8½ inches in breadth without the later lead frame (10¾ inches in height by 9 inches in breadth with frame), belongs to the well-known type of heraldic Cabinet Glass (the German expression is "Kabinettscheibe", the French "Vitraux d'alliance", with a special view to works commissioned by married people). The use of this particular kind of glass miniatures supposed to be inserted in room and bow windows, started at the beginning of the 16th century and lasted till after the middle of

³ E. Dejung in *Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse* (D.H.S.B.), iv, 1928, 355.

 $^{^4}$ The registers of the parish only date from 1676. Thus the time limits of Conrad Meyer's administration cannot be ascertained.— D.H.S.B.

⁵ The autobiographical sketch was printed as a preface to the first Leipzig edition of C. F. Meyer's famous short story, "King Gustaf Adolf's Page". In 1878 C. F. Meyer had bought the wonderful country mansion at Kilchberg where he died in 1898. His grave is in the churchyard, on the south side of the little Church. D.H.S.B., iv, 744.

⁶ Drake, l.c., 137 sq.



Cabinet panel for Conrad Meyer, Vicar of Kilchberg. Panel, after a draught by Hans Holbein the Younger (?), about 1520/1526. Parish Church St. Peter, Clyffe Pypard.



the 18th century. It ceased to exist with the death of Hans Conrad Meyer (1694-1766), the last survivor of the Zürich School and of all the long line of glass painters throughout Switzerland. It must not be forgotten that whether cabinet, rank or simple shield panel, or of a design not to be ascribed with any degree of accuracy to any of these three classes, Swiss glass miniatures were almost entirely heraldic from the beginning to the end.⁷ But as to the cabinet panels: In these little figures may be read the whole significance of the national passion for the panels in which they appear. It was, as Maurice Drake rightly says, "a positive craze, as universal throughout the whole country as was the contemporary craze for bulbs in Holland, and both, tulips and stained glass, testify to the rise to prosperity of a strong and wealthy bourgeoisie, with money to spend upon the gratification of taste for beauty". And it was not only the towns that made presents of stained glass panels to each other. The trade guilds, the hereditary nobles and the private citizens followed the same custom, adorning their homes and council chambers and those of their neighbours with their coats of arms and portraits, exchanging them as tokens of amity and as souvenirs of the giver. Hitherto it had been almost a lordly privilege to keep glass painters in employment. Now, thanks to the smaller size of the windows, stained glass came within the reach of town councillors, town and country clergymen and the worthy burgess took care that none of his importance was lost through any reticence upon the glass painter's part.8

So far the historical background. But the panel, with its typical short inscription and the inconspicuous shield, tells more. It gives not only a very early example of a landscape background on stained glass miniatures which we may safely date with the early twenties of the 16th century, but a careful and close examination results in the discovery that only a great master of the highest talents and fully developed craftmanship can have had a hand in the design. Looking round amongst the masters working or employed at that time throughout Switzerland, we can only, and without hesitation, think of one man, one artist able to show all his dignity and nobility of conception, richness of colouring, superb draughtsmanship and masterly portraiture even in a small and modest glass panel: Hans Holbein the Younger $(1497 - 1543)^{10}$

⁷ Ibidem, 140.

⁸ Rackham, l.c., 89. Drake, l.c., 138. Cf. also Otto Fischer, in Festschrift zur Eröffnung des neuen Kunstmuseums in Basel. Basel, 1936, 9.

⁹ It is, therefore, definitely older than the specimen adduced by Drake, l.c., pl. 19, no. 1, a cabinet (marriage) panel of the County Museum, Zürich, dated 1536.

¹⁰ For the following cf. Lionel Cust, in D.N.B., xxvii/1891, 108. Arthur B. Chamberlain, Hans Holbein the Younger, London, 1913, i. passim. Wilhelm von Stein, Holbein, Berlin, 1929, 103 sqq., and

We know that Holbein, together with his brother Ambrosius (Prosy), lived in Basel from 1515 till 1526, except for intervals in Lucerne. Zürich, and perhaps in Lombardy, joining the Basel Painters' Guild in 1519. In these years the versatility of his genius manifested itself in such varied activities as book illustration, portraiture, the decoration of buildings, the paintings of great altar pieces (retables) and in designs for woodcuts and, last but not least, for glass paintings. His works of this period, though in many ways still typically Gothic in their general conception, show clearly the influence of the Italian renaissance, especially that of Andrea Mantegna, his school and his followers: Clyffe Pypard panel with its most carefully designed architectural frame and landscape background (sceneria)—the two richly ornamented antique pillars occur over and over again in free ingenious variation on other panels, e.g. shieldbearers, &c.—reflects distinctly the new element; the scenic and narrative devotional image with the donor in front. As to the figures which exhibit an almost solemn dignity, there exists an interesting piece of comparison the authorship of which was ascertained as that of Holbein, at least as far as the design is concerned. It is the right half of a Basel shield panel designed about 1520 for Wettingen Abbey (Canton Argau), representing Henry II, the Roman Emperor and German King (973-1024), carrying in his hands Basel Minster, his foundation; in the background a wonderful sunlit landscape with Basel, the Rhine and the Jura Mountains. 11 There we have not only an early landscape background, but the attitude of the high and mighty Emperor is very similar to that of St. John the Evangelist majestically bearing on his arms the Agnus Dei, and showing it solemnly to the supplicant.

We may safely assume that the Clyffe Pypard panel was designed between 1520 and 1526. The terminus ad quem is to be explained by the fact of Holbein's departure to England in that year. When he returned to Basel in 1528, his style had changed, not completely, yet discernibly. His portraits are not any more the contemplative and problematic counterfeits as, for instance, his *Erasmus* (Longford Castle, Salisbury) or *Bonifatius Amerbach*, the famous scholar, collector and publisher (Art Museum, Basel), they are now sharp, naturalistic, often even unrelenting and merciless. The young master of altar pieces and devotional paintings had changed over to monumental and spacious frescoes (Samuel reproving Saul, and Rehoboam receiving the Israelite

Wilhelm Waetzoldt, Hans Holbein der Jüngere. Werk und Welt. Berlin, 1938, 101 sqq. See also W. Cohn, Two glass panels after designs by Hans Holbein, Burlington Magazine, September, 1939. The works of Stein and Wætzoldt are in my possession and will be gladly placed at the disposal of interested readers who have any difficulty in obtaining them in public libraries.

¹¹ Stein, l.c., 169, Pl. 58. The panel is still at Wettingen Abbey forming part there of the collection of glass panels which comprises 180 pieces. Henry II, the last of the Saxon Emperors, was canonized already in 1146.

envoys, both in the Town Hall, Basel). His panel draughts become almost exclusively heraldic-ornamental, and where, only sporadically, a religious subject is found inserted, it appears strictly and purposely perspective. This process has been characterised by Wilhelm Waetzoldt as the creation of the typically German and Nordic glass painting, 12 but an assertion like this is, in fact, only based on abstract and unrestrained speculation. We had better stick to Stein who rightfully classifies most of the later panel drawings of Holbein as rather "doubtful" achievements, 13 more or less done for breadwinning only. And this gives us another important criterion as to the dating of our panel. During his second stay in Basel, between 1529 and 1532, Holbein had anything but an enjoyable time. Great scarcity prevailed. The religious excitement had grown in strength, and in 1529 an iconoclastic outbreak took place in which many of his religious paintings perished, and we know that many of his fellow citizens adherent to the new order took him as "unreliable" and that in June 1530 he was even summoned together with a number of other citizens to justify himself for not having taken part in the communion instituted in the Basel Churches after the abolition of the Catholic ritual. From then onwards work grew daily more difficult to obtain, he had, in fact, cause to be contented that no ban was passed upon him and that he was not compelled to give up and hand over the great work on the Town Hall frescoes. It is highly unlikely that a man like Conrad Meyer had, just in these days, his portrait taken by a master upon whom the dark shadow of unloyalty was cast and who had, rather frequently, to take refuge in very inadequate employment such as renovating old grotesque figures at the Rhine gate. In 1531 open war broke out between the different Cantons through stress of religious differences, and this was possibly the last straw in Holbein's case. Now his thoughts would naturally turn to the happier fields for his genius which England afforded, and he decided to return here. In the early spring of the year 1532, he left Basel, to return there only for a very short visit, sometime before Christmas, 1538.14

The Conrad Meyer panel has, like many other works of the same art and style, survived the iconoclastic outrages, in spite of the fact that it contains a religious subject. Stained glass panels were not worshipped, therefore they were never outlawed by the new regime. It may be noted that Zwingli's personal attitude towards images was definitely anti-iconoclast. He was far from rejecting paintings and fine statuary, provided they were not made to serve any superstitious purposes, and he was especially in favour of the glass paintings in Church windows on the ground that they "just as little as the cock on

¹² L.c., 103.

¹³ L.c., 105.

¹⁴ Chamberlain, l.c., i, 351 sq, and ii, 156, nn. 63 and 64.

the Church steeple or the statue of Charlemagne on the Great Minster

misled the people to idolatry . . . '15

One word only to those who might, perhaps, think of an authorship of Lucas Zeiner, of Zürich (1479—1512), the most employed Zürich glass painter before Holbein's appearance. But it must be well remembered that most of the known or ascertained panels of Zeiner's hand or design exhibit a strongly frontal attitude, as is, for instance, shown in his panel representing St. Mary Magdalene borne aloft by angels. In this early period of stained glass miniatures the artists used, in the case of an ecclesiastical donor, to surmount the shield with mitre and pastoral staff. Both these objects are missing in the Conrad Meyer panel, which is definitely post-Zeiner.

These lines contain, however, no definite claim as to the "discovery" of a "new" and genuine Holbein. They are merely an account of some historical and critical observations. Only further and exact investigation can prove whether our national heritage possesses a hitherto unknown masterpiece of this genius who gave the very best years of his life to this country, or not. It is rather the purpose of this paper to show the direction such future investigation would take.

II. THE CREATION PANEL OF SARUM ST. EDMUND'S.

Among the objects of archæological and artistic interest kept in the vestry of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, there is a small panel of stained glass, composed of eight miniature square panels framing a shield panel in a clockwise manner. (See Pl. II and III) The top and bottom row contain two miniature panels each, which, in turn, are divided by little pillars into two compartments. Two panels, one above the other, flank the shield panel on either side, distinctly separated by the leading from the adjoining top and bottom rows. The whole series depicts the story of the Creation and The Fall. The shield panel contains in its upper part a rhymed inscription in gothic minuscules, the first four lines of which paraphrase Exodus XX and are followed by another four lines of devotional conclusions. This inscription, a transcript of which is given below, surmounts two shields inclined towards each other, the left one or, bearing a Merchant's Mark, 18 the right one azure, charged with a fountain with two spouts, argent. The shields are surmounted by a double banderol inscribed with the names of the people by whom the work was commissioned:

> Hans Lässer zu Spreitenbacht

and

Barbel Brunerin sin Egemahel¹⁹

¹⁵ Stein, l.c., 180. Cf. R. Christoffel, Zwingli, or The Rise of the Reformation in Switzerland, transl. by J. Cochran, Edinburgh, 1858, 127 sq., and Waetzoldt, l.c., 91 sq. and 102.

¹⁶ Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

¹⁷ Rackham, l.c., 90.

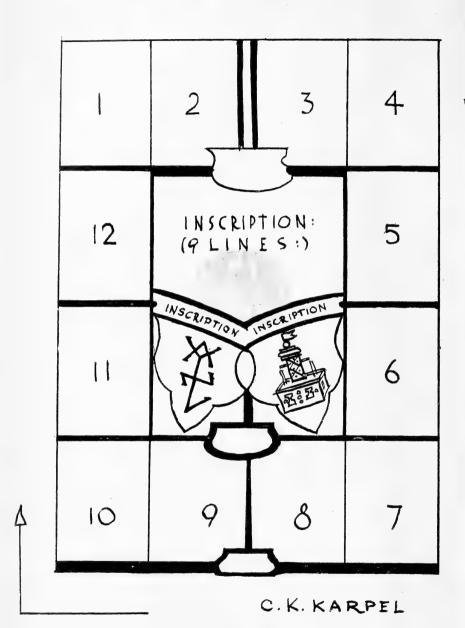
¹⁸ See below.

¹⁹ Barbara—"Egemahel"="wife".



THE CREATION AND THE FALL.

Cabinet panel for Hans Lässer and Barbara Bruner, his wife, Spreitenbach, Switzerland. By Master Hegly, 1617. Parish Church Sarum St. Edmund's, Vestry.



Explanatory Sketch of the twelve divisions of the Creation panel, Sarum St. Edmund's.

and the year 1617. In the left lower corner, below the Lässer shield, we find a name which is most probably the signature of the artist. It reads: $Heglv.^{20}$

The connection of this panel, which has never been publicly shown, with Sarum St. Edmund's, is perhaps not purely coincidental. John Britton tells an amusing story of a pre-Civil War iconoclast who, apparently, acted entirely on his own and without precedent. His account runs as follows: "... In one of the south windows (of St. Edmund's) was a series of Scripture stories in painted or stained glass, representing the Deity occupied in the six days' work of the Creation: and on the seventh, displayed in a sleeping posture, as if 'resting from his In delineating these memorable events, the artist, or labourer, as he more properly may be called, made strange confusion and blunders, in chronology: For instance, he represented the sun and the moon as created on the third day, instead of on the fourth: Man on the fifth, instead of on the sixth, etc., etc. Either these absurdities, or the impiety of preserving 'painted images' provoked the indignation of Henry Sherfield, Esq., recorder of the city, and he valiantly shattered the window to pieces. The Bishop however, summoned him to the Star Chamber in February, 1632, and made him pay a fine of £500 for the offence . . ." In a footnote to this account Britton remarks: "This was a singular occurence: the whole case, with the arguments on both sides, was published in an octavo volume, 1717. Sherfield acted with unwarrantable impetuosity and was punished with unparalled rigour. A "map" (as it is called) of this window in its proper colours, and with the marks of the defacing, was exhibited by Sherfield on the trial". Britton quotes ad hoc Gough's British Topography, vol. ii, p. 365.22 We may therefore, suggest that the panel of St. Edmund's was sometime during the latter 17th or in the 18th century, acquired by a benefactor to the Church or parish, in commemoration of the panel that was smashed by Mr. Sherfield either at the end of 1631 or at the

²⁰ The official Guide leaflet of Sarum St. Edmund's which badly wants correction—and not only in this particular respect—mentions the panel under "Some items of interest in the Vestry" with these seven words (p.3): "Some curious German painted glass dated 1627". The reading of the date is wrong as the third figure is definitely and clearly a "1".

²¹ This name does not appear in the exhaustive list of Swiss glass painters given by Drake, l.c.

²² A Topographical and Historical Description of Wiltshire, London, 1819, 118. I have, at present, no means of obtaining Gough's Topography or the above-mentioned "quarto volume" on the Sherfield case in order to ascertain the facts on which Britton's account is based. There is, however, documentary evidence for this accident, proving that the glass painting had caused Mr. Sherfield's "indignation" already before 1631—2. In the Jornal Boke of St. Edmunds we find

beginning of 1632, notwithstanding the fact that, as a rule, most of the foreign glass in England was acquired by the more enlightened travellers on the Continent at the beginning of the last century. After Switzerland was impoverished by the invasion of the French in 1798 -99, glass could be bought at very low prices. The Swiss glass in . Patrixbourne Church, Kent, was bought on the Continent by the first Marchioness of Coningham and presented to the Church in 1837, and in a similar way Wragby Church, Yorkshire, was enabled to fill not less than seventeen windows with Swiss glass comprising something like 440 panels.²³ There is no record or document which makes any reference to the way in which the little panel came to Sarum St. Edmund's. But in view of Britton's account we may guess that it was bought from a traveller or emigrant who might have been a refugee from religious persecution,24 and that it was presented to serve a definite purpose: to be inserted in one of the windows. None the less, it was never inserted, but kept under lock and key until May, 1942, when I arranged a temporary transfer to the Salisbury Museum for close examination. 25

under 1629, January 16th, the following entry: "... Item that Mr. Recorder may, if it please him, take down the windowe wherein God is painted in many places, as if He were there creating the world: so as he doe in steed thereof new make the same window w(i)th white glasse, for that the sayde window is somewhat decaied and broken, and is very darksome, whereby such as sitt nere the same cannot see to reade in their books. . . . " See Churchwardens' Accounts of S. Edmund and S. Thomas, Sarum, 1443-1702, ed. Henry James F. Swayne, Wilts Record Society, Salisbury, 1896, p. 190. Cf. also the account, based upon the MS. report of the trial, in the Bishop's Archives, Salisbury, given by Henry Hatcher, History of Salisbury, in Sir R. C. Hoare's History of Modern Wiltshire, vi, London 1843, 371-373. Sherfield is there called "a rigid Puritan". A full description of the defaced window ibidem, 372, but without reference to the above mentioned "map". It appears that the original Creation panel of St. Edmund's comprised not more than seven divisions and was, at least according to Sherfield's vindication, of no great artistic or iconographic value.

²³ Woodforde, l.c., 45. Another "centre" for stained miniature panels in the South of England is, besides Littlecote House, Ramsbury, Wilts, the small country house, "Uplands", on the outskirts of Fareham, Hampshire. The windows of the "ballroom" contain a great quantity of ancient stained glass, foreign and domestic, acquired by the collector and antiquary John Beardmore (1816—1867). See Eric P. Baker, The Cult of St. Alban at Cologne, in Archæological Journal, xciv, 1937, 207.

²⁴ This was suggested to me by Major M. Rawlence, D.S.O.,

Salisbury, one of the trustees of the Salisbury Museum.

²⁵ My sincere thanks are due to the Rev. A. Davis, M.A., the present Rector of Sarum St. Edmund's, who did not hesitate to entrust the panel to me, and to Director Frank Stevens, O.B.E., J.P., F.S.A., who very kindly provided a temporary home for it at the Salisbury Museum.

The dimensions of the whole series, without the (modern) wooden frame are: 12½ inches high by 8 inches wide. The single stained panels, of which it is composed, are 3 7/10 inches wide by 2 2/5 inches high, the single pictures about 1 7/10 inches wide. The measures of the central inscription and shield panel are 53/5 inches high by 32/5 inches wide. At the base are intensive stains of thick and typically Swiss enamel in blue, purple and green. The little pillars dividing the panels into small compartments are stained in blue enamel on the back.26

Top row (from left to right): 1: "... and Darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. . . ." (Gen., i, 2). The Holy Trinity (sic) in Heaven with angels, on a cloud. The cloud leaves a somewhat square opening through which can be seen the face of the waters. The latter is marked by a stain of strong blue enamel on the back. This compartment is broken and defaced. 2: The Creation of Earth and Seas (Gen., i, 10). The sea and cloak of the Creator are stained in purple and dark blue on the back. 3: The Creation of grass and fruit trees (Gen., i, 12). The Creator's cloak and the green of the Earth are stained on the back in purple and fresh green. 4: Creation of the two great lights (Gen., i, 16). On the back enamel as in comp. 3: Diagonal crack releaded. Right margin.-5: Creation of Fish and Birds (Gen., i, 21 and 24). Same enamel on back. 6 (below 5): Creation of Man: Adam (Gen., ii, 7). Same enamel on back. Bottom row (from right to left): Creation of Eve (Gen., ii, 21). Very realistic. Same enamel on back. 8: The Creator showing Adam and Eve the tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Enamel on back as before. 9 and 10: Man's Fall (Gen., iii, 1-6). 9: Adam and Eve tempted by the Serpent. eating from the Tree. Earth, Tree and the Serpent enamelled on the back. 10: The Curse. Enamel on back as in 2-8. Left Margin.-11: The Expulsion from Eden (Gen., iii, 24). Enamel as before. (above 11): The Toil. Adam felling trees, Eve spinning. Landscape background. Back enamel as before.

Note on Costume.—The Creator: Semi-circular cloak of purple over a long seamless coat of Orange with full sleeves, which varies in the scenes 8 and 10 from Orange to White, whereas the purple cloak remains The angel in 11 is dressed in White without dalmatic, sword cross gilt, with a semi-circular pommel. Adam and Eve: Adam, standing upright, dressed in a short coat of blue with yellow hose and a felt cap. He holds in his hands a hoe. Eve, seated, with a distaff in her left hand. She wears a standing ruff, a yellow bodice with epaulettes and a blue skirt—close fitting. The costume of Adam and Eve is definitely Late 16th or Early 17th century. The scene reminds us of the old rhyme;

When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then the Gentleman?

On the use of this enamel cf. Charles Winston, An Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in ancient Glass Paintings, especially in England, i/Oxford & London, 1867, 249.

Of special importance is the central shield and inscription panel. It contains all the information required as to the origin and provenance of the glass. There is, first of all, the inscription. We give the German text with English translation.

GERMAN.

- 1 Gotterschuoff in 6 tagen himel vnd Erden,
- 2 Ouch alle die die mögen genämpt werden.
- 3 Gebot dass man alle wuchen sol 6 tag arbeiten,
- 4 Den 7. firen, ruowen vnd sin wort assbreiten.
- 5 Der Gott lept vnd gebüts nachhüt bin dag
- 6 Das kein mänch mit warheit widersprächen mag:
- 7 Welchem dissem Gott alein woll vertrovn,
- 8 Der gewÿchlich auff den rächen felsen boun.

ENGLISH.

- 1 In six days God created Heaven and Earth
- 2 And everything that bears a name.
- 3 He ordained that six days a week we shall labour
- 4 But the seventh we shall keep holy and rest on it and spread His word.
- 5 He that devotes himself to God and observes His commandments
- 6 Which no man can justly oppose:
- 7 And he that puts his trust in God alone:
- 8 Has built his house on the right rock.

These eight lines are written in the typically broad East Swiss dialect. The writer uses frequently "uo" and "ov" for "u" and "au" ("erschuoff" for "erschuff", "ruowen" for "ruhen", "vertrovn" for "vertrauen", boun" for "bauen"). Further on he puts "ä" for "ē" ("mänch" for "Mensch", "sprächen" for "sprechen", "rächen" for "rechten"), and "i" for "e" ("firen" for "feiern", "sin" for "sein", "bin" for "beim"), "ch" for "ss" or "sch" ("mänch", "gewychlich" for gewisslich"). After all, place and date with signature, as given in the banderols, leave not the slightest doubt as to the origin. Spreitenbach (Spreitenbacht, Spreitenpacht) is a little township and parish in the Canton Argau, District Baden. It is an old Roman settlement. In the early Habsburg period it belonged to the bailliwick of Dieticon. The administration of justice was partly in the hands of the bailiff of Baden, partly in that of the Convent of Wettingen Abbey. In 1803 it came to the Canton of Aargau²⁷. Hans Lässer was obviously a burgess of Spreitenbach and may have commissioned the panel on the occasion of his marriage with Barbara Brunner. His shield bears a Merchants' Mark, and he was, perhaps, a wool merchant.²⁸ The practice of each merchant affixing a distinguishing mark to his bales of goods was necessary

²⁷ D.H.S.B., vi/1932, 301. The place is of considerable archæological interest. In 1873 a big hoard of Roman coins was found near Spreitenbach, and in 1924 an Alemanic Cemetery was discovered.

²⁸ This was pointed out to me by Director Stevens.

when people could neither read nor write. These marks were in general use in the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. They often include the cross and the banner of the Agnus Dei. Sometimes a monogram seems to be intended. They were hereditary, but a distinguishing difference was made by the various branches of a family. The marks were placed on houses and on shields in Churches, and they are to be found on rings, seals, oak chests, doors, windows and panels of old houses, in painted glass and engraved on memorial brasses.²⁹ There is, significantly enough, a definite similarity between Hans Lässer's Merchants' Mark and two Merchants' Marks which can be traced in Salisbury. One of them, of about 1460, is that of William Swayne, merchant, Mayor of Salisbury in 1444, 1454, and 1477, and M.P. in 1460. We find it in St. Thomas, Salisbury, on the beams and in the east window of the south aisle. The other one, of 1591, may be inspected on the plaster of a wall in an upper room in the late Mr. Meesham's house, at 19, Oatmeal Row, Salisbury.³⁰ This, at least, proves that these Merchants' Marks were, in more or less varying forms, used throughout Western and Central Europe.

The Creation panel of Sarum St. Edmund's, clearly belonging to the type of the Cabinet panels, is not a work of outstanding craftsmanship or artistic value. Its real importance lies in another and altogether different direction; that of Folklore. The little compartments filled with scenes of the story of the Creation and Fall reflect, as does the inscription, the conception of the little man, and the artist whose name was handed down to posterity, perhaps by this single panel, was hardly more than a talented artificer, well versed in some popular traditions of biblical imagery and influenced by earlier illustrated works such as the widely known Biblia Pauperum or the woodcuts of 16th century picture chronicles. We may think of Jörg Glockendon, of Nuremberc, or the later Jost Amman, of Basel, of whose industry and ability there is ample evidence in more than 550 prints which have, perhaps, served as a sort of iconographic and artistic pattern for Master Hegly. There is, however, one little piece in the panel which, at such a comparatively late date as 1617, is unique: The Toil. It conceals in all its simplicity, most valuable information. Continuing and varying the traditions of Dürer and Holbein and their contemporaries and immediate followers, it reflects what we find in the picture chronicles of the Great Peasant War of 1524-1526: Unrest. And in 1617 it is the unrest on the eve of the Thirty Years' War.

The Society is indebted to Mr. F. Stevens, O.B.E., F.S.A., for the cost of the blocks illustrating this paper.

²⁹ W.A.M., xxxvi, 324.

³⁰ See the interesting explanatory card drawn and inscribed by Director Stevens in the Salisbury Museum, especially Nos. 11 and 18.

WILTSHIRE FOLK LORE JOTTINGS.

By the late Rev. C. V. Goddard and others. Edited by Canon E. H. Goddard.

My brother, the late Cecil Vincent Goddard, Rector of Shrewton and Maddington, and afterwards of Baverstock, who was born and lived the greater part of his life in Wiltshire, collected a considerable number of notes on Wiltshire customs, sayings, proverbs, rhymes, etc., which it seems worth while to print here, although many of them no doubt are to be found recorded elsewhere. In this connection it should be remembered that the subject of "Wiltshire Weather Proverbs and Weather Fallacies" was dealt with very fully in W.A.M. xv, 42-70, by the Rev. A. C. Smith, and therefore finds no place here.

The following is a list of various articles on different aspects of Folk Lore which have appeared in *Folk Lore*, the *Wilts Arch. Magazine*, and elsewhere.

Note on some Wiltshire superstitions by Canon E. P. Eddrup. W.A.M. xxii, 330—334.

Wiltshire Folk Songs and Carols, by Rev. G. Hill, 1898, 4to., pp. 23. Wiltshire Folk Lore, by A. L. Clark, Wilts Notes and Queries, I, 7—10, 58—62, 101—106, 149—156, 315—317.

Wiltshire Children's Games, by A. L. Clark, Wilts N. and Q., I, 160—164, 200—206.

On certain Wiltshire Traditions, Charms, and Superstitions, by the Rev. A. C. Smith, W.A.M., xiv., 320—331.

Elderwood, Wilts Arch. Mag., xli., 432.

Folk Lore Notes from S.W. Wilts, by John U. Powell. Folk Lore (1901), xii, 71—83, 326—329, noticed W.A.M., xxxii, 244.

Folk Lore in Wilts, by Leland I. Duncan. Folk Lore, iv, 513—517. Death and Burial Customs in Wiltshire, by Miss L. A. Law, edited with notes by W. Crooke. Folk Lore, xi, 341—347, Sept., 1900.

Ancient Ales in the County of Wilts and Diocese of Sarum, by F. A. Carrington, W.A.M. ii, 191—204.

In the recently published "Wiltshire Village", by H. and R. Tanner, a remarkable collection of Children's Rhyming and Counting Games is printed in full, but it is not definitely stated that all these are in use in Wiltshire, or for what particular localities they are reported.— E. H. GODDARD.

The Lark. The following letter was written by the Rev. H. E. Delmé Radcliffe, of S. Tidworth Rectory, to the Rev. A. C. Smith, Sept. 5th, 1891.

"Some years ago I was talking to a very old shepherd (one quite of the olden time) who moralised, as wise old men have done ever since Solomon's day, on the vanity and imperfection of all earthly things. At length, much to my surprise, he drew his illustration from the lark,

saying "You know, sir, the little lark aint quite right, no, he aint quite right". On my asking what he could mean he said "Well, sir, you sees 'im going up and up, ever so high, but he cant do it, he's forced to come down ". "But", said I, "It's something to his credit that he tries to go up, its not everybody who does that". "Ah", said the old man, "but thats not all, you know that spur on his foot, thats pison, that is ". "Nonsense", I said, he has that long claw to help him in getting over the soft ground he lives upon, but I'll answer for it there's no more poison in that than in other people's toes". Upon which my old friend said "But I know it be and thats what makes giddy sheep, the lark spurs 'em in the 'ed'. "Oh", said I, "How can you think so"? "Well", he said, "I can prove it. One day master come to me when I was minding my sheep and one of 'em was down just then, and he says—"Bredmore, what be up with that 'ere sheep"? "Oh", I says, "he be taken giddy, and I'll be bound a lark's got 'im", and up we goes to the place and sure enough there was a lark there ". Mr. Radcliffe continues, "Since this remarkable conversation I have heard that in some localities the lark has a bad name as an uncanny bird ".

A White Livered Man. March 24th, 1891. Talking to-day to Mrs. Edward Gough, of Thornhill, she told me Fanny Gullies, aged 19, was going to marry a man (of Newcastle) 22 years older than herself. Her relatives were very much against the marriage, not only on account of the disparity in age, but because he was a "white livered man", and as such very unhealthy to live with. They say that if a white livered man or woman marries, the husband and wife never live long together, and this man had already had two wives, one of whom only lived with him twelve months and the other nine. Mrs. Gough acknowledged, however, that in another case in which a man known to her had married a woman said to be "white livered" they had lived together up to the present time well enough for seven years. I never heard of a "white livered man" except on this occasion.—E, H. GODDARD.

The Cunning Man. Soon after H. N. Goddard came to live at Clyffe he had a great number of turkeys at Nonsuch Farm, 40 or more. One day these all suddenly disappeared and no clue could be found to the thief. Farmer Cullen, the bailiff, had, however, a strong suspicion that the thief lived not far away, and he asked H. N. G's permission to go and consult a "cnnning man" about it. He was asked where the cunning man lived, but declined to say, as "that was part of the secret", but he wanted the day off to go and see him. So he went, presumably to Cricklade, which was his own home. On his return, H. N. G. said, "Well, what about the turkeys"? "Oh", he said "Its all right". "All right"! said H. N. G., "but where are the turkeys"? "Oh youll never see the turkeys no more, sir, but its all right. The cunning man, he said twas all right, twas not as I thought". "Well", said H. N. G., "It may be all right, but I should have been better pleased if you had brought back my turkeys".

Bradford-on-Avon. Clipping the Church. Mr. J. Hanny, a former inhabitant, writes: "When I was a schoolboy, as soon as the "pancake bell" rang at 11 o'clock a.m. we had holiday for the remainder of the day, and when the factories closed for the night at dusk, the boys and girls of the town of Bradford-on-Avon—my birth place—would run through the streets in long strings playing "Thread the Needle", and whooping and hollering their best as they ran, and so collecting all they could together, by seven or eight o'clock, when they would adjourn to the churchyard, where the old sexton had opened the churchyard gates for them; the children would then join hands in a long line until they encompassed the Church; they then, with hands still joined, would walk round the Church three time. And when dismissed by the old sexton would return to their homes much pleased that they "clipped the Church", and shouting as they went:

Shrove Tuesday, Shrove Tuesday, when Jack went to plow His mother made pancakes, she scarcely knew how, She toss'd them, she turned them, she made them so black

With soot from the chimney that poisoned poor Jack ".

[The above is from a cutting from one of the North Wilts papers, not specified or dated in vol. 16, p. 36, of the series of "Cuttings and Scraps" in the Society's Library]

Games at Potterne, cir. 1860. MS. notes, by J. Smith in Devizes Museum Library. "A very popular game was "Chivvy", perhaps the most popular game of all. It depended on agility and fast running, provided splendid exercise and promoted in a lively degree the spirit of rivalry".

"The games handed down by tradition were without number, Marbles, Buttons, Duck-stone, Pitchfork, and Baccies were commonly played by the children. 'Baccies' consisted of churchwarden clay pipe stems broken in two or three inch lengths which were stood up like pegs about six inches from a wall or in a ring and then bowled at by a 'law' or big marble, and those who knocked the most down or out of the ring won the game. It was a great gain to get the 'Granger' Baccie, the thick end of the stem from which the bowl of the pipe had been broken off".

He notes that in children's games, circular rings and not squares were marked out (for tip-cat, peg top, marbles, &c.) and were called "pounds". Sides were chosen, or tossing for first innings was done thus—

"A boy's cap was turned upsidedown, and the two leaders (captains) took hold of the cap with the forefingers of the left hand and then the contestants to be chosen did the same, the cap being strained open as an inverted parachute might be. Then the incantation began, the first leader touching the fingers round the cap, one at a time on the sound of each syllable, would repeat Eenee, Veenee, Vie ete vee, Deedum, Dumenee, Stick, Stock, Stony Rock, Hum, Bum, Squish. O.U.T.—Out spells Mammy, Dadd, Dishclout. The boy whose finger was touched in unison with 'clout' was to play on the side of the leader

who touched it, so relinquishes his hold on the cap and falls into line with others of his side. This was repeated by the other leader, and alternately until the sides were chosen. Then the same process was adopted between the two leaders to decide which side should have the first innings.

Potterne Shoemakers. The common work formula for journeymen shoemakers of Potterne (noted for their drinking propensities) was:

Monday let slip, Tuesday do a bit, Wednesday must begin, Thursday wire in, Friday life and death, Saturday hell upon ea'th.

Sacrament Shilling. Singular superstition. On Christmas Day last year a labourer's wife in Wiltshire came to the clergyman of the parish and asked for a sacrament shilling (i.e., one from the offertory) in exchange for one which she tendered. On enquiry, it appeared that her son was subject to fits, and that the only certain remedy was to hang a "sacrament shilling" round the patient's neck. But this must be obtained by first collecting a penny a piece from twelve maidens, then exchanging the pence for an ordinary shilling and then exchanging this shilling for a "sacrament one". This has been tried over and over again, and had never been known to fail except in the case of X where "they hadn't amassed the pence to rights". From the Staffordshire Advertiser

Can any reader throw any light on this singular superstition? I think the twelve pence have some reference to the twelve apostles.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

Hull (25th December, 1875).

The above is a full copy of a cutting in vol. xvi of Cuttings and Scraps, in the Devizes Museum Library, p. 93.

The Dead Hand. H. N. Goddard, of Clyffe Pypard Manor, who was High Sheriff of Wilts in 1860 or 61, told me that after the execution of a Spaniard for murder, during his term of office, more than one person had requested to be allowed to touch scrophulous patients with the dead hand of the murderer, and that he allowed them to do so.

In this connection he also told me in 1893 that he and his brothers once, as boys, found in a drawer of his father's a human hand, dry and hard. It turned out that this was the hand of a woman hung during the shrievalty of H. N. G's grandfather, for throwing her child into a bed of nettles and abandoning it. The Sheriff had her hand cut off and dried as a memento! H. N. G's mother was greatly scandalised at the discovery and when the next grave was dug in the churchyard the hand was buried in it.—C. V. GODDARD.

Thirty years or more ago an old woman told me how she was taken by her mother or grandmother to the last execution at Warminster and that her grandmother (I think it was grandmother) paid the hangman 1s. to have the child's face rubbed with the dead man's fingers to cure some skin disease. F. M. Willis (cir. 1900.)

Cracked Plum Pudding. In January, 1894, Mrs. Harris, wife of the Rev. Henry Harris, Rector of Winterbourne Bassett, told me the following. A few years ago at the annual choir supper, the clerk was sitting next to Mrs. Harris, and when the plum pudding was brought in and put before Mrs. Harris, he leant over and said in a low voice "Don't eat any pudding Mrs. Harris". She thought she misunderstood him and when all the company had been helped, everyone of course waiting until she began, as is proper etiquette, she began to eat it, to the clerk's horror. The next day she was taken seriously ill, and the clerk came down to the Rectory and said "I did all I could to keep her from eating any of that pudding, but she would do it, and now she's sure to die". If the Christmas pudding is cracked, the person who first eats of it will have a bad illness and die. The clerk wouldn't eat any of the pudding himself or allow any of his children to eat it.—E. H. Goddard.

Cure for the Whitemouth. H. N. Goddard, of Clyffe Manor, told me that when they were children, old Sukey, their nurse, used to hold a toad by the hind leg and put it into their mouths and rub it about, to cure the whitemouth.

E. H. GODDARD.

Wife Beating in Wilts. Answers, of January 18th, 1896, printed the following:—"A confirmed wife-beater in Wiltshire, after having knocked his wife about overnight, was very much surprised the next morning to find chaff scattered about his doorway about six inches deep. Asking his neighbour if he knew anything about it, he innocently [?] replied: 'It looks very much as though you had been athrashing, mate'. He never thrashed his wife again"

Salt or Turf on the breast of a corpse. After the death of Mr. William Henley, of Clyffe Pypard, I went up to see the body and found (as was quite common years ago) a plate of salt placed on the breast. On mentioning this to H. N. Goddard, of the Manor, he told me that when his brother Henry died, he distinctly remembered the gardener going out to cut a fresh turf to lay on his breast.

E. H. GODDARD.

Hindon and Lords' Hill apparition. "And did 'ee ever zee anythin? No, nothen wussern mysel. But what wer it as your vayther zeed? Aw, thur, vayther telled I as how a wur drivin his ould measter to Hindon one night, an' zummat hung on to the coach behin'. "Drive on Jim as hard as ee can", zays 'ee, and zummat come out and they never zeed the goin 'ont, an' the hosses ran wi' zweat when they got into Hindon. Aw, an' ther wer a Deverill man a courtin out t' Hindon, an' a walked whoam down Lard's Hill, an a' zeed zummat, an' a said "Ef thou be the Devil appear bodily". 'An a zeed zummat as had girt eyes zo big as a tea saucer, an' a didn know

how a got whoam, an' the sweat poured down un like rain, an' every single hair o' his yead did stan' on end. An' a never zeed the goin ont ".—G. E. DARTNELL.

Winterbourne Stoke Recruit. A youth of Winterbourne Stoke who was reckoned not too clever disappeared lately for a day or two and when he reappeared, said he had been to 'Vize to enlist. "And what have 'ee come back again for then? 'Ouldnt they have 'ee'? "That wur aal right, I passed th' doctor and the orficer, but when I come to one of they sergeants he says, says he 'Young man thee goo whoam and get thy mother to sew thee on a button', but I dwont knaw what a did mean".—C. V. G.

Hocktide at Tilshead. Miss L. H. Johnson, daughter of Mr. Johnson, a former Vicar, writing in 1900, describes a custom which prevailed at Tilshead up to about 1850 and "Seems to have been peculiar to this village, called Hocktide. On the second Tuesday after Easter the women and girls used to run after the men and tie their ankles together, also their wrists, leaving them helpless. They used to band themselves together for mutual protection or climb trees out of the way. Often they would sleep in the plantations and not return from their work in the fields. Next day the women were the victims. In old days no one was safe from this outrage". An old man who was asked the origin of this custom gave the following explanation: "Ever so long ago a lot o' 'urd (red) folk from over the sea used to keep on a comin' and a upsettin' o' we, so at last we 'ouldn' stand it no longer, we up and at 'em, tied 'em up to posteses and cut their draughts ". "Clearly this refers to the Massacre of the Danes, in commemoration of which a general holiday was kept for many years after. It is said to have been observed in remote places even in the time of Spelman, who died 1641".

[The Hocktide celebration at Hungerford is, of course, well-known, and takes place annually still.—E. H. GODDARD.]

Crossed With the Danes. "When at the Cheese School at Chippenham, conversation turned upon some one who happened to be red haired. The cheeseman, a native of Chippenham, said: 'He be crossed with the Danes', and upon my remarking about the matter, all present, I think, natives of Chippenham, Calne and Melksham, were of opinion that red hair was a proof of Danish descent, or of a person being 'crossed with the Danes'".—Letter to E. H. G.

Will of the Wisp Jack o' Lantern, or Tick Candlestick, is, or was, seen on the downs in a damp time with warm temperature and a rising glass. The Rev. G. Lowther, Rector of Orcheston St. George, was coming from Imber one night and was led astray by one, which went out and left him off his road. A similar story was told me of a person coming to Shrewton from Netheravon—I never witnessed it myself. But my father saw a considerable show of it from heaps of manure in a field near Wootton Bassett.—C. V. G.

Calne. The High Overy. The pathway on the north side of the Calne—Quemerford road is raised high above the road, and is (or was) called the High Overy. This was a pitched path, and the boys, civ. 1870—80, made "suckers" of pliable leather with a cord or string fastened to the centre of a button. If the sucker was wetted and well-trodden on to a flat stone, and the cord pulled, the stone could be drawn up out of its place. This became such a nuisance that the police had to put a stop to it.—C. V. G. from W. Bush.

Calne Boys, cir. 1870, chanted the following at the old grocers' door at the corner of Curzon and High Street, and then ran away in time to

forestall reprisals:-

Tommy Webb and Betty Webb one, two, three,
Tommy Webb and Betty Webb sells good tea,
Tommy Webb and Betty Webb sells to—bacca,
Pon my word, 'tis very bad tackle.—C. V. G. from W. Bush.

Chalking the Bellows. This is a form of auctioning the lease of land at Purton, North Wilts. "The bellows are taken round the room by the landlord of the Bell at Purton Stoke, accompanied by one of the tenants of the preceding year who is given the option of making the first bid. This is done by chalking the amount on the bellows. When the bellows have been passed round the room three times without an advance, on arriving the third time at the last bidder he becomes the tenant for the ensuing year. This custom has been observed for more than one hundred years. Richardson's Story of Purton.

Broomsquires, Makers of Brooms or Besoms at Redlynch, South Wilts, on the Hampshire Border. This is a regular and hereditary trade at Redlynch. The birch twigs are cut about a yard long when the stems are felled and made into loose faggots and stored in thatched ricks, like hay, for many months. The longest are picked out, trimmed of side twigs and the larger part of the stick twisted. These are then laid aside for binders. The other twigs are gathered into a bunch across the knees, shortest and smallest in the centre, and by turning and pinching with the hands the bundle becomes firm enough to be tied by running the pointed end of one of the binders through it and drawing it almost to the tip, then binding around as tightly as the maker can pinch and pull, and finally the short end in and under. In this condition the large ends of the bundles are boiled in a copper, and while hot bound again securely and the sharp pointed stake driven in for handle. Afterwards a hole is bored through the bundle and a stake and a peg driven through to keep the handle in place. The handles are stout birch or ash sticks, barked and smoothed to an even roundness with a two-handed curved drawing knife, called a round-shave—one end of the stick being thrust into a hole in a post and the shave applied to its sloping upper side. This operation is done with surprising energy and quickness. When the upper ends of the bundle have been trimmed off level with a sharp knife, the besoms are piled in pairs alternately head to tail in an

upright frame—"a horse"—to be bound up tightly in dozens, for sale. (A very good account of this process was published in a daily paper, apparently by the Vicar of Redlynch, in the summer of 1922, under the title "The Broomsquire").—C. V. G.

Newton Toney. Death of the Sow. An old man died at Newton Toney. Soon afterwards his pig died. The widow went to a neighbour who was just dying, and said, "If you sees our John up there, tell 'im the old sow be dead". The dying woman replied, "Do'ee think I got nothen better to do than go traipsing up an' down heaven arter your old John an' his old sow"?—G. E. D.

Elder, Superstition. Mullins, woodman, of Teffont, said, "We dont cut elder in a copse; nor do we burn it. They say the cross was made of it".

"People say if you want to keep the Devil out of your house you must never burn elder wood".

"Elder stakes and blackthorn header (hether) will make a fence that will last for ever".—C. V. G.

Ash Wednesday and washing. To wet an ash = To make lye for washing. Formerly before washing soda came in, and wood fires were common, the ashes were placed in a box with holes in its bottom, and the box set on a cloth over a pan, and water was pored over them, and was used to soften washing water. This was done by the woman before she began her washing and was called wetting an ash. People were very particular about Ash Wednesday (says an old woman from Winterbourne Stoke). My mother, if she hadn't finished washing, wouldn't never have a thing touched on Ash Wednesday, because they say some woman who had just made her lye, threw out the ashes in scorn as our Lord came by, and He said "Cursed be the woman that wets an ash on Ash Wednesday"—that's what they used to say: but tisn't in the Bible.—C. V. Goddard, 1903.

Ogbourne St. Andrew Churchyard, Barrow. The North Wilts Herald of August 19th, 1938, had an account of the architecture of the Church, which incidentally mentions that the large barrow in the churchyard is avoided by the children because of "a well-authenticated legend that it is the abode of venomous vipers".

The origin of Cley Hill, near Warminster. The Vize vawk had offended the Devil mainly, an' a swore he'd sar 'em out. So a went down the country, an' a vound a girt hump an a' putt it on's back, an' a carr'd it along to vling at 'em. An a' come along be Warminster, an' a met a man an' a zays to 'im, "Can 'ee tell I the rhoad to Vizes''? an tother zaid, "Lor thur now, thats just what I do want to knaw myself, for I started to look for un when my beard wur black an now a's grey, an' I hant a got there 'it. "Lor! says the Devil ('twer the Devil 'snaw) if thats how tes I beant a gwine to car thick no vurder", an' a flung thick girt hump off's shoulder, an' thur a be, look'ee see. An' thats how Cley Hill got thur?—G. E. DARTNELL.

This rhyme was known at Warminster:-

Big Cley Hill do wear a hat, Little Cley Hill do laugh at that.

(Noyes, Salisbury Plain, p. 180.)

"Trowbridge Knobs, Bradford Gudgeons, Hilperton Tiedowns, Bradley Donkeys".

[Mr. Rodwey, in *Wiltshire Times*, October 9th, 1926, gives this version as current, *cir*. 1860. A Calne authority, however, says that there it was always "Bradley Mares".]

Of Trowbridge the following uncomplimentary couplet was current:
"Trowbridge steeple long and leetle,
Dirty town and shabby people".

Imber men were known among their neighbours as "Imber Bungeys", and it is recorded of a policeman stationed at Potterne, who came from Imber, that the boys delighted to shout "Bungey" after him and then disappear round convenient corners.

Of Ludgershall there was, cir. 1840, a particularly uncomplimentary rhyme:—

At Ludgershall the beer is small and very very thin,

At every door there stands a whore to call her cully in.— E. H. G.

Downton folk are called "Silly Downtons" because they hedged in the cuckoo to keep him there all the year and cut a hole in the hedge "to let 'im come out at the Fair".—C. V. G.

Toads. A woman formerly of Compton Chamberlaine, who had been in service, when asked, in 1923, about toads, what did boys say about Baverstock, "I'll larn 'ee to be a toad", &c., answered "Yes, they blows theirselves out and then if you throws 'em up in the air they bounces like a ball. That's the brown dark one, not the yellow frogs—hop frogs. And they spits fire at 'ee: Oh yes, if you gets 'em up in a corner, they'll spit fire, sparks comes out of their mouths, like men's boots will strike sparks on the road by nights, you know; they makes sparks come out of their mouths. Oh yes, I've seed it".—C.V.G.

Redlynch. Suicide's grave at cross-roads. Where the steep lane up from the part of the village called "Bohemia" crosses the Forest Road, in the direction of Hatchet Green, is a spot called "Strawn's Grave" (? Strahan). The Vicar, the Rev. A. C. Muller, said it was a suicide's grave. 1922.

The same steep lane is called "Hang-man's Hill".

(Can this be "Hanged Man's Hill", and the grave be that of the executed criminal, quite possibly a robber?).—C. V. G.

Parker's Stone, near Shrewton. There is a short stone post (? part of a pillar or stem of a cross) in the grass just south of Netheravon track and east of the old Devizes and Sarum turnpike road, near Shrewton. It is said to mark the grave of a Mr. Parker,

curate of Rollestone, who went mad, from loneliness, and having killed himself was buried at the cross roads. Canon Bennett, Vicar of Shrewton, wrote to C. V. Goddard that he had heard this from his predecessor, Mr. Matthews.

Broughton Gifford. Shoeing the Geese. This legend, which apparently it is undesirable to mention in Broughton itself, is given in the North Wills Herald of February 9th, 1934. Broughton still possesses a large open common on which a number of geese are to As the story goes, however, in former days these geese were much more numerous and large flocks of them used to be driven along the road to Trowbridge and Melksham markets. The roads were rough and the geese having to walk all the way, often got footsore and unable to go further. It occurred then to an inventive Broughton man, that they might be shod as horses are, and he called in the aid of the blacksmith to make the necessary shoes, which he proceeded, so the legend runs, to do, trotting out the geese on a trial run to see how the iron shoes fitted. An old inhabitant finished the telling of the story to the writer of the article thus: "I dwoant spose as twer ever done, but we did used to shoe 'em in another way, and that wur te get a mixture o' tar and sand and let 'em tread on that for a few days. Then 'tood clot on their veet and walkin' to market didn' hurt 'em''.

The Prophet Barrows on Lake Down. A group of Barrows used to be so called not from any supposed prophets buried there, but on account of a company of Huguenots exiled from their native land, who, in 1710, set up a standard upon the largest Barrow of the group and preached from it to the country people, who named them the French Prophets. These were apparently the French silk weavers who settled at Crockerton.—Noyes' Salisbury Plain.

Boyton. At a place where a spring rises intermittently, called Chettle Hole, it is said "there was once a chapel, but the Devil caused the earth to open and swallow it up".—Noyes' Salisbury Plain, p. 203.

The use of the Breast Plough. The Rev. Gilbert White, of Selborne, writing in 1765, says: "Near Walker's Ash I rode through a piece of ground of about 400 acres which had been lately pared by a breast plough for burning: here the burnet was coming up very thick on the bare ground, though the crown of the root must have been cut off, of course, along with the turf".—Life and Setters of Gilbert White, by Holt White, W.C. 1.

Holy Wells.

Katern's Well at Compton Chamberlayne. Mr. C. Penruddocke, writing to C. V. Goddard, February 20th, 1907, says: "Katern's well in the Park here is an almost inexhaustible spring, rather feruginous in character and supplies water night and day to my large triple action force pumps". Nothing seems known as to the derivation of the name, or as to any early mention of it, but it seems natural to regard it as a corruption of St. Catherine's well.—C. V. G.

Merry Well, at Baverstock, is a little dipping well in the village, which never fails. This well is said to be good for bad eyes, as well as for making tea. Even in the 20th century bottles of the water have been taken away to cure eyes. The name is obviously "Mary Well'," or the Virgin's Fount. There are "Lady Wells" in several places in England.—C. V. G.

Rhyme of Parish Feasts.

Potterne, Worton and Maason (Marston), Rowde, Cherhill and Caason (Calstone),

White Cleeve, Pepper Cleeve, Cleeve and Cleeveancy,

Lyneham and Lousy Clack, Cus Mavord (Christian Malford) and Dancy.—E. H. GODDARD.

Funerals in latter half of 19th Century. Rich people had hearses all solid big and black, the flat top adorned with six or eight huge bunches of black ostrich plumes flapping and waving: the two horses also had each a bunch on a stalk fixed to the top of the headstall; and large cloths of black velvet hanging down on their backs and sides. Mr. T. Poynder's funeral was like this, at Hilmarton. The coachman and bearers wore high silk hats with very broad silk scarves (of excellent quality) round them and tied in a huge bow behind with broad streaming tails. The principal mourners and the parson were similarly decked; all wore black kid gloves. The oak coffin was covered with black cloth fixed with rows of brass nails. A heavy pall was thrown over coffin and bearers! The hatbands and gloves were sent to the parson by the undertaker.

C. V. Goddard's mother used to make aprons of the black silk. It

was general to bury in vaults or bricked graves.

On the Sunday after the funeral all the relations and friends attended Church.

A coffin of a baby or young child used to be carried by little girls dressed in white, bearing the coffin by white ribbons.

Sayings.

"As cross as a hedge ".

"As cunning as a young rook".

"I wasn't born in a wood" (=I have seen life).

"I wasn't born o' Shrove Tuesday" (=I am not a fool).

"Buyin' an' sellin', an' livin' on the loss' (of an unlucky dealer).
"Nothing havent got no taste" (said by one who expected a small

tip for services performed and didn't get it).

- "Her wur a proper vool! Her wur missus o' a public an' leff it to be missus o' a taty pit' (said of an innkeeper's widow who married a labourer).
- "What sart of a chap is your new governor"? "Aw, like a crooked road, in an out".

"Children be vust a yarm-ache, an' aarterward a heartache".

"I be just like a almanack, I can tell the changes a comin' " (said by a rheumatic woman).

"A 'ood skin a vlint vor a varden, an' spwile a ternpenny nail a doin' ont".

"What be you a lookin' vor? Laas year's snaw"? (said pettishly to an old woman poking about the house).

"These yer cats be parson and clerk" (i.e., one white the other black).

"Drillin' an drawling's pretty nigh s'well's pullin' and haulin' as the owld man used to say" (i.e., more haste, less speed).

Speaking of the difficulty in lighting a fire out of doors on a wet and windy day: "Think I could get that fire to burn! no he ooden burn not for Great Peter hisself" (Clyffe Pypard). [Is this a survival from prereformation days? Clyffe Pypard Church is dedicated to St. Peter.]

Hunting men dislike meeting a sweep or a magpie or a funeral, it bodes an accident. If you are going the same way as the funeral it does not matter

OF MAGPIES:

One for sorrow, Two for mirth, Three for a wedding, Four for a birth.

OF Horses:

One white foot, buy him, Two white feet, try him, Three white feet, doubt him, Four—go without him.

OF THE CUCKOO:

In May he sings both night and day, In June he altereth his tune, In July away he'll fly, In August go he must. Easter Sunday, early or late, Hear the cuckoo at Larmer Gate.

(i.e., the entrance to Larmer Tree. Told C.V.G. by a Larmer man.]

A spannel, a wife and a walnut tree The more you beat 'em the better they be.

DADDY LONG LEGS:

Daddy, daddy long legs Couldn't say his prayers, Catch him by the left leg And throw him down stairs.

Children say this as they pull about the long legged crane fly.

Old Sayings.

David Watts, the old clerk at Baverstock, referring to Easter being on April 1st that year, said (to C. V. Goddard) that he was reminded by the moons of the way carters would say formerly to a lad who was a bit slow in mind, or wasn't getting on: "Thee bist like a fower months' moon". "They say there are thirteen moons in a year don't um? It used to puzzle we boys". [The point of this story was lost in the narrator's laughter.]

Again he said: "When I see a wold hoss-shoe or plough point up in the hedge I often think how they used to tell a boy as didn't get along and do his work: "Thee bist like a hoss-shoe, never wears out, 'cept er rusts out'.

To put off childrens' demands for a story.

I'll tell you a story
Of Jack o' minory,
And now my storys begun.
I'll tell you another
Of Jack and his brother,
And now my story's done.—C. V. G.

Form of asseveration of truth telling by boys, at Calne, cir. 1870, known also in South Wilts and in Somerset:—

You wet your finger and show it and say:

"My fingers wet".

You wipe it and show it and say:

"My fingers dry".

You draw your finger across your throat and say: "Cut my throat, if I tell a lie".

An old riddle. The answer is "chitterlings."
What is this?
"When its in its easy,
When its out
It wobbles about
Slippery, slimy, greasy".

Bowing to the East in Church. At Tilshead, long after 1824, the old people made a genuflexion to the eastward on entering and leaving the Church as well as at the name of Jesus and at "the Son" in the Gloria.

Christmas Carol. Wilts Version, early 19th century. (Note by Mrs. Arabella Dartnell, daughter of Edward Goddard, of Clyffe Manor):—

The first great joy our Mary had It was the joy of one, To see the blessed babe Sucking at her breast bone, Sucking at her breast bone good babe, And blessed may she be, With Father, Son and Holy Ghost And all the blessed Three. The next great joy our Mary had It was the joy of two,
To see the blessed Jesus
Making the lame to go,
Making the lame to go, good man,
And blessed may he be,
With Father, Son and Holy Ghost
And all the blessed Three.

The next great joy our Mary had
It was the joy of Three,
To see the blessed Jesus
Making the blind to see,
Making the blind to see, good man,
And blessed may he be,
With Father, Son and Holy Ghost
And all the blessed Three.

The next, etc., the joy of four (forgotten).

The next great joy our Mary had It was the joy of five, To see the blessed Jesus Making the dead alive, Making the dead alive, good man, Etc., etc.

The 6th, 7th and 8th joys (forgotten).

The next great joy our Mary had It was the joy of nine, To see the blessed Jesus Turn water into wine, Turn water into wine, good man, Etc., etc.

Writing, cir. 1900, Miss Johnson, daughter of the Vicar of Tilshead, says that about 1860 the children there used to sing ancient carols, now quite lost. One was the joy of Mary, another about the cattle kneeling at midnight on Christmas Eve.

Ashmore. Strange Noises. Col. J. Benett-Stanford writes in 1934:—In the village of Ashmore, which is just in Dorset, although surrounded by Wiltshire, there is a story that at a certain gate leading into the Chase Wood, which crosses the old Roman Road from Badbury to Windgreen, curious noises are heard at night time.

The story is mentioned in the History of Ashmore, and the old inhabitants of the village called these noises the "gabergenies".

What is the origin of this word?

Killing the first butterfly seen in spring. At Chippenham a boy was heard finding fault with a companion because he had not killed the first butterfly which he saw in spring, on the

ground that to kill it was a sure way of bringing good luck to the killer.—Kilvert's Diary, vol. iii (1941).

Various.

WARNING TO A CHILD.—Little boys that play with the fire will wet their beds, and then they'll have to eat roast mice.

"Cider upon beer is very good cheer, Beer upon cider is a dalled bad rider". (Baverstock (S.W.), also in Dorset.)

> If you marry in Lent, You will live to repent.

"Happy is the bride that the sun shines on, And blessed is the corpse that the rain rains on".—(Baverstock.)

> "Out 'ettle, in dock, Dock shall ha' a new smock, 'Ettle shan't ha' narn'.

A charm to be used when laying dock leaf on a nettle sting. Akerman in his *Glossary* says that dock means mallow, but dock itself is a good remedy.

"Patience is a virtue, virtue is a grace,
If you would see happiness
Look in (so and so's) face ".—(S.W. Baverstock.)

Moles' Blood. "There are three drops of blood in a mole's nose and if you gets it directly it is killed and taps 'im on the nose and catches they three drops of blood on a lump of sugar, its the best thing going for curing fits". (Told to C. V. G. by his gardener, a Hampshire man.)

Kington St. Michael Bells. Mrs. John Knight (of Langley) says, when she hears the bells ring out at Kington St. Michael, "The Kington folks have found a Hen's nest", or "A hen has laid an egg at Kington". An old joke against the Kington people who were supposed to be too ready to ring their bells without just cause.— Kilvert's Diary, vol. iii, p. 176.

St. Valentine's Day. Formerly two men toured the Deverill villages and at each one shouted "Good health to St. Valentine", and then drank to his health.—Manley's Folk Lore of Warminster.

Hang Fair at Devizes. "Oudst thee like to ride behind I to Hang Fair, wench? Ees, sir. Then run in an' ax thy mother, an' be sprack an put on thy duds'. [This was a memory of her young girlhood at Bromham, cir. 1805, by an old nurse at Clyffe Pypard Manor].—C. V. G.

Horse Bells. Bells on Horses. Pack horses bore bells formerly—Italian cart horses and mules bear them (1913) hung to one side of the hames. Wiltshire wagons going to market bore an erection of

iron, wood, and leather on the top of each collar containing four bells, the musical jingle of which was very pleasant to hear. It was said to be a precaution when the wagons started before daylight, warning all whom it might concern of their approach in narrow roads. Squire Heneage, of Compton Bassett, had a very fine team of horses, which usually carried their bells when they journeyed beyond the village; cir. 1875—85. There is a fine set in the Devizes Museum.

Shrove Tuesday. J. S. Udal, in his *Dorsetshire Folk Lore*, quotes from MSS. given him by the late Rev. W. K. Kendall, of East Lulworth, under "Shrove Tuesday":—"In the parish of Berwick St. James also the children go a-shroving. On Shrove Tuesday they sing the following verses from house to house:—

We are come a shroving
For a piece of pancake,
For a piece of chuckle cheese,
Of your own making.
Is the pan hot?
Is the pan cold?
Is the peas in the pot
Nine days old?
Is the knives and forks whet?
Is the bread and cheese cut?
Is the best barrel tapped?
For we are come a-shroving ".

Shrove Tuesday, Shrewton, 1889.—C. V. G.

When Jack went to plough His mother made pancakes, she didn't know how, She tissed 'em, she tossed 'em, she made 'em so black, She put so much pepper she poisoned poor Jack.

Threading the Needle and Clipping the Church on Shrove Tuesday. On Shrof Tuesday, the lads of the (Warminster) Common used to meet the Crockerton mill girls and "thread the needle" all along the road, the front couple continually making an arch for the other couples to pass under. The words "Thread the needle" repeated thrice ended with "Noe, aye, noe", as a test of prospective marriage". They sang about poor Jack and his mother's pancakes. When the procession reached the Parish Church about 200 folk encircled the building "Clipping the Church". The same custom was observed at Hill Deverill. The evening was called Pansherd or Lent crock night".—Manley's Folk Lore of Warminster.

Shrove Tuesday and Palm Sunday Customs.

Children who were working at home formerly shouted:—

"Pancake Day—mothers gone away,
If she don't give us a holiday we'll all run away ".—

Manley's Warminster Folk Lore.

Another custom at Warminster Common was for folks who had quarelled to visit each other and proffer a pancake. If either party refused to accept it the quarrel continued till next Shrove Tuesday.—

Ibid.

On March 14th, 1924, an end was put to the custom of burning the grass on Cley Hill "to burn the Devil out"—probably a very ancient custom.—Ibid.

Formerly on Palm Sunday there were cock fights at Warminster for the championship of Somerset and Wilts.

On Palm Sunday a game is played with a ball and sticks *up* Cley Hill.—*Ibid*.

At Longbridge Deverill the custom on Palm Sunday was for the men to go into the fields "to tread the wheat", after which they visited the hill and played a game called "Trap".—Ibid.

Best Ball was a game played on Arn Hill on Good Friday by Warminster children.—*Ibid*.

Gooseberry Feast was held at Crockerton about July 7th, St. Thomas of Canterbury's Day.—Ibid.

Good Friday Hot Cross Buns. At Seagry, about 1871, it was the custom to keep the Good Friday Holy Bread (or buns) for a year and then to grate it up, and give it to sick people.—*Kilvert's Diary*, II, 135.

Shrove Tuesday, Lint Locke Day. At Baverstock, this day used to be celebrated by the youths taking gates off their hinges and throwing them across the road, by throwing crocks and potsherds at the cottage doors, and by tying the leather thong by which the latch of the door was lifted to a stout piece of stick placed across the hole so that the inmates could not get out of the door in the morning. When the railway from Wilton to Tisbury was opened on the 1st of May, 18—, two young men took off both the gates on the "Church path" and laid them across the line, one of the offenders was identified but not the other.

Shrove Tuesday Rhyme at Shrewton, 1899 (C. V. Goddard) :—

Knock, knock, knock,
Is the pan hot?
Is the pan cold?
Is the bread and cheese cut?
Is the best barrel tapped?
Please, mam, I'm come shroving!
Eggs and butter and lard so dear,
That's what makes I come a shroving here.

Bell Rhymes.

"Shrewton, brave bells, Marnton, ting tang (Maddington), Rollestone, fryingpan, Upper Oson, bezom stick, Orcheston—this or Arson was Lower Oson, candlestick, the pronunciation, cir. 1860. Stoke, slats (Winterbourne Stoke), Barick, strails (Berwick St. James). (? What are strails),

Stubbleford, rats without any tails" (Stapleford).

At Compton Chamberlain the bells say "who'll help we"? and Baverstoke bells answer "We two".

Fovant bells say "Come to Church, come".

Place Name Rhymes.

"Ebbsbourne, Oson, Norrington and Trow, Canst thee spell that wi'out arra O'' (answer: T.H.A.T.).

"Road Wapsies, Beckiton Bees, Frome Dumbledories, and Warmister Fleas".

Keyhold Tenure. At Seagry, cottages built on the waste bends of the roads, are held by keyhold. Whoever has the key owns the tenement.—*Kilvert's Diary*.

Deaths on Twelveth Night. At Seagry, if anyone dies on twelveth night, there are sure to be twelve deaths in the parish during the year, although the usual average of deaths is only two.—*Kilvert's Diary*.

Evil Eye. "A belief in the power of the evil eye lingers among village folk (in South Wilts). I have met with it in the cottage of a woman who had many stories to tell of its malefic mystery. The mother of the girl to whom her brother was engaged was one who could cast out spells on folk. There was a woman then living in the village who she believed had this power of the evil eye. People would go to her with as much as a gold piece in their hands to pay out an enemy. This she called "bringing a spell on her". Noyes, *Salisbury Plain*, pp. 21, 28.—C. V. G.

Ravens in Grovely. David Watts, clerk at Baverstock, 1920, said, referring to a tombstone in the churchyard, that he and the man whose tombstone it was, were working together and one of the ravens that then (many years before) inhabited Grovely Wood and nested at Compton Chamberlayne, flew over croaking. The man said "Dave, did you hear old Jack Raven? there'll be a grave to be dug soon". That man was buried soon afterwards. They used to say a raven's croak was a sign of death.—C. V. G.

Witchcraft. Tom Lever (aged about 75, in 1922) recollected a little woman named Charlton, living with a family of that name at the "Barracks", in Baverstock, who was disliked and feared. When they were working in the fields they would get as far away from her as they could! They said she could bewitch. She herself claimed to be able to tell one all sorts of things if one would cross her palm with silver, but if there was no silver there was no story. She would make a fine long yarn if the silver was about.

A man who lived next door to the Levers (in the small brick end of the second cottage) didn't come home one night. When he did come next morning he was that wet, O lor! said "he'd been bewitched, couldn't get home, been through the water, he didn't know where'd been, but er couldn't get home".

Asked if people said their pigs had been overlooked if they fell ill? He said he didn't know anything about that, but there weren't no pig clubs in those days.—C. V. G.

Witchcraft in South Wilts. (Told C. V. G., by Furnell, tree cutter, of Fonthill.) His grandfather knew a carter who was, as usual, sent with a load of wheat to Warminster market. At some place on the road was a turnpike, kept by an old woman with an evil reputation. As they went through, the old woman asked the carter to bring her back a hundred of coal. "No", he said, "he wouldn't". "Thee wunt"? "No, I wunt, my hosses 'ul ha enough to do without thy coal". "O, thee wunt, afore thee gets to Warminster thee'ult wish as thee ould do't", and not long afterwards the team stopped, and neither voice nor whip could start them again. Completely cowed the carter sent his boy back to the gate to tell the old 'ooman that he would bring her the hundred of coal. When he returned, the carter called to his horses and they started off without further delay.

Cudgell Players, &c. D. Watts, parish clerk, of Baverstock, aged 74, 1922, remembers hearing about cudgell players, and legkickers and waand players. Especially of Shaftesbury and Donhead men who would come to Fovant for matches. For cudgells they used to pad their ribs, he had heard say. Waands, i.e., sticks, were for striking legs ("legcutting" in Dorset). Single stick he remembers seeing. The stick had no basket or hilt to protect the knuckles, the left arm was behind the body and the right used as a guard. A slight tap on the head, not to draw blood (as with cudgells) was the winning stroke.

Sometimes swords were made out of ash stakes (as at Hilmarton, for mummers) and with these old soldiers would fence; the points were blunt, but D. Watts had seen a lunge so fierce that though it didn't wound knocked the opponent over backwards.

Fives used to be played against the Church tower at Baverstock and Clyffe Pypard, in Wilts, and at Milton, in Dorset. At Baverstock an old man spoke of football against the tower.

Edington. A spot used to be pointed out as that where Bishop Ayscough was killed by the rioters from Salisbury, in 1449. People said the grass grew so rank there that cattle wouldn't eat it.—Noyes, Salisbury Plain, p. 282.

Wishford and Groveley. There is a legend that Wishford Church was built with the pennies offered in thanksgiving by those who had come safely through the forest.—Noyes, *Salisbury Plain*, p. 221.

Stapleford Castle Earthworks. The entrance is by a gate called "Slay Gate". A tradition exists that here a lord of the manor was hanged for murder—probably an unwritten record of Sir John Monemue's execution for the murder of one Gilbert, a clerk of Wells.—Noyes, Salisbury Plain, 219.

Split Ash Tree for Hernia. It was formerly believed that "hernia" in a child could be cured by passing the infant through a split ash sapling. If the split stem was bound up and grew together, the rupture would be remedied. This is illustrated in the following letter from H. N. Goddard, of Clyffe Pypard, to Canon Francis Goddard, dated January 13th, 1886:—"I only knew it (this belief) in connection with the Dodwell ash in Woodstreet Lane (Clyffe Pypard), about which some years ago old George Nipe and John Chesterman were nearly coming to blows, when I happened to meet them on the spot, and enquired which of the two ash trees, near together, was 'Master Doddles''; the one contending for one, the other for the next. But there could be no doubt about it, when I cleaned off the ivy, for the split is still visible down the tree". [Dodwell's Farm stood at Upper Woodstreet. The tree is nearly opposite Woodstreet cottages.]

Games: Conks or Conkers. The horse chestnut or a game played with it. North Wilts, Marlborough, &c. The chestnut is carefully bored and threaded on a string with a big knot at the end. Two boys stand facing, taking turns to let the nut hang from the hand about a foot, whilst the opponent strikes at it with his nut once. The nut that is smashed and knocked off the string loses and the other is then "a conk of one". If a "conk of ten" smashes "a conk of six" the former is then "a conk of seventeen".—G. E. DARTNELL.

Games: Blackbird in the Middle. Children's game. Blackbird is in the middle of the circle "and can't creep out". Blackbird breaks out, runs round the outside of the circle and drops the handkerchief. The one near whom it has been dropped has then to catch blackbird getting through the circle "where they could". [Apparently the same as "Drop the handkerchief".]

Games. South Wilts, Dinton, &c. Boys play marbles and girls hop-scotch in the spring, and some boys trundle hoops.

Ducks and Drakes. Dinton and Calne. The big block or support stone is called mot. The boy whose stone is on it is the duck. Each boy has a ball as well as a stone. As soon as the stone is knocked off, the duck throws his ball at the others who flee in haste, and the one hit pays forfeit by holding out his hand against the wall and the others throw balls at it. (This is called Ducky at Uphill, in West Somerset).

Pinchme.

"Adam and Eve and Pinchme Went over the water to bathe, Adam and Eve were drownded, Who do you think was saved"?

If the child answers "Pinchme", it is done at once.
Whether this is general in Wilts, or only at small schools.

Games. Game played at Kington St. Michael School, 1924. UNCLE JOHN.

"Uncle John is very ill, what shall we send him? Three fried fishes, three fried fishes, half a slice of ginger. What shall we wrap it in? A piece of brown paper. All the boys in Wiltshire shall have a happy land, Except Mr. Cabbage Stump and he wants a wife; A wife he shall have and a courting he shall go, Along with (mention the name) because he loves her so. He cuddles her, he cuddles her, he sits her on his knee, And says my dear do you love me? Tomorrow is the wedding day, we'll have a cup of tea, And we'll have as many kisses as a one, two, three ".—C. V. G.

Hide and Seek. The one that hides calls "cuckoo" to signify that the seeker may begin.

Tip Cat, played with a stick for bat, and piece of stick or wood about 4 inches long, pointed at both ends, to be struck on the pointed end to make it jump. The "wicket" is a circle on the ground.

Games at Calne. Caps placed in a row, or holes scooped—one for each player: each bowls his ball at his own cap or hole. As soon as a ball goes in, its owner runs up, picks out his ball and tries to hit one of the others, who have meanwhile fled: if a boy is hit he pays penalty, or the one who misses, by having all the balls thrown at his extended hand. The balls were of rag covered with leather and made by an old barber in Curzon Street who sold them at \{\frac{1}{2}\dagger}\)d. each.

- "Cools". The same as "Duck Stone" or "Ducks and Drakes", in Dorset and Somerset. The "cool" is the block or stone on which a player places his duck stone, the others bowl their stones to knock it off. The owner of it when knocked off places his foot on the cool and calls up each of the others who are partially hiding by this time and peeping out, the last to be called up pays forfeit by being "tanged" with knotted "kerchiefs".
- "**Foot it**". A form of leap-frog, in which the one who is to be jumped over moves forward from an original line (marked with the toe) one foot each time, till the distance to be covered by the jump before landing with the hands on the boy's back becomes impossible. The first to fail has to hump his back, and so on.
- "Balls Up". (Calne formerly?) A ball is thrown against the wall of a house (an empty one is preferable!) and a nickname called out by the thrower. If the called one catches the ball the thrower has to hold his hand 'for forfeit' by the balls of the whole set being thrown at it.

Games. "Aunt Sally". A wooden image of a black woman smoking a short white clay pipe, was very popular at Christian Malford "County Club", in Canon Law's time (about 1870). The object was to break the pipe by throwing short cudgels. Mr. Udal, in Dorsetshire Folklore, suggests that this is the modern version of "Jack o' Lent" (Bridport, 1574).

What Church Bells say. Salisbury St. Thomas: "Why won't you let your wife alone? She's ill in bed and can't get up".

Salisbury St. Edmunds, eight bells: "Tall and slender, fat and tender".

Clyffe Pypard, six bells. At weddings: "Why did you marry John"?

A Church with three bells asks: "Who will help"? and the next parish with two bells says "We two, we two".

Bonfire Day Rhyme: At Purton, from Richardson's *Story of Purton*, pp. 113. Several days before the 5th of November the boys of the village go to every house begging for faggots, and if they are refused they all answer together:—

"If you don't give us one, We'll take two: The better for us, sir, And the worse for you".

They have a noisy chorus which is intended as a toast to His Majesty, it runs thus:—

"My brave lads remember,
The fifth of November,
Gunpowder treason and plot,
We'll drink, smoke and sing, boys,
And our bells they shall ring boys,
And here's health to our King, boys,
For he shall not be forgot.

Guy Faux Day. November 5th. Up to the Great War (1914) "the Dinton bonfire boys" regularly collected funds, lit a bonfire and paraded in procession as far as the Penruddocke Arms in Baverstock, bearing torches and wearing costumes. There was no guy generally, I believe.

At Shrewton, about 1895, crackers were let off about the streets, but I do not recollect a guy or regular bonfire.—C. V. G.

Tater Planting.

Good Friday is the great day for "tater planting" in Wilts. Shallots should be planted on the shortest day and pulled on the longest.

"Drawn and Drain". In the water meadows round Salisbury and Wilton a "drawn" is the large open watercourse which conveys water in the meadows back to the river, it is not a "drain"—which is always covered over.

Rhymes.

Tell tale tit,
Your tongue shall be slit,
And every . . . dog shall have a little bit.
Said by children to one who tells tales.

You limb of a spider, you leg of a toad, You little black devil, get out of my road. [Heard used by boys to one another.—C. V. G.]

"Ther once wur a man wi' a girt black beard,
A' kissed aal the maidens an maed 'em afeard ''.

[Nursery song.]

"To bed to bed says sleepy head,
Weel stay awhile says slow,
Put on the pot says greedy guts,
We'll sup before we go'. F. M. WILLIS.

[There are several variations of this rhyme.]

Colour Rhyme (Maddington).

"Blue and green is fit for the Queen Green and blue is the devil's own hue".

Counting out Rhyme. At Calne, about 1880, boys used the following rhyme in picking up sides for games. The two leaders first spun a button—the face being "heads" and the back "tails". The winner then gabbled the rhyme as fast as possible allotting the first word to himself with his finger, the second to the other captain, and so on. The one on whom the last word "tick" fell (which was emphasised) had the first pick of the crowd:—

"Ee-ny mee-ny money mi, Capital fee-ny fony fi, eggs, butter, cheese, bread, Stick, stone, dead, Tick"!—C. V. G.

Stones Growing in the Soil. The older generation firmly believed, and do still, that the loose stones in the soil grow there, rather like potatoes.

FIREWOOD FOR LACOCK ABBEY.

By the Rev. J. M. Elphinstone-Fyffe.

"Lacock Abbey", wrote John Britton, "was formerly a large and very interesting pile of building, and contained, within its own inclosure, all the proper accommodations for its secluded inmates". They included a kitchen and a "warming-house", for which a cartload of firewood was provided each week from the King's royal forest of Melksham, a mile away to the south. The Abbey Cartulary still records the grant.

Carta Regis Henrici tertii de Bosco mortuo Monialibus de Lacock concesso. Henricus, &c. . . . Sciatis nos concessisse dilecte nobis in Christo Abbatisse de Lacock quod singulis septimanis habeat unam carrectam semel itinerantem in foresta nostra de Melkesham, ad mortuum boscum, ad focum suum sine dampno eidem foreste quandiu nobis placuerit, &c. . . .

Teste meipso apud Portesmouth sexto die Maii anno regno nostri xxvi° [1242].

This privilege was exercised till 1259; but in the autumn of that year Ela, the foundress and first Abbess, spending her last days in retirement there, seems to have found the situation of the Abbey (not a hundred yards from the river) somewhat cold and damp, for she earnestly solicited her royal kinsman, Henry III, for a daily cartload of firewood; the rest of the story is told by an inquisition.²

Writ to Thomas de Greley Justice of the Forest this side Trent... it was found by inquisition taken by Robert Waleraund, then Justice of the Forest this side Trent, that it would be better to assign a portion of the forest from Wodnesdych towards Blakemor and Woweburn. The said Thomas is directed to measure off the said portion to the extent of forty acres.

Westminster, 25th Oct., 43 Henry III [1259].

To which Thomas de Greley replied:-

"I send the metes and bounds by the which I have caused to be measured 40 acres of wood in your forest of Melksham . . . by your command, to wit, from the hedge and ditch of Luntesleye, ascending by Wodnesdych as far as upon the way which is called le Haghestrete towards Chetewe, and from as upon the said upper

¹ Also in Pat. Rolls 26 Henry III m3.

² Cal. Inq. Misc. File 10. The Grant from the Crown that followed is recorded in the Abbey Cartulary, in Esc. 43 Henry III no. 42, and in Rot. Cart. 44 Henry III m4. Translation of de Greley's reply taken from Wilts Inquisitions p.m. vol. 1, p. 32.

way to Parva Heselwych, to the ditch which is called Aldefrithesdych, and from the said Aldefrithesdych up to the said ditch and hedge of Lontesleye next Milestile on the south ".

In the Grant that followed on 3rd June, 1260, the Abbess was allowed to enclose this land with a hedge and ditch, and in 1388 a licence was granted to enclose it with a pale.³

Of the local place-names in these documents, all are lost to-day except Blackmore, Chittoe and Wansdyke, and it is interesting to try to find the exact whereabouts of these 40 acres of woodland.

Two suggestions have already been made. William Bowles, in his History of Lacock, gives a translation of the above charter and adds in a footnote: "Hagges Street, so called at this day [1835] is the way which leads from the Turnpike [Devizes to Lacock] to the Fountain where Abbatia de Drogonis Fonte stood—the first Stanley Abbey, described in the Author's History of Bremhill". One suspects, perhaps unkindly, that the Author's pride in finding the site of the first Stanley Abbey (at Lockswell, by Bowood Park) led him to mention it in connection with whatever else he could. There may well have been a "Hagges Street" there, but it is certainly not the Haghestrete of Henry's Charter or the Inquisition, which clearly must touch Wansdyke and be within Melksham Forest. How far distant Bowles' "Hagges Street" is from either, can be seen in the inset to the plan given with these notes.

Again, in vol. I of Wilts Inquisitions, the index reference to Haghestrete gives "Hawk Street" as a possible identification. But this hamlet is in Bromham parish, east of the Forest and still further from Wansdyke, as again the inset on the plan will show. If the 40 acres really had been either on Hawk Street or the Lockswell road, the Abbey carter and his horse would have had a sad climb each day up the 450 feet of Nash Hill: one is glad to believe they were spared this, since the wood was far more conveniently placed, on the level road that led south from Lacock to Melksham, now called Forest Lane.

Our first sources of evidence are the Melksham Tithe Map and Terrier of 1840 and the Melksham "Poor Rate" Books in the Parish Church muniment room. One gives the estates, field-names, owners and occupiers of a century ago. The second shows all the rate-paying landowners and their tenants from 1685 to 1807—a sort of pedigree of Melksham lands.

Clearly marked on the plan (based on the Tithe Map) are "Cloves Wood" and "Blackmoor Wood", which in 1840 were in the possession of one William Beaven. The Rate Book (1807) shows that a Mrs. Davenport owned "the woods" and Beaven rented part; tracing the property back in the Rate Books we find it held by (1793) John Talbott Devonport, Esq., (1780) the Rev. Dr. Devonport, (1730) John Avory Talbot, Esq., and in 1685, the earliest entry, Sir John Talbot, Knight.

³ Pat. 12 Richard II p. 1, m15. The licence can be seen in the Devizes Museum Library (Melksham 5/1).

These two woods were the only property in the Forest held by the Talbot family, who had inherited part of the estates of Sir William Sherrington, to whom Henry VIII had granted the lands and Abbey of Lacock in 1541. Since the only land⁴ in the Forest owned by Lacock Abbey was the 40 acres of wood, it is reasonable to conclude that the "Cloves" and "Blackmoor" Woods of 1840 indicate the position of the land granted by the Crown six centuries earlier.

"Cloves Wood" is clearly a corruption of the "wood enclosed"—by a pale It is described in a Bill of the Attorney General, 1610, as extending south from Wansdyke; to the west of it was Close Wood Coppice, showing the reason for the field-name "Tween Woods". (Is it worth-while to suggest that "Close Wood" is just what the inhabitants of Melksham would have called it, and "our wood 'towards Blackemor'" or "Blackmore Wood" is the name by which it would have been known at the Abbey?) We should now be able to place the whole 40 acres on the map.

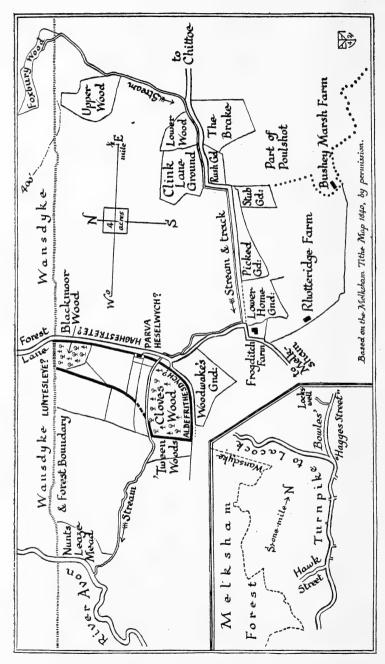
(a) The northern boundary is ascending by Wodnesdych. Anywhere along Wansdyke east of the Avon up to the 400ft. contour near Foxbury Wood would be "ascending".

- (b) As far as upon the way which is called le Haghestrete. The only "way" crossing this part of Wansdyke is that now called Forest Lane. To-day this leads south and S.W. from Lacock to Melksham, whereas the Inquisition continues le Haghestrete towards Chetewe, and Chittoe is two miles away to the east. But in Andrews and Dury's map (1773) "Forest Lane" runs south from Wansdyke, turns sharp to the east (at what is now Frogditch Farm) and continues to Chittoe. The road north from Melksham which joins it at that corner is no more than a track over Blackmore Common. The Tithe Map bears this out; from Frogditch Farm a track runs east, through Lower Home Ground and Picked (Three-corner) Ground, towards Chittoe; the remains of it are there to this day. So it is quite likely that Forest Lane and this track once formed a main road, le Haghestrete leading (from the Lacock point of view) towards Chetewe. So now we have Wansdyke for our northern, and Forest Lane for our eastern boundary.
- (c) And from as upon the said upper way to Parva Heselwych. If this means "the little dwelling-place among the hazel trees" it might be the spot where an old farm is marked on the map.⁶
- (d) To the ditch which is called Aldefrithesdych. One would suggest this is the track running west out of Forest Lane. If this name means

⁴ Other than common of pasture.

⁵ A map of Cary's in Camden's *Brittannia* of 1789 shows the same. The track over the Common was not made a "public carriage road" until the Tithe Award of 1814.

⁶ Owned from 1720 by the descendants of Aubrey's "worthy and honoured friend" George-Johnson, of Bowden Park. But Cal. Ch. Rolls translates it as "the little Holewych".



Plan to illustrate the Lowock Abbey woodland within Melkshum Forest.

"old wood ditch", then Woodwake's Ground south of it may well be a corruption of "Wood-way Ground" (OE weg).

(e) Up to the said ditch and hedge of Lontesleye next Milestile on the south. Of this, the first and last point of our circuit, the only trace seems to be Nunts Leaze Mead, half a mile to the west, of which the first part may be a corruption of a name taken from some neighbouring "Lunts Ley". Of Milestile it may be noted that there is still a footpath stile here, a mile as the crow flies from Lacock Church or Reybridge.

The area enclosed by these boundaries has been clearly outlined in our plan. The western side is not conjectural, but follows the actual field-boundaries of the Tithe Map. It is interesting that it was not until most af these notes had been collected that it was found, on measurement, that the land ontlined on the plan was exactly forty acres. It would be in the most convenient position possible for the Abbey, being the only part of the Forest immediately accessible by road from Lacock. There can be no doubt that this is the land granted to the Abbess of Lacock by Henry III in 1259.

Two of the old names deserve a little more attention. What is the meaning of le Haghestrete? and what and where is Woweburn?

If we assume that -strete means "way" or "road", Haghe- may come from (1) OE heah, ME hegh(e) = high; this agrees with the description in the Inquisition, "the said upper way", with the fact that it rises 200ft. in a mile, and also with the modern name for part of the track "Clink Lane". 10 (2) OE hæcc = gate; the point where this road crossed Wansdyke was still called Forest Gate in Hoare's time; but it seems hæcc usually developed into "hatch". (3) OE (ge)haeg = woodland enclosure; concerning Chetweyhey (Chittoe hay, near Clink Lane Ground) the late Mr. Edward Kite wrote: "Haiæ were hedged or paled woods, or forest inclosures, into which beasts were drawn to be captured or slain—prototypes of modern coverts". Of these three possibilities, the first is the most likely; probably it simply means "highway".

^{7 &}quot;Ditch" can mean a track; one such on the Forest boundary near Bromham was called (1300) "the Whiteditch" and in 1840 was still a regular roadway; but Wilts Place Names (p. 429) says it is "ditch" prefixed by the name of the owner "Aldefyrth". Wilts Inquisitions p.m. gives the names of two families "Wodewey" and "Wodewyke" living in Wiltshire t. Ed. III; was there ever an office of "woodwake" (cf. "woodreeve" and "woodward")?

⁸ Wilts Place Names gives another case of an initial L being changed to N in Nine Hills (Devizes) once called Lyme Hills.

 $^{^9}$ By the statute acre of 22 yds. \times 220 yds , the perch of $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Rot. Cart. simply says "by the King's perch". The King's perch of 21ft. gives a smaller acreage.

^{10 &}quot;Clench was no doubt originally a hill-name". Wilts Place Names, p. 349.

Woweburn means "Crooked or Winding Bourne". 11 The reference to it in the Inquisition shows that it was within the Forest and south of Wansdyke.

A perambulation of Melksham Forest ¹² in 1300 gives from thence between the wood of the Lord the King and the wood of Nicholas Burdonne unto Wogheborn, and from thence unto Chetweyhey, and so unto Wodnesditch. This wood of Nicholas Burdonne can definitely be identified with the "Part of Poulshot" around Bushey Marsh Farm marked on our plan.¹³ The only stream between it and Wansdyke is that rising in Foxbury Wood and running from Lower Wood to Cloves Wood, beside le Haghestrete; so we may conclude that this stream was the Woweburn.

¹¹ The Ancient Woodland of Wiltshire. G. B. Grundy, F.S.A., W.A.M., xlviii.

¹² Pat. Rolls 6a. m5, 28 Edw. I.

¹³ In the *Hundred Rolls* it is mentioned as *Roderig*: the name has since been transferred to the modern Rhotteridge Farm adjoining it; a later (and misleading) corruption of the name was *Burnwood*.

THE GORGES MONUMENT IN SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

By Mrs. K. A. Esdaile.

This noble tomb has already been treated of in Wilts Arch. Mag., xlvi, 16 (1932), by Canon J. M. J. Fletcher; on the historical side the article could hardly be improved on, but the attention paid to later English sculpture during the last few years has thrown much fresh light on the subject, and as this is one of the finest monuments in the county, it may be well to examine it again.

In 1936 I spent a long time over the monument, with no pre-conceived ideas of authorship to hamper me. The material is a fine white stone, crumbling slightly where cut vertically; the noble effigies, the singular canopy, whose elaborate architectonic overweighs the twisted pillars which support it; the fine lettering; the allegorical character of the structure surmounting the whole, all challenge attention; but the panels on the inside of the canopy, impossible as they were to study in detail, excited still more curiosity. One was obviously Renaissance in style; the others almost suggested the hand of a mediæval craftsman; and as no engraving even exists, I asked Mr. C. H. G. Cave, whose photographs of Gothic detail have revealed so much to this generation, to be good enough to take them for me. Now that every work of art in our Cathedrals and parish Churches is in some degree of danger, I am glad to have the opportunity of publishing them, together with my conclusions as to the place held by the monument in the art of the 1630's. Canon Fletcher's account of Sir Thomas Gorges (d. 1610) and his lovely Swedish wife Helena, Countess Snachenbourgh, as she signs herself in her will (P. C. C. Sadler, 41, Nov. 6th, 1634) is so minute that it need not be repeated; suffice it to say that Sir Thomas was a faithful and trusted servant of Queen Elizabeth and that, after the death of the Countess's first husband, the Marquess of Northampton, he married her. Countess Helena Snachenberg, as it is spelt on the monument, had come to England in the train of the Swedish Princess Cecilia, grand-daughter of Gustavus Vasa, in 1565; the Princess's brother Eric had, in 1559, been the guest of the Marquess, who was brother to Queen Katharine Parr; and Queen Elizabeth took such a fancy to Countess Helena that she made her a Maid of Honour and treated her as a personal friend. A marriage between her and Lord Northampton (d. 1571) was natural enough, but the latter marriage displeased the Queen so much that on learning of it she sent Gorges to prison for a brief period in 1580.

Sir Thomas Gorges is best known to posterity as the builder of Longford, whose fantastic form is said by the Castle Chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Pelat, writing in 1678, to have been suggested by Tycho Brahé's Castle of Uranienberg, on an island between Sweden and Denmark. This is not the case, and it seems likely that its triangular form was a symbol of the Trinity, like—though Canon Fletcher does not quote the parallel—Sir Thomas Tresham's Triangular Lodge at Rushton, Northants. Thorpe's plans of Longford, in the Soane Museum, are dated 1578, but the Castle was not finished till 1597, and

this seems to make the popular belief that it was the original of the Castle of Amphialus in Sidney's Arcadia quite untenable, since the Arcadia was written early in 1580, when Sidney was at Wilton, and the very foundations of Longford were, at the most favourable computation, only in the pile-driving stage. Dates wild often destroy the most tempting theories in art and literature, and we must once for all, I think, dissociate Longford from the Arcadia. But it is certainly relevant that Longford was a symbolic building, and that the Gorges family was interested in astrology (Hutchins' Dorset, III, p. 348). These facts have a bearing on the monument, to which we must now turn.

It is curious that the Countess's will did not contemplate a monument. Possibly she knew that their son intended to erect one, since all she asks is that "my bodie I appoint to be presently after my decease shrouded and chested without ripping, imbalming or spiceing and carried away to be buried in Or Lady Church in Salisbury by my dear and late husband Sir Thomas Gorges, Knight, deceased". As to the tomb itself, the earliest allusion to it which I have traced is that in Fuller's Worthies (1662):—

"Amongst the many monuments in Salisbury Cathedral.... that of Helene Suavenberg (sic), a Swede (the relict of William, Marquess of Northampton, and afterwards married to Thomas Gorges) is most commended for its artificial plainness".

To understand this phrase we must remember the seventeenth century meaning of Artificial as defined by the O.E.D.: "displaying special art or skill"; as for the plainness, we have only to compare the monument with most others of its day, when almost every inch of surface was covered with elaborate inlay, carvings, bosses and other forms of ornament to see that it is true. "Artificial plainness" therefore means elaborate yet devoid of excessive ornament, an exact description of the It was their eldest son who erected the monument, as the panel on the west side of the base states in a noble capital script: "EDOUARDUS DOMINUS GORGES Baro de Dundalk Pientissimus Filius Hoc Dormitorium Corporibus Charissimorum Parentum Erexit Anno Domini 1635", and there are three coats of arms, Gorges impaling Snachenberg, Gorges, and Snachenberg. On the north side is the epitaph of Sir Thomas; on the south side that to his wife Countess Helena; the east side is plain. On this base lie the effigies, that of Sir Thomas in armour, his head resting on a cushion supported by his helm, a scarf over the right shoulder supporting his sword. Countess lies beside him in a long robe, ruff and widow's veil, her aged face one of extreme serenity. To complete the account it may be well to give their epitaphs: "Hic sita sunt Ossa Hellenæ Snachenberg || Swedanæ Quæ Dominam Cæcilliam Filiam || Erici Regis Swetiæ in hoc Regnum Comitata | Propter Venustatem Pudicitiamque qua | Claruit grata Reginæ ELIZABETHÆ per eam Inter Honorarias ministras sacræ suæ | personæ intimo cubiculo attendentes [Maids of Honour] assita | fuit et locata in Matrimonio Guillielmo | Dno Par de Kendall Marchioni Northamptoniæ quo sine prole mortuo nupsit | Thomæ Gorges Equiti Aurato Cui 4 filios | et 3 filias peperit; cujus post obitum | Viduitate vitam egit per anns 25 Quibus pie | peractis excessit e vivis primo die Aprilis Anno || Ætati 86

Annog. Domini 1635 ":

"In hoc Monumento sepultum jacet Corpus Thomæ Gorges de Langforde in hoc tractu Severiano Equitis Aurati Quinti Filij EDOUARDO Gorges de Wraxall in agro Somersetensi Equiti Aurato: Qui post maximam vitæ partem servitio Reginæ Elizabethæ et Regis Jacobi beatœ memoriæ Principum in Sanctiore penetrali cū fidelitate impensam resignavit animam in manus Redemptoris sui 30° die Martij A° Ætat 74to Ao Domi 1610",

The rest of the inscriptions I also give from the fourth volume of Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana (1719, pp. 25-6), since Canon Fletcher gives translations only, and I have not had the opportunity of verifying the often inaccessible originals.

W. side. Asta Viator et rerum vices nota Caro nostra (quippe Mortalis) Subito in cineres redacta: Monumentum hoc (tantisper Dum seculum) fortassis duraturū Sed adveniente Domino Gloriæ In æternum rediviva erit illa Peribit hoc.

[Eduardus Dominus, &c., on base] (Under the greyhound crest) N. side. Sagax et Celer Insequitur prædam Constans & fidelis Consequitur præmium. Mundus Mare; Vita Navis.

S. side

Quisque Navigat; Mors portus, Patria Cœlum, Fidelis intrat.

At the corners panelled bases set at an angle support four twisted columns supporting a heavy entablature adorned with swags starred with flowers on which rests a species of huge open lantern; at the four corners of the entablature stand four pyramids (Canon Fletcher's "obelisks") emblems of Eternity, each with a statue of a Cardinal Virtue beside it, Faith, Hope, Charity and Fortitude, to wit, with polyhedra beside them; these figures are very elegant, long-necked and graceful, with well-carved draperies. Voluted pediments between them enshrine armorial shields, and behind these flying buttresses support a great central urn in the shape of a globe bearing the inscription ab urna ad ætherem, crowned by another and larger polyhedron. These polyhedra, described by Canon Fletcher as astrolabes, are clearly intended to symbolise the Platonic Sphere: Plato having taken over their to us obscure symbolism from the Pythagoreans. The only marble used in the entire structure is seen in the "touch" (black marble) inscription panels on the north, south and west sides.

On the underside of the canopy are the reliefs already alluded to: the arrangement is as follows:—

		N			_
	1	7	6	5	
W	(a) Inscription in decorated border	(b)_ Panel of cherub heads	(c) Panel (cherul heads	of E	7
•		1 - 1	2	3	
		S			-

(a) The inscription, SEPTEM DONA SANCTI SPIRITUS, explains the subjects of the panels, which are illustrations from the O.T. of the Gifts in question.

(b) and (c) are panels of cherub heads in the most elaborate Renaissance style, brilliantly carved and set among rays of heavenly light.

1—7 are the subjects themselves, the interpretation of which is still partly conjectural. It seems certain, however, that they are not all in the familiar order, since neither by reading across nor round can Ghostly Strength (Samson) and Counsel (Joseph) interpreting Pharaoh's dream, two of the subjects whose indentity is absolutely certain, fall into their right place; the reliefs would necessarily be put up when the vault of the canopy was complete, and the masons probably arranged them wrongly.

- 1. Wisdom. The Judgement of Solomon. The King is seated on his throne under a canopy, holding out his sceptre as a sign of favour to the true mother, who kneels before him with clasped hands as a man in a short tunic raises his sword to cut her child in half; the other woman stands callously beside him; two soldiers with spears stand behind the king; the dead child lies on the ground.
- 2. Holy Fear. The figure described by Canon Fletcher as Manoah at the Altar (Judges xiii, 16—23) incorrectly, as I think, represents a man in bed praying before a smoking altar set in an elaborate building which fills most of the background. Now Manoah was not alone when he offered a burnt offering unto the Lord; both his wife and the angel were present; the angel ascended in the flame of the altar; and the interview took place in a field, not in a building when Manoah was in bed. I venture to think that the panel represents David at prayer: "Have I not remembered Thee in my bed and thought upon Thee when I was waking"; "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto Thee"; "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice"; these phrases from the Psalms surely fit the scene far better than the episode of Manoah, and the building becomes, with perfect propriety, the king's palace. The Gift illustrated is therefore Holy Fear or Reverentia,



David at Prayer (?)



Cherub Heads, Gorges Tomb.



The Sacrifices of Cain and Abel.



Esther and Ahasuerus.



Joseph and his Brethren.



since the phrase Septem Dona Spiritus suggests that we are dealing with the Vulgate text.

3. Understanding. Sacrifices of Cain and Abel. Each brother kneels at an altar, but whereas the flames of Able's sacrifice ascend to Heaven, those of Cain's are beaten down. Abel is, I think, the Spirit of Understanding, Vulgate Intelligentia; he knows what is acceptable to the Lord.

4. Ghostly Strength. Samson slaying the Philistines with the ass's jawbone. The youthful hero, beardless and with flowing hair, stands in the centre, smiting down an armed Philistine; another lies prone at his feet; six others flee before him. In the background his wife is picturesquely introduced as praying for his success. This represents Ghostly Strength, the Potentia of the Vulgate, the 'might' of the A.V.

5. Knowledge. This subject is interpreted by Canon Fletcher as Jacob and his two sons, Benjamin being absent in Egypt; but the turbaned figure is that of a young man, not that of the aged Jacob, and if we read the scene illustrating the text: "Joseph knew his brethren", all is clear. Joseph's young brother stands behind him under a portico; the six sons of Leah are grouped on a platform before him, the four sons of the concubines below. The ignorance of the brothers as to what is coming is ingeniously suggested by the casual attitude of the brother to the left, who sits carelessly on a stone pedestal; those nearer Joseph are far more alert, and seem to be awaiting a disclosure. Joseph's generosity to his brethren is based on knowledge; in No. 7 we have another episode in his history.

6. Ahasuerus, crowned and enthroned, an attendant behind him, sits under a canopy in the courtyard of a palace, holding out his sceptre to Esther who touches it with her right hand; a veil is thrown back from her face; a maiden in attendance stands behind her. "Esther", we are told "drew near and touched the top of the sceptre"; both appear to represent Godliness, the Queen, serving her people, the

King doing justice.

7. Counsel. This subject was doubtfully interpreted by Canon Fletcher as Phurah and Gideon, but he omits certain crucial details which are practically invisible to the spectator. With Mr. Cave's photograph before us, there can be no hesitation in identifying the subject. A youth stands before a king seated under a canopy, who holds out his sceptre towards him; behind the youth is a grave and reverend figure, to the right of the King another official and a youthful attendant. A curtain is drawn back to reveal two sheaves of corn on one side, two kine crouched before a stable on the other. This is the young Joseph as the Spirit of Counsel, warning Pharaoh of the meaning of his dream, of the fat and lean kine, the seven ears on one stalk and the seven withered, thin and blasted. The venerable figure behind Joseph may well be his friend the chief butler.

Such are these panels, once described to me by a Salisbury verger as the Seven Works of Mercy; I know no other carvings or such subjects in English art of the period, though the emblems of the Passion on an "escutcheon" at Stansted Mountfitchet may warn us that others may conceivably exist. Certain is it that the artist who carved them was steeped in the Gothic tradition; but for the 17th century canopies. costumes and armour and a Jacobean flavour about the architecture in the backgrounds we might almost describe them as mediæval, so simple, direct and convincing are they, so completely in the manner of the early mason. There is something Blake-like in the David at prayer, with its intense devotional feeling, in the primitive device of the curtain drawn back to reveal the kine and sheaves, and in the simplicity and dignity of the draperies; yet the neighbouring panel with the inscription is framed in delicate 17th century strapwork, and the cherub heads are superb examples of the richest work of the English Renaissance, worthy of comparison with the best Continental examples of the same class.

Precisely the same construction of contrasted elements meets us in the canopy, that astonishing mixture of flying buttresses and 17th century heraldry, of urns, virtues, cherub heads and pyramids. We must also note the architectural weaknesses, the vast structure raised on twisted columns, a feature very rare out of Herefordshire before the Restoration, and never very common afterwards, though used in documented works by W. Stanton and James Hardy. True they are used by Nicholas Stone on the famous porch of St Mary's Oxford, but in all his vast documented output there is no hint of Gothic; his masters. Isaac James and Hendrik de Keyser, worked in the Low Country manner, and flying buttresses and reliefs of the type here seen were wholly outside his experience. Moreover, he does not use stone for any effigy, and except in two quite early works, the Sutton Monument at the Charterhouse and the Sir Henry Belasyse in York Minster, executed just afterwards, symbolic ornament or even the conventional symbolism of the period such as we get on the Sutton² is curiously lacking in his work. The Gorges tomb on the other hand has behind it a familiarity with Gothic buttresses and Gothic relief as well as a taste for a curious and lofty mysticism in the use of the polyhedra, and a total absence of that elaborate ornamentation of surface proper to the alabaster sculpture of the day, and to a vast number of stone monuments besides. effigies are also noteworthy. That of the Countess is one of the finest of its date in England, but the face of Sir Thomas Gorges is not quite so successful, and his legs are slightly disproportionate. The magnificent capitals used in the lettering are also notable, and the inscriptions (other than biographical) are mystical in character. What can we make of all this?

1. Material. Stone is a rare material in the first half of the seventeenth century for a great master to use, though it is common enough

² Naturally, since the tomb would be designed by Nicholas Johnson, the senior partner, and Johnson's work is definitely Anglo-Flemish in

character.

¹ And the stone setting of the Dame Frances Freckleton at Ettington is certainly modern. *Birmingham Archæological Trans.*, lvii (1933), pl. xvii.

in provincial work; the most important examples known to any are the signed Epiphanius Evesham of Sir Thomas Hawkins (1618), at Boughton-under-Blean, Kent, where the effigies are of stone like the tomb chest, but the reliefs and panels of alabaster; the Sir Adrian Scrope (1618) at South Cockerington, Lincs., with its similar reliefs of alabaster and incredibly vivid stone portrait effigy in scarf and armour leaning on the elbow, scarf and armour being duplicates of those worn by Sir Thomas Gorges and the whole quite unmistakably by Evesham3; finally, the noble standing efflgy of Sir William Slingsby (d. 1634, but monument erected in his lifetime), at Knaresborough, where no alabaster is used because there are no accessories to the statue of the old soldier in its plain stone niche. In all these works the handling of effigies, the strong direct carving, the type of sword, the admirable heraldry and that slight disproportion of the legs so perceptible both in the signed reliefs already noted find counterparts upon the Gorges monument

2. Columns. Twisted columns are, as already stated, typical of Herefordshire sculpture; Evesham was a Herefordshire man.

3. Architecture. Here Evesham, bred in a land of Gothic Churches and trained in Southwark, is notoriously eccentric. At Lynsted (Times, January 30th, 1932) he lays the architrave straight across the columns with no intervening Order; at Felsted (Essex Archæol. Trans., xxii, pt. 1) he does the same, adding a pediment and side gables into the bargain. At Boughton-uuder-Blean (Archæol. Cant., vol. xlv, p. 205) he gives us a fantastic background consisting of an alabaster panel set against a stepped brick support above a plain (but, I think, once painted) background. All these have alabaster panels in low relief, all of a mystical character and almost all with mottoes and inscriptions (see p. 60), and this is equally true of the signed monument at Lynsted, his first work to be noted in modern days.

4. Character of Figures. The allegorical figures on the Gorges tomb are of the same slim and graceful type as those of the Virtues on the signed monument at Lynsted, and are part of the scheme of decoration usual on Anglo-Flemish works, familiar to Evesham through his training under Richard Stevens (1541–92), the Anglo-Flemish sculptor, who settled in Southwark in 1567 and whose other known pupil was Stone's master, Isaac James.

5. The Cherub Heads There are fine examples even on two of his earliest works, the Colyns tablets at Hythe and Mersham—one very distinctive and incomparably better modelled and less conventional

³ I identified this monument in August, 1934, and sent a note of it to Mr. F. C. Morgan of the Hereford Museum, who obtained the sundial signed by Evesham as a boy at Hereford. He published it for the Woolhope Club in 1939.

⁴ A forthcoming account of the Slingsby monument, with reasons for the attribution, will discuss it in detail; here it need only be noted that its relationship to the sons on Evesham's signed monument at Lynsted is very remarkable; it is at Knaresborough.

than those of contemporary artists and as different in expression as children in real life; the wings and hair are especially characteristic; a comparison of those examples with the cherub panel of the Gorges

canopy is convincing evidence of identity of authorship.

6 The noble capitals employed on the Gorges tomb find their counterparts in Evesham's signatures at Boughton and Lynsted and in the epitaphs at Knaresborough and South Cockerington, the former now much defaced. If at a later period the same letterer worked for Flaxman and his contemporaries, there is no evidence whatever that this was the practice at an earlier date; Evesham's lettering is as consistent as it is different from the dozen documented monuments by his contemporaries, Colt and Cure, for instance, and can only be interpreted as an example of that perfection of detail in which he excels.

7. The heraldry on the Gorges monument is exceptionally good. Evesham's mastery of the subject is shown not only by his monuments but by documents with shields drawn and tinctured by himself in the British Museum and the College of Arms, and his brother Alexander was interested in the history of Art (*Vertue Notebooks*, iv, p. 23).

The mystical character of the urn, polyhedra and inscriptions finds many parallels in Evesham's work. The Rich monument at Felstead is full of it, and the panels on the signed Lynsted and Boughton tombs have an intensity of feeling without a parallel in English work of the period. His fondness for mottoes is shown in the two latter, and on the Scrope panels also; there is no other English artist with so keen a sense of the devotional in word and scripture: NOX VITÆ LUX ANIMÆ: NUNC VIVE UT POST VIVAS are examples. The following lines for example are on the signed monuments at Marsworth, Bucks and Boughton-under-Blean: Vita est Oceanus, Spes undæ, Gaudia Venti, Omnia Tempestas, Mors ea sola Quies. The likeness of these phrases on the Gorges' tomb cannot escape notice, and the occurrence of such words and mottoes on all the works here named suggests that he did more than carve them. This mysticism is even more pronounced in the signed altar tomb at Marsworth, Bucks, where incised panels representing inter alia the Baptism of Christ and mortal man labouring with a spade but gazing up to Heaven, and where, on alabaster panels interspersed, ears of wheat spring from a skull.⁵

One further point is worth noting. When working in alabaster, Evesham uses some of the mannerisms of the Southwark school, but uses them as a mediæval mason uses his materials, to suit himself, and not by the rules of architectural propriety. He works, that is, in the Gothic spirit, and he is already known as our supreme master of relief. With these points in mind we can understand that astonishing ceiling of the Gorges canopy. Many of the heads of the subjects are curiously

⁵ That the sculptor suggested such mottoes can hardly be doubted in view of their habitual recurrence on the monuments of the Christmases, father and sons; their very diverse patrons can hardly have chosen the same sort of phrases with such unanimity; Evesham's, however, are infinitely subtler, less obvious and more literary.

like the heads of Sir Adrian Scrope and Sir William Slingsby, and Evesham's gift of grouping figures as shown, e.g., at Lynsted and Boughton-under-Blean, is conspicuous in the Joseph and his Brethren, where the dome above is a simplified version of that in the Crewe monument (1639) in Westminster Abbey. Evesham's interest in architectural backgrounds is as clear in that work as in the signed brass upon the Marsworth tomb whose panels are noticed above. as time goes on, he drops the rather frigid manner of his master Richard Stevens and returns to that of the Hereford masons familiar in his youth; it must have been that early experience which gives even his alabasters a freshness and directness lacking in the more conventional tombs of the period. Even so, there is a difference of method: the treatment of the hair offers an example. The mason treats it as a mass, indicating its quality by lines; the alabasterer treats it as locks, modelling these with due attention to realism of effect. The distinction is fundamental, and the Gorges tomb belongs to the mason class as entirely as the Scrope and Slingsby effigies; in the cherub heads alone—probably because he was so used to carving in alabaster—does a touch of the realism of the alabasterer appear, but the effect is still wholly suited to their material,—stone. We may compare the techniques of Nicholas Stone, whose handling of white marble is continental in its ability and use of the drill, but whose alabaster effigies are carved in a wholly different fashion, due primarily to the softer material. If we had not documentary evidence that the Anne Bennet, at York, and Captain Heigham at Wickhambrook, Suffolk, were by the author of the Lady Elizabeth Carey, at Stowe-nine-Churches and the Lady Mary Coke, at Tittleshall, they would never have been ascribed to the same hand. If Evesham worked in marble—and this is not the place in which to discuss the question, though I am firmly convinced that he did-one would expect at least the same difference between his work in that and in alabaster as we see between his work in alabaster and in stone, a material which Nicholas Stone only used, so far as is known, for decorative purposes.

Who was Epiphanius Evesham? All that was known of him till November, 1931, was a sentence quoted by Vertue from the preface to Penthethman's edition of Owen's *Epigrams* (1824) in which Owen's monument, a laureate brass ⁶ then recently erected, was described as by "the most exquisite artist Epiphanius Evesham"; Walpole repeated the statement, and there matters rested, save for a still unverified note in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* (1818, p. 596) that he was a pupil of Richard Stevens, the Anglo-Fleming settled in Southwark, whose other known pupil was Stone's master—Isaac James. In November. 1931, the late Mr. Ralph Griffin found the signature at Lynsted, photographed

⁶ The fact is known from the second edition of Harry Holland's book on St. Paul's (1633): Vertue's quotation (v, p. 38) suggests that only the inscription was brass.

⁷ This can be implicitly accepted. No one would invent such a statement about two artists then virtually unknown.

the monument and sent me prints, asking whether the signature meant anything to me. Here, at last, was our "exquisite artist", and an article in the Times of January 30th, 1932, introduced Evesham to the public as the author not of this work only but of many more. Correspondents added further information; I myself found further evidence; and it is now possible to say that he was a twin, the fourteenth and youngest son of a small Herefordshire squire, born at Epiphany, 1570; that in 1587 he engraved a brass sundial now in the Hereford Museum for a Hereford cousin, and that he described his father's funeral in detail in 1592. Thereafter we know him from his signatures on six monuments, but this does not mean that he executed no unsigned monuments. Stone does not sign his works. John Gildon, of Hereford, signs one tomb at Bosbury and not the other, one at Astley, Worces. and not the other; Thomas Browne, whose signed and highly stylised works have been noted in Yorkshire, signs two tombs, virtual duplicates of which are found in two other Yorkshire Churches: Edward Marshall does not sign any of the works mentioned as his by his friend Aubrey, but does sign a good many which are not mentioned by the antiquary.

It may, however, be asked whether Evesham at the age of 65 was capable of so great a work as the Gorges monument. The answer is, surely, that in the next century both Rysbrack and Scheemaker were doing large and elaborate works at seventy, and that Colt, who came to England in 1595, and was commissioned to execute the monument of Queen Elizabeth, certainly not a first commission, in 1604—5, was alive and active in 1645, when his wife died. We still do not know when Evesham died, but these examples show that there is no inherent improbability in the suggested authorship of the Gorges monument.

The conclusion of the whole matter is, that the Gorges monument is the work of a master who, while betraying certain weaknesses of proportion in his male effigies and a reckless disregard of Vitruvian propriety in his architecture, has a gift of portraiture and a strong mystical imagination, as well as using a capital lettering of exceptional dignity and distinction. All the requisite conditions are fulfilled by Epiphanius Evesham, and it is to him that I would attribute one of the few monuments in England in which the Middle Ages and the Renaissance touch hands not in the architecture only but in the combination of realistic cherub heads and Old Testament scenes in the traditional manner upon one and the same canopy.

Postscript.—I find in W. B. Rye's England as seen by Foreigners (1865), p. liv, a note on Helena's monument as follows:—"The inscription on her monument in Salisbury Cathedral is incorrect in making Cecilia [the Swedish Princess] the daughter ("filiam") instead of the sister of Eric, King of Sweden; this has been overlooked by the Salisbury historians". He also points out that Spenser dedicated his

Daphnaida to Helena,

WALL PAINTINGS IN SHERRINGTON CHURCH.

By W. H. YEATMAN-BIGGS: Copied May, 1940.

Sherrington Church. The walls of this small Church, which has no aisles, were decorated throughout, apparently in the 17th century, with a series of inscriptions each enclosed in an elaborate painted border. These had been whitewashed over, but the whitewash has recently been cleaned off, and the inscriptions, now for the most part quite legible again, form a remarkable series, a good illustration of the style of mural decoration in favour in small Churches in the early part of the 17th century. The inscriptions have been carefully copied by Mr. W. H. Yeatmon-Biggs, of Long Hall, Stockton, and are here given in full as they appear on the walls:-

At the East end. N. side.

R. II ver: 29 (Roman caps.) (Lettering destroyed.)

S. side (black letters.)

For as often as ve eat this bread And drink this cup, ye doe show the Lords death till he come.

I Cor: Chap xi

ver 26 (Roman letters.)

Both these inscriptions were enclosed in a sepia painted architectural frame, 5ft. high by 3ft. 3in. wide.

West end, S. side, shaped shield with border of leafy scrolls and cherubs, 4ft. 7in. high by 4ft. 2in. wide (Black letters except the chapter and verse).

I Cor. Chap. v. verse 10, 11.

For we must all appeare before the Judgement seat of Christ that everyone may Receive the things done in his body according to that he hath done; whether it be good or bad; knowing therefore that terrour of the Lord we we perswade men.

West end N. side. Oval Scroll Frame. Heads of Unicorn, &c., 5ft. 7in. high by 4ft. 5in. wide. Black letters,
Suffer little
children to come unto me and
Forbid them not, for of such
is the Kingdom of God.
Matt: Chap. xix. verse J4
Come ye Children hearken unto
me I will teach you the Fear
of the Lord. Psalms
xxxiiii verse xi.

S. side Nave, W. of Door.

Architectural frame with broken pediment, 4ft. 10in. high by 3ft. 3in. wide. Black letters except the initial letters of Titus, Revelation, Chapter and Verse which are Roman.

Look for that Blessed hope and the Glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ (leaf ornament)
Titus Chap. 2. verse 13.
Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. Revelations Chap. xiv. verse 13 (leaf ornament).

Nave, over S. Door.

Kidney-shaped panel enclosed in squared leaf ornament sepia frame. Black Letters. (Honour and M of Mother in Roman lettering). 3ft. high, 3ft. 9in. wide.

Honour thy father and thy Mother that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Nave, wall East of S. Door.

Frame of acanthus leaf ornament in sepia on blue ground, oblong, 4ft. 7in. high, 6ft. 1in. wide, outer border 9in. wide.

Black letter.

Our Father which art in Heaven hallowed be thy Name thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven, give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us, And lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil for thine is the Kingdom the Power and the Glory for ever and ever Amen.

Nave, N. wall, west end.

Architectural Frame, lettering destroyed. 4ft. 1ft. high, 4ft. 10in. wide.

Nave over N. Door.

Circle frame in leaf decoration—with the date 1630—the rest of the inscription destroyed. 3ft. 1in. high, 3ft. 11in. wide.

Nave, N. wall, E. of N. Door.

Acanthus leaf frame, sepia on blue ground. 4ft. 6in. high, 6ft. wide. Black letters.

I beleeue in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ his oneley sonne our Lord

Who was conceived of the holy Ghost, Borne of the Virgin Mary, suffered

under Ponce Pilate was crucified dead and buried. He descended into hell

the third day he rose againe from the dead. He ascended into Heaven and

sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. From thence he shall come

to judge the quick and the dead. I belieue in the Holy Ghost the Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints the forgiveness of sinnes, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

Amen.

Nave, N. wall, W. of Chancel Arch.

Oval frame of acanthus leaf ornament, sepia on blue ground. 4ft. 9in. high by 2ft. 10in. wide. Black letters.

Salvation belongeth unto the Lord, and thy blessing be upon thy people. psalm 3:8. Stand in awe; and sin not Comune with your own heart within your chamber and be still. psalm iv. verse 4. Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.

J. Chron. Chap. xvi. verse 29.

There are also painted sepia frames round most of the windows looking something like wallflowers.

IMPORTANT FIND OF ROMAN SILIQUÆ NEAR LUCKNAM, COLERNE, WILTS.

By A SHAW MELLOR.

On Friday, April 25th, 1941, while digging foundations for the erection of huts near Lucknam, about one mile from the Roman villa site at Colerne (W.A.M. xlv, p. 184), a workman put his pick through a small red earthenware pot containing a number of small silver coins. Before this fact was realised the fragments of the pot and the coins had been scattered, but a search was made, and some of the fragments and coins to the number of 118 were recovered. The pot was too much broken up to be capable of reconstruction, but, judging from the fragments, it would seem to have been a small, round-bellied jar with neck, of rather coarse, red paste, consistent with a Romano-British origin. There was no evidence to show whether the jar had been sealed or not, and, if so, by what means.

I had the opportunity of a short inspection of these coins, soon after the find. What interested me immediately was the excellent condition of the metal of the coins; obviously silver, it was not even tarnished, and some of the coins might have come fresh from the mint! In fact, I made special inquiry to find out if they had been cleaned up, but was told that nothing of the kind had been done. A further point of interest was that, as far as I could see, every coin had been "clipped", that is cut down either by chisel or shears more or less to a polygonal shape. Lastly, on closer inspection, I saw that a group of emperors was represented including Arcadius, Honorius, Victor, Eugenius, Theodosius, Gratian, and that therefore this was a most important find of a late date.

The hoard of coins, being "treasure-trove", passed into the hands of the Coroner, and was eventually submitted to Mr. J. W. E. Pearce, F.S.A., for examination. Mr. Pearce has most kindly allowed me to quote from his report.

"The hoard has the unique peculiarity that every coin it contains has been cut down from its original size of about 17 or 18 mm. to about 13 or 14 mm. The result, of course, is that the emperor's name and the mint mark are very seldom both visible on a coin, and that often both are missing. However, more complete specimens in my own collection of coins and casts have enabled me to identify with certainty by far

¹ However, nine siliquæ, similarly cut down, and including one of Honorius, were found buried with a skeleton at Rain's Hill, near Uffington, some thirty miles from Colerne. Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland, who described and illustrated these coins in the Antiquaries' Journal, 1940, pp. 481—5, attributes the cutting down to the economical instincts of the dead man's heir; but a less discreditable reason is at least suggested by our Colerne hoard, which seems to show that the practice was, at the time of its deposit, universal in that part of the country.

2 E

the greater number, and the rest can, I think, in every case be confidently assigned to their respective mints and issues. When the vanished mint-mark admitted of a possible variation or included an

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MINT.	LVG	Arelate	Lugdunum	Lugdunum or Arelate	Treveri	Rome (one RT)	TRPS	Lugdunum	TRPS	Rome	Treveri	TRPS	Treveri	Treveri	Aquileia	TRPS	AQPS	TRPS	Aquileia	Lugdunum	TRPS	AQPS	TRPS
REVERSE.	VOTIS XXX MULTIS XXXX in wreath	n n n n n n n	VOTIS V MVLTIS X in wreath	VOT X MVLT XX in wreath	VRBS-ROMA "Throne" type	VOT'V MV-LT X in wreath	VRBS-ROMA "Throne" type	33	". Cuirass" type	VOT V MV. LT X in wreath	VOT X MVLT XV in wreath	VIRTVS RO-MANORVM "Throne" type	VRBS-ROMA "Throne" type	", "Cuirass" type	33 33 33	VICTOR-IA AVGGG	.,,	VIRTVS RO-MANORVM "Cuirass" type	VRBS-ROMA "Cuirass" type	33 33 33	VIRTVS RO-MANORVM "Throne" type	33 33	". "Cuirass" type
NUMBER.	1	1	1	õ	1	က	16	-	. 1	П	1	4	6	4	П	61	П	-	1	_	67	1	4
EMPEROR.	Constantius II	•	Julian (Augustus)	11	Valentinian I	÷	Valens	•	"	9.9	3.5	Gratian	2		**	Valentinian II	66	4.6		6.6	Theodosius I	•	•

Theodosius I

Arcadius

Maximus

Theodosius

Gratian

Honorius

Eugenius

Victor

Arcadius

Either

Honorius

or

This hoard must, I think, be dated among the latest to have been deposited in Britain. It contains a large proportion of the reduced (c. 1.3 gm.) siliqua VIRTVS ROMANORVM of Honorius struck in his own name and that of his brother Arcadius at Mediolanum. The Coleraine hoard—if one reads "between the lines" of its imperfect description written nearly a century ago—is very similar in this respect, and can be dated, from the presence in it of a coin of Constantine III, as subsequent to A.D. 407, the year of his usurpation. The composition of our present hoard then, would allow of its being as late as the Coleraine hoard. It is true that most of the coins are very little worn, some, indeed, in mint state, but one Arcadius of the latest issue shows signs of long use. Even if we could assign it to the early portion of what was evidently, from the numbers extant, a long-protracted issue, it could hardly have reached its present condition by the time of the severance of Britain from Rome.

As, after the severance, there would be no influx of fresh coinage into Britain, and Britain had no regular mint of its own, the coinage already current would tend to become scarcer and scarcer, and naturally appreciate in value. I have suggested in a report on the silver hoard, Shapwick II (Num. Chron., 1938, pp. 57-8), that this may be the explanation of the cut-down siliquæ, which are a feature of some late hoards found in this country, otherwise differing in no point from hoards which have no cut-down coins. The irregular size, the often bungled chisel-cuts, and the fact that the coin is sometimes shaped to a neat polygon, observable in, e.g., the Icklingham II mixed hoard (Num. Chron., 1938, p. 59), show that the procedure cannot be attributed to some public authority, which would have enforced greater uniformity. It seems to show the effort of private individuals to adapt their money to the changed value of silver, and the result of this effort would, no doubt, be different at different times and at different places. In the Icklingham II hoard we find whole coins side by side with others cut down by two-thirds, and we cannot suppose that they circulated at the same value. The Icklingham hoard pictures for us the chaotic state of the silver currency in Britain after the severance from Rome.

The Colerne (Lucknam) hoard, on the other hand, is of quite a different kind. All the coins have been cut down to a rough equality of size, evidently, I think, by the owner himself, and have not yet, in their present form, been in circulation. The average weight of the coins differs in correspondence with the weight of the uncut siliquæ. For instance, coins of Valens and Gratian average about 1·3 gm., coins of Honorius about ·85 gm.

A question of some interest is snggested by a consideration of these hoards. Within a year of Constantine III's usurpation Arcadius died. No later siliqux of Honorius are found in Britain than the VIRTVS ROMANORVM of 1·3 gm. struck at Mediolanum for himself and Arcadius. If this came into Britain uninterruptedly till the usurpation, we seem forced to crowd into the year between the usurpation and the

death of Arcadius the series of VIRTVS ROMANORVM siliqual struck for Honorius and Arcadius with mint-marks AQPS, RMPS RVPS and, perhaps, MDPS, which from their appearance in casts and from the two coins which I myself possess, viz., RVPS of 1.8 gm., and MDPS of 2.2 gm., seem to be a reversion to the older standard. Coins of these issues are rare, and they may well have been struck by Honorius in the last year of his brother's life, but the evidence I possess is too slight to do more than suggest that further evidence for the proper understanding of the course of the silver coinage of Honorius is needed.

Some of the coins of this hoard are noteworthy for various reasons. The vota coin X–XV of Valens from Treveri is extremely rare. It has identical obverse with the Berlin specimen, and, probably, with the very poor specimen in the British Museum. This rare coin occurs with at least seven distinct obverses, all, except the one just mentioned, seen by me in single specimens. Three of these were in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans. I have seen Gratian, whose vota are commemorated in this issue and whose coins are scarce but not so rare, from five different obverse dies. As the VRBS ROMA "Throne" type was being struck in great numbers at the same time, the vota issue was hardly needed to supply the currency and seems to have been struck in very small numbers. Gratian's portraiture is all very similar, that of Valens very diverse. We seem to see in this vota coinage a purpose of representing each emperor with all the obverses in use at the time for the contemporaneous VRBS ROMA issue.

It was very gratifying to find among the five VIRTVS ROMAN-ORVM MDPS coins of Arcadius one of the issue struck by Eugenius in his own, Theodosius's and Arcadius's names. The reverse has identity with a coin of Eugenius, the obverse with another Arcadius which has reverse identity with Theodosius.

A very illuminating cluster of coins!"

"Note—Since the above account was written, I have heard from Sir Charles Oman that he has lately acquired, in Somerset, a "hoard" of 80 siliquæ precisely similar to those found at Colerne. There can be little doubt, I think, that they form part or the Colerne find.

It is hoped that Sir Charles will shortly publish a list of these, with

his remarks thereon ".

For a previous report on a somewhat similar find of Roman silver coins at Grovely Wood in 1906, readers should refer to W.A.M., vol. xxxv, p. 115.

It offers, however, a striking and very significant contrast to our present hoard. It does not include Honorius, and must have been deposited several years before the Roman evacuation of Britain. There is no trace in it of that cutting down of the coins which, it has been suggested above, was a consequence of the severance from Rome.

WILTSHIRE PLANT NOTES—[4].

By Mrs. B. Welch, B.Sc., and J. D. Grose, F.G.A.

The localities mentioned in the following notes have been divided as before, into the botanical districts adopted by Preston in "The Flowering Plants of Wilts". Our grateful thanks are extended to an increasing number of botanists who have sent their records to augment our lists. The contributors of the notices are: -

> A.E.A.D. Capt. A. E. A. Dunston, Donhead.

A.H.G.A. Mr. A. H. G. Alston, London.

B.W. . Mrs. Welch, Richmond.

C.D.H. . Mr. C. D. Heginbothom, Devizes.

C.I.S. . . Mrs. Sandwith, Bristo D.M.F. . . Miss Frowde, Colerne. . Mrs. Sandwith, Bristol.

E.C.W. . Mr. E. C. Wallace, London.

E.H.G. . . The Rev. Canon E. H. Goddard, Devizes. E.N. . . . Mr. E. Nelmes, Kew.

. . Col. G. Watts, Fleet. G.W.

H.K.A.S. . Mr. H. K. Airy-Shaw, Kew. J.D.G. . . Mr. J. D. Grose, Swindon.

L.G.P. . . Mr. L. G. Peirson, for Marlborough College Natural History Society.

M.D. . . Miss Daffon, Aldbourne

M. le F.S. . Mrs. Shepherd, Lydiard Millicent

N.Y.S. . . Mr. N. Y. Sandwith, Kew.

R.C.L.B. . Capt. R. C. L. Burges, Birmingham. R.Q. . . The Rev. Canon R. Quirk, Salisbury. R.T. . . Mr. R. Tanner, Kington Langley.

R.W.B. . Dr. R. W. Butcher, Nottingham.

V.W. . . Mrs. Willan, Teffont. W.L.F. . . Rev. W. L. Freer, Chute.

Notices without initials for districts 1 to 4 are on the authority of J. D. G.; for districts 5 to 10, on that of B. W.

An attempt has been made to bring the nomenclature into line with the most recent rulings, but it has been thought advisable in some cases to add the more familiar synonyms in brackets.

The sign † denotes that a species is an alien in the given locality.

Thalictrum flavum L. 1, Ford, D.M.F. Rowde Mill, C.D.H. 2, Between Avon and Sutton Benger. 3, Eysey. 6, Winterbourne Gunner, J.D.G. 7, Nine Mile Water at Milston Down. 8, Wylye, J.D.G.

(† Anemone Pulsatilla L. 4, This species has been planted on Devizes Golf Course.)

Adonis annua L. 6, King Manor Hill, abundant in and around several fields and flowering in spring and autumn, according to the time of the year when the soil is disturbed. Rectangular patches scarlet with flowers followed the deep disturbance of the soil occasioned by excavations near the Southampton Road. 7, Grassy roadside, Bulford Camp, flowering throughout the summers of 1940 and 1941, R.C.L.B.

Ranunculus auricomus L. 8, Roadside west of Winterbourne Stoke. This appears to be an uncommon plant in South Wilts.

R. Lingua L. 2, Near Chippenham, R.T. A new locality for a very rare Wiltshire species, but unfortunately its existence is seriously threatened by the extension of a rubbish tip.

R. fluitans Lam. 2, Near Stanley. 3, Hannington Bridge.

R. fluitans Lam, f. Bachii (Wirtg.). 2, Revbridge, R.W.B., Chippenham, R.W.B.

R. trichophyllus Chaix. 5, Near Ludgershall, R.W.B.

R. Drouetii (F. Schultz). 2, Spye Park.

† Helleborus fætidus L. 6, Now very abundant on the recently excavated ruins of Clarendon Palace, V.W.

† Erysimum Cheiranthoides L. 7, Oare Hill, J.D.G. † Lepidium campestre (L.) R. Br. 9, West Harnham.

Iberis amara L. 3, Sparingly near Lammy Down. Abundantly in a chalky field on Bishopstone Downs. This plant has not been noted in Wiltshire for many years.

Helianthemum nummularium (L.) Mill. (H. Chamæcistus). A form with cream-coloured flowers. 1. Slaughterford. 7. Walker's Hill, B.W., R.C.L.B. and J.D.G. Milston Down. Hare Warren, Tidworth. 8, Down near Great Ridge Wood. 9, Lady Down, Chilmark.

H. nummularium (L.) Mill. A form with pure white flowers. 7, Milk Hill, G.W. and J.D.G.

Viola odorata (Jord) R. and F. var. variegata DC. 1, Potterne Field. V. odorata (Jord.) R. and F. var. subcarnea (Jord.) Parl. 3, Castle Eaton. Lus Hill. 9, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

V. hirta L. White-flowered form. 8, East slope of Grovely Hill.

V. Riviniana Reichb. White-flowered form. 7, Near Bristow Bridge J.D.G.

V. palustris L. 1, Penstones Wood. Tyning Wood.

†Silene anglica L. 7, Oare Hill, J.D.G.

S. noctiflora L. 3. Hannington.

Cerastium arvense L. 6 and 7, Near Porton Firs. 9 and 10, Between Burcombe and Broad Chalke. 10, Coombe Bissett Down. Ditch.

Minuartia tenuifolia (L.) Hiern. (Arenaria tenuifolia). 6, Near High Post, very abundant where the turf has recently been removed. Cockey Down. 7, Sling Down. Near Stonehenge. Near Bulford.

Hypericum Androsæmum L. 2, Near Webb's Wood. 9, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

Geranium pratense L. 7, Near Sheep Bridge, Bulford.

G. pusillum Burm. fil. 1, Roadside near Market Lavington, B.W. Ford, D.M.F. and J.D.G.

G. rotundifolium L. 2, Kington Langley, R.T. 8, Thatched top of mud wall, Tilshead.

† Impatiens biflora Walt. 7, River Avon, Salisbury, R.Q. 9, River Nadder near West Harnham, R.Q. Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

Genista tinctoria L. 7, Near Nine Mile Water at Milston Down. Brigmerston Down. 8, Stockton Earthworks. 9, Lady Down, Chilmark. Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

Sarothamnus scoparius (L.) Wimmer ex Koch. 7, Near Nine Mile

Water at Milston Down.

†Melilotus albus Medik. 2, Near Seend Station, C.D.H. 7, Manningford Bruce, M. le F.S.

† M. officinalis Lam. (M. arvensis). 2, Broughton Gifford, M. le F.S.

Seend Iron Works, E.C.W. and J.D.G.

†M. indicus (L.) All. 1, Colerne, D.M.F. 2, Little Somerford Mill. Trifolium medium L. 7, Near Nine Mile Water at Milston Down.

Lotus tenuis Waldst. and Kit. 5, Abundant near Redlynch Planta-

tion, West Grimstead, B.W. and R.C.L.B.

Astragalus danicus Retz. 6, The single small patch near High Post recorded by Canon Goddard in 1928, maintains a precarious existence. 7. In great profusion at the end of June, 1941, to the north and northeast of Bulford Camp, on the downs which are used as military ranges, and can be visited only when firing is not in progress. The Old Marlborough Road runs across this area, which stretches west to Silk Hill and eastward across Nine Mile Water to Brigmerston Down and Milston Down as far as the Bulford-Tidworth road. Milston Firs mark the southerly limit of the main area, but along the roadside it stretches to Sling Down to near a point where a linear earthwork crosses the road. Small patches were seen south and south-east of The Wig on Ablington Down; between The Wig and Bourne Bottom and at the southern end of Bourne Bottom; also on Hare Warren to the south-west of Tidworth Golf Course; and east of the road patches occur immediately south of the Shipton Bellinger turning and between there and the point where the County Boundary crosses the road. The Astragalus does not now continue into Hampshire where the ground is, or recently has been, arable. The present eastern, western and southern limits have been investigated, and seem to have been determined, but the northern limit may not have been discovered. Over the central part of the area A. danicus forms the turf almost to the exclusion of other plants. Junipers occur, and a little Hippocrepis, Anthyllis, Onobrychis, Spiraa Filipendula, Rhinanthus and Polygala calcarea, with a very few plants of Orchis ustulata and Senecio integrifolius. The grasses are Bromus erectus, Kæleria and Fescues.

Ornithopus perpusillus L. 2, Near Pitter's Wood.

Vicia sylvatica L. 4, Foxbury Wood, Chilton Foliat.

Lathyrus Nissolia L. 2, Hardenhuish, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. 7, Larkhill, R.C.L.B. Near Milston Firs.

Rubus cæsius x ulmifolius, 3, Sevenhampton.

Potentilla procumbens Sibth. 1, Great Bradley Wood. 5, Redlynch Plantation and Thicket Copse, West Grimstead.

Agrimonia odorata Mill. 4, Near Lockeridge.

†Poterium polyganum Waldst. and Kit. 4, Near Harrow Farm. 6, Fields on both sides of road between Figsbury Ring and the Pheasant Inn. 7, Near Woodhenge.

P. officinale A. Gray. 2, Near Cowage Farm, Hilmarton.

Rosa Sherardi Davies f. submollis (Ley) W.-Dod. 2, Somerford Common.

Sorbus torminalis (L.) Crantz. 2, Swatnage Wood. 3, Near Water Eaton Copse.

 $\dagger Pyrus\ communis\ L.$ 8, One large tree between Winterbourne Stoke and Yarnbury.

 $\dagger Ribes\ nigrum\ L.\ 1$, Great Bradley Wood. 9, Withy bed at Wardour, A.E.A.D.

Peplis Portula L. 1, Penstones Wood. Tyning Wood.

† Epilobium adenocaulon Hausskn. 5, Chute, W.L.F. The first Wiltshire record for this introduced Willow-herb; it is spreading rapidly in southern England and will probably be a common plant a few years hence.

†E. adenocaulon x montanum. 5, Chute, W.L.F.

Caucalis arvensis Huds. 8, Sutton Veny, J.D.G.

C. nodosa (L.) Crantz. 7, Near Durrington Walls.

Sedum acre L. 7, Down near Fargo Plantation. An uncommon habitat in the county.

Galium mollugo x verum. 8, Near Stockton Wood.

G. tricorne Stokes. 8, Sherrington, J.D.G.

Valeriana dioica L. 5, Between Whaddon and West Grimstead. 7, Near Durrington Walls.

Valerianella olitoria (L.) Poll. 1, Ashley, Box. 2, Brinkworth. Bincknoll. Christian Malford. 3, Inglesham. 6, North Tidworth, J.D.G. 8, Great Wishford. Steeple Langford. 10, Between Harnham and Homington.

Dipsacus pilosus L. 9, By Nadder in Teffont Mill Reach, V.W.

Erigeron acer L. 3, Okus Quarry, Swindon. 5, Pepperbox Hill. West Grimstead. 10, Netton Down, J.D.G. Nunton, R.Q.

E. canadensis L. 1, Devizes, E.H.G. This species is increasing rapidly.

Filago germanica L. 10, Cornfield near Hare Warren, Wilton, J.D.G. Gnaphalium sylvaticum L. 4, Lockeridge. 9, Chilmark, A.E.A.D.

†Inula Helenium L. 1, Near Limpley Stoke Station, C.I.S.

Anthemis Cotula L. 4, Field near Foxbury Wood, Chilton Foliat.

Matricaria chamomilla L. 1, Forewood Common, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. Poulshot, E.C.W. and J.D.G. Marston, E.C.W. and J.D.G. 2, Chippenham, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. Coped Hall.

Senecio vulgaris L. var. radiatus Koch. 3, Swindon.

Cirsium dissectum (L.) Hill (C. pratense). 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S. Near Stonehill Wood, E.N., H.K.A-S. and J.D.G. 5, Stanford's Bog, West Grimstead.

Centaurea Cyanus L. 4, Near Silbury Hill, L.G.P. Wilton Down. 9, Near Burcombe, J.D.G. 10, Near Hare Warren, Wilton, J.D.G. The Cornflower, as a cornfield weed, had become very rare, but the recent ploughing of land which has been under grass for many years, has led to a welcome re-appearance of this beautiful flower.

Crepis biennis L. 2, Flaxlands, M. le F.S. Braydon Side.

Leontodon Leysseri (Wallr.) Wilmott (L. hirtus). 1, Lavington Sands, B.W., R.C.L.B. and J.D.G. 2, Flaxlands, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. Brinkworth. Lan Hill, D.M.F. and J.D.G. Somerford Common. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S. Lydiard Plain.

Tragopogon pratensis L. 7, Downs north of Bulford.

Legousia hybrida (L.) Delabre. 1, Colerne, D.M.F. 2, Broadtown Hill. 3, Charlbury Hill. 4, Folly Farm, Bedwyn, L.G.P. Tidcombe Down. 7, Walker's Hill.

Vaccinium myrtillus L. 1, Great Bradley Wood. Tyning Wood. Anagallis arvensis L. var. carnea Schrank. 4, Cornfield near Beckhampton Buildings.

† Vinca major L. 10, Well established in lanes around Homington. Blackstonia perfoliata (L.) Huds. 2, Beacon Hill, Heddington. 9,

Lady Down, Chilmark.

† Polemonium cæruleum L. 9, Blue and white flowered forms, Snipe

Marsh, Donhead St. Andrew, A.E.A.D.

Symphytum officinale L. A form with bright scarlet flowers. The specimens submitted were normal in all respects save colour, and there can be no suggestion of their being hybrids with an alien species. 7, Patney, C.D.H.

†Borago officinalis L. 9, Among potatoes, West Harnham.

†Anchusa officinalis L. 7, Larkhill, R.C.L.B.

Myosotis collina Hoffm. 1, Colerne, D.M.F. 8, Berwick Down. 10, Little Toyd Down.

Echium vulgare L. 7, Near Silk Hill, Bulford.

Cuscuta europæa L. 1, Staverton, reported independently by M. le F.S. and C.D.H. It occurs in great quantity along the bank of the river for about a mile, in some places in such profusion that it forms a thick canopy on the nettles at about a foot from the ground.

Atropa Bella-donna L. 6, Still at Clarendon Palace, R.Q. †Datura Stramonium L. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S. Near Battle Lake, M. le F.S. 9, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

Linaria Cymbalaria (L.) Mill. var. pallidior (Rouy). 7, Wall in Salisbury Cathedral Close.

L. Elatine (L.) Mill. 10, Fields below Clearbury Rings, R.Q.

L. spuria (L.) Mill. 10, Fields below Clearbury Rings, R.Q. † Mimulus guttatus DC. 8, Near Winterbourne Stoke, A.E.A.D. 9, River Nadder, A.E.A.D.

Veronica montana L. 2, Kington Langley, R.T. 9, Ansty, J.D.G.

Euphrasia confusa Pugsl. 5, Nightwood Copse, J.D.G.

E. anglica Pugsl. 4, Savernake Forest. Apparently widespread here, but not yet known elsewhere in Wiltshire.

Melampyrum arvense L. 4, Cornfield near Manton, L.G.P. Clover field near Aldbourne, M.D. This species has not been recorded for the county since 1895. As with the Cornflower, it is probable that seeds have lain dormant in the soil since the fields were last cultivated.

†x Mentha Niliaca Jacq. var. alopecuroides (Hull). 3, Okus, Swindon. †x M. piperita L. 2, Callow Hill.

Calamintha ascendens Jord. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S.

† Melissa officinalis L. 1, Slaughterford, D.M.F.

Stachys arvensis L. 1, Thickwood, D.M.F. and J.D.G. Colerne, D.M.F. 2, Hankerton. 4, Near Foxbury Wood, Chilton Foliat. 7, Near Stowell Park, J.D.G.

Lamium hybridum Vill. 3, Okus Quarries, Swindon. 7, Great

Durnford.

L. purpureum L. A form with white flowers. 10, Charlton. This is possibly the station mentioned by Preston in "The Flowering Plants of Wilts", 1888.

Scleranthus annuus L. 4, Beckhampton. Near Foxbury Wood,

Chilton Foliat.

Chenopodium polyspermum L. 1, Bulkington, E.C.W. and J.D.G. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S. Near Braydon Manor.

Polygonum mite Schrank. 1, Avoncliff, N.Y.S.

P. petecticale (Stokes) Druce. 1, Poulshot, E.C.W. and J.D.G. 3, Coate, E.C.W. and J.D.G. 4, Fyfield. Clatford.

Rumex pulcher L. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S. 6, Idmiston,

LD.G

Thesium humifusum D.C. 7, Beacon Hill, Bulford. 8, Grovely Hill. Heath Hill. Hadden Hill. Steeple Langford Cow Down. Berwick Down. 9, Near Burcombe Punch Bowl.

Ulmus Plotii Druce. This Elm was first noticed in Wiltshire by Mr. H. K. Airy-Shaw, and was recorded in the Journal of Botany, 191, 1940. Mr. Airy-Shaw has since discovered other localities in the Upper Thames district, and by his kindness, we are able to give the present known distribution in the county. 3, Near the canal between Cerney Wick and the main road. East of Manor Farm, Latton. Near the Milk Depôt, Latton. Lane on the south-east side of Duke's Brake Near Alex Farm, Eysey. Copse by the old canal, Eysey. Chelworth Upper Green. West side of Derry Brook about one mile south of Ashton Keynes. Near Oaksey Moor Farm. The Elm is apparently absent from the Castle Eaton and Inglesham districts, nor has it been seen in the Avon valley.

S. aurita L. 2, Near Great Withy Wood. 3, Near Braydon Manor. Near Nineteen Acre Wood.

Cæloglossum viride (L.) Hartm. var. bracteata A. Gray. 4, Knoll Down, Yatesbury, L.G.P.

Orchis ustulata L. 7, Down west of Amesbury, R.Q.

O. ericetorum (Linton) E. S. Marshall. 3, Near Stonehill Wood, E.N., H.K.A-S. and J.D.G. Near Ravensroost Wood.

Juncus compressus Jacq. 2, Near Lacock Mill. 4, Knighton.

J. bulbosus L. 1, Penstones Wood. Tyning Wood.

Luzula sylvatica (Huds.) Gaud. 1, Parham Wood, B.W., R.C.L.B. and J.D.G. 9, Berry Wood, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D. 11, Farnham Common Wood, A.E.A.D.

Lemna polyrrhiza L. 7, Canal, Wootton Rivers, L.G.P.

Alisma lanceolatum With. 1, Semington, N.Y.S. Avoncliff, N.Y.S. Sagittaria sagittifolia L. 7, River Avon, Salisbury, R.Q.

Triglochin palustris L. 6, Idmiston, J.D.G. 8, Sherrington, J.D.G.

Potamogeton nodosus Poir (P. Drucei). 1, River Avon at Bradford, Limpley Stoke, Avoncliff and Staverton, C.I.S., N.Y.S. and A.H.G.A.

x P. decipiens Nolte. 1, Canal at Avoncliff and Limpley Stoke, C.I.S., N.Y.S. and A.H.G.A.

P. trichoides Cham. & Schlecht. 1, Canal at Avoncliff and Staverton, C.I.S., N.Y.S. and A.H G.A.

Eleocharis multicaulis (Sm.) Sm. 5, Stanford's Bog, West Grimstead, sparingly and probably doomed owing to drainage.

Scirpus sylvaticus L. 1, Forewood Common, M. le F.S.

Carex pulicaris L. 3, Near Stonehill Wood, E.N., H.K.A-S. and J.D.G. 5, Stanford's Bog, West Grimstead.

C. disticha Huds. 7, Water-meadows east of Durrington Walls. 9, Water-meadows by River Nadder at Bemerton.

C. echinata Murr. 1, Penstones Wood.

C. Otrubæ x remota (x C. axillaris). 2, Braydon Pond, E.N. and J.D.G.

C. pilulifera L. 3, Near Ravensroost Wood. Stonehill Heath, E.N.,

H.K.A-S, and J.D.G.

C. caryophyllea Latour. 6, Cockey Down, Laverstock. 7, Wilsford Down. 8, Grovely Hill. Heath Hill. Hadden Hill. Steeple Lang-

ford Cow Down. Yarnbury. 9, Burcombe Punch Bowl.

C. humilis Leysser. 7, Durrington Down. Wilsford Down. 8, In great abundance on Steeple Langford Cow Down on both sides of the valley. On Celtic fields between there and Berwick St. James. Parsonage Down Hadden Hill. Stony Hill. Park Bottom. 9, Chilmark Down. South side of Great Ridge Wood. Rediscovered along the northern edge of Salisbury Race Course. 10, Abundant on steep southern slope of Homington Down as low as 200 ft. O.D. Northern part of Little Toyd Down. Abundantly along Grim's Ditch to Great Yews.

C. pallescens L. 1, Lavington, B.W., R.C.L.B. and J D.G. 3, Near Ravensroost Wood.

C. lævigata Sm. 1, Great Bradley Wood. Penstones Wood.

Calamagrostis epigejos (L.) Roth. 2, Near Cowage Farm, Hilmarton. 3, Minety Common. Near Braydon Manor.

Aira præcox L. 7, Bourne Bottom, west of Tidworth.

Deschampsia flexuosa (L.) Trin. 1, Great Bradley Wood. Penstones Wood. 8, Great Ridge Wood.

Glyceria fluitans x plicata. 4, College Water-meadows, L.G.P.

G. plicata Fr. 2, Lacock Mill.

G. declinata Bréb. 2, Broughton Gifford Common, C.I.S. and N.Y.S. The first record for North Wilts.

†Bromus secalinus L. 2, Flaxlands, Purton, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S.

†Lolium multiflorum Lam. 2, Waste ground, Chippenham, M. le F.S. and J.D.G.

Athyrium Filix-fæmina (L.) Roth. 1, Tyning Wood. 2, Near Little Somerford. 7, Martinsell, J.D.G.

Polystichum setiferum (Forsk.) Woynar (P. angulare). 1, Parham Wood, B.W., R.C.L.B. and J.D.G. 9, Donhead Hollow, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

Ophioglossum vulgatum L. 3, Abundant in Water Eaton Copse. 6, Cockey Down, Laverstock. 7, Very fine in dry bed of Nine Mile Water at Milston Down.

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

GENERAL FUND, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1941.

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Audited and found correct, (Signed) W. L. D. GUNDRY, Honorary Auditor; 8th June, 1942.

THE OVERTON HILL RETAINING-CIRCLE.

By ERIC H. PAYNE, B.A.

The present paper gives some account of the unusual features of a barrow on Overton Hill, now destroyed, which had a double sarsen circle, catalogued by the Rev. Canon E. H. Goddard in his "List of Wiltshire Antiquities" as site No. 24 at Avebury. In addition, a brief general review of stone "retaining-circles" is included, largely for comparative purposes, being a résumé of certain sections of the author's more exhaustive monograph on "The Retaining-circles of Dorset Barrows" (not yet published). The writer wishes to express his particular indebtedness to the patient researches of Mr. L. V. Grinsell, in Wessex, and of Mr. R. Hansford Worth, in Devonshire, to the Rev. Canon E. H. Goddard for his aid and encouragement, and to the authorities of the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester.

I. Notes on the Typology of Stone Retaining-circles in the South of England.

A stone "retaining-circle" may be defined as a circle of stones intimately associated with certain round tumuli and generally forming an integral part of their actual structure. In the British Isles the distribution of these circles is widespread, though uneven, and in some parts of the Highland Zone they abound. As the expressions of a widely distributed impulse, stone retaining-circles present considerable morphological diversity—partly the effect of human individuality in representing that impulse, partly the result of geological circumstance leading to forms as different as the inner circular walls of flint on the chalk downlands of Dorset, the large quartz blocks of the circle within the barrow at Arragon Mooar Farm, Isle of Man, and the granitic slab circles on Dartmoor. It may be, too, that certain types were due to the powerful influence of an immediate prototype, notably in the case of the Recumbent-Stone Circles of Aberdeenshire. view of this, a typological analysis of retaining-circles tends to be unsatisfactory. In addition, the tumuli themselves have often spread. faded to low mounds or disappeared entirely, making it impossible in many cases to decide whether or not the stones of the circle were originally visible, or to state with certainty their position in relation to the margin of the tumulus. Many a site has vanished at the hands of the ploughman or builder, its mound and stones being irretrievably lost. Many others are visible to-day as mere ruins. Finally, accounts of any early barrow-digging which revealed retaining-circles have often spurned relevant details, and are at times vague, not merely as to the structure and size of the circle, or as to its position in relation to the tumulus, but even as to the geographical position of the barrow itself.

(a) Structure.

The retaining-circles of stone on Dartmoor have been divided by Mr. R. H. Worth¹ into two structural classes—"open" and "closed".

¹ Trans. Devon Assoc., 1937, lxix, 93-101.

In circles of the open class a clear space separates one stone from the next, and Mr. Worth has noted variations in its representation; the more usual type has slabs about two feet in height, set with their wider sides tangential to the circumference of the circle. Less frequently the stones may be taller and more columnar; or sometimes the circle may be of slabs leaning outwards or even inwards. In a report thirty-five years previously² the same author had recorded a tendency for outward leaning slabs, frequently trigged up, to occur in retainingcircles whose diameter was 20 feet or less. Closed circles he has subdivided into "random" and "kerb" types, the stones in both cases touching each other and showing some degree of regularity in the level of their upper edges. The random type, however, has its stones "irregular in shape, and somewhat in setting", whereas the kerb type is more carefully made, mostly of thin parallel slabs whose upper edges form a straight unbroken line rarely reaching more than a few inches above ground-level. On Exmoor he recognises a dry masonry walling type of closed circle, exemplified by the low stone wall beneath a tumulus at Chapman Barrows³, 4 feet wide at the base and nearly 2 feet in height.

The scheme delineated above for Devonshire may be broadly applied to other areas, and one finds Mr. Grinsell⁴ using it as a basis in noting retaining-circles in Wessex. Geological conditions, however, tend to produce additional forms and aberrations. The spirit of the dry masonry walling type is, for example, produced in other media; a round barrow at Barton Hill,⁵ Suffolk, contained a skeleton surrounded by a "clunch" or marl ring, and a circular wall of flints is found both beneath the barrow (e.g., Martinstown, Dorset) and around its margin (e.g., Nutbourne Common, Sussex); sandstone blocks packed with flints formed a composite type of closed circle at Badbury, Dorset.

Stone retaining-circles, whether of the open or closed class, "may be either complete or interrupted, in the latter case generally by a single causeway" (e.g., Ridgeway No. I, Dorset), and years ago Greenwell mentioned such incompleteness both of the inner stone circle and inner ditch as frequent in the North of England; it appears, however, to be rarer in the South.

²Trans. Devon Assoc., 1902, xxxiv, BR. 21 (reprint p. 14).

³ Trans. Devon Assoc., 1905, xxxvii, 92—93.

⁴ Proc. Prehist. Soc., 1941, vii, 94-95, 106.

⁵ Fox, Archæology of the Cambridge Region, 31—32.

⁶ Dorset County Chronicle, June 4th, 1903; Proc. Dorset F.C., 1905, xxvi, 7—22.

⁷ Sussex Arch. Coll., ix, 109-118.

⁸ Arch. Journal, iii, 348—352; C. Warne, Celtic Tumuli of Dorset, intro. p. 11 and c.o.v.p. 52-57; Piggott, Ant. J., 1939, xix, 291—299.

⁹ Cunnington, MS. in Dorset County Mus. 211 ff.; Acland, Proc. Dorset F.C., 1916, xxxvii, 44.

¹⁰ W. Greenwell, British Barrows, 4-8, 145.

(b) Position of the Circle in relation to the Mound.

Many retaining-circles lay within the margin of the mound, and though to-day some in this position are visible (e.g., Poxwell, 11 Dorset) it may be that they were originally hidden; others were coincident with the edge of the tumulus; more rarely they stood absolutely clear of the mound (e.g., Dyffryn, Pembs. 12). These three types may be termed inner, marginal and extra-marginal. A barrow with a retaining-circle usually has but one of them, and in Wessex the majority are in the inner position; Poxwell has an inner circle and, probably, a marginal one as well, but barrows with more than two circles are rare. Where more than one cincture occurs they are generally approximately concentric, though not necessary all of the same class.

The Recumbent-Stone Circles¹³ of Aberdeenshire may here be mentioned. They are of interest in that many of their cairns show all three positions of the retaining-circle, and often the stones of their approximately concentric rings reach megalithic proportions. The extra-marginal circle, 60 feet to 110 feet in diameter, is usually irregular in shape, the two tallest uprights to the S.S.W. having a large recumbent slab between them, whilst the other orthostats diminish in size northwards. Within this outermost circle stands the cairn, low in height, and frequently bounded by a kerb or marginal circle; the centre of the cairn is hollow and may be delimited by a circle of uprights. The group is thus a highly specialized series of cairns, often with three retaining-circles.

(c) Passage-grave circles.

Implicit in the writings of many modern archæologists is a division of our primary megalithic tombs into two series, passage-graves and gallery-graves, representing two distinct currents in the colonising movement. Dr. Glyn Daniel has crystallised and amplified the idea in a recent paper on the dual nature of the megalithic colonisation, and his restricted use of the term "passage-grave" is adopted by the present writer. In its pure form it is a collective tomb normally associated with a round tumulus, and fundamentally comprises a passage leading to a chamber housing the sepulchral remains (e.g., Bryn Celli Ddu, Anglesey). The gallery-grave on the other hand usually implies an ovate or rectangular tumulus covering an oblong gallery, perhaps segmented, perhaps transepted (e.g., Wayland's Smithy).

Some passage-graves show the dawn of the circle of stones, which, again, is to be found both extra-marginally, marginally, and within the

¹¹ Gents' Mag., 1763, 112—113; Proc. Dorset F.C., 1884, vi, 55—57; Proc. Dorset F.C., 1900, xxi, 150—157; V. L. Oliver MS., in Dorset County Mus. (Long Barrows, Stone and Earthen Circles and Standing Stones in South Dorset); etc.

¹² Megaliths in South Wales, O.S., 1936, p. 19.

¹³ V. G. Childe, *Prehistory of Scotland*, 173-176, and cf. p. 51-53 (Clava.).

¹⁴ Proc. Prehist. Soc., 1941, vii, 1-49.

tumulus. The marginal "peristalith" is frequent, but extra-marginal and inner occurrences are rarer. A free-standing stone circle is, however, found surrounding the passage-grave tumuli of New Grange, Clava, Kercado (Brittany) and Callernish; Maes Howe has an extra-marginal fosse. Inner retaining-circles are well seen at Bryn Celli Ddu, 15 where a ditch within the marginal peristalith contained two roughly concentric circles of stones; inside this again was a stone circle of the open type with some of its stones leaning outwards and trigged up; it surrounded two recumbent slabs. The inner circle also exists at e.g., Avielochan and Clava, S.W., in the guise of a circular chamber. Thus the idea of retaining-circles was present in certain primary passage-graves and may have been an expression of the self-same idea as that which impelled their erection in association with some round barrows.

Certain round barrows of Holland have revealed circles of timberposts. They were associated with the Beaker-folk there, and it has been suggested by some archæologists that in these circles lay the origin of the stone retaining-circles. Yet Bryn Celli Ddu had its inner circles and certain sites of the Clava series show a complete inner circle by dropping the passage to the chamber. Professor V. G. Childe has noted evidence suggesting the actual structural continuity and descent between the Clava tombs and the recumbent-stone circles of Aberdeenshire. The extra-marginal circle of certain Clava passagegraves is, moreover, of the open "slab-type" the stones set with their wider faces tangential to the circumference of the circle. Dr. Callender¹⁶ has suggested the evolution of the extra-marginal circle—and of the stone circle proper-from the marginal slab peristalith of the round cairns. If this is so it would account for the nature of the slab-type circle. Callernish, in the Hebrides, with its small passage-grave, shows the "columnar" type of open circle. The wide distribution of both these types (e.g., on Dartmoor) is suggestive at least of structural influences.

It is not impossible that the passage-grave culture existed in the Lowland Zone of England. Round barrows of the Neolithic Age occur on the chalk at Crichel xiii, and Whiteleaf, ¹⁷ the mound at the latter site having a timber peristazule. At Wallmead, Somerset, ¹⁸ and Cow Common, ¹⁹ Gloucestershire, occurred round barrows having passages leading to their central cists, and Greenwell actually suggested that the Cow Common Barrow may have been "the burial-place of a family of the earlier long-headed race".

When the builders of the gallery-graves came to southern England they buried their dead in "long barrows," sometimes chambered, more frequently earthen. One wonders what the passage-grave folk would

¹⁵ Arch., 1930, lxxx, 179—214; Arch. Camb., 1931, lxxxvi, 216—258.

¹⁶ Arch., 1927, lxxvii, 96-97.

¹⁷ Proc. Prehist. Soc., 1935, 132: 1937, iii, 441.

¹⁸ Rev. J. Skinner, Brit. Mus. Add. MS., **33663**.

¹⁹ Greenwell, British Barrows, No. ccxvii, p. 447—452.

have erected on the downs: surely a round barrow; perhaps to surround their interment, a circle of stones as the counterpart of the early circular chamber of the Highland Zone; perhaps, too, an entrance in that circle as representative of the passage. This hypothesis for early retaining-circle sites in the Lowland Zone is, admittedly, very tentative. If it is true, later retaining-circles, of indisputably Bronze Age inspiration, merely represent the circle idea taken over from those who had gone before, being the structural aftermath of a faded megalithic impulse. Thus it may be that the Beaker-folk and Bronze Age invaders, though they brought a round barrow, circular ditches and timber-circles to England, were not necessarily responsible for the translation of the timber-circle into the retaining-circle, or for inspiring the greater stone circles.

In the same vein there remains one further note to make. Certain stones, usually associated with sepulchral monuments, have petroglyphic designs upon them, usually in the form of spirals, circles. concentric circles, or cup-and-ring markings. The designs produced are essentially a repetition of a very limited number of forms, suggesting that a symbolism and not mere ornamentation was intended. The distribution of this "solar" symbolism—as many believe it to be—is by no means haphazard, and amongst primary megalithic tombs such petroglyphs predominate on a certain class of monument—the sepulchres of the passage-grave series. They are present, for instance, at New Grange, Dowth and Lough Crew in abundance, as well as at Bryn Celli Ddu, Seskilgreen, Clava and Gavr'Innis. On tombs of the gallerygrave series they are rare, very rare. With the coming of the Bronze Age several stone circles are found adorned with them: Hollywood (Co. Wicklow²⁰), Long Meg, Monzie²¹ Perthshire), Recumbent-Stone Circles, and the great circle complex at Avebury.

II. THE OVERTON HILL BARROW AND ITS RETAINING-CIRCLE.

Sir R. Colt Hoare did not apparently excavate this barrow; its exploration was described by C. Ponting²² in 1882, his account being followed by the Rev. A. C. Smith,²³ and later summarised by Canon E. H. Goddard.²⁴

Structure.

The barrow contained a cairn, "formed of sarsen stones roughly piled up," about 24 feet in diameter.

At the centre of the sarsen cairn was a cist cut out of the chalk to 2 feet 6 inches below the natural ground level. It was in the form of an irregular circle, slightly elongated on the east, and had an average interior diameter of about 3 feet 6 inches. It was partially lined with

²⁰ R. A. S. Macalister, Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times, 293—295.

²¹ Proc. Prehist. Soc., 1938, iv, 323.

²² Wilts. Arch. Mag., xx, 342—345.

²³ Brit. and Roman Ant. of N. Wilts, 163.

²⁴ Wilts Arch. Mag., xxxviii, 177.

sarsen boulders, and covered at ground level with one large and two smaller flat sarsens.

About 6 feet from the base of the sarsen cairn was "the very unusual pecularity of an outer circle, composed of very large specimens of similar stones in a double row; this circle was continuous". "The sarsens of which the cairn and outer circle were constructed were of an entirely different kind to those found on the adjoining downs, and the workmen who cut them considered them exactly similar to those existing in large numbers by the Kennet, east of Overton. As many of the stones were of an immense size and several tons in weight, the work of getting them to the top of this hill, supposing them to have been taken from the Kennet Valley, must have been one of no slight magnitude".

Cairn and circle were covered with soil, but of a somewhat more clayey nature than that surrounding the barrow.

Interments and grave-goods.

The cist contained a contracted skeleton, hundreds of frogs' bones in clusters, and the skull, jaw and other bones of an animal about the size of a rabbit. Many shaped flints and a singular piece of wood in the form of a knife were also found there, but no pottery or ashes.

In the cairn was found another skeleton, destroyed by the workmen at the time of Ponting's recording of the site, "evidently a secondary interment;" with it was found "a small earthen vessel . . . of British manufacture, rude and imperfectly burnt, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and the same in height . . . apparently a food cup". Amongst the stones forming the cairn were also the "bones of some large animal—probably a horse—and portions of stags' antlers". On the ground beneath the stones of the cairn were found "wood ashes".

Features of the Retaining-circle.

(a) The Inhumation Association.

Excavations have shown that retaining-circles are most frequently found surrounding interments by cremation in Southern England, notably on Dartmoor and at Badbury, Deverel²⁵ and elsewhere in Dorset. Nevertheless, in addition to the two skeletons in this Overton Hill Barrow, Wessex retaining-circle sites provide other indisputable cases of their utilisation with inhumation, e.g., the Dorset examples of Ridgeway I (two skeletons) and Bincombe Barrow²⁶ (three primary skeletons).

(b) Structure.

Stone retaining-circles in Wessex are rare. Wiltshire shows the inner type at Overton Hill and, possibly, at Langdean, 27 and the

²⁷ Wilts Arch. Mag., xlii, 364-366.

²⁵ W. A. Miles, A Description of the Deverel Barrow, 1826, esp. 14—29; C. Warne, Celtic Tumuli of Dorset, intro. p. 9 and t.o.v.p. No. 59; etc.

²⁶ Dorset County Chronicle, Dec. 14th, 1922, p. 8; Proc. Dorset F.C., 1923, xliv, p. liv, lv, lxviii; Ant. J., 1923, iii, 264.

marginal type at Silbury,²⁸ Pennings²⁹ and Winterdene. The excavation report showed that the Overton Hill Barrow had several structural peculiarities. In addition to the great size of the sarsens forming the cairn, and of the combination of circular cist with partial stone lining, the retaining-circle itself had three features worthy of note:—

1. The double nature of the Circle.

Ponting's paper gives some idea of the structure of this retainingcircle for, although omitting to record the number of stones or their height, his account shows the circle to have been about 36 feet in diameter and of the inner type. In addition, his reference to a double "row" of very large stones suggests that they were not in the form of walling but were upright blocks, and his use of the word "continuous" indicates that the circle was complete and probably of the "random" closed class. A further point is that Ponting refers to the double row as "an outer circle"; thus these two rows must have been actually touching to have given the excavator the impression of a single circle. A concentric duplication of circles within a tumulus is of occasional occurrence in the Highland Zone, e.g., at Kilmartin Glebe Cairn, Argyllshire, 30 where two open stone circles, one within the other, lay beneath the mound, their peripheries 5 feet apart; at Metherell 631 on Dartmoor, the two outermost circles of the three were separated by a very small space, their diameters being 37 feet and 33 feet 6 inches. Two circles actually in contact, however, form a most unusual feature, certainly unique in Wessex, though the feature occurs in the case of the retaining-walls of some megalithic tombs.

2. The space between Circle and Cairn.

The double circle was noted as standing about 6 feet from the base of the cairn. It is just possible that stones of the cairn may have filled this intervening space and been removed by workmen before Ponting was introduced to the site, but it is far more likely that the space was an original feature of the barrow. The normal relationship of inner cairn and circle is for the circle to delimit the actual edge of the cairn, the gap between circle and cairn in this particular case being rare.

3. Its Megalithic Character.

The size of the stones both of circle and cairn, "many.... of immense size and several tons in weight", and the fact that the double circle was of "very large specimens" of stones similar to those of the cairn indicates that the circle must have been megalithic. It stood, too, in a megalithic environment, "within full view of Abury". The stones of the Deverel semi-circle suggested to Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes³²

²⁸ Petrie, Wilts Arch. Mag., xlii, 215—218.

 $^{^{29}}$ Antiquity, 1927, i, 429 ; Antiquity, 1936, x, 512 ; Wilts Arch. Mag., xlii, 55—56.

³⁰ V. G. Childe, Prehistory of Scotland, 106 ff.

³¹ Trans. Devon Assoc., 1937, lxix, 96-97.

³² Ant. J., 1933, xiii, 433-434.

the use of the same word, and many of the stones of the Aberdeenshire Recumbent-stone type were of megalithic proportions. In the sphere of retaining-circles, however, such cases were exceptional, and in the majority of cases their stones were comparatively small and would have involved but little labour in transportation and erection.

In the Overton Hill site the accentuation of the circle by making it of very large stones, doubling it, and setting it 6 feet outside the cairn suggests that the actual presence of this circle was not as a mere reverment or incidental ornament, but the laborious structural representation of a potent impulse.

III. THE FUNCTION OF RETAINING-CIRCLES.

Some, envisaging retaining-circles as the houses of the dead, have claimed them as analogous to Bronze Age hut-circles, and Mr. Stuart Piggott³³ has recently suggested that some timber-circles within barrows (e.g., Calais Wold, Yorks) may have been the actual framework of secular huts that were later used for the burial of those who had dwelt within them. The latter idea, though very stimulating, is still in its infancy and its ramifications largely unexplored; but the former claim is rejected by Mr. R. H. Worth³⁴ in writing of the Dartmoor examples. "None", he writes, "can reproduce in any way the structural features of the huts, while two, three or fourfold circles are inconsistent with the idea".

Others have seen the retaining-circle in the role of a revetment to the tumulus or to part of it, another claim to which there are several objections. It would, however, be unwise to suggest that every single retaining-circle served the same function, for the force of local individuality in prehistory was potent and several aberrations show its power in the sphere of structure.

Three positions of the circle in relation to the mound have been noted—the inner circle beneath the mound, the marginal circle at its edge, and the extra-marginal or free-standing circle; from the point of view of function it may be significant that mere ditches similarly occur in all three positions, ditches whose role however indeterminately expressed by modern archæology can scarcely have been of a revetting nature. The extra-marginal circle, rare even in an earthen form, could have had no such purpose, but can be logically claimed to have demarcated the outermost edge of an area made sacred by reason of its burial within and the rites which presumably accompanied inter-In earth the bell-barrow, bell-disc-barrow and disc-barrow show the extra-marginal circle in the form of a ditch lying wholly outside the burial-mound or tump, and Mr O. G. S. Crawford³⁵ has considered that "the ritual ditch reached its highest development in the discbarrow", seeing the latter merely as "an attempt to reproduce the stone circle in a stoneless country ".

³³ Arch. Journal, 1939, xcvi, 193-222.

³⁴ Trans. Devon Assoc., 1937, lxix, 99.

³⁵ Antiquity, 1927, i, 425, 428.

When we turn to marginal circles it has to be freely admitted that many stone ones of the closed type have prevented the material of a tumulus from creeping; yet most cairns had no such protection, and the sarsen stones around the huge base of Silbury can hardly have been anything other than ritual or ornamental in their significance.

Of inner retaining-circles many, again, acted as the surrounds to the stony cairns within earthen barrows, and Mr. Worth has noted how closed circles of the kerb type enclosed platform cairns in Dartmoor tumuli. In Wessex, however, the majority of the inner cairns within barrows had no retaining-circle; at Deverel and Martinstown 1, in Dorset, cairn and circle are separate and structually unassociated, and at Overton Hill the circle lay six feet from the base of the inner cairn. These facts indicate that some at any rate of the inner circles had a function other than that of material protection.

Also militating against the conception of many retaining-circles as revertments are other structural features—the puny nature of the flint rings, which though so different in appearance from the orthostatic circles, suggest by their role in surrounding interments that they are expressions of a similar idea; the presence of an entrance in certain circles (e.g., Ridgeway I) as well as in circular ditches, and perhaps analogous to the openings in Henge monuments; the horseshoe of rude stones at Deverel; and the unsuitability of the open class of circle as a revetting agent. Finally the outward lean of the stones in some cases, though it may often have been caused by the pressure of the mound, was at times an original feature: at Drizzlecombe the stones were trigged up, as they were at Bryn Celli Ddu, and at Birch Tor they even leaned inwards.³⁷

It is thus admitted that some of these circles acted as revetments, particularly if they were of the closed class, although that fact is no proof that they were intended as such when made. Others could not possibly have had such a function, but as the visible edges of areas evidently enclosed for a particular purpose may have had a ritual significance by reason of their sepulchral association. Circular ditches and rings of timber posts, if analogous, shared this ritual function, but the erection of the double circle within the Overton Hill Barrow, was of greater significance than the mere digging of a ditch. Overton Hill and other retaining-circles were special expressions of this ritual burial-circle, perhaps the actual work of kinsmen of those megalithic people who made round tumuli with stone circles in the north and west of the British Isles.

³⁶ Trans. Devon Assoc., 1937, lxix, 95-96.

³⁷ Trans. Devon Assoc., 1937, lxix, 95.

CLOCK AND WATCH MAKERS OF WILTSHIRE IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES.

By B. H. Cunnington, F.S.A., Scot.

Since the publication of the list in W.A.Mag., vol. xlviii., pp. 313—317, the following additions have been brought to my notice by Mr. Herbert Richardson, of Andover, and others, including that of a "water-clock" maker, the only one recorded so far.

As before, the names are given in alphabetical order.

Names.	YEAR.	Localities.
ALLANSON, Wm.	1822	Marlborough.
BRADFORD, James	1769	Salisbury.
BRUNSDON, Wm.	1822	Marlborough.
BURNALL, W.	No date	Ashton Keynes.
BUTLER, P.	do	Salisbury.
CROMPTON, John	1822	Calne.
CROSS, Joseph	1822	Bradford-on-Avon.
ffeild, J.	1591	Westbury.
FURLOCK, J.	1669	Salisbury.
GOLDSMITH, Mary	1662	Marlborough
GUITER	1689	Salisbury
GREENWAY, George	1822	Chippenham.
HANKS	No date	Malmesbury.
HONEYBONE	do	Wanborough.
HOUSE, Thomas	1822	Marlborough.
JARRED, James	1822	Devizes.
MARSHMAN, J.	1689	Salisbury.
MORSE and TANNER	No date	Malmesbury.
NEW, Wm.	1822	Trowbridge.
PINNEL	No date	Malmesbury.
POZZI, A.	Ditto	Salisbury.
SNOW, Richard	1628	Salisbury.
SNOW, Nicholas	1636	Salisbury.
SNOW, John	No date	Winterbourne Stoke.
SPENCER, James	1822	Calne.
STEPHEN, Goodman	1691	Salisbury.
STRATTON, John	No date	Malmesbury.
STUMP and RUDD	1822	Bradford-on-Avon.
TYTE, Samuel	1822	Warminster.
TROKE, John	No date	Salisbury.
WAITE, William	No date	Malmesbury.
WALTON, Phil	No date	Devizes.
WEBB, Chamberlaine	1780	Salisbury.
WENTWIRTH	1689	do
WOODYEAR, Edward	1822	do
WOODYEAR, Samuel	No date	do
In addition to these is that of		

SMOLLETT, P. described below

1640 the maker of the water-clock

Mr. Richardson has sent the following dates of clock-makers whose names were printed in the previous list but with no dates:—

Bullock, W., of Bradford, 1822. Carter, W., of Salisbury, 1822. Cross, John, of Trowbridge, 1822. Haskell, James, of Salisbury, 1842. King, A., of Chippenham, 1822.

Langley, Nicholas, of Salisbury, 1822. Stephenson, George, of Warminster, 1822.

Wood, John, of Devizes, 1842.

CLEPSYDRÆ OR WATER-CLOCKS.

The only example of a Wiltshire "water-clock" so far recorded is that made by P. Smollett mentioned above. In 1912 the late Mr. E. Kite received a letter from Mr. H. D. Ellis, of Roland Gardens, London, S.W., containing the following:

I have recently acquired a water-clock by P. Smolett, of Salisbury. On two large brass plates are apparently Coat of Arms with Smolett's name and the Salisbury Arms (see plate below). It is in perfect condition and I have set it going in action. Such a clock must be of extreme rarity. Neither the British Museum nor the Kensington Science Museum has one or anything of the sort. Water-clocks were made, though rare, in England, later in the 17th century. I think Beckman in his "History of Inventions" was not aware of any as early as 1640, and if so, the credit of being the pioneer, is due to Salisbury. (Signed) H. D. Ellis.

Salisbury loses the honour, however, by one year, for *Country Life*, February, 1912, gives an example made by "G. Knight of ye Towne of Ipswich, 1639", which was then in the possession of H. T. Barker, of Ludlow. Mrs. Le Warne Clayton, of Ludlow, kindly made enquiries locally as to the fate of this clock and was able to find out that it was sold by auction some years ago but there does not appear any record of the purchaser's name, nor of its ultimate destination.

Mr. Frank Stevens, director of the Salisbury Museum, made a careful search, but was unable to find any record of P. Smollett and adds:—I am horribly suspicious of water-clocks. There seems to be a host of them about and nearly every one that I have seen has eventually turned out to be a forgery. I believe many of these water-clocks were made in Ireland.

NOTES ON CLEPSYDRÆ.

The first thing essential in a water-clock is the regulation and control of a flow of water from one vessel into another, and on this main principle all forms of clepsydræ were constructed. The simplest form was that of the Egyptians to whom is attributed the origin of the water-clock. It comprised a bowl filled with water to which a pipe was attached that allowed the water to fall drop by drop into a receiver, the side of which was marked with the hours. As time went on other forms of water-clock were devised and dials took the place of marks on the receiver. The clepsydra was introduced into Rome about

157 B.C. In 807 A.D. a water-clock of bronze inlaid with gold was presented to Charlemagne by the King of Persia. The use of this form of clock apparently died out on the Continent, about the 10th century and was not revived until the beginning of the 17th century when many improvements were introduced into their construction, and they continued to be made well into the 18th century.



P. SMOLETT of ye towne SALISBURY

Civital NOVE SARVM



The Society is indebted to Capt. Cunnington for the cost of the illustration.

NOTES.

Highworth Church. Iron Cannon Ball. A descriptive leaflet, recently issued, contains the following passage:—

"In the Great Rebellion the Church was a Royalist garrison for some eighteen months, and it is recorded in a contemporary work, 'Sprigg's England's Recovery', that on Thursday, June 26th, 1645, the Parliamentary Forces, on their march from Lechlade to Wanborough, drew up before Highworth garrison "being a Church fortified by a line and bulwarks" and summoned the Governor, Major Hen, who refused to yield, so they planted their ordnance. Men were designed to storm; whereupon a parley was sounded, and the garrison surrendered. The soldiers, it is stated, had good booty in the Church, taking seventy prisoners and eighty arms.

At this day can be seen a hole in the stonework on the north side of the belfry door, which tradition says (and appearance also confirms) was made by a cannon ball fired on that occasion. The ball has been preserved, and now hangs on a chain in the Warneford aisle ".

The Coventry Dole. Wilts Gazette, 24th October, 1935. The "Gentleman's Magazine", 1786, contains the following interesting story concerning the "Coventry Dole of bread that formerly was distributed to the inhabitants of Devizes once a year, and to every traveller that passed through the town":—

"On September 25th the Archduke and Duchess of Austria with their suite arrived in town from Bath. On the road, as they came through the Devizes, they met with a singular occurrence, which afforded them some entertainment. A custom has prevailed in that place, of which the following story is the foundation: A poor weaver passing through the place without money or friends, being overtaken by hunger, and in utmost necessity, applied for charity to a baker, who kindly gave him a penny loaf. The weaver made his way to Coventry, where, after many years' industry, he amassed a fortune, and by his will, in remembrance of the seasonable charity of the Devizes, he bequeathed a sum in trust, for the purpose of distributing on the anniversary day when he was so relieved, a half penny loaf to every person in the town, simple or gentle, and to every traveller that should pass through the town on that day a penny loaf. The will is faithfully administered, and the Duke of Austria and his suite, passing through the town on the day of the Coventry loaf on their way from Bath to London, a loaf was presented to each of them, of which the Duke and Duchess were most cheerfully pleased to accept, and the custom struck the Archduke so forcibly as a curious anecdote in his travels that he minuted down the circumstance, and the high personages seemed to take a delight in breakfasting on the loaf thus given, as the testimony of gratitude for a favour seasonably conferred ".

Waylen, in his "Chronicles of Devizes" (1839), briefly refers to the above story, and concludes with the following:—"The name of

Coventry is of frequent occurrence in Devizes in former days, and it is far more likely that the Charity descended from one of them than from a stranger. The Charity is now considered as lost, Mr. Salmon, a member of the Corporation from 1770 until 1826, had taken considerable pains to ascertain the truth of this tradition, but neither he nor his father, also a member of the Corporation, nor any other old person in the borough had been able to give any explanation of it ".

The family of Coventre (or Coventry), though now extinct, was associated with the town of Devizes for a great number of years. A William Coventre was Mayor of Devizes in 1387, John Coventre in 1389, 1414, 1415, and 1436, and the name of Coventre appears in the parish registers of St. John's and St. Mary's Churches until 1708. Nothing, however, is known as to when the Coventry Dole began, nor from what

property the income was derived.

In the early part of the 15th century, John and William Coventre, both wealthy burgesses of Devizes, founded two or more chantries at the east end of the south aisle in St. Mary's Church, which were richly endowed with sixty houses in the borough, besides several plots of land at Wick and elsewhere. For centuries the Mayor and burgesses were the legitimate trustees of these and other chantry property in Devizes, until 1835, when, under the Municipal Corporations Act of William IV, the municipal authorities were divested of all charity property, and the future administration thereof was ordered to be entrusted to an independent body of local trustees. This Act was followed by another entitled "The Charitable Trusts Act" of 1853, which conveyed the legal estates in all lands originally vested in corporations to the trustees appointed by the Lord Chancellor's order or other trustees for the time being of the charity.

In the diary of George Sloper (see Municipal Annals) under the date of 1762 is recorded "October 16th, made Coventry's bread = £3/1/0", and on the 16th November, 1767 "Made Coventry Doll=£5/11/0". There are several references to the Coventry Dole of bread in the Municipal Annals such as when on September 24th, 1586, a baker named Allen who was found to be selling bread beneath the standard weight was fined acordingly. "The wch bred was baked for the Doll called Coventry's". In 1663 "It was ordered that the Coventries Dole for the future shall be reduced only to the expences of the certaine sum of floure pounds yeerely for bread, and that all persons who pay, or are charged with payment of taxes, should not receive any part of it". In 1668 the sum rose to £7/16/0, and in 1669 to £9/1/6. In 1726 the sum paid was £14/9/5. After 1728 the bread ceased to be distributed to the inhabitants, and the endowment has long been considered lost.

There are, however, three charities belonging to St. Mary's Church that still distribute bread to the poor of the parish each Sunday, and at one time there were four, but "Gobbett's Charity" being recorded as having been in existence as far back as 1499, when it was seventeen shillings and two pence per year, appears to have been dropped. The remaining three charities are those of Eleanor Phillips, who left 52s. a year to provide bread for the poor, a man named Tayler who left the

same amount for a similar purpose, and Sarah Wadsworth, who, by her will dated June 10th, 1848, left the interest on one hundred pounds. The income from these three charities, after the deduction of expenses,

goes to supply the bread as now distributed.

The bread distributed at St. John's Church each Sunday is the outcome of two gifts of £100 each left to the parish for that specific purpose by James Milns and Joan Bisse. On a gravestone in the churchyard is the following inscription: "James Milns, late Excise Officer, died 18th March, 1759, aged 74. By his will he gave the interest on one hundred pounds for ever to be distributed every Sunday in threepenny loaves to such indigent persons of this parish who do not receive alms, attend Divine Service, and are of the Communion of the Church of England". Miss Joan Bisse, by her last will dated 28th December, 1770, gave £100 to the poor of the parish of St. John's to be placed out at interest, the sum realised to be distributed in bread amongst the poor of the parish. Subject to a small deduction for expenses, a sum of approximately £7 10s. each year derived from the above legacies is to this day spent in bread and distributed each Sunday in accordance with the bequests.

B. Howard Cunnington.

The Arms of Wiltshire and the Crest of the Bustard. The Wiltshire Times, June 26th, 1937, has a long article with an illustration of the arms recently granted to the county.

"Barry of eight argent and vert on a canton of the first, a dragon rampant gules, and for crest, on a wreath of colours a bustard wings

elevated and addorsed proper ".

An account of the Great Bustard and of the fate of the several members of a considerable flock which visited Wiltshire in 1871, long after the disappearance of the bird as a breeding resident in Wilts, from information supplied by Mr. F. Stevens follows the account of the arms.

Roman Hipposandals. Mr. A. D. Passmore, in *Antiquaries Journal*, April, 1937, xviii, 197, has a note suggesting that the real use of the Roman Iron Hipposandal is that of a hobble. As he points out no horse could wear such a contrivance whilst in work without cutting his legs. The loop at the back or front of the hipposandal was, he suggests, to attach a cord to and so tie two feet together, so that the horse could only move a few yards when turned out at night.

A Donkey Well-Wheel at Upham. One of "Peter Gurney's" interesting notes in the North Wilts Herald of February 5th, 1937, describes what he believes to be the last of the Donkey Wheels for Wells, in Wiltshire. These labour saving devices were formerly not uncommon in the case of deep wells on the chalk. A good example remained in use until some 30 years ago at the site of Broad Hinton Manor House, which was burnt in the Civil War. The wheel described by Mr. Gurney is that at Upham, in the parish of Aldbourne, at the farm held by Mr. F. J. Brinkworth, of Badbury. The wheel of solid oak throughout is about 14 feet in diameter, and has inside its rim a

space about 4 feet wide, round which the donkey walked. The wooden bucket, holding 12 gallons, is drawn up by a rope which winds round the axle of the wheel as it revolves. The depth of the well is 180 feet. Although intact the wheel is no longer in actual use.

The Shrewsbury (Talbot) Collection of MSS. formerly the property of the Talbot Earls of Shrewsbury, was left to the present Viscount Fitzalan by will many years ago, and presented by him to the British Museum in May, 1937. It deals with the various Talbot properties from the 13th to the 16th centuries. The collection is dealt with in extenso in the Historical MSS. Commission Report on various collections, II, 1903, pp. 289—336. An Index Nominum and Locorum is available for reference at the Museum. The Wiltshire references mainly refer to Aston and Broughton Gifford, Codford and Ditchampton, and date from the 15th to the 17th century.

Weaving in North and Central Wilts in the 18th Century. As a proof of the position that weaving occupied in North and Central Wilts during the 18th century, it seems worth while to record the following list of weavers to whom pauper children of the chapelry or parish of Southbroom, or St. James's, Devizes, then in the parish of Bishops Cannings, were apprenticed by the overseers. The list is by no means complete but is taken from a number of papers discarded from the tower of St. James's Church. The apprenticeships to weaving vastly outnumber all the other trades put together. The majority of the masters are described as "Broad Weavers", but there are two sergemakers, a scribbler and a sheareman amongst them. The places of residence of the weavers include Bremhill, Bromham, Calne, Devizes, Hilperton, Roundway, Rowde, Steeple Ashton and Trowbridge.

Examples of the autograph signatures of 54 Wiltshire Justices of the Peace, including several Mayors, from these papers have been mounted in a note book for the Society's library.

Ed. H. Goddard.

LIST OF WEAVERS.

Amor, Thos., Bromham, 1724. Ashley, Hugh, Devizes, 1733. Ashton, Anthony, Hilperton, 1749. Beale, John, sergemaker, Devizes, 1713. Burden, John, Hilperton, 1771. Burton, Richard, Rowde, 1724. Butler, Henry, Devizes, 1724. Chapman, John, Trowbridge, 1762. Cole, John, Bremhill, 1733. Coole, John, Calne, 1735. Domper, Robert, Rowde, 1733. Drake, Robert, Roundway, 1716. Fowle, John, Devizes. Flower, John, Devizes, 1730. Hale, John, Steeple Ashton, 1771. Harford, William, Hilperton and Trowbridge, 1742, 1747, 1752.

Humphrys, John, Devizes, 1757.
Mayer, Joseph, Trowbridge, 1750.
Moore, James, Trowbridge, 1755.
Phillips, John, scribbler, Devizes, 1781.
Smith, Joseph, Hilperton, 1770.
Sydney, Edward, Bromham, 1742.
Tiley, Robert, Devizes, sergemaker, 1704.
Watts, John, Trowbridge, 1760.
Wheeler, John, "shereman", 1730.

Scratch Dials on Churches. Additions recently discovered. Steeple Langford. Two on S. wall near the W. end.

Poulshot. One, faint and rather doubtful, on the W. side of S. porch, and one (inverted) on buttress east of porch. There is a shrub in front of this example, which may be the cause of its omission from the previous list.

R. G. V. Dymock.

Newspaper Files Destroyed. Under this heading there was a useful article in the Wilts Gazette, December 18th, 1941, describing what happened when the annexe of the British Museum Library, at Colindale, near Hendon, was bombed and entirely destroyed recently. The British Museum receives by statute all the newspapers printed in England, whether issued daily or weekly. Some years ago it was found no longer possible to find room at the British Museum Library for the ever increasing number of these papers, and the provincial newspapers were removed to the great building near Hendon which was specially designed and arranged to receive them. Here they were so arranged that the files could be consulted by any authorised enquirer. The number of issues preserved there is put at about 100,000, all of which apparently have been destroyed. For many years past the files of every newspaper probably have been preserved at the office of the paper, but these files are at the mercy of any chance fire. The existence of the national collection at Hendon afforded facilities also to enquirers which they could not depend upon at the newspaper offices. Though this national collection was not complete, the earliest issues of many papers being absent or incomplete, the destruction of the national collection is a serious loss to enquirers into the local history which is to be found only in the issues of the various county papers.

"Viewing the position broadly it may be said that the annihilation of the accumulated files is not quite a first-class disaster, as the component parts are to a large extent duplicated in the respective newspaper offices. Yet it is very regrettable. Some at least of the prints, and these the earliest, had no duplicates; at any time an office may suffer by a fire that destroys its files; and for some purposes of research the centralisation of the records offered a convenience to which there will

be no similar alternative ".

Roman Burial at Highworth. At Westrop House, Highworth, is a small paddock to the west of the house, and in the southwest corner of this and close to the road is a small low mound much

dug about for sand and disfigured by a tip of modern rubbish; for many years skeletons have been dug up here and are attributed locally to Oliver Cromwell. At the same spot years ago a very fine head of Serapis carved from Egyptian porphery was dug up; whether imported in Roman times or during the rage of such things in the XVIIIth century cannot be said.

In 1933, by the kindness of Sir Noel Arkell and Mr. Elwell, I was given charge of a small excavation; a trench was opened at about the centre of the mound and after passing through a bed of modern ash and broken glass we came to clean sand; in this was a quantity of Roman grey pottery unfortunately undatable, and about on the old ground level rested the skeleton of a full grown girl, lying on her right side with the knees somewhat drawn up, head to W. Between the legs was a small Roman third brass coin of the third century, but too worn to allocate to any reign.

A. D. Passmore.

Bronze Age Pottery from Swindon. On the north side of Westlecott Road and 140 yards north-west of Westlecott Farm is a small quarry, in which a Roman house was discovered in 1897. From this northwards slight hollows may be seen extending up hill towards Okus Barn, remains of Roman quarry work to supply the great Roman town of Wanborough, I have myself taken from foundations of that age, in that place, many large pieces of Swindon stone. During this work a Bronze Age burial was disturbed, as recorded in this Magazine, and at another spot they seem to have found and broken up a food vessel of the same age, a fragment of which was found a few years ago in one of the hollows above mentioned; it is the part of a rim of a small vessel of food vessel type about four inches in diameter, at the top are several rows of Beaker ornamentation, below which is a hollow between two ridges, it must have been very like that illustrated by Abercromby, plate 39, No. 179, from East Riding, Yorkshire.

A. D. PASSMORE.

Chute, Barrow 1. This barrow, usually thought to be round, is really an oval barrow, lying S.E. to N.W. The S.E. end is plain but the other has been mutilated by a grass road with a bank and ditch passing over it. The whole mound is ploughed very low. In 1934, by kind permission of Mr. Pattison, a trench was carried into the centre from the S.W. side, exactly at the centre (as far as one could judge) we came on a circle of skulls each perched on a flat stone while inside the ring were bundles of long bones which had obviously been brought to the place tied up as bundles, one skull contained some ribs and a few smaller bones, while another had three cervical vertebrae still attached, the whole of these remains being so near the surface had been smashed by ploughs and rollers, but their position and nature were certain. Just to the south of this collection were two skeletons lying at full length, obviously intrusive.

Further to the S.E. and near the original end of the mound was another circle of human skulls and bundles of long bones, but smaller

and less numerous than the other. At this point the dig was concluded owing to the land being required for ploughing. It is proposed to reopen the mound in more settled times when it is hoped to publish a full report. However, owing to the interest of the find it seems desirable to put on record a preliminary account of the excavation. The great interest of this discovery is that it proves beyond question that the bodies here buried had been stored away in another spot till the mound was ready for their reception, and that when the time came only a token burial was made. Skulls and long bones were brought, the latter tied up in bundles, and put in their resting place at one time and not successively as is so often thought in reports of neolithic burials. Exactly the same procedure had taken place at Lanhill in the unopened chamber which I discovered recently (the published account is incorrect in this detail and would have been corrected had I seen the report before publication).

There were very few vertebrae, no small bones, only a few ribs, one skull was so thin that a blow in life would have been fatal, the others were rather thick and still in fine condition except for fracture by the pressure of agricultural implements. I was assisted in this work by General Hardy and Major Allen (both have since died); they agreed with the above conclusions, the latter afterwards writing to me to say that he had no doubt whatever that the bones had beeu brought to the barrow as bones and not clothed in flesh.

There were no relics found till the last moment, when a parcel of big bones found at the S.E. end contained a small female hip bone attached to which by a thin coating of earth was a very fine arrowhead of black flint here illustrated.

A. D. Passmore.

White Mice. In the Wiltshire Gazette of May 14th, 1936, Mr. Walter Butler, of Rowdefield Farm, Rowde, records having seen "anything up to 300 white mice whilst threshing a rick. There were many ordinary mice with them. About 50 years ago white rats were killed on many farms at Hilmarton and the neighbourhood, but I do not remember having heard of any being seen since.

E. H. GODDARD.

Oaksey Church Wall Painting of "Christ of the Trades". The wall painting of this subject was described and illustrated in W.A.M., xlvii, 632—636. Mr. G. R. Owst writing in the Times of June 29th, 1937, says: "This picture is nowadays frequently interpreted as a Christian 'apotheosis of manual labour'". He then refers to an article recently published in Zurich which introduces from an early 15th cent. MS. a careful drawing of the scene with explanatory comment in Latin around it. . . . "The so-called Christ of the Trades thus proves . . . to be none other than the familiar Christ of an unending Passion, the tools, weapons, playthings and the rest merely its symbolic instruments with which evil men of every class daily "crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh and put Him to an open shame".

A Salisbury Example of Economy. Under the heading "A Fuel Precedent" the following appeared in *The Times* of September 1st, 1942, signed John Read, Chemistry Department, The University, St. Andrew's, Scotland:—"Among the many methods of saving fuel adopted by our hardy ancestors, a curious example is given by the alchemist and astrologer Simon Forman (1552—1611) in his autobiography. He describes in the following words a singular economy practised at Salisbury by Mr. Mintorne, a canon of the church:—"And this cannon seldom or never kepte any fier in his house, but he had some lode of faggots lying in a house, and alwaies when he was a-cold, he wold goe and carry his faggots up into a lofte till he was hote; and when he had caried them all up, he wold fetch them downe again and burn none, and soe he made this Simon doe many a tyme and ofte to catch a heate, saying yt was better to heat himself soe then to syt by the fier'".

The Black Throated Diver (Colymbus arcticus) in Wilts. Miss M. O. Foster writes from Aldbourne, March 26th, 1942: "A Black Throated Diver was killed against a wire in Aldbourne during the day's snow of January 27th of this year. I know all three Divers well and it was definitely the Black Throated Diver".

[Smith in his *Birds of Wilts*, 1887, mentions only two examples of this Diver as recorded from this county, one killed near Salisbury in 1872, and the other killed on the water at Corsham Court.]

A Flint Sickle with Associated Objects from East Knoyle, Wiltshire. Under this heading The Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society for 1937 (New Series, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 158, 159), has a note and illustration on "A Group of Associated Flint Implements now in Reading Museum". In 1931 Mr. Sales, of Reading, noticed a group of flint implements on the window-sill of a house at East Knoyle. The finder, Mr. Garrett, gave these implements to Mr. Sales whose widow gave them to Reading Museum.

Whilst cutting bracken on the hillside in a small chalk and flint quarry, Mr. Garrett noticed a patch of dark soil and dug into it. At the depth of 3ft. he found a pot about 1 foot in diameter and 15 inches high. The pottery was plain without any decoration. It crumbled to pieces and nothing of it remains. Close by were found a block of chert, and the three flint implements illustrated. These were a chipped and partly polished fiint celt of pointed oval section, probably used as an adze; a polished flint celt of oval section with slightly flattened sides; and lastly the "sickle of bluish-grey flint carefully flaked over the convex face, but the major part of the primary flake scar is untouched. The concave edge is sharp and has $l^{\frac{1}{5}}$ inches from the tip an area of diffused gloss which extends for 12 inches to about the middle of the blade. The gloss shows in the cavities as well as on the flake ridges for a distance of a 4-inch from the edge. In shape the sickle forms a fairly symmetrical curve. It has no exact parallels among those figured by Clark". It is "the most westerly example of its kind" found in England.

Meux Family in the Isle of Wight. Sir Henry Bruce Meux, who when he resided at Dauntsey Park was one of the largest landowners in North Wilts, was descended from an Isle of Wight family, the Meuxes of Kingston. Sir John Oglander of Nunwell in the same Island (he had a town house at Newport), who lived 1595-1646, wrotea large number of memoranda, known as the Oglander Memoirs, selections from which were first printed by Sir Richard Worsley of Appeldurcombe, Isle of Wight, but in comparatively recent years a much fuller selection was edited for publication by Mr. W. H. Long. These memoirs include several references to the Meux family. In his notes on Kingston he said: "The Kingstone line, masculine, ended in Richard ye 2nd Reygne, and one Drewe, of Sussex, maryed ye heyre female, who had but one daughter, which ye sonne of one Mewse that dwelt at Lymington, maryed; and so came to be honnor at Kingeston. Mewse, of Lymington, theyre lyeth burved with an inscription on a marble stone. Thre hath been 3 Knights of ye Mewses since they came to itt: Sir William that wase a sowldier in Spayne, and Sir John and William in Kinge James' revgne. Sir John, the father of Sir William Meux, or Mewse, they came into ye Island about Rychard ye Second's reyne, and matched with Ann, ye dawghter and heyre of Rychard Drew, who maryed ye dawghter and heyre of that awntient famely of ye De Kingestone, and so came to be possessed of Kingeston, and the landes they nowe have. Sir John Meux wase ye fyrst Knyght of ye name here in owre Island, who marved Cicely, ye dawghter of one Button [this was Sir William Button, Kt., of Wilts], and had issue 2 sonnes and 2 dawghters. Sir William, the eldest sonne, maryed for his fyrst wyfe, ve dawghter, of Sir Francis Barrington; his seconde wyfe, ye widdowe of one Ramon, and sister to Sir Gilbert Gerrard, of Harrow on ye Hill, neare London, by whom he had one dawghter. Bartholomew [from whom Sir Henry Bruce Meux of Dauntsey descended] maryed also another sister of ye sayd Sir Gilbert Gerrard, by whome he had issue. . . . I believe ye Meuxes or Mewys not to be very greate gentlemen, for ye fyrst y maryed Drew's daughtor, of Kingestone, had bene constable of Lymingeton. I have seene a record of itt, notwithstandinge they mave be goode gentlemen". This is not the only passage wherein Sir John Oglander refers slightingly to the Meux family. Sir John Meux, he says, 'was of a homely behaviour, as nevor havinge any breedinge or good naturales". Again: "On ye 3rd December, 1629, Sir John Meux departed this life; he wase the veryest clown (of a gentleman) that evor the Isle of Wight bredde. he wase destitute of learninge, so of humanitie and civillitie; although his clownisch humour a good honest man. If ye will see ye picture of him, you may truly fynd it in his sonne Bartholomewe; moore of his lyfe I cannot wryght, beinge of no greate woorth, only his sonne Bartholomewe would report in ye mayneland that ther wase non woorth ye havinge in ye Island for a howsekeper but his father. . . . Sir William Meux wase as well a quallified gentleman as anie oure countery bredd: but of no spirite, for in my prescence Sir Edward Dennis too mutch braved him ".

The memoirs vindicate the Meux family from Sir Richard's depreciatory comments. "The Meuxes (he says) were really greater gentlemen than Sir John imagined. Sir John Meux, his contemporary, by the marriage of his father, William Meux, with Eleanor, daughter of Sir Henry Strangways, could claim descent in the female line, from the Nevilles, Earls of Westmoreland, and Edward III". There were three Knights of the family-William, John and William-and John, son of the second Sir William, was on December 11th, 1641, created a baronet, a title that became extinct in 1706, John, the baronet, married a daughter of Sir Richard Worsley, one of the best-known of the Island gentry. Furthermore, Sir John Oglander's memoirs in their notes on contemporary events, show that the Meuxes, whatever their personal characteristics may have been, were included among the Island notables. They were present to meet the Duke of Buckingham when he landed at Cowes during his Portsmouth visit that ended tragically, and they were among deputations to London in endeavours to extract money from the Lord Treasurer for Island fortifications and other expenditure.

J. J. SLADE.

Erigeron canadensis. I noticed in 1941 and 1942 a "weed" growing to a height of 3ft. or more in my garden here (Red Gables, Devizes) and also in some neighbouring gardens in Nursteed Road, which I could not identify in any botany book. I therefore sent specimens to Mr. J. D. Grose of 18, Regent Street, Swindon, the Society's best consultant, who gave me the following interesting information:—

"Your plant is *Erigeron canadensis*, an alien which has certainly come to stay. I think it is a rapidly increasing species which may soon become as common as Groundsel. It was first recorded for Wiltshire by Miss Leake who found it at Rowde in 1932. Miss Gullick saw it at Whaddon in 1935, and it appeared in Okus Quarries, Swindon, in 1937. Later in 1937 I saw it at Alderbury and Sandridge, and in 1940 at Westbury and Box. Here in Swindon this year it is growing in seven or eight different places—gardens, walls and air-raid shelters".

ED. H. GODDARD.

St. Martin's Chapel, Chisbury. It may be remembered that an appeal was made in the Magazine two years ago for £75 to carry out certain essential repairs to this most interesting building. The appeal resulted in a few welcome subscriptions, which will be accredited to their donors when the final accounts are published. The sum received amounted to something over £5, and it did not look as if the moment had proved even as propitious as those responsible had dared to hope, when a bolt fell from the blue. Lieut.-Col. Michael Peto, of Iford Manor, Bradford-on-Avon, wrote to offer the whole sum asked for, if necessary, provided the work was done satisfactorily, and accompanied his offer with a substantial cheque on account. With this unlooked for encouragement the promotors of the work of rescue were able to go ahead, though progress in war-time is bound to be slow. The Savernake Estate Company kindly contributed the necessary timber for the repair of the roof, the tenant of the farm, Mr. E. B.

Gauntlett, freely offered the very considerable amount of straw we needed for the thatching, and Mr. H. M. Gimson, of Stanton St. Bernard, made several difficult journeys to the site to put his invaluable architectural experience at our disposal and advise us on the immediate requirements. Under the eye of Mr. A. P. D. Penrose, of Chisbury Manor, who had first drawn attention to the imperative need for action, the old thatch, or what remained of it, was removed or repaired, the rotten woodwork replaced and the wall-plate cleaned of weeds by Mr. Alexander, thatcher, of Froxfield, in the spring of the present year. The chapel now rears its resplendent roof above the Bedwyn valley, secure, we hope, against the worst that the weather can do to it.

The worst, but not all. The windows still lie open to any driving rain or snow that may elude the projecting eaves, and some further protection is still required to preserve the remnants of the tracery, the splays and, particularly, the sills. A temporary solution will, it is hoped, be found in the repointing of the exposed joints in the masonry, and this work will be put in hand with as little delay as the conditions of the day permit.

So far the work, excluding the substantial contributions in kind mentioned above, has cost about £41, the bulk of which has been found by Colonel Peto in accordance with his most generous offer.

H. C. BRENTNALL.

Donhead Cliff. There died last year or the year before, the old Sexton, named Brickell, who told me the following story:—A good many years ago when Squire Farquarson, of Eastbury, hunted all this country, one of his hunt servants rolled down on his horse the Cliff at Donhead and was killed underneath the animal, and he finished the story by saying—"You will see the spot there now sir, as nothing wont grow where a man was killed".

J. Benett-Stanford.

Piece of a Stone Axe picked up on Barton Farm, Marlborough. The stone is an igneous rock known as Greenstone or Epidiorite. It was sent to the sub-committee for Petrological Identification of Stone Implements at the Bristol Museum, and the report says the stone is identical with that of 27 other axes found in southern and western England, but that at present the original source of the rock has not been located; it is very similar to the greenstones of the Launceston district of Cornwall, but it cannot be said definitely as yet that this is the locality of origin.

Lt.-Col. Cunnington.

Monkton Farleigh Priory. Discovery of Effigies, &c. An original letter from the Rev. W. C. Lukis, F.S.A., to Sir Henry Dryden, F.S.A., Scot., dated July 20th, 1841, from Bradford-on-Avon, describes the recent discovery of effigies and monuments on the site of the chapel of the monastery at Monkton Farleigh. The letter has been recently presented to the Library by Mrs. Marcon. "I have been working at ye remains of a monastery at Monkton Farleigh with ye proprietor Wade Brown, Esq. We have been pretty successful. On

ye side of a bank was discovered ye pavement of a chapel, perhaps ye crypt of ve monastery chapel and as this intercepted a terrace walk which ye proprietor was making, he thought proper to remove it. Some of ve large stones of ve pavement contained engraved foliated crosses, and one had a half fig. of a priest with this inscripⁿ: Hic jacet Bugo Fut Warun (sic) cujus anime propitietur Deus. Generally these were coffin lids, ve stone coffins being found immediately beneath containing ye skeleton. One skeleton was wrapped up in a coarse hair cloth, Effigies of cross-legged knights and ecclesiastics were also found, and one effigy of a knight was most beautifully sculptured, certainly ye finest and best proportioned I ever saw. It is, unfortunately, broken into several bits, but ye head, face, shoulders, right arm, body, and right leg are quite perfect. The surcoat in some parts exhibits a fine ultramarine colour and ye belt pink. No relics of any kind were discovered with ye bodies, but at a short distance to ye S.W. of ye chapel a silver seal with a beautifully engraved head of Mary Magdalene was found. Encaustic tiles were abundant, and sculptured stones of ye early and late Norman, Decd, &c., styles were found in diff^t parts ".

Will of Jane Tooke, widow, late wife of Walter Tooke, deceased. Will: P.C.C. 107 Dale. Made 15th March, 1620. To be buried in the chancel of Alderburye Church or elsewhere. To nephew Thomas Goldstone £500. To niece Joan Goldston, his wife, a gold dolphin jewel. To nephew James Goldston £50. To niece Mary Souche £100, a fan, gowns, etc. To niece Margaret Webb 100 marks, a bracelet, girdle, a ring which was my sister Seabrights, bed, etc. To nephew Thomas Sowthe and Richard Sowthe £200 to be put forth with consent of my niece Martha Dowse for her benefit while her husband lives, but not at the disposal of her husband or his father. To niece Martha Dowse a gold chain, a ring which my brother Sowthe gave me, a girdle, gown, kirtle, sheets, feather bed, leather chest, carpet, cushions, etc. To cousin Martha Prowse daughter of my niece Jane Prowse, deceased, £100 to be put forth by my nephew Richard Sowthe and Thomas Goldston to be paid to her at 21 or marriage with the approval of her uncle Edward Sowthe, Esquire, and of the said Thomas Sowthe and Richard Sowthe, a ring, silver bodkin, sheets, napkins, towels, etc. To the five children of my niece Honor Grove deceased, namely Thomas, Robert, William, Honor, and Alice, £50 equally between them. To nephew Nathaniell Bacon 40s. for a ring. To Mr. Otway of Bremer 20s. for a ring with posy Hodie mihi cras tibi. To nephew James Bacon 40s. for a ring. To nephew Edward Sowthe a ring. To nephew Thomas Sowthe £50. To nephew Richard Sowthe £50. To cousin Richard Dowse a purse. To godson William Dighton 40s. To cousin Katherine Trittye £20, and her daugher Margaret £5. To cousin Margaret Sowthe daughter of nephew Richard Sowthe a gold tablet. To nephew Richard Sowthe's wife a bracelet. To brother Richard Goldston a ring. To cousin Honor Grove a gilt bodkin. To nephew Richard Sowthe a ring. To cousin Katherine daughter of nephew Edward Sowthe a cabinet. To cousin Margaret

Prowse knives. To niece Martha Dowse a cushion. To nephew Webb husband of my niece Margaret a ring. To cousin Martha Prowse a leather chest. To cousin Thomas Goldston a carpet bought of Mr. Paynter, etc. Residue to brother Richard Goldston who is appointed sole executor. Overseers, nephews Richard Sowthe and Thomas Sowthe, and Thomas Goldston. Witnesses, Richard Grey, George Irton, Henry Hanger, Thomas Barkesdale and John Elye. Proved December 10th, 1621.

Portrait of John Aubrey. The water colour portrait of John Aubrey now in the Rylands Library at Manchester, with his hand resting on the head of a negro boy, No. 3 of the portraits of him described by Dr. A. Hollaender in W.A.M., xlix, p. 550, is evidently the sketch from which the mezzotint portait was made. The detail of the lace collar and of the costume are identical and the pose is also similar.

Frank Stevens.

Mound at Compton Bassett. From the middle of this village a footpath proceeds due south towards Cherhill. At a distance of about 750 yards from Compton Bassett it passes between Home Wood and Mount Wood, at this point there is a long low mound like a section of a railway bank and about six to seven feet high at the west end. From there it runs S.E. for 120 yards with a slight ditch on the S. side and continues into Mount Wood, making straight for the barrow there (Goddard's Compton Bassett No. 1), which seems to be sitting on the end of the long mound. However, this cannot be said for certain as the wood is so full of small bushes and nettles that observation is impossible.

This barrow is formed of very large pieces of chalk, the result of deep digging somewhere near and may, therefore, be of a later age than the average barrows which are formed of small chalk scrapings from surface excavation. Two barrows at Alton Priors are connected by a long bank (Goddard's 5 and 6), while Jewitt records another pair of barrows connected by a flat causeway, at Wetton, in Staffordshire, in this case there were interments in the mounds and the causeway.

The Compton Bassett example may be of this kind, but till the wood is cut it cannot be said for certain.

A. D. Passmore.

A Skeleton at Gomeldon, Idmiston, S. Wilts. Whilst digging the foundations for a cottage on the top of Gomeldon Hill a skeleton was discovered, towards the end of September, 1936. The actual site lies in Lat. 51° 7′ 15″, Long. 1° 44′ 16″ W. adjoining the village school and is situated immediately on the N.W. side of the Winterbourne-Porton road on the edge of the steep escarpment overlooking the river Bourne. At this spot a low circular bank and ditch, each 3 feet wide, exists with three Scotch firs inside and near the south edge. The group of trees was larger until recently. The diameter of the circle is about 65 feet, and the bank, which is now 1 foot high, has been thrown up inside the ditch the surface of which is 6 inches lower than the surrounding ground. There is no central mound and the

general form of the circle is incompatible with that of a barrow. It is far more probable that the circle had been dug intentionally to surround a small plantation, a practice common on Salisbury Plain. Several such circles of similar diameter and still retaining their full complement of fir trees exist in the neighbourhood, notably at Porton Firs in the same parish.

The grave lay 10 feet inside the eastern edge of the circle and was not therefore at the centre. The foundations of the house had exposed a large area inside but no other graves or signs of disturbance were visible. The turf and mould was 9 inches thick and rested directly on the chalk.

The grave was oriented E.W. and had been very crudely and roughly dug. It was 5 feet 8 inches long by 2 feet 2 inches wide and the total depth was only 1 foot 9 inches. The skeleton, probably that of an adult male, lay extended on its back and had not been interred with ceremony. The skull lay at the east end of the grave, and since this was too short for the body the skull rested at a higher level and on the edge of the grave; it had therefore been broken by the builders. The position of the skull with regard to the rest of the body was remarkable and suggested death by hanging; but it is conceivable that its change in position relative to the body may have been due to subsidence. Though it lay on its occipital the skull was considerably twisted round with the lower jaw resting on the left clavicle. The atlas and axis were attached to the skull and a gap of an inch or so separated these from the first cervicle; this may have been due to subsidence.

The body from the pelvis to the shoulder lay at a sharp angle on its left side and the grave filling had helped to keep it at this angle. The right arm was slightly flexed with the elbow at a high level. The left arm was fully flexed with the forearm and hand vertical and resting against the edge of the grave. Both legs were slightly flexed, the left knee lying outwards and resting on the base of the grave, the right knee being upright gnd slightly to the right.

The skeleton had every appearance of having been roughly and unceremoniously thrown on to its left side into the crudely scooped out grave and no effort had been made to compose the body in a more restful and natural position.

As regards preservation the bones were, as usual in chalk, in fairly good condition and all organic matter had disappeared. It seems probable that the skeleton belonged to some malefactor possibly of medieval date. No objects accompanied the burial and no traces of clothing could be detected. The bones were removed and reinterred in the late Bronze Age ditch on Thorny Down, which is described in W.A.M., xlvii, June, 1917.

J. F. S. Stone.

Rare Chalk Echinus. In the collection of Mr. A. D. Passmore, of Wanborough, a flint fossil echinus from the upper chalk, found 36 years ago at Liddington, has lately been identified as a very rare species *Stereocidaris merceyi*.

Additions to the Society's Collection of Prints.

It seems well to record the total number of Wiltshire portraits, and views bought from Mr. Symonds, Bookseller, of Salisbury, in 1941, the property of a deceased collector, and added to the Society's collection.

There were 292 portraits (prints) new to our collection, with an additional 60 of doubtful connection with the county, and 103 duplicates.

Of Views in Wilts there are 377 new to our collection with 503 duplicates. The total number of prints bought was 1335. The duplicates are for sale.

WILTSHIRE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES.

[N.B.—This list does not claim to be in any way exhaustive. The Editor appeals to all authors and publishers of pamphlets, articles, books, or views, in any way connected with the county, to send him copies of their works, and to editors of papers, and members of the Society generally, to send him copies of articles, views, or portraits appearing in the newspapers.]

Sir Richard Burton's Wife. By Jean Burton. George G. Harrap & Co. 1942. 8vo., pp. 8 + 130, 11 illusts.

Isabel Arundel was descended from James Everard Arundel, youngest son of the 6th Baron Arundel of Wardour. This is a well-written and most interesting account of the life of an extraordinary woman, as the wife of an equally extraordinary man. A long bibliographical list is given at the end, of books and articles bearing on the subject.

Ridge Way Country by H. W. Timperley. London. J. M. Dent & Sons. 1935. Cloth, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{9}$, pp, xi + 207.

Of the country covered by this book the author in his foreword says: "In these pages we never leave the downs which carry the great ridgeway through that part of its course which is the long curve to the south-west from Blowing Stone Hill in Berkshire to close by Tan Hill overlooking Pewsey Vale in Wiltshire, and there is far more North Wiltshire than Berkshire in the book. . . An irregular four-sided figure with Blowing Stone Hill, Barbury Camp, Tan Hill and Chisbury Camp at its corners covers most of the ground . . . the book's Ridge Way country was also the country of Richard Jefferies and Alfred Williams, whose footsteps I follow reverently".

The illustrations include Bishopstone (an old house), a Wiltshire Barn, Aldbourne Village (a distant view), Ramsbury (lane and river), The Way to Martinsell, Barbury Camp, and Snap (ruins of cottages). The end paper has a map of the district. The index gives the names of old persons and places and (an unusual feature) of all flowers of the downs, mentioned, but none of the orchisses which add so greatly to the interest of the down flora in the later months of the summer are included.

There are chapters on Bishopstone, Liddington Hill, The Ridgeway, Little Hinton, Aldbourne, Sugar Hill, Rangbury Martinsell, Barbury and Woodsend. There is no attempt at description of the Churches, or any other buildings in the villages or of their place in history after prehistoric times. The wind, the clouds, the turf and its flowers, and the distant views are the only things with which the writer is concerned. Richard Jefferies is his master and he regards the world of the downs as his master did before him.

The Village and Monument of Avebury. The Wiltshire Gazette of July 16th, 1942, gives a short report, of half a column, of a talk by Mr. John Orchard, of Aldbourne, in the B.B.C. It is a gossipy talk and does not attempt much explanation or description, but it at least avoids absurd theories.

Clarenden Palace. The Salisbury Times of August 7th, 1936, in an account of the programme of excavations for 1936 has the following description:—

"Situated on a wooded hilltop overlooking a narrow valley and commanding a distant view of Salisbury Spire, the Palace was a large rambling building, or rather, series of buildings, extending over about seven acres. Actually it can best be visualised as a collection of houses on a roughly rectangular ground-plan, ranged around a series of courtvards. These buildings were connected by a maze of Cloisters and covered passages. The whole area is so large that in spite of three seasons' intensive work, by far the largest portion is still untouched. The fraction of the walls still standing is completely buried and when excavated seldom proves to be more than 2ft. or 3ft. in height. The one exception is the towering wall at the eastern end of the great hall, which was strengthened and augmented by buttresses about a century ago. Flint, the local stone, was the chief material used in the construction of these walls, but Chilmark stone was also extensively employed for buttresses and corners. Most of the buildings had probably two stories and mansard roofs with tiles manufactured locally. In 1933 when the present excavations were begun, preliminary and experimental diggings were made in order to get a line on the general plan and orientation of the Palace. 1934 saw the excavation of the kitchens and other buildings of minor importance in the western corner, and also of the great hall. . . . Last year was occupied chiefly by the exploration of the royal apartments to the east of the great hall ".

The Wiltshire Gazette of August 19th, 1937, quotes the report issued

by Dr. Borenius and Mr. J. Charlton.

"A discovery of outstanding importance is that of an early 13th century tile kiln, found when a large room situated south of the Cloisters was emptied of the debris which filled it to the height of several feet. Mediæval pottery kilns have been found in England in fair numbers. Mediæval tile kilns have been located, but very rarely, and such as have hitherto been found have invariably formed part of monastic establishments. With the exception of the slight remains of one such kiln at Shulebrede Priory, Haslemere, no monastic tile kiln is known to survive to the present day. The Clarenden kiln is the first non-ecclesiastical mediæval tile-kiln to be discovered in England; and the importance of this discovery is naturally enhanced by the fact that it existed within the precincts of the Palace of Henry III whose interest in the production of tegulæ pictæ is borne witness to in contemporary records. The Clarenden kiln, which is remarkably well preserved, consists of two parallel chambers with walls constructed of roofing tiles and roofed with a series of semi-circular vaulting ribs

made of narrow bricks. The chambers were filled with masses of fused tiles and other typical kiln material. The designs on the tiles illuminate in the most interesting fashion the whole history of the making of tiles in England in the 13th century, a branch of the arts in which England at that time held the leading position in Europe and deductions of the most far-reaching archæological importance will be possible thanks to the finding of this kiln in a royal palace. The building in which the kiln is situated is apparently of the 12th century. Early in the reign of Henry III it was evidently in a ruinous condition, and was used by the tile makers as a convenient site for a kiln. When later the kiln was finished with, it was filled up with rubbish and a cement floor laid over the top of it. The whole building was then recontructed and used as a salsary " (a store for salted provisions).

The English Houses of the Order of Fontevraud. By Lieut.-Col. H. F. Chettle, C.M.G., O.B.E., *Downside Review*, vol. lxx, 1942, pp. 35-55.

"The four English foundations of the Order of Fontevraud owed obedience to a single foreign house . . . Three of them were established as double houses of Nuns and Monks; the fourth was, in effect, a cell of monks who managed the English affairs of the mother house. This was suppressed in 1414 as an alien priory; the other three shed their priors and monks, were released from their obedience to Fontevraud, and survived as plain Benedictine Nunneries". The most important of these four houses was the Priory or Abbey of Amesbury, and it is with the history of this house, the succession of its prioresses, the visits of royalty, the value of its property, &c., &c., as mentioned in the various records from the 13th century downwards, with which this paper is concerned. It gathers together a large amount of information not readily accessible otherwise.

Mrs. Delany. By Simon Dewes. London, Rich & Cowan.

Cloth, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii \times 320. Portraits of "Mary Granville, Mrs. Pendarves, and Mrs. Delany by Opie in old age". Chapter I begins thus: "Mary Granville was born at Coulston, in Wiltshire, on May 14th, 1700. Her life lasted for practically the whole of the eighteenth century, for she died on April 14th, 1788. As a small girl she was promised a post as Maid of Honour by Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts. On the death of Queen Anne, she narrowly escaped being arrested with the rest of her family for their Jacobite sympathies. Yet she danced with and was made much of by George II when Prince of Wales, and she became the dearest friend of George III and Queen Caroline".

Sir Richard Grenville, the Commander of *The Revenge*, was Mary's great-great-great grandfather. His two grandsons were Sir Bevil the Royalist general who was killed in the battle of Lansdowne in 1643, and Sir Richard, "The King's general in the west". His eldest son John became Earl of Bath after the Restoration. Sir Bevil's youngest son Bernard had three sons and two daughters, the eldest of whom

was created Baron Lansdowne in 1711, whilst the youngest, Bernard. was the father of Mrs. Delany. Col. Bernard Granville and his wife lived on a small estate at Coulston where on May 14th, 1700, Mary was born. When eight years old she was adopted by her uncle and aunt, Sir John and Lady Stanley, who had no children of their own, and went to live with them at Whitehall. A chapter is devoted to Mary's long stay with her uncle and aunt, Lord and Lady Lansdowne. at Longleat, Lord Lansdowne being her father's brother, who had married the young widow of Thomas Thynne, of Longleat. It was during this visit that she was practically forced against her will into marriage with Alexander Pendarves, of Roscrow Castle, in Cornwall, a gouty and elderly bachelor, whose most unwelcome courtship at Longleat is described at length. Five years later he died, and Mrs. Pendarves was free to live the life of the court and of fashion in which she knew everybody, until some 20 years later, at the age of 43, she married Dr. Delany, of Dublin, a marriage, says the author, "that was in every way perfect". A remarkable life, and as it is told here, more like a novel than an ordinary biography. A charming book to read.

WILTS OBITUARY.

Lt.-Col. James Archibald St. George Fitzwarren Despenser-Robertson, died May 5th, 1942, aged 48. Son of Sir Helenus Robertson, educated at Eton and New College, Oxon. Served in the last war in the Royal Welch Fusiliers, was mentioned in despatches and received the O.B.E. Unionist M.P. for West Islington November, 1922 to 1923. M.P. for Salisbury March, 1931, until his death. Military secretary at Southern Command Headquarters since the outbreak of war.

Obit. notice, Times, May 7th, 1942.

Montagu Henry Chubb, died May 2nd, 1942, aged 88. Son of Thos H. Chubb of The Priory, Malmesbury. Married 1897, Miss Castle. He succeeded in 1874 his father as Clerk to the old Corporatiou of Malmesbury, and in 1886 he became Clerk to the Malmesbury Town Council on its formation, an office he held until his death. In 1918 he became High Steward of the Borough. He practised as a solicitor in partnership with his brother Alfred. He was a keen farmer and filled a long list of offices of all sorts in connection with Malmesbury, and in recognition of the work that filled his life he was presented on his 80th birthday with the Freedom of the Borough.

Long obit. notice and portrait, Wilts Gazette, May 7th, 1942.

Capt. William Leonard Deighton Gundry, died suddenly, aged 68, September 16th, 1942. Born in New Zealand, he came to Devizes in February, 1924, when he succeeded to Hillworth Cottage on the death of his cousin, Mr. R. S. Gundry, C.B. He became a member of the Town Council, and had twice served the office of Mayor, in 1930 and 1934, King George's Jubilee year. Both he and Mrs. Gundry have from the beginning taken a most active part in all manner of committees connected with the life and welfare of the town and municipal institutions, more especially in connection with the hospital. He was on the committee of the Wilts Archæological Society. As a Churchman he took an active interest in the work of St. James' (Southbroom) Church, of the Bible Society, and of the Infant School. He was also a prominent Freemason. Probably no one else in Wiltshire was an active member of so many committees dealing with all manner of good and useful objects. He himself is said to have put their number at 60. Naturally his death is a great loss to Devizes, as the great attendance at his funeral showed. He leaves a widow and three sons, one of whom, Flying Officer Kenneth, has been reported missing in the Middle East.

Obit. notice, Wilts Gazette, September 17th, 1942.

George Simon Arthur Watson-Taylor, of Stert Lodge, died October 4th, aged 91. Buried at Erchfont. Son of Simon and Lady Hannah Charlotte Watson Taylor of Erlestoke Park Born 1850 at Erchfont Manor. Educated at Eton and Trinity Coll., Cambridge. Married, 1895, Evelyn Matilda, youngest d. of Henry Fitzroy, of Salcey

Lawn, Northamptonshire, who died 1931. He married, secondly, Mary Edith, d. of Lt.-Col. Delves Broughton. He served as Captain in the Wilts Yeomanry and was Sheriff of Wilts in 1914. He was J.P. for Wilts. Erlestoke House and Estate was sold in 1920, the whole of the remarkable timber on the estate having been sold previously.

Obit. notice, Wilts Gazette, October 8th, 1942.

Dr. James Thompson, died August 4th, 1942, aged 47. Born at Penrith 1895. Educated at Q. Eliz. Grammar School, Penrith, where his father, James Thompson, was a teacher. In 1916 he entered the R.A.M.C. and served abroad during the later part of the last war, gaining the M.C. He married, 1921, Margaret Catherine Seaton. He succeeded to Dr. Russell Steele's practice at Devizes in 1922. He had for many years a large practice as a surgeon in Harley Street which he visited from Devizes. He had made a special study of cancer and was well-known as a surgeon. He was J.P. for Devizes and a prominent Freemason. He leaves a son and a daughter. His death is a great loss to the district.

Major-General W. H. P. Hill, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., of West Amesbury House, died July 26th, 1942, aged 63. S. of Mr. J. Ledger Hill of Bulford Manor. Educated at Marlborough, joined Royal Fusiliers 1899. Served in S. Africa 1899—1902, and in the last war with distinction, and was mentioned five times in despatches, He commanded the 2nd Battalion of the Loyal N. Lancashire Regiment, 1924. A.D.C. to the King 1932. Col. the Royal Fusiliers, City of London Regiment, 1933. Major-Gen. in charge of Administration of Southern Command, 1939—1940. Retired 1940. Married, 1910, Phyllis Gertrude Sanders. He leaves a son. His only daughter, 3rd Officer Bridget Hill, was killed in a flying accident in March, 1942.

Obit. notice, Wilts Gazette, July 30th, 1942.

Thomas Heath Thornely, died July 28th, 1942, aged 82. S. of Frank Thornely of Liverpool. Educated at Birkenhead and Cambridge. Solicitor in Liverpool until he retired in 1907. He came to the Elms, Nursteed, in 1909. Chairman of Roundway Parish Council, and for many years of the National Savings Movement in Devizes. J.P. for Wilts. His second son, Peter, was killed recently in action in Libya.

He had a considerable knowledge of the birds of Wilts, and for many years he kept accurate records of the rainfall and the temperature which he published in the *Wiltshire Gazette*.

Obit. notice, Wilts Gazette, July 30th, 1942

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE WILTS ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR July, 1941—July, 1942.

Membership. On the 2nd of August, 1942, the number of members of the Society was 468, made up of 18 Life Members, 2 Hon. Members, and 448 Annual Subscribers, against 467 in 1940.

The Magazine. The two half-yearly numbers have been published in June and December, the latter number including the full Index for the 48th Volume containing the Magazines from June, 1940, to June, 1941. Since December, 1922, each volume has contained five parts, issued in $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, and each volume has been indexed separately.

The Editor has again to thank many of the authors of papers for the cost of the blocks illustrating them. As in recent years the Botanical side of the Society's work has filled a much larger space in the *Magazine* than it has ever done before, and we are fortunate in possessing members who write with authority on matters which perhaps are not of special interest to the majority, but for all that do put Wiltshire in a position which it has not held before in regard to the Fungi, the Mosses and the Lichens of the county. The two *Magazines* published during the year contained 255 pages, and it is hoped that by cutting down the number of extra copies beyond those sent out to members, to 20 instead of the much larger number which have been printed in recent years we shall be able to continue to issue the *Magazine*.

No annual meeting or excursions have been held during the year, in consequence of the war.

THE RECORD BRANCH OF THE SOCIETY has ceased publication for the duration of the war.

The Museum and Library. The Museum windows have been defended by small mesh wire during the year, and a number of the most valuable drawings, MSS., and books, are still, by the kindness of the County Council, given such protection as the sub-vaults of the Council buildings at Trowbridge can afford them. There have been few additions to the Museum during the year, but the Library has received a good many books more or less connected with the county, including Mr. Blackford's comprehensive "History of Cherhill", and the smaller but excellent History by Messrs. Buckridge and Pocock, of Pinhills House near Calne. The most notable additions to the Library during the year are typed copies of the 18th Century Registers of Melksham by Mr. W. A. Webb, who has done so much in the transcription of the registers of this part of Wilts. It is greatly to be wished that this work of transcription of Parish Registers should be more widely carried out in the county.

Another valuable addition is the gift by Mr. C. R. Everett of a great collection of 260 old Estate Sale Catalogues, mostly concerning the south of the county, saved by him from destruction in "salvage" at Salisbury, and since bound up in seven folio volumes.

ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

Museum.

- Presented by Canon H. E. Ketchley: Wooden Pitch Pipe which formerly belonged to Richard Allan.
 - " " Mr. W. J. Gibbons: Two Medals of the Wiltshire Friendly Society.

Library.

- Presented by The Author, Lt.-Col. H. F. Chettle, C.M.G., O.B.E: The English Houses of the Order of Fontevraud. Reprint from *The Downside Review*, vol. lxx, 1942.
 - " GEN. W. G. THOMPSON: "Grosse's Antiquities of England, Wales, and Scotland", 1776, 8 vols.
 - " THE AUTHOR, E. S. TOMPKINS: "White Horse and Cheese Rolling".
 - " MR. F. B. REED: Bound Volumes of the Wilts Arch.

 Magazine, 1855—1912. Barrows Geographical Dictionary, 1759. Other odd numbers of Wilts Arch.

 Magazine, &c.
 - " Mr. John Edwards: Historical MSS. Commission. The Marquis of Bath's MSS.
 - ,, Mr. C. R. Everett: A large collection of old Wiltshire Sale Catalogues chiefly of S. Wilts properties, since bound in seven volumes.
 - ", CANON E. H. GODDARD: Original Ship Money List.

 MS. Notes on Natural History, 1873 to 1884 and later.

 North Wilts Church Magazine, Salisbury Diocesan

 Gazette, 1942. Antiquity for 1942. "The Ancient
 Temple at Avebury and its Gods", 8vo., 1923. By Ch.

 Harvey, R.N. "Ridgeway Country. H. W. Timperley,
 1935".
 - ,, THE EXORS. OF THE LATE MRS. HAMMOND: A large collection of MS. Notes and Papers by the late Mr. John Hammond.
 - " MR. W. A. Webb: Transcription of Melksham Registers, Baptisms, 1734—1798; Marriages, 1733—1793; Extracts from Banns Register, 1754—1762, and 1788—1793.

Presented by Capt. and Mrs. Cunnington: The remaining stocks of the following books:—

By Mrs. Cunnington: "All Cannings Cross", 8 copies.

By Capt. B. H. Cunnington: "Wilts Quarter Sessions
Records of the 17th

Records of the 17th Century", 56 copies.

"Devizes Borough Records, 1538—1832", 22 copies.

To be sold for the benefit of the Society.

NOTICE.

In future all communications respecting the *Magazine* should be sent to:

H. C. BRENTNALL, ESQ., F.S.A., GRANHAM WEST, MARLBOROUGH.

who has succeeded to the Editorship vacated by the resignation of Canon E. H. Goddard, on the issue of this number.



THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS (Continued).

STONEHENGE AND ITS BARROWS, by W. Long, Nos. 46–47 of the *Magazine* in separate wrapper 3s. 6d. This still remains one of the best and most reliable accounts of Stonehenge and its Earthworks.

WILTSHIRE—The TOPOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS OF JOHN AUBREY, F.R.S., A.D. 1659—1670. Corrected and enlarged by the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, M.A., F.S.A., 4to., Cloth, pp. 491, with 46 plates. Price £1 7s. 6d.

WILTSHIRE INQUISITIONES POST MORTEM, CHARLES I, 8vo., pp., vii. + 510 1901. With full index. In 8 parts, as issued.

Price 13s

DITTO. IN THE REIGNS OF HEN. III, ED. I, and ED. II. 8vo., pp. xv. 505. In parts as issued. Price 13s.

DITTO. THE REIGN OF ED. III. 8vo., pp. 402. In six parts as issued. Price 13s.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE GREAT STONE MONUMENTS OF WILTSHIRE, STONEHENGE, AND AVEBURY, with other references, by W. Jerome Harrison, F.G.S., pp 169., with 4 illustrations. No. 89, Dec., 1901, of the *Magazine*. Price 5s. 6d. Contains particulars as to 947 books, papers, &c., by 732 authors.

THE TROPENELL CARTULARY. An important work in 2 vols., 8vo., pp. 917, containing a great number of deeds connected with property in many Wiltshire Parishes of the 14th and 15th centuries. Only 150

copies were printed, of which a few are left. Price £1 2s.

THE CHURCH BELLS OF WILTSHIRE, THEIR INSCRIPTIONS AND HISTORY, BY H. B. WALTERS, F.S.A. Published in III Parts. Price 16s. (N.B.—Separate Parts can no longer be sold.)

A CALENDAR OF THE FEET OF FINES FOR WILTSHIRE,

1195 TO 1272, BY E. A. FRY. 8vo., pp. 103. Price 6s.

ABSTRACTS OF THE FEET OF FINES RELATING TO WILTSHIRE FOR THE REIGNS OF ED. I AND ED. II. EDITED BY R. P. PUGH. DEVIZES, 1939, pp. 187. Free to Members of the Record Branch, £1 1s. to others.

The whole of the remaining copies of the following works by CAPT. B. H. and Mrs. Cunnington having been given by them to the Society

are now on sale at the following prices:-

ALL CANNINGS CROSS (Excavations). By MRS. CUNNINGTON. 4to., cloth, 53 Plates. 21s.

WOODHENGE (Excavations, 1927—28). By MRS. CUNNINGTON.

Cloth, 4to. 42s.

RECORDS OF THE COUNTY OF WILTS, EXTRACTS FROM THE QUARTER SESSIONS GREAT ROLLS OF THE 17TH CENTURY, By CAPT. B. H. CUNNINGTON, F.S.A., Scot. Cloth. 12/6.

DEVIZES BOROUGH ANNALS, EXTRACTS FROM THE CORPORATION RECORDS. By CAPT. B. H. CUNNINGTON, F.S.A., Scot. Cloth. Vol. I, 1555 to 1791, 21s. Vol. II, 1792 to 1835, 15s.

WILTSHIRE TOKENS.

The Society has a considerable number of 17th and 18th century Wiltshire Tokens to dispose of, either by sale or exchange for others not in the Society's collection.

Apply to Capt. B. H. Cunnington, F.S.A., Scot., Curator, Museum, Devizes.

The North Wilts Museum and Wiltshire Library at Devizes.

All Members of the Society are asked to give an annual subscription towards the upkeep of the Devizes Museum and Library. Both the Museum and the Library are concerned in the first place with objects of interest from this County, and with Books, Pamphlets, MSS., Drawings, Maps, Prints and Photographs connected with Wiltshire, and together they form one of the most important branches of the Society's Work. The Library is the only institution of the kind in Wiltshire, so far as its collection of all kinds of material for the history of the County is concerned.

Old Deeds, Maps, Plans, &c., connected with properties in Wilts are especially welcome.

Old photographs of any Wiltshire Houses, Churches, Cottages, or other objects of interest, will be welcomed by the Librarian.

Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. R. D. Owen, Bank Chambers, Devizes.

Wiltshire Tradesmen's Tokens.

Wanted to Purchase or Exchange Duplicates.

A. D. PASSMORE, Callas House,
Wanborough, Wilts.

The Society has a number of Old Engraved Views of Buildings, &c., in Wiltshire, and Portraits of Persons connected with the County, to dispose of. Apply to C. W. Pugh, M.B.E., Librarian, Museum, Devizes.

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THE

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Archæological & Natural History

MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

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EDITED BY
H. C. BRENTNALL, F.S.A.,
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[The authors of the papers printed in this "Magazine" are alone responsible for all statements made therein.]



DEVIZES

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY C. H. WOODWARD, EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, STATION ROAD.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

- TAKE NOTICE that a copious Index for the preceding eight volumes of the *Magazine* will be found at the end of Vols. viii., xvi., xxiv., and xxxii. The subsequent Volumes are each fully indexed separately.
- The annual subscription is 15s. 6d., the entrance fee for new Members is 10s. 6d. Life Membership £15 15s. Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. R. D. Owen Bank Chambers, Devizes.
- Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society for the current year, are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. R. D. Owen, Bank Chambers, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed.
- The Annual Subscription to the New Record Branch for Members of the Society is 10s. 6d.; for non-members £1 1s. This Branch is at present in abeyance
- The Numbers of this Magazine will be delivered gratis, as issued, to Members who are not in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions, but in accordance with Byelaw No. 8 "The Financial Secretary shall give notice to Members in arrear, and the Society's publications will not be forwarded to Members whose Subscriptions shall remain unpaid after such notice."
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WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—Ovid.

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THE ROADS AND BRIDGES OF THE PARISH OF LACOCK, WILTS: THEIR MANAGEMENT, MAINTENANCE, AND CONDITION FROM 1583 TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

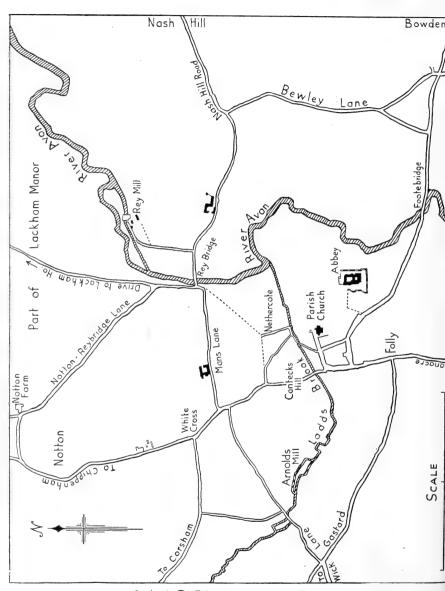
By F. H. HINTON.

At Lacock Vicarage is a book used from 1583 to 1821 to record the Minutes of the Vestries or Meetings of the Inhabitants, and, for shorter periods, to record matters concerning the relief of the poor by the overseers, the maintenance of order and of the King's Peace by the constables, and the maintenance of the roads of the parish by the waymen, supervisors, or waywardens. There are also in a chest in the Church documents relating to a series of law-suits concerning two bridges spanning the Avon within the parish. Miss Talbot, the Lady of the Manor of Lacock, has kindly allowed me access to the Rolls of the Manor Courts, and these contain many entries relating to the parish roads.

It must be remembered that, if we except those made during the Roman occupation, the roads of England were not metalled; in fact during the whole period here considered and for nearly a century after that period the King's Highway was not as we regard it, a "strip of land, or any corporeal thing, . . . what existed, in fact, was not a road but what we might almost term an easement, a right of way, enjoyed by the public at large, leading from village to village, along a customary course, which, if much frequented, became a beaten track ".1 If the beaten track became unusable at any point, as frequently happened in foul weather, the traveller, on foot or otherwise, might, in his right of passage, walk or ride over growing crops in the adjacent land.

Until the reign of Queen Mary the maintenace of the King's Highway was as a rule the responsibility of the Lord of the Manor, and the duty was often thrown by him on his tenants; but the manorial system had by that time fallen into decay, and the roads were more than ever

¹ The Story of the King's Highway, S. & B. Webb.



——LACOCK Roads & Bridges -

left uncared for. During the 15th and 16th centuries there was comparatively little wheeled traffic; much of the land which had before been arable had been or was being converted to pasture, and sheep and cattle would move from place to place "on their own feet". Even as late as 1794 "the small quantity of corn the farmer has to draw to market renders the state of the roads of less consequence to the natives—a bullock, a sheep, or a horse will travel when it would be difficult for a cart or waggon". As long as the roads within the bounds of the parish were usable by the farmers they would discourage any expenditure on the roads for the benefit of the public at large and for what would now be called "through traffic". Their attitude was like that of many persons who within the early years of the 20th century protested against expenditure on the improvement of road surfaces for the benefit of users of cycles and motor-cars.

In 1555 (Queen Mary) an Act was passed which provided that the care of the roads within its bounds should be the duty of every parish; the same Act cast certain obligations with regard to highway administration upon the Justices of the Division in which the parish was situated, but these obligations "were indefinite, slight, and easily evaded". There were some, comparatively few, exceptions to this parochial responsibility, such as in cases where the responsibility had beforetime lain upon a certain individual or corporate body. The Act ordered that such parish should each year appoint one or more waymen or surveyors of the roads. Those chosen for the office were not experts in road construction or repair, indeed road engineering was not then existent; in a rural district they were often farmers and small tradesmen. After serving gratuitously their year of office they would be succeeded by others equally inexperienced in the work. The Act also provided that every man who held land in the parish of the yearly value of £50 or who had teams of horses or oxen should send a waggon or cart and necessary tools with two men; every other ablebodied householder was to go himself to work gratuitously on the roads or supply a labourer in his stead. The statutory period of such labour each year was six days of eight hours each. All labour, tools, horses, carts, etc., were to be supplied gratuitously. Even when the parishioners had given the statutory days of labour, if a road was found to be in need of further repair, a Justice, constable, or even a private individual might make presentment of, i.e., lay information against, the parish, which might then be fined at the Quarter Sessions.

So far there has been considered the administration of the highways in English parishes in general. The earliest of the preserved statements of accounts rendered by the Lacock Waymen is that for the year 1582. This was presented on January 1st, 1583. As the form of statement is typical of those for many years, it is here given:—

² General View of the Agriculture of Derby, by Thomas Brown.

"Robert Dummer and Thomas Wood, Waymen, the first of January, Anno Dom: 1583.

"They at there entrance received in stocke
"There increase made by there Ale was liiijs viijd
"The hole charge was £iij vjs vjd

"Whereof they layed oute according to there particular byll

xlijs vijd

"And so there rested in stocke at there discharging xxiijs xjd
"At whiche time were chosen Waymen Richard Hiscock and
Richard Hellier".

From this statement it will be seen that, though labour, tools, and haulage were supplied by the parishioners gratuitously, there was still an expenditure of £2 2s. 7d. to be met. Dummer and Wood had at their appointment received, from predecessors in office, "in stock", i.e., balance in hand, 11s. 10d. The next item is of particular interest for the parish road fund had been replenished to the extent of 12 14s. 8d. by the holding of an Ale. The Lacock Ales or parish feasts held to obtain funds to maintain the Church and to meet other expenses incurred by the churchwardens were remarkably remunerative. The Waymen, too, held such Ales. Most of the yearly statements do not show how road money was then obtained, the formula used being frequently "Their increase was . . . ", but Way Ales were occasionally, if not annually, a source of revenue for the upkeep of the Lacock roads down to 1618. The sum of f2 2s. 7d. given as the amount spent on the roads would be in purchasing power equivalent to £20 or £25 in in 1942. In the statements no items of the expenditure are given; the "bills of particulars", which gave the details and which were submitted with the statements, have not been preserved. In one statement, however, there is the item, "Laved oute for a plank and stones"; very probably these were used in the repair of a small footbridge over one of the two small tributary streams of the Avon.

The amounts spent on the roads varied from year to year. Between 1582 and 1609 the highest expenditure was £3 7s. 3d. in 1583, and the lowest that for 1586, 1s. 11d.

At the Meeting of the Inhabitants at which the annual statements were presented the waymen for the following year were chosen, usually two in Lacock, but sometimes more. Though farmers or tradesmen usually filled the office, yet it appears that sometimes, when some more important work on the roads or bridges was in hand, perhaps following an indictment at the Sessions or Assizes, one at least of those chosen was a man of affairs. Thus in 1618 there had been an indictment of the parish regarding Man's Lane and Footbridge, the great bridge over the Avon on the Bowden Hill—Lacock Road, and one of the waymen chosen was Benjamin Baynard, a younger brother of Sir Robert Baynard, of Lackham. Rarely did a layman serve more than one year, but Benjamin Baynard not only did so but "at the earnest request" of the parishioners he served a third year. A Justice of the

Peace, a lawyer, a parson, an officer in the King's forces and certain others were exempt from obligation to serve in any parish office, but in 1641 "Captain Montagu, Esq: is pleased with the associacon of Thomas Mitchell to take the said office", although as an officer of the King's army and as a Justice he was not obliged to serve.

Statutory Labour on the Roads.

The enforcement of labour for six days each year sometimes added greatly to the troubles of the surveyors. Householders, who should, after due notice given in the parish Church, have presented themselves for the week's work or provided substitutes, often failed to do so. The Court Leet, of which more will be said later, frequently dealt with such defaulters. Thus in the year 1600 "The Twelve for the Queen", i.e., the Jury, presented no less than thirty-four named householders, of whom five were widows, "for not coming to repair the Queen's ways this last year on six several days according to the Statute". At the same time were presented Robert Gale, Richard Woodland, and the Lady of the Manor herself (Lady Ann Sharington) for not supplying carts for the work on three, two, and three days respectively. Gale was fined thirty and Woodland twenty shillings; apparently the Lady forfeited nothing. From contemporary writers we learn that during the 17th and 18th centuries even where there was no absenteeism there was often lack of real application to the work on roads in England, that the labourers when not immediately under the eye of the Surveyor wasted their time, and that the statutory six-days period was one of relaxation rather than of honest work.

Some sources of Revenue.

Besides the money obtained in some years by their ales there were other sums received by the waymen. A person who preferred neither to labour nor to pay a labourer to take his place for the six days of statutory labour might pay to the waymen a composition fee. Some of the statements show that such fees or fines were paid in Lacock:—"Received of men who lacked their days 3s. 6d."; "For composition 3s. 6d."; "For work in money 4s."; "Service money". In 1670 such fines were fixed by Act of Parliament at 1s. 6d. for a man's day, 3s. for a man and horse, and 10s. for a cart with two men.

"It is plain that the resources at the disposal of the surveyors of the highways, whether in the way of Statute Labour or in that of commutations and fines, were inadequate for any advance in the standard of road maintenance". It was, however, not possible legally to raise a compulsory rate to supply money for that purpose until in 1654, nearly 100 years after the Act of Queen Mary, there was enacted "An Ordinance for the Better Amending and Keeping the Common Highwaies". This gave power to a Meeting of the Inhabitants to make a rate not exceeding one shilling in the pound "for making and repairing and cleaning roads". If the parishioners failed to do so, the Surveyors might impose the rate and get it confirmed by the

³ The Story of the King's Highway, S. & B. Webb.

nearest Justice. But fourteen years before such power was given to parishioners Lacock raised a rate of 5d. in the pound for the ways. Some statements of even earlier date contain the item "received of the inhabitants"; these may refer to voluntary contributions, though the amount so received in 1616-7 was as much as £20 6s. 11d., a sum which a rate of 4d. in the pound would have yielded according to the contemporary assessment of Lacock property, and equal in purchasing power to approximately £200 of to-day.

"Farming out" of a Road.

The upkeep of the road down Bowden Hill with its steep gradients appears to have been a somewhat heavy responsibility. In 1704 the Parish Meeting imposed a Rate of sixpence in the pound "for the repairing of the pitching of Bowden Hill and mending the rest of the Highways of the parish". In the 17th and 18th centuries many parishes had, with a view to economy, farmed out their workhouses, and Quarter Sessions resorted to the same expedient for the upkeep of county gaols. Lacock made trial of a similar method in dealing with the road on Bowden Hill. There is found a signed agreement between the parish and Joel and John Turner, masons. By this agreement made in 1710 the Turners for a yearly payment of fifty shillings undertook "to repair Bowden Hill and keep it in repair during their joint and several lives, and keep and have the parish harmless from all manner of prosecutions that may be commenced against it with regard to the said hill being out of repair". It is not known how long this farming out of the road continued.

Labour on the Roads a form of Poor Relief.

Though it is chiefly the 17th century now under consideration, it may here be stated that at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries there was much unemployment in England. The accounts of the overseers of the poor show that in Lacock, as in many other parishes, to avoid as far as possible the illegal granting of relief to the able-bodied merely on the grounds of unemployment, the unemployed were sometimes set to work on the roads of the parish. The overseers paid the wages but were reimbursed by the surveyors.

The Highways and the Manor.

The 1583—1821 book of the Accounts and Memoranda of the various parish officers throws no light on the conditions of the roads nor on the harassing nature of the office of waywarden or surveyor; but the Rolls of the Manor Courts, as far as I have at present examined them, give many interesting facts. As in most manors the Lacock Manor Court was of a somewhat heterogeneous nature, comprising The View of Frankpledge, The Court Baron, and the Court Leet, though this last in the Lacock Rolls of the 17th century is never called "Court Leet" but sometimes "Curia Legalis" and sometimes "Lawday". The title at the head of the Roll for a session of the Manor Court is in some instances "Curia Legalis cum Visu Franciplegii unacum Curia Manorii".

The Manor Court in its function as Court Leet was a Court of Record

and dealt with offences against the commonweal and administered the King's Justice. Affrays, bloodshed, debts, brawls whether by drunkards or scolding wives, neglect to scour roadside ditches, allowing pigs to go about unringed, placing mixens in the road were some of the offences dealt with by the Lacock Court Leet. Even the Lord of the Manor might be "presented" by the "Jury for the King" for a breach of the peace or for neglect of a public duty.

After 1555 it was the parish and not the manor which was responsible for the maintenace of the roads, and it was the parish at its annual meeting of the inhabitants which appointed the waywardens or overseers of the roads, which levied the rates for road maintenance, and to which the waywardens presented their financial statement. But damage done to the King's highway, and any annoyance given to the King's subjects using the road, and even neglect of the roads by the parish or its waymen were breaches of the King's Peace and as such were within the cognisance of the Court Leet. The Lacock Rolls show that road and street offences were frequent.

In the 17th century there was in Lacock no proper system for the disposal of sewage; indeed large towns and cities were without means of the disposal of garbage and filth. Such was thrown from each house into the street to form mixens to be removed at longer or shorter periods, while liquid filth was thrown into an open ditch or gutter in the street. In 1630 the Jury of the Court Leet presented "that the mixens lyeing in Batsmead Street are not yet carried away. It is to be carried away by the Lady", ie., Lady Oliff Stapleton, then lady of the Manor. "She hath carried away part but not all". Six months later the Jury reported that the filth still lay in the street. On one occasion when the same mixens were presented there was added the note that the reason why the occupiers had not removed them was "because my Lady doth intend to use them herselfe for her arrable land". (The four streets of Lacock village are now known as High, West, Church, and East Streets; none of these names occur in the 17th century rolls. I hope by examination of earlier and later rolls to ascertain which of them was Batsmead Street.) Frequently the Jury presented the condition of gutters obstructed with filth from the houses. In 1632, "the gutter near the Crosse wanteth scowring and by reason the Crosse is suncke down that the soile cannot have passage is much annoyance to the Street". The tenants of houses nearest to the obstruction were ordered to clear the gutter under penalty of 3s. 4d. each. At a later Court it was reported that the Cross had fallen and diverted the stream of matter. In 1640 Edward Enosse was presented "for throweing out of Carryon into the Highwaye beeinge dangerous as the beast dyed in the Murrayn". He was fined 3s. 4d. Owners or occupiers of lands, the water from which drained into roadside ditches, were held responsible if the ditches were in such condition as to cause flooding of the road. In 1635 property in the hands of the Lady of the Manor was presented:-

"Wee present the way at Sumsions house leading to Beneger is very

much annoyed by reason the water hath not his passage for want of scowring my Ladyes Ditch from the place where the water standeth which is to pass downe the grounds called Sanchberrie and the Lye. And shee is desired to repaire it by the feast of All Saints because two or three have been liked to bee Drowned at the last great Frost".

While Lacock butchers were fined only 3d. or 4d. for selling unwholesome meat, tenants of lands who, by failing to clear ditches, caused water to accumulate on the highway were mulcted in sums varying from two to forty shillings. An entry in the roll for 1643 states that Martin Dyer ought to repair his ditch near the King's way being a great annoyance to the road at Cantecks Hill, and he was ordered to repair it under a penalty of 10s.

Presentments of offences might be made by the Jury of the Court Leet, by parish officers, e.g., the constables, by the Bailiff of the Manor, or by private persons. Sometimes the waymen presented matters pertaining to their office; thus on one occasion Thomas Derrington, then waywarden, presented the Widow Thornhill for neglecting to cleanse a watercourse.

Duties and Responsibilities of Waymen.

As to the harassing nature of the office and duties of waymen or surveyors, S. & B. Webb's remarks in regard to the office in parishes generally, are, by the parish and Court Leet records, shown to be equally true of Lacock in particular, and it may be useful to quote at some length from *The Story of the King's Highway*:—

"He (the wayman) found himself entangled in multifarious and perplexing obligations . . . he had to take over any balance of highway money, and to learn . . . the manner in which the highway accounts were made up, how he would have to enter the complicated series of fines, compositions, and commutations . . . Three times during the year, at least, he had to 'view' all the roads, highways, watercourses, bridges . . . and make presentment upon oath in what condition he found the same to the next Justice. He had to see to it that the owners of the lands adjacent to the highways cleared these ways of any timber, stone, hay, stubble, etc. . . . cleaned and scoured the ditches, gutters, and drains adjoining; cut down, grubbed, and carried away bushes or shrubs standing or growing in the highways; he was at all times to keep a look-out for and waylay waggons, carts, and carriages that were drawn by more than the statutory number of oxen or horses . . . Possibly after some weeks of this unpopular activity, he might find some relaxation in his journey to attend the Highway Sessions at the neighbouring town to listen to a solemn 'charge' from the assembled Justices as to his duties, to make his presentments, and to answer the magistrates' questions upon them; or on his occasional jaunt to the Quarter Sessions . . . to defeat an indictment of the parish for neglecting the roads . . . It was the Surveyor who had

to fix the six days on which the whole parish had to turn out and work on the roads; it was for him to order the unwilling teams and carts to drag the stones, gravel, or quarry rubbish to the places where he judged them to be required . . . to see that the labourers were all at work and to direct their labours with whatever knowledge of roadmaking he might possess. It was on him that fell the disagreeable duty of reporting all defaulters to the nearest Justice of the Peace, and of collecting, from poor cottagers and niggardly farmers, whatever cash payments might be due from them. If, dismayed by the prospect of so much work without pay, he refused to accept office, he might promptly find himself mulcted in a penalty of five pounds. Moreover for any neglect of his duty, he was liable to be summarily fined forty shillings for each default ".

The Court Rolls of Lacock Manor show that it was not only the Justices in Highway or Quarter Sessions who might impose fines for default; on more than one occasion between 1627 and 1647 the "Jury for the King" at the Court Leet made presentments concerning the highways. In 1633 presentment was made that the waywardens "did both neglect their office in amending the wayes, and also in presentinge the default as namely the falling down of the earth at Cantecks Hill which is to the foundring of the way that Coach and Cart cannot passe there; therefore they are amerced xs a peece; the waywardens named are John Clark and Robte. Quarrel". Sometimes the Leet Jury presented the parish, and not merely the road officers, for permitting a road to continue in an unsatisfactory condition.

During part of the 17th century Footbridge was in a ruinous condition and it was necessary for persons from Bowden Hill attending Lacock market to take the long route along Bewley Lane and to cross the river at Ray Bridge. On one occasion the Jury presented that this lane "being the chiefest way to the market is in great defaulte and very dangerous to ride, and the same is to be amended by the parish of Lacock by the next court" under a penalty of xxs.

Lacock was not unique in thus impeaching the parish or its officers. With the Lacock Rolls are preserved those of the manors of Liddington and Charlton of which Sharringtons and, later, Talbots were lords; and among the presentments made by the Homage of Charlton in 1650 is the following:—"Wee present John Oram and John Amor, overseers of the highwaies, for not performing there office and they are to amend the highwaies by midsomer next upon paine of xls apeece".

Abuses of the Highways.

The Rolls show that Lacock roads were frequently abused. In 1641 five persons were jointly presented for making encroachments on the road between Ray Bridge and Notton in such a manner that packhorses could not easily pass by. They were ordered to remove the obstruction, but at the next court it was again presented and described as being such that a man could not safely pass by with his packhorses yoked or otherwise ("cum jugo, caballis suis, aut aliter"). It was

again ordered that such injury and inconvenience to the King" et veris subjectis" should be amended within one month under a penalty of 20s.

The same stretch of road, and that a road leading to what was at that time the only bridge over the Avon usable by wheeled traffic, was obstructed by quarrying for stone by various persons. It was presented that James Mountagu, Esq., and Thomas Colborne had rendered the road "dangerouse and in great danger for travellers to pass that way", Mr. Montagu having made a 'quarr' for stones on one side of the way and Mr. Colborne on the other. The same condition of the quarries was reported time after time, and Colborne was fined, but Montagu had not, six years after the first presentation, filled in the pits he had made, although, as found from a source other than the Rolls, during one of those six years he had himself held the office of waywarden. Digging for stone in the highway, probably on the verge of the generally used track, was not a rare offence. In 1632 Mr. Benjamin Baynard, of Lackham, was ordered to fill in a "quar" which he had made "betwixt Island Furlong and Lynches" to obtain stones for his own use.

Encroachments on the highways and especially upon the wayside "waste", by building or extending cottages, were presented on several occasions between the years 1627 and 1647. At Notton and at Cockley John Wastfield and the Widow Hancock had respectively made such encroachments, and both were ordered by the Court Leet to "pluck down" the erections. Eventually Wastfield was fined twenty shillings, but "My Lady hath geven way to the Widow Hancock". At a still later presentment it was stated that Wastfield's case had "been presented to the Justices and they have allowed it".

THE TWO LACOCK BRIDGES OVER THE AVON.

Among the contents of the Church chest are some dozen documents, some of them being copies of Orders made at Quarter Sessions between 1628 and 1688, and all of them having reference to the two "great" bridges which cross the Avon within Lacock parish, Footbridge and Rey Bridge. (To avoid confusion it should be stated that Footbridge, which lies in the road leading from Lacock to Bowden Hill, is so called not because it is or ever has been a bridge for pedestrians only, but, perhaps, because it lies not far from the foot of the Hill.) The document of most recent date is one of 1704, and is "An Order of the Court of Queen's Bench", ordering a Trial "on a Presentation Moved into that Court in order to obtain an unbiassed Jury". Translated from the Latin it runs:—

"Friday next after the quindene of Trinity, 3 Anne (30 June, 1704).

Wilts to wit
The Queen
against
the inhabitants
of the
County of Wilts

It is ordered that there be a trial at the next assizes to be holden for the county of Berks. And that the sheriff of the same county return a good and sufficient jury for the trial of the issue in this cause joined. And that there be no claim for defect of hundredors. And it is further ordered that the

prosecutor with his counsel and attorney or agent have a view of the pertinent record of the sessions of the county of Wilts and copies of such record at the costs of the said Prosecutor.

By the motion of the queen's attorney-general ".

Most of the dozen documents in the chest are "copies of the pertinent record", and from these much of the history of the two bridges during the 17th century may be obtained. To understand these documents fully, something of the history of the administration of the maintenance of bridges in general must be known.

"The Common Law of England knows nothing of the making of bridges. Not until 1888 (Local Government Act. 51 and 52 Vic. c. 21) did any statute make their construction part of the common duty of any public authority; and then it was entrusted, not to any ancient body but to the new County Councils. To our ancestors of the fifteenth and even of the eighteenth century, accustomed to ride or scramble through the frequent 'water splashes' on the roads, and to cross most rivers by fords, a bridge appeared as an exception to the common course of things, coming into existence as the result of some extraordinary private benevolence or religious zeal. To the traveller, the new bridge might be a boon calling for a special act of devotion at the chapel or crucifixes by its side, which were the invariable accompaniment of the mediæval bridge. To the ordinary home-keeping citizen, it seemed mainly a burden, which might involve new and unaccustomed contributions, against which he sought to protect himself in Magna Carta itself ".4

At whatever place a bridge might be needed, there was no public body, no parish road surveyor, no municipal corporation, no county authority whose duty it was to construct one. But if an individual or corporate body, a parish, hundred, or county constructed a bridge on the highway where before had been no bridge, that individual or body could be compelled by law to keep it in repair; if the parish, hundred, or county had time out of mind repaired a bridge the obligation to continue to do so was enforceable at law. The obligation to keep a bridge in good repair sometimes lay upon some particular property "ratione tenuræ". By the Statute of Bridges, 22 Henry VIII (1531), it was ordered that in cases where the liability to maintain a bridge could not be proved the burden should fall on the county or, if in a corporate town, on that town.

As in the case of a road in need of repair, presentment of a bridge might be made at a Session of the Justices of the Division, and, if it were proved to their satisfaction that the presentment was a true one, the individual or body responsible for the bridge might be indicted at the Quarter Sessions or at the Assizes.

⁴ The Story of the King's Highway, S. & B. Webb.

Orders and other Documents relating to the Lacock Bridges.

These are copies made to supply the "pertinent record" demanded by the Court of Queen's Bench as stated above:—

The first of the documents relating to the bridges of Lacock is the copy of an Order made at the General Sessions held at Marlborough in October, 1628. It is of too great length to quote in full. It states:

- 1.—That the inhabitants of Lacock had, in July at the Salisbury Assizes, made a petition to His Majesty's Judges, stating that there were seven bridges in Lacock, two of them "great ones of stone Arches", in great decay, one having an arch likely to fall.
- 2.—That the Judges ordered that four Justices in the vicinity of Lacock should "view" the bridges and take such course as the law provided.
- 3.—That the four Justices had now presented to the General Sessions their report stating
 - (a) that Ray Bridge lay in the road between London and Bath;
 - (b) that Footbridge was in their opinion "ancienter and at the first better built", and that it was conveniently situated for Lacock parish and other places in the county, and that it could not be made passable for carriages without an exceeding great cost to the County;
 - (c) that they had not been able to ascertain "what hundred, town, parish, or other place, or what lands or tenants, or what person certain or body politike ought to repair either of the bridges";
 - (d) that they estimated the cost of repairing Rey Bridge at £40;
 - (e) that Footbridge was so decayed in parts, including the foundations, that it could hardly be repaired, and that it would be necessary to rebuild the whole, the cost of which they estimated at £100 and upwards, and that the approaches needed repair.
- 4.—That at the present Sessions it had been affirmed that the inhabitants had hitherto made repairs to Footbridge whenever necessary.

(The seven bridges mentioned in the Lacock petition to the Judges included five minor bridges over two small streams tributary to the Avon, and these were probably maintained by the parish.

The estimated costs of repairing Rey Bridge and Footbridge, $\mbox{\it £}40$ and $\mbox{\it £}100$ respectively, should be multiplied by at least ten to obtain the equivalents in purchasing power in 1943.)

Acting on the report of the four Justices the General Sessions at Marlborough ordered

- That Footbridge should now be repaired by the inhabitants of Lacock;
- 2.—That Rey Bridge should be repaired by the County, and, to obtain the £40 for the purpose, there should be levied a rate on the whole County;

3.—That "if the County find themselves grieved for repairing" Rey Bridge, it shall be lawful for the inhabitants of the County to indict Lacock parish for allowing the bridge to be in decay;

4.—That if the inhabitants of Lacock find themselves grieved with the repairing of Footbridge it should be lawful for them to indict the County.

The four viewing Justices had not been able to ascertain who was responsible for the upkeep of either bridge; yet Aubrey, who wrote some forty years later, states that there was "a good ring of bells" at Lacock Abbey Church, which Sir — Sharrington sold, "when he built Ree Bridge" to divert the travelling by his house, i.e., the traffic on the road in which Footbridge stands. Aubrey does not state whether the knight was Sir William or Sir Henry, but, if the diversion was made by either, it could not have been more than ninety years before the viewing by the Justices; and we shall see that at an enquiry held in Lacock twenty-six years later it was ascertained that such diversion had been made. If Aubrey was correct in stating that Ray Bridge was built by a Sherington, it is remarkable that the 1628 Justices did not ascertain the fact; had they done so there is little doubt that Rev Bridge repairs would have been imposed on Lacock Manor. Examination of Lacock Manor Court Rolls shows that neither the Homage of the Court Baron nor the Jury for the King in the Court Leet made at that time any presentment of either bridge. It may be that influence was exerted to induce Homage and Jury to keep discreet silence Neither during this litigation nor that eighteen years later is found in the manorial records any reference to the condition of the two bridges in spite of the fact that the decay of either, and especially that of Footbridge, greatly affected the people of Lacock. Perhaps the Order of the General Sessions was not obeyed as far as Footbridge was concerned, for it was five years later, 1633, that Bewley Lane was presented at the Manor Court and described as "the chiefest way to the marcket", showing that Footbridge was still not in use.

The Order of the Justices that, if either parish or county "felt grieved" by the decision either might indict the other, seems to have been made rather with the view to get the cause removed once more to the Assizes than speedily to secure the convenience of the public.

The next document is an Order showing that two years later at the General Session held again at Marlborough information was given that the Constables of some Hundreds had not been able to collect the rate levied for the £40 to repair Rey Bridge "alleadging that such persons as are taxed towards the repairing of the said bridge will not pay . . . in contempt" of the order of the Court. Mr. Benjamin Baynard of Lackham was instructed to take proceedings against such persons. Proceedings were not taken, however, "because it was alleadged that the persons taxed . . . felt themselves aggrieved", and it had been "thought fitt that the said orders and all proceedings thereon should be suspended until the opinions of the Judges of Assize should be delivered". At the Assizes, held in 1631, it was reported that of the

£40 to be levied only half had been collected. The Court directed that the Orders of the Justices "should be prosecuted for the Levying of Forty Pounds", without delay.

In spite of the outlay of £40 the repairs could not have been efficiently executed, for within fifteen years (1646) Rey Bridge was again presented as being in "great decay . . . and likely to growe into utter ruin unless some speedy course be taken for the repair thereof". Once more four Justices were directed to view the bridge and to ascertain what person or body ought to repair it. Although they were also authorised to have necessary repairs made, apparently nothing was done.

Seven years later, 1653, presentment was again made, but this time in respect of Footbridge, information being given that it was in great decay, and that it was claimed that the cost of necessary repairs should fall on the County. (It will be remembered that in 1628 Quarter Sessions had pronounced the repair and maintenance of the bridge to be the duty of Lacock parish.) Again Justices were directed to "view" and report. They held an Inquiry in the parish and had before them "divers honest and substantiall inhabitants" of Lacock. The following is a summary of that report:—

- (a) Footbridge is an ancient bridge and existed before Rey Bridge
- (b) Before Rey Bridge was built, Footbridge had carried vehicles travelling to and from London, Bristol, Bath, etc.
- (c) "Where Rey Bridge is now built, before the building thereof, there was onely a bridge for passengers to walk on and not carriages".
- (d) Rey Bridge is also very ruinous and in great decay, and the road leading to it down Naish Hill is in decay and "almost irrepayrable and straightened", i.e., narrow, so that one vehicle cannot pass another, whereas the more spacious road leading to and from Footbridge may be repaired at far less cost.
- (e) Most of the inhabitants of Lacock desire that Rey Bridge be pulled down and the material thereof used for re-edifying Footbridge.
- (f) In the estimation of experienced workmen and others present at the inquiry the cost of repairing Footbridge, using the materials from Rey Bridge, will amount to £400.

Another four Justices made a View and Inquiry, and reported to Quarter Sessions that, using the materials of Rey Bridge, the cost of repairing Footbridge would, in their estimation, be £500. They also recommended that half of this should be found by the County and the other half by the parish of Lacock.

Presumably the Justices in Quarter Sessions made an Order in accordance with these reports and recommendations, and for some years Rey Bridge was a bridge for pedestrians only.

It was during the course of this litigation that the rude local rhyme was, according to Aubrey, quoted in Court, probably as evidence that

Rey Bridge was not a County bridge, but one for which the parish, or, may be, Lacock Manor, was responsible:—

"On Philip and Jude the bells rang at Lacock.

"The great bell went with such a surge

"That he fell in at Rea-burge".

The rhyme, of course, refers to the alleged diversion of the road and building of Rey Bridge by Sharrington.

Extracts made by Capt. B. H. Cunnington from the Rolls of the Quarter Sessions of Wilts and quoted in his "Records of the County of Wilts" show that the "honest and substantiall inhabitants" (see (e) above) did not represent the unanimous opinion of the village, since this and neighbouring places petitioned the Justices stating that the destruction of Rey Bridge in favour of Footbridge meant the removal of the most direct means of communication between London and Bristol and the cheaper to maintain. They therefore asked for a stay of execution and for the restoration of the breaches already made.

Two other petitions to the same effect were received, one of them from divers inhabitants of Wilts, Somerset, and Gloucestershire stating that Rey Bridge consisted of ten arches, and that it was more useful than Footbridge which was approached by ways which were "flounderous" (? founderous) and full of quicksand. (Of the ten arches probably two spanned the river and the rest were flood arches.) The total number of signatures to the three petitions was 246.

Though £500, a sum roughly approximate to £5,000 of our present money, was thus expended on or about 1654, it was only fourteen years later that Footbridge was again presented as being in such condition as to need immediate repair and that "if speedy Cure be taken for Repairing thereof the sum of Fifty pounds may be ynough, but that if it be not so speedily repaired a farr greater sume must be

required, the said bridge being in danger of totall Ruine ".

On this occasion the levy on the whole County of the small sum of £50 raised as much opposition and gave the Constables of the various Hundreds more trouble than did the levy of £40 some forty years earlier. The amount collectable from each Hundred was so small, the highest being £3 5s. 6d. for the Highworth Hundred and 9s. 9d. for Underditch Hundred, that the levy could have added only a fraction of a penny to the total rates paid by most ratepayers of the County; and it is possible that the default of certain Hundreds was by way of protest against making the County responsible for a bridge for which it had hitherto not been responsible. One of the preserved documents gives a list of the Hundreds and the sum laid upon each, together with a copy of the warrant, authorising the collection, sent to the Constable of each Hundred; another document contains memoranda made by the person who delivered the warrants, e.g., "Then left a warrant in Mr. Robert Browne's house, constable of the Hundred of Selkly at Kennet '; "Delivered a warrant to Mr. Samuel Bracher of the Hundred of Dunworth at Tisbury". On another sheet is "An account of what moneys I have received from the Severall Hundreds". Quarter Sessions then ordered that if any of the Constables of seven named defaulting Hundreds should refuse or neglect to send in the collection, he should be taken before the nearest Justice and bound over to appear at the next general assizes. Such an Order may suggest that the opposition to the levy was that of leading persons, such as the bailiffs or constables of Hundreds, rather than of individual ratepayers.

The document next in chronological order is that already quoted, the Order of the Court of Queen's Bench, 1704, directing that the trial of the suit, "The Queen against the Inhabitants of Wilts", should be held at the Berks Assizes. Although the Order does not indicate what was "the issue in this cause joined", it may be stated that once again there was trouble concerning Footbridge, as is shown by the last of the documents, which gives a statement sworn before Jacob Long, of Warminster, by James Edgell. He was present at the trial, probably representing the defendants. His statement was:—

at the Assizes held at Abingdon . . . that a Copy of a Record of the General Sessions of the Peace . . . relating to the said yssue and to the Bridge . . . was offered to the Judge as evidence. And the said Judge refused to admit the same as evidence alleaging as a reason that the Records . . . were not evidence . . . for that the said Justices were interested in the matter in yssue. And also there were severall witnesses for the Defts ready . . . wen in the opinion of the Counsell were material witnesses but in respect of the said Judge's opinions as to the copies of the Records the said Counsell advised that the said witnesses should not be examined nor any Evidence given for the Defts.

And . . . the Counsell for the Queen insisted that . . . there was no need of any Evidence nor was any Evidence for

the Oueen given ".

Thus, whatever the immediate "issue in this Cause joined", the County lost the case, and as a result it was established that Footbridge

was "a County Bridge".

That so frequently, after substantial repairs to, or re-edification of a bridge, it should again be in a ruinous or nearly ruinous condition would be a matter of surprise if we did not know that bridge building was during the 16th and 17th centuries a lost art in England. There are still standing some bridges built in the 13th and even in the 12th centuries, many of them beautiful specimens of mediæval art, but "after the middle of the fifteenth century the practice of building new bridges seems to have ceased—possibly with the impoverishment of the religious orders and the decay of faith among testators—and the very art died out in England; to be revived, mostly at the public expense, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries".

From the time that Footbridge and its approaches were allowed to

⁵ The Story of the King's Highway, S. & B. Webb.

go into decay and that Rey Bridge was built for wheeled traffic until 1654, traffic from Bath to London passed over the latter and ascended Naish Hill to the field named, according to an eighteenth century map, Gallows Ground. I have not been able to discover the route followed from that point to the Chippenham–Devizes road, which it joined about a mile away.

Rey Bridge was in the 18th century once again made a bridge for wheeled traffic, and probably the date might be obtained from the Records of the Wilts Quarter Sessions. On the bridge, near one of the cut-waters, is the incised inscription:—"P.W. 1743".

If any part of the existing Footbridge is of earlier date than the repairs and re-edifications referred to in this paper, it is probably the two most western arches the style of which, I think, is suggestive of the 15th or early 16th century.

[On the antiquity of Reybridge the author permits me to add this note. The E.P.N.S. volume on *The Place-names of Wiltshire* (p. 103) quotes among other early forms of the name: Robert *del Ebrige*, 1232, John *atte Rebrigge*, 1384, *Ebrigge juxta Lacok*, 1394, *Raybrigge*, 1513, clearly illustrating the process by which the *r* of the dative article gradually attached itself to the noun. The *ebrigge* is the bridge over the *ea*, or water (of Avon), a description more obvious, perhaps, than luminous.

These quotations confirm the doubt expressed on p. 131 above as to Aubrey's statement that Reybridge was built by a Sherrington, and make contention (c) of the "honest and substantiall inhabitants" (p. 132) more improbable. They also suggest, by implication, that Footbridge had actually been what its name conveys when Reybridge was the only carriageable crossing of the Avon in Lacock.—H. C. B.?

CARDINALS BENEFICED IN SARUM CATHEDRAL.

By the REV. C. Moor, D.D., F.S.A., F.R. HIST. Soc.

[The following abbreviátions are sometimes used in this article:—P. for the Prebend of, A. for the Archdeaconry of, D. for the Deanery of, R. for the Rectory of, Dio. for the Diocese of, V. for the Vicarage of.]

During some three centuries before the Reformation many foreigners held benefices in England, some of them relatives of the Royal House, and some brought from the King's possessions overseas, but the majority "provided" by the Papacy.

We find them in every Diocese, holding Rectories, Canonries, Archdeaconries, or Deaneries, usually non-resident, taking the major part of the income, and performing their duties by deputy. More often than not they were pluralists, holding benefices overseas as well as in England, and we naturally sympathise with their English contemporaries, who complained that endowments intended for the support of native clergy, living among their people, knowing their ways, and understanding their language, were wrongfully bestowed upon aliens. Certain it is that the long continuance of such a system added to the ever increasing demand for a thorough reformation of the Church.

Nevertheless it is important to understand the point of view of Rome, for almost always there is something to be said on either side, and in this case we find that there were two chief reasons for the attitude and action of the Papacy.

1. It is well-known that the Roman authorities consider that the right government of the Church should be monarchic, and in fact their own constitution is modelled on that pattern. And as, during the middle ages, the Western Church covered the greater part of Europe, including many separate countries governed by monarchs, who looked to Rome for guidance in religion and morality, it was natural that the government of the Church should be akin to their own, for they knew little of any other system. To keep all these secure in the realms of faith and order required a very strong centre, whose power should be recognised by all, and which needed support and pecuniary assistance from each local or national Church under its sway. From the centre therefore were sent legates and envoys to advise and to order each of the national Churches of the west, and to collect and carry to the centre their contributions to maintain its strength.

The Orthodox Eastern Church, on the other hand, clings to the patriarchal system of the fourth century, and, with us, does not regard Rome as the necessary centre of the Church, but as *primus inter pares*, no more supreme over the others than she was at the time of the fourth General Council. The Eastern and Anglican Churches have learned much that was not known until late in the middle ages, the various steps, the dubious means, by which Rome attained to her dominant position, and neither of these Churches, who are now on intimate terms

of friendship with each other, desires to enter into closer relationship with Rome, at least until she has changed her ways.

2. Another reason for the centralisation of all parts of the Western Church around the Papacy was more potent than the ambition which we credit to certain of the Popes. Far from England, but at no insuperable distance from Rome, there loomed upon the eastern horizon the spectre of a mighty power, hostile to all forms of Christianity, which had submerged and almost destroyed one local or national Church after another, and which threatened to root out Christianity from the whole of Europe. Moslem hordes had captured Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa, had invaded Greece and a large part of what became the Turkish Empire, and had firmly planted Mohammedanism in Spain. To Copts, Armenians, and the Eastern Church it was the great and terrible enemy, and the submerged could not help feeling that, had the various nations and Churches been from the first firmly united under one head, they might have retained the full vigour of their life. The Roman Church, by encouraging the crusades, did much to mitigate their suffering, and, being itself in danger, was most anxious to avert destruction, and we must allow that although ambition and other faults were present, behind them was the great motive of fear, with the recognition that firm unity was a necessity, for l'union

The industry of Canon Jones in collecting material for his "Fasti Sarisburienses" is beyond praise. Not only did he write learned and interesting introductions, but he also traced the story of the earlier seats of the Bishopric, for which purposes he had evidently searched with great diligence the episcopal archives at Salisbury, and a large number of printed works bearing upon the subject. The present writer has felt it unnecessary to traverse the same ground, but since Canon Jones wrote, much has been printed which was not then available, and there are, of course, records of later inductions in the episcopal Absence from London has prevented the present writer from consulting as many works as he would like, but Cardinal Eubel's "Hierarchia Catholica", Cardella's "Storiche Memorie dei Cardinali", entries from the "Papal Registers", the "Calendars of Patent Rolls", and other works are here referred to. Of the cardinals beneficed at Sarum, the connexion of some was very slight, and very few were resident; but as a man provided to a canonry with expectation of a prebend was regarded by Rome as a Canon of Sarum, though, perhaps, he may never have received his prebend, his name is included in the list—which is given alphabetically.

Acciaioli, Angelo. Born in Florence, consecrated Bishop of Rapolla 3 Dec., 1375, and translated to Florence, 1383, he became Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church and Arch-Priest of the Vatican, Cardinal Priest of St. Lawrence in Damaso in Jan., 1385, and Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in 1397 (Eubel). He defended the regularity of Pope Urban VI's election (Catholic Encyclopedia), reconciled the Pope to the Orsini family, became tutor of King Ladislaus of Naples in his

minority, and was Legate in Umbria, Croatia, Sclavonia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria. Dying on his way to Pisa, 12 June, 1409, he was buried at the Certosa there, "distinguished for doctrine, prudence, and

integrity of life" (Cardella).

In England he was provided Dean of Sarum, 10 Nov., 1390, but on 30 Jy., 1391, had resigned without taking possession. On 12 May, 1400, he had reservation of the prebends of Leighton Bosard in Lincoln, Blewbury in Sarum, Chiswick in London, and another in Wells, the Archdeaconries of Canterbury and Exeter, and the Deanery of York, with leave of non-residence for six years (*Pap. Reg.*). He was ratified in P. Blewbury, 24 Nov., 1401, and confirmed in D. York and D. Exeter, 4 Nov., 1403 (*Pag. Reg.*).

Agrifolio, Aigrefeuille, William de, nephew of a former Cardinal of that name, and of Pope Clement VI, and born in Dio. Limoges, he became Doctor of Decrees and Dean of Clermont. "He had the advantage of elegant aspect, and the honesty of his manners was sufficiently commendable", so that "the distinguished quality of his youth" determined Pope Urban V to create him Cardinal Priest of St. Stephen on Monte Celio on 12 May, 1367, at the age of 28 years" (Cardella). He returned with Pope Urban V to Avignon in 1370, abandoned Pope Urban VI, and became Dean of Anti-Cardinals. Dying of plague on 13 Jan., 1401, he was buried in the College of St. Martial, which he had founded (Cardella and Moroni). In England the Pope gave him leave to visit his Archdeaconry of Berks by deputy for five years, 10 Oct., and had given him P. Cherminster and Bere in Sarum in place of his former P. Highworth, 16 Nov., 1371. He might visit his Archdeaconry of Taunton by deputy for five years, 24 Aug., 1373 (Pap. Reg.). was confirmed in A. Berks by the King in 1384—5 (Pap. Reg.).

Aptis, Francis de, of Todi in Middle Italy, made Bishop of Monte Cassino 17 Ap., 1353, and of Florence 18 Mar., 1355; he became Cardinal Priest of St. Mark's 23 Dec., 1356 (Eubel). Admitted Treasurer of Sarum by proxy 19 Ap., 1359, he died at Ponte Sorgia 25 Aug. or 4 Sept., 1361 (Cardella), voiding the Treasury and a Prebend

of Sarum (Pap. Reg.).

Bainbridge, Christopher, born at Hilton, Westmoreland, LL.D. of Queen's Coll., Oxon., and Provost there before 1495, held P. Kelsey in Lincoln 1496 to 1500, the Treasury in London 1497, A. Surrey 1501, P. Strensall in York 1503, the Deanery there 1503, and of Windsor 1505, was Master of the Rolls 1504 to 1507, Bishop of Durham 27 Aug., 1507, till translated to York 12 Sept., 1508. He was Ambassador to the Pope 1509, and was Cardinal Priest of SS. Marcellinus and Peter 17 Mar., and of St. Praxedes 22 Dec., 1511. He led a military expedition against Ferrara, and was poisoned by his steward, dying 14 Jy., 1514, and being buried in the English College at Rome. Having a violent temper, he made enemies, and for some time Sylvester Gigliis, Bishop of Worcester, was suspected of having instigated his murder, but was declared innocent by the Pope. At Sarum he held in succession the Prebends of South Grantham, Chardstock and Horton.

Barbo, Peter, son of Nicholas Barbo by Polixena, sister of Pope Eugenius IV, was born in Venice, and became Canon of Padua, Archdeacon of Bologna, Bishop of Servia in Middle Italy 1440, of Vicenza in Upper Italy 16 June, 1451, and of Padua 9 Mar., 1459. He was made Cardinal Deacon of St. Mary Nova 1 Jy., 1440, Cardinal Priest of St. Mark's 16 June, 1451, and was crowned Pope as Paul II on 16 Sep., 1464 (Eubel, &c.). Noted for generosity and for his imposing appearance, he delighted in display, and promoted splendid carnival festivities. He died on 26 Jy., 1471. He held the Archdeaconry of Sarum from 21 Jy., 1444, to 1446.

Beaufort, Henry, son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Catharine Swynford, and born at Beaufort Castle in Anjou, was educated at Oxford and Aachen, and became Prebendary of Thame in 1389, and of Sutton-cum-Buckingham in 1391, both in Lincoln, and Dean of Wells 1397, Bishop of Lincoln 14 Jy., 1398; he was translated to Winchester in 1404, became Chancellor of Univ. Oxon. 1399, and of England 1403 and 1413. He was Ambassador to France in 1414, and was present at the Council of Florence in 1417. Nominated Cardinal in 1417, the King forbade him to accept that honour, but on 24 May, 1426, he was made Cardinal Priest of St. Eusebius. He crowned King Henry VI as King of France, and was at the Council of Basle in 1433, Legate to Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia, he fought against the Hussites. "Ambitious, haughty, and impetuous, he was nevertheless a far-sighted and patriotic statesman" (Dict. of National Biog.). He held P. Horton in Sarum, and died 10 Ap., 1447.

Berardi, Berardo dei, born at Cagli, became Bishop of Osimo 18 Jan., 1283, Cardinal Bishop of Praeneste 15 May, 1288, and was Legate in Sicily (Eubel, &c.). On 4 June, 1284, "he is a Papal Chamberlain, and may have the Canonry and Prebend of York voided by the death of Boniface de Coconato. He has canonries and prebends in Sarum and St. Venantius, Camerino". In 1289 he is Canon of Paris.

Blandiaco, Blanzac, John de, born in Dio. Uzès, was made Bishop of Nîmes 17 Sep., 1348, Cardinal Priest of St. Mark 17 Sep., 1361, and Cardinal Bishop of Sabina 1372 (Eubel). He deserted Pope Urban VI for the Anti-Pope Clement VII, and died at Avignon 8 Jy., 1379, being usually known as the Cardinal of Nîmes. On 19 Sep., 1361, the Pope granted him the Treasury of Sarum, which he still held in 1378, when he was also Archdeacon of Sarum. On 26 November, 1363, the Pope gave him the Rectory of Adderbury, Oxon. (Pap. Reg.).

Bontempi, Andrew Martini, Canon of Perugia, was made Bishop there on 2 May, 1354, and Cardinal Priest of SS. Marcellinus and Peter 28 Sep., 1378, was Legate to Umbria and the Marches, and he died 16 Jy., 1390, voiding the Archeaconry of Berks, worth 120 marks p.a. (Eubel,

Cardella, and Pap. Reg.).

Bourchier, Thomas, son of William, Earl of Ewe, a great grandson of King Edward III. He was given P. Colwich in Lichfield in 1424, the Deanery of St. Martin le Grand and P. West Thurrock in Hastings in 1427, and on 29 Ap., 1427, being in his sixteenth year, and "of a

race of great nobels", was dispensed to hold a Hospital in York (*Pap. Reg.*). Consecrated Bishop of Worcester 15 May, 1435, he was translated to Ely 20 Dec., 1443, and to Canterbury 22 Ap., 1454. He became Lord Chancellor 7 Mar., 1455, Cardinal Priest of St. Cyriac 18 Sep., 1467, crowned Kings Edward IV and Richard III, married King Henry VII, and dying on 6 Ap., 1486, was buried in Canterbury Cathedral (*D.N.B.*). At Sarum he held the Prebend of Shipton from 1 Jan., 1428, until his consecration.

Calvi, Anthony de, of a noble Roman family, became Canon of St. Peter's and Arch-Priest of the Vatican, Bishop of Imola 31 Oct., 1390, and of Todi 22 Dec., 1395, both in Middle Italy, and was made Cardinal Priest of St. Praxedes 12 June, 1405. He was present at the Council of Pisa, and died at Bologna 2 Oct., 1411. On 16 Oct., 1410, he had provision of the Prebend of Cherminster and Bere in Sarum, and he held also the Archdeaconry of Exeter, the Rectory of Stillington, and

the Vicarage of Oakham (Pap. Reg.).

Campeggio, Lawrence. Born in 1472 of a noble Bolognese family, he married and had a son who became a Cardinal, but on the death of his wife Lawrence took Orders, and was made Bishop of Feltre 12 Nov., 1512, of Bologna 2 Dec., 1523, of Parenzo 6 June, 1533, of Huesca 2 Sept., 1530, and of Sarum 2 Dec., 1524, being also Archbishop of Candien. He became Cardinal Priest of St. Thomas in Parione 24 Jan., 1518, of St. Anastasia 1519, of St. Mary trans Tiberim 27 Ap., 1528, Cardinal Bishop of Albano 5 Sep., 1534, of Praeneste 26 Feb., 1538, and of Sabina 28 Nov., 1537, and dying at the Roman Court 19 Jy., 1539, was buried at Bologna (Eubel, &c.).

As Papal Legate he was received in England with great ceremony in July, 1518, but spent much of his time in Italy, so that on 14 Jan., 1538, Parliament deprived him of the See of Sarum for non-residence, and although he met with sympathy from the Emperor and others, he

was not restored (Letters and Papers of Henry VIII).

An eminent canonist and ecclesiastical diplomat, and a moderate reformer, he had the courage to declare that the chief source of evil was the Roman Curia. He desired no reservation of benefices or grants in commendam, and that none but the virtuous should be appointed to them, and that there should be no reckless granting of indulgences. In 1528 he tried to reconcile Henry VIII and Catharine, and to prevent a trial, "knowing well the difficulties both of law and fact connected with the case, and that whichever way it was decided, a great nation would be lost to the Church" (D.N.B).

Domar, Daumario, Gerard or Gerald, born at Limoges, of the family of the Lords of Domar, was sister's son to Pope Clement VI. Being a Dominican, he became General of the Order in 1340, was made Cardinal Priest of St. Sabina on 20 Sep., 1342, was sent as Legate to France, and died at Avignon 27 Sep., 1343.

He was provided Precentor of Sarum 12 Ap., 1343, but on the following Jy. 3 had not obtained that dignity, the fruits of which were on 23 Jan., 1344, reserved to pay his debts, a strange circumstance, for

on 5 Oct., 1342, he had had provision of all benefices, except Bishoprics and Abbeys, to be vacated in the Province of Canterbury, and he held the Rectories of Northfleet, worth 100 marks; and Bishopsbourne, 50 marks, in Kent; Tisbury, in Wilts, 50 marks; and Ditcheat, in Som.; with Brantingham, in Yorks (*Pap. Reg.*).

Deucio, Bertrand de, born at Uzès, became Provost of Embrun, in France, and Archbishop there from 26 Aug., 1323, until made Cardinal Priest of St. Mark's by Pope Benedict XII on 18 Dec., 1338. He became Cardinal Bishop of Sabina 4 Nov., 1348, and after being Nuncio to Robert, King of Sicily, and to the Doge of Venice, died on 21 Oct., 1355.

21 Oct., 1355

He was provided Canon Expectant of Sarum 4 Oct., 1342, and later was dispensed to visit his Archdeaconry of Dorset by deputy for five

years (Pap. Reg.).

Easton, Adam de, became a Benedictine at Norwich, and was distinguished for his knowledge of theology, of Greek and Hebrew. Made Cardinal Priest of St. Cecilia in 1381 or about 1383, he was one of the six cardinals whom Urban VI caused to be imprisoned and tortured for rebellion, but by intercession of King Richard II was liberated on resigning the cardinalate, to which he was restored by Boniface IX on 18 Dec., 1389. "Famed for singular virtue", he wrote many books, translated parts of the Old Testament, and composed an Office for the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (Cardella).

In England and other countries he held several benefices, was given the Provostship of Beverley 22 Dec., 1389, but was still litigating about it in 1393, was made Archdeacon of Shetland 27 Jan., 1391, and recommended for the See of St. David's 15 Mar., 1391, had provision of the Chantership and a Prebend of Lisbon, with P. Aylesbury in Lincoln on 2 Nov., 1390, and R. Wearmouth 20 Jy., 1393. He exchanged from R. St. Alban's in Cologne to R. Hasselt in Dio. Liége on 10 Ap., 1396, and was given the Benedictine Priory of St. Agnes, Ferrara, on 18 Sep. following. Nominated by the Pope to the Deanery of York 7 Mar., 1382, he was deprived thereof on 8 June, 1387. At Sarum he held P. Yetminster II in 1388, but exchanged to R. Hitcham, Suffolk, in 1392. Dying at the Apostolic See shortly before 19 Sep., 1397, he then voided P. St. Martin, Cedoseyta in Dio. Oporto; R. Somersham, Hunts; and R. Hitcham. He was buried in the Church of St. Cecilia in Rome, where 200 years later his body was found uncorrupted (Eubel, Cardella, &c.).

Fargis, Raymond Gulielmi de, of the line of the Lords of Budos, and maternal nephew of Pope Clement V, "came to light in Bordeaux", and was made Cardinal Deacon of St. Mary Nova on 18 or 19 Dec., 1310. On 12 Aug., 1368, he was provided to the Treasury and a Prebend of Beauvais, to Canonries Expectant in Lincoln, Soissons, and Severin in Bordeaux, and to a dignity in York. On 22 Mar., 1311, he was provided Dean of Sarum, and at various times was Prior of Goleux in Dio. Aix; Rector of Welton in Yorks, Leake in Lincs., Reculver in Kent, Hornsea in Yorks, Archdeacon of Leicester, and (according to the Papal Register)

Archdeacon of Sarum. He held the Prebend of Heytesbury with the Deanery of Sarum, the Deanery and a Prebend in York, and a Prebend in Lichfield. He was reported dead on 10 Jy, 1310, and again on 31 May, 1335 (Pap. Reg.), but apparently died on 5 Oct., 1346 (Eubel). There is some confusion between Raymond de Fargis and Raymond de Goth, each of whom was nephew of Clement V and Cardinal of St. Mary Nova, but it seems unlikely that the latter was beneficed in Sarum.

Gaetani, Francis, son of Peter and nephew of Benedict Gaetani, Pope Boniface VIII. Made Cardinal Deacon on 17 Dec., 1295, he died at Avignon 16 May, 1317 (Eubel). On 10 May, 1303, he was provided Treasurer of York, with dispensation to hold also the Treasury in Tours, with Canonries and Prebends in St. Peter's at Rome, at Paris, Sarum, and Anagni, with other benefices (Pat. Reg.).

Geneva, Robert de, of the family of the Counts of Geneva. A Protonotary of the Apostolic See, he was made Bishop of Terouane 3 Nov., 1361, and of Cambray in 1368, Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles 30 May, 1371. Rebelling against Urban VI, he was crowned as Pope Clement VII on 31 Oct., 1378, the first Pope of the great schism. He died at Avignon 16 Sep., 1394.

In England he held the Archdeaconry of Durham and the Rectory of Wearmouth in 1376, the Archdeaconry of Dorset and Rectory of Gussage about 1365 and in 1374.

Hallam, Robert de, D.Can.L., was given P. Bitton in Sarum 26 Jan., 1395, and held also P. Osbaldwick in York, became Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1400, and on 29 Jy. was dispensed to visit the same by deputy for seven years. On 14 May, 1406, being then a priest, he was provided to the See of York, but instead was consecrated Bishop of Durham in 1407. He was made a Cardinal on 6 June, 1411, but had no title "because he came not to Rome for it". At the Council of Constance in 1414 he was leader of the "English nation", representatives of the Anglican Church, earnestly desiring a thorough reformation of the whole Church, and asserting the supremacy of a General Council over the Pope; and it was a very great misfortune that he died on 4 Sep., 1417, because the reforming party, having lost their leader, gave up the struggle, and joined in electing a Pope before reformation had been attempted. He was Bishop of Sarum from 1407 until his death; a very noble-hearted man.

Langio, anglicè Lang, Matthew, "of noble race". Educated at Vienna University, he became Latin secretary to the Emperor Maximilian, and his Vicar in Italy; Bishop of Gurcke 6 Oct., 1501, and of Carthagina in Spain 30 Sep., 1510, and Co-adjutor to the Archbishop of Salzburg Oct., 1512, Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo 19 Nov., 1512, and Cardinal Bishop of Albano 27 Feb., 1538, Maximilian's Ambassador to Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. In 1525, he was besieged in his Castle at Salzburg by Lutherans. He held converse with Erasmus at Rotterdam, and dying at Salzburg on 30 Mar., 1530, was there buried. He was given the Prebend of Horton in Sarum on 20 Mar., 1500, and

on resigning it was given a pension on 31 Aug., 1524, "to preserve him from want and mendicancy in his old age" (Letters, &c., of Henry VIII).

Langley, Thomas, said to have been son of Thomas Langley of Langley, but sometimes spoken of as Longley. Educated at Cambridge, he became Canon of York in 1400, and Dean there 1401, Keeper of the Privy Seal 1403, Chancellor of England 1405, and was elected Archbishop of York, but rejected by the Pope in 1405. He was elected to Durham on 17 May, 1406. He was present at the Council of Pisa in 1409, and was made a cardinal 6 June, 1411, but not going himself to Rome was not given a Church there from which to take a title. He went on embassy to Paris in 1414, was present at the coronation of King Henry VI, and dying on 20 Nov., 1437, was buried in Durham Cathedral. An able-minded statesman and good canonist, he benefited libraries at both Oxford and Cambridge (D.N.B.). In Sarum he held the Prebends of Cherminster and Bere and of North Grantham.

Latgier, Bertrand de, a native of Auvergne, probably professed a Franciscan at Figeac, became Bishop of Assisi 18 Dec., 1357, and was translated to Glandéves in the Maritime Alps 24 Jan., 1368. He became Vicar General of the Minorites in 1372, Cardinal Priest of St. Prisca 30 May, 1371, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in April, 1378, and dying at Avignon 15 Nov., 1392, was buried in the Church of the Franciscans there. He had accompanied his uncle Pope Gregory XI from Avignon to Rome in 1376, when he was wrecked at Talamon. He wrote a book against heresy.

His English connexions are mentioned thus: "C. 1378. The Lord Cardinal Glandacen has P. Nassington in Lincoln (Fox, Book of Martyrs, 1490). 1371, Nov. 17: The Pope has given him P. Highworth in Sarum on the death of William, Cardinal of St. Stephen in Monte Celio, 1381, Ap. 18: The Cardinal of Glandéves has been deprived of the Chancery, Hereford".

Maroni, Marini, Christopher, a Roman, became Arch-Priest of the Vatican, and held in commendam the Abbey of SS. Boniface and Alexis in the Aventine. He became Bishop of Isernia in Lower Italy in 1327, was made Cardinal Priest of St. Cyriac 18 Dec., 1329, and dying in Rome 4 Dec., 1404, was buried in St. Peter's in a marble tomb. He was "distinguished by the splendour of his virtue" (Cardella).

His English benefices were mentioned in the *Papal Registers* thus: On 18 Dec., 1390, he had a papal grant of the Archdeaconry of Berks, but not having obtained possession, resigned it on 22 Ap., 1395, when he was provided to P. Warthill in York in its place. On 16 May, 1391, he exchanged from P. Twyford in London to P. Compton in Wells, worth 40 marks. On 26 June, 1391, he was provided to P. Usthwayte in York, worth 100 marks, but "was opposed". On 15 Jan., 1395, he had reservation of P. Weeford in Lichfield, worth 70 marks, and a Prebend in Lincoln, 26 marks. On 22 Ap., 1396, he was provided Archdeacon of the East Riding, York. On 1 Ap., 1398, he resigned P. Weeford, and on 11 May was provided to P. Faringdon in Sarum,

worth 80 marks, and on 19 Jy., 1399, he resigned the Deanery of

Chichester, of which he had obtained possession (Pap. Reg.).

Meliorati, John, D.Can.L., a native of Sulmona and nephew of Pope Innocent VII, became Archbishop of Ravenna 15 Sep., 1400, and was made Cardinal Priest of St. Cross in Jerusalem 12 June, 1405, was present at the Council of Pisa, and was Dean at the Apostolic See 14 Oct., 1410. He had had provision of P. Cherminster and Bere in Sarum and of R. Oakham, worth 100 marks, in Rutland, but died without obtaining either.

Mezzavacca, Bartholomew, LL.D., of Bologna, where he was born "of illustrious family". Consecrated Bishop of Ostuni, in Lower Italy, on 16 June, 1374, he was translated to Rieti in 1378, and was made Cardinal Priest of St. Marcellus on 28 Sep., 1378, but fell into disfavour as a fomentor of disturbances, and was deprived by Urban VI in 1383, whereupon he fled to the Anti-Pope Clement VII at Avignon. Pope Boniface IX restored him as Cardinal of St. Martin's on 18 Dec., 1389, and he "ended his mortal career" tranquilly in Rome on 29 Jy., 1396, and was buried in the Church of St. Magdalene. At the death of Urban VI he had been a candidate for the Papacy.

At Lincoln he held P. Aylesbury, and on 6 Feb., 1394, he was provided Treasurer of Sarum, "on the death of Francis, Cardinal of

Palestrina " (Pap. Reg.).

Minutulo, Henry, Neapolitan patrician, Arch-Priest of the Liberian Basilica and Almoner of Pope Gregory XII, was consecrated Bishop of Bitonto in 1383, became Archbishop of Trani in 1383, and was Archbishop of Naples from Sep., 1389, to 1403. He was made Cardinal Priest of St. Anastasia 18 Dec., 1389, Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum 1403, and of Sabina 2 Jy., 1409, being present at the conclaves of four Popes. At Naples he built the Archiepiscopal Palace, and erected the marble porch of the Cathedral, "Prodigious in size and remarkable for the colour of the porphyry, its sculpture, statues, and ornamentation". He was "illustrious for the prudence and valour of his legations in Bologna, Ferrara, Forli, and Racuni, and for the good laws and constitutions which he promulgated. Dying full of glory"; he was buried in his Cathedral.

In Lincoln he was instituted to P. Sutton-cum-Buckingham on 16 Feb., 1390, and let the same on farm. On 15 July, 1395, he had reservation of 200 gold florins p.a. from the Archdeaconry of Taunton. In 1398 he was provided to P. Riccall in York, and on 12 Feb., 1410, he had provision of P. South Grantham, but of neither of these did he obtain possession.

Morton, John, D.C.L., son of Richard Morton, and born in Dorset about 1400. He was educated at Cerne Abbey and Balliol Coll., Oxon., becoming Principal of Peckwater Inn 1453. At various times he held the Rectories of Bloxworth in Dorset, St. Dunstan's in the East, London, and South Molton in Devon, with Prebends in York, Wells, Lichfield, London, Lincoln, and Sarum, the Chancery of Chichester and of Univ. Oxon., the Subdeanery of Lincoln, Archdeaconries of Hunts,

Winton, Chichester, Berks, Leicester, Norwich, and Norfolk. He was Master of the Rolls, and was made Lord Chancellor 6 Mar., 1487, and Ambassador to Hungary. Consecrated Bishop of Ely 3 Jan., 1479, he was translated to Canterbury on 6 Oct., 1486, made Cardinal Priest of St. Anastasia 20 Sep., 1493, and dying at Knowle 12 Oct., 1500, was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. At Sarum he took the Prebend of Fordington-cum-Writhlington on 8 Nov., 1458, and the Archdeaconry of Berks 6 Nov., 1496.

Mota, la Motte, Galhard de, nephew of Pope Clement V. Born at Bourdes in Gascony, he became Canon of Narbonne and Protonotary Apostolic, and was made Cardinal Deacon of St. Lucy in Silice on 17 or 18 Dec., 1316. Having supported the English in Aquitaine, he fell into disrepute with King Philip VI of France. He was Canon of Compostella in 1313. Present at three conclaves, he crowned Pope Innocent VI, and dying at Avignon on 20 Dec., 1356, was buried at Bazas.

On 31 May, 1312, he was provided Archdeacon of Oxford and Prebendary of Lincoln, with leave to hold the Precentory of Chichester and benefices overseas. On 12 Ap., 1344, he had reservation of the Archdeaconry of Ely, and on 29 Nov. provision of the Treasury of Sarum, but men "attacked his proctor with drawn swords, and put him out of the Church", being excommunicated for their action in 1348. He was frequently in the Roman Court, and on 4 Oct., 1349, had licence to visit by deputy the Archdeaconry of Ely for seven years. At his death he voided the same with that of Oxford, the Precentory and a Prebend of Chichester, P. Milton Ecclesia in Lincoln, the Treasury and P. Calne at Sarum. Among his nephews were Amanuus and Bertrand de Mota, mentioned as in England.

Normandis, Stephen de, a Roman or perhaps a native of Perugia, He married and had a son Philip, a Minorite. Stephen was a friend of Pope Alexander IV, was Vicar in Rome of two Popes and Auditor of Cases. He restored discipline among the Lateran and Vatican canons. quieted sedition in Perugia and Tuscany, and was Legate in Sicily to publish the excommunication of the Emperor Frederick, and to absolve the Sicilians from their allegiance. Governor of Sabina, the Maritime Provinces and the Campagna, he was present at the conclaves of four Popes, made Cardinal Deacon of St. Adrian in 1216, and Cardinal Priest of St. Mary trans Tiberim in 1228 (Eubel), he "passed from time to eternity" on 23 Jy., 1254, and was buried in St. Peter's at Rome, "a great and glorious sustainer of the Roman Church, dear not only for wisdom but also for virtue" (Cardella).

On 20 Feb., 1219, he witnessed a bull of Pope Honorius III granting privileges to St. Alban's Abbey. He held P. Lyme and Halstock in Sarum c. 1226, and perhaps the Archdeaconries of Wilts c. 1226, and of Sarum c. 1230 (Jones). On 1 Jan., 1230, he held P. Leighton in Lincoln.

Orsini, de Ursinis, James, D.Can.L., of the family of the Counts of Melapella. A Protonotary Apostolic, "famous for his piety and

distinguished merit" (Cardella), he was made Cardinal Deacon of St. George's in Vellabro on 30 May, 1371, and on 3 May, 1372 had provision of one benefice in each of the dioceses of Canterbury, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Chichester, London, Carlisle, Aquileia, Grado, and Maintz, worth together not more than 4,000 gold florins. He held the Archdeaconry of Leicester on 5 Oct., 1372, that of Durham and the Deanery of Sarum on 11 Sep., 1374, and on 12 Jan., 1378; but in 1379 the King, believing him to be a rebel against Pope Urban VI, seized his English benefices. Being assured, however, of his friendship and fidelity, he restored them later (*Pap. Reg.*).

Orsini had supported and crowned that Pope, but rebelled, and having received letters from Catharine of Siena, was perhaps influenced by her to return to his allegiance. He died at Tagliacotium 13 or 15 Aug., 1379.

Orsini, Raynald, a Roman of the great Orsini family and a Protonotary Apostolic, was made Cardinal Deacon of St. Adrian by Pope Clement VI on 17 Dec., 1350, and held several benefices overseas. He was provided to P. Nassington in Lincoln on 29 Aug., 1343, but in 1347 was still litigating for it. On 23 Nov., 1346, he was provided Archdeacon of Leicester, but on 26 Feb., 1347, was ordered to resign, and was provided Dean of Sarum, with leave to visit his deanery by deputy during several years, as he was usually overseas. He died at Avignon 6 June, 1374, and was buried in the Vatican.

Orsini, Thomas, of the Melapella branch of the family, was made Cardinal Deacon of St. Mary in Dominica c. 1380 (Eubel) or perhaps in December, 1381 (Cardella). He was imprisoned by the Pope, but remained faithful to Urban VI. He "exchanged the present for the future life" in Rome on 10 Jy., 1390 (Cardella), voiding the Treasury of Sarum, then worth 1,000 gold florins or 450 marks (Pap. Reg.).

Palanteone, Aucher, nephew of Pope Urban IV (James Palanteone), but said to have been of poor and obscure parentage, became Archdeacon of Laon and Canon of Bayeux, and was by his uncle made Cardinal Priest of St. Praxedes in December, 1261. He was present at the Coronation of King Charles of Sicily, and at the conclaves of several Popes, and had founded a Collegiate Church before "death cut the stem of his life" on 1 Nov., 1286 (Cardella).

He had protection in his English benefices on 8 Jy, 1262, renewed in 1263 and 1267. On 2 Sep., 1268, he sued the Archbishop of York for 80 marks p.a. till provided with a Prebend in York worth 100, the Pope having assigned P. Wetwang to him, but the Archbishop having given it to another. The Legate, therefore, to end the strife, suggested that P. Newbald should be charged 40 marks and P. Wetwang 60 marks as a life pension for Aucher, and the King confirmed this agreement. At Sarum Aucher held P. Faringdon c, 1280.

Pole, Reginald, son of Sir Richard Pole, and nearly related to the King, born in 1500, B.A. of Magdalen Coll., Oxon., 1515, and Fellow of Corpus Christi Coll. 1524. On coming of age he studied in Paris, visited Avignon, and found a second home in Italy, chiefly in Venice and Padua. Much beloved and highly regarded for his learning and

his virtue, he stood high in the King's regard, so that Henry asked for his opinion upon the subject of Papal Supremacy, and offered him the Archbishopric of York. Being, like Sir Thomas More and others, a moderate reformer, Erasmus wrote of him in 1533 as "deserving a principal place among my friends". In 1533 Eustace Chapuys, Ambassador of the Emperor Charles VI, urged his master to influence Pole, who stood very near to the English Throne, to seek marriage with the Princess Mary, "who would not refuse", and whose mother Queen Catharine, favoured the project; but Pole, still in minor orders, was too deeply attached to study and meditation to be dazzled by the glamour of marriage to the heiress of England (Letters, &c., of Henry VIII). Gradually he became more and more opposed to the King's policy, and especially to his breach with Rome.

Becoming Dean of Wimborne on 12 Feb., 1518, he was given the Prebend of Ruscomb in Sarum on 18 Mar., 1518, and of Yetminster II on 10 Ap., 1519, the Treasury of Exeter in 1527. He was ordained Deacon in 1536, and was made successively Cardinal Deacon of SS. Nereus and Achilles on 15 Jan., 1537, Cardinal of SS. Vitus and Modestus on 31 May, and of St. Mary in Cosmedin on 10 Dec., 1540. After being ordained Priest, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on 22 Mar., 1557, but died on the same day as Queen

Mary, 17 Nov., 1558, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

Prignano, Francis, of Pisa, a nephew of Pope Urban VI. Made Cardinal Priest of St. Eusebius 18 or 20 Sep., 1378, and before 1390 Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina (Eubel), he was Legate to the Maritime Provinces and the Campagna, and was faithful to Urban VI in the Schism (Cardella). He had Licence to receive possession of the Treasury of Sarum on papal provision 4 Aug., 1383 (Pap. Reg.): to have V. Kilpatrick in Co. Westmeath 17 Dec., 1390. He is Treasurer of Sarum and Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Church 14 Jy., and has provision of R. Astbury, Cheshire 22 [Aug., 1391 (Pap. Reg.). He died at the Apostolic See (Pap. Reg.) or at Assisi (Cardella) 6 Feb., 1394, voiding the Treasury in Sarum, and was buried at Pisa. Known as the Cardinal of Pisa, he was doubtless the Francis Prignano, "unworthy and immoral nephew of Pope Urban VI, in whose regard Urban is not free from blame" (Catholic Encyclopedia).

Radulfucci de Gentilibus, Luke, Doctor of Decrees, Archdeacon of Camerino till made Bishop of Nocera in Middle Italy 21 Jy., 1363, became Cardinal Priest of St. Sixtus on 28 Sep., 1378, was Vicar of Rome for Pope Gregory XI, and Legate to Umbria, and dying in Perugia in 1389, was buried at Camerino, where in 1619 Venanzia Radulfucci placed an inscription in verse to his memory. He was "illustrious for doctrine and sanctity of life" (Cardella) and being spoken of as Nucerinus from his Bishopric, was apparently known in England as Nonmacem or Neminacem, being mentioned thus:—

"The Lord Cardinal Nonmacem is Parson of Adderbury, valued at £100 . . . The Lord Cardinal Neminacem is Treasurer, Archdeacon of Sarum, and Prebendary of Calne, and has the Church of Figeldon

annexed" (Foxe, Book of Martyrs, E. 489—90). He has also the Prebend of Brampton in Lincoln, and of Colwich in Lichfield, and may receive the fruits of these prebends (Pap. Reg. 22 May, 1384). At his death he voided a prebend in Lincoln worth 270 gold florins (Pap. Reg. 15 Ap., 1391).

Ruffati, William de, nephew of Pope Clement V, was made Cardinal Deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian 15 Dec., 1305, Cardinal Priest of St. Pudentiana in 1306, and died on 24 Feb., 1311. Admitted Dean of Sarum on 21 Feb. or 23 Ap., 1309, he received a pension of 40 marks from the King, and on 16 Aug., 1309, staying overseas, he nominated

attorneys in England (Pap. Reg.).

Tomacelli, Perin, of an old Genoese family, was Canon of Naples, Canon and Sacrist of Bordeaux, Apostolic Protonotary, and Arch-Priest of the Lateran, and was made Cardinal Deacon of St. George in Velabro c. 1380, Cardinal Priest of St. Anastasia in 1385, and was consecrated and crowned as Pope Boniface IX on 9 Nov., 1389, dying at Rome on 1 Oct., 1404.

He appears to have held the Archdeaconry of Dorset soon after 1379, held P. Sutton-cum-Buckingham in Lincoln on 26 Feb., 1383, but took P. Corringham there instead on 14 Mar., 1384. On 20 Mar., 1388, he had leave to take possession of P. Gillingham in Shaftesbury, and P. South Newton in Wilton, being still spoken of as Cardinal Deacon of St. George in Velabro.

Via, Arnald de, of Cahors, perhaps Bishop of Avignon (Cardella, but not Eubel). Made Cardinal Deacon of St. Eustace 20 June, 1317, he "passed to the higher life" on 24 Nov., 1335. He was provided by the Pope Treasurer of Sarum c. 1330 (Jones), and confirmed therein by the King 14 Jan., 1331 (Pap. Reg.). He also held the Prebend of Calne.

Via, James de, sister's son to Pope John XXII, and brother of Arnald de Via, was elected Bishop of Avignon in 1313, and was made Cardinal Priest of SS. John and Paul 17 or 18 Dec., 1316, but died at Avignon 13 June, 1317, having not apparently been consecrated, but holding his diocese in commendam, and visiting it by vicars.

On 10 Ap., 1317, he had provision of the Treasury and a Prebend at Sarum, with dispensation to retain P. Croperdy in Lincoln (*Pap. Reg.*). He was mentioned by Eubel, Cardella, and Moroni, and in *Gallia*

Christiana.

Several Englishmen refused the cardinalate, and amongst them William de Courtenay, son of Hugh, Earl of Devon, who had been nominated Cardinal by Pope Urban VI on 28 Sep., 1378. As it happens, on 8th Feb., 1355, he had been granted a Canonry and Prebend of Sarum or St. Asaph at the age of fifteen (*Pap. Reg.*). There seems to have been no record of him at Sarum, so that he cannot be included in the list. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1381, and died on 31 July, 1396.

SOME HOLOCENE DEPOSITS AT BOX (WILTS).

By Henry Bury, F.L.S., F.G.S., and A. S. Kennard, A.L.S., F.G.S.

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Although tufaceous deposits are probably common in the oolitic country round Box and Bath, no attention has hitherto been paid to them; and this is the first detailed account of any tufa in these islands in which the faunules from several layers are listed separately. There was no sequence, such as Odhner¹ has shown to exist in Swedish tufas. but the section here described shows the former existence of species, which were quite unexpected in North Wiltshire. Wichell² recorded something of the sort at Stroud, Gloucestershire—30 miles from Box but his account is unsatisfactory and his identifications were incorrect.

The only tufas properly investigated hitherto are Broughton Brigg, Lincolnshire³; Blashenwell, Dorset⁴ (not fully published); Prestatyn, Flintshire⁵; and Wateringbury, Kent⁶. Box, therefore, opens up fresh territory.

DESCRIPTION OF DEPOSITS, BY HENRY BURY.

Early in 1939 Mr. A. Shaw Mellor, of Box House, Box, called attention to a succession of Holocene deposits, most of them tufaceous, exposed in a trench in his grounds; and he very kindly kept the trench open until the writer had had time to inspect it and remove samples.

The excavation was made on a fairly steep slope at about 140 ft. O.D., on the north side of the Bath-Chippenham road; and, as the whole hillside is abundantly supplied with water highly charged with lime-salts, it is not surprising that all the deposits examined were full of calcareous matter. The section shown was as follows:

³ Kennard, A. S. and J. F. Musham. 1937. Proc. Malac. Soc., vol. xxi, pp. 374—9.

⁴ Reid, C. 1896. Proc. Dors. Field Club, vol. xvii, pp. 67-75. Clark, J.G. D. 1938. Proc. Prehist. Soc., New Series, vol. iv, pp. 332-4.

¹ Odhner, N. 1910. Die Entwick. Mollusk. Kalktuffe bei Skultorp Wästergötland. Sond. Geol. Foren. Stockholm Forhand. Band 32. pp. 1095—1138.

² Wichell, E. The Geology of Stroud, 1882, pp. 97—8.

⁵ Jackson, J. W. 1922. Lanc. and Chesh. Naturalist, vol. xiv. pp. 147-158. Smith, W. G. 1926-7. Proc. Llandudno Field Club, vol. xiii, pp. 62-72. Clark, J. G. D. 1938. Proc. Prehist. Soc., New Series, vol. iv, pp. 330-2.

⁶ Brown, E. E. S. 1939. Proc. Geol. Assoc., vol. 1, pp. 77—82.

- (1) Black surface soil 1 ft. (2) Upper Marl ... 1 ft. 6 ins.
- (3) Hard ferruginous tufa with a black seam near the base 9 ins.
- (4) Lower Marl 1 ft. (5) Calcareous Clay 1 ft.
- (6) Yellowish Loam (not explored)

(1) The surface soil was not sampled, but according to Mr. Shaw Mellor it contains fragments of Roman pottery.

(2) The Upper Marl has a faint ochreous tinge, and when washed leaves an iron-stained tufaceous deposit, consisting of a few subangular lumps of hard tufa up to one inch in diameter, and a number of smaller fragments, many of which have the form of hollow cylinders, evidently formed round the stems of plants. Molluscan shells are not numerous (about 15 per lb.) and are entirely land forms, but a fair number of Ostracod tests also occur.

Several small fragments of red pottery were present, but Mr. Shaw Mellor suggests that they may have been brought down by earthworms from the Roman layer above. There are no molluscs characteristic of the Roman period.

(3) This layer, though deeply stained with iron, consists mainly of a sort of travertine, somewhat spongy in appearance, but for the most part yery hard. Cylindrical hollows were often present, indicating the former presence of sticks up to 3 inches long and ½ inch in diameter, but there were no impressions of leaves. Shells were very scarce (7 per lb.), but this may be partly due to the difficulty of breaking up the hard matrix. Several of the shells, however, were certainly broken before inclusion in the tufa. A few Ostracod tests were present. The black seam, irregular both in thickness and level, appears to include no carbon, and resembles the iron "pan" or "callus" often found in dry soils.

(4) The Lower Marl resembles the Upper Marl in most respects, but it contains more clay, and there are few cylindrical bodies in the tufaceous residue, which probably means that the vegetation was different. Molluscs are numerous (72 per lb.), and Ostracod tests are not uncommon.

(5) The Clay is also highly calcareous, and contains a few small nodules of hard tufa. Three lumps of limestone were also found, one of which is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and weighs $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. It is conceivable that this may have crept down the slope under heavy rains, but mention may be made of the fact that at Blashenwell (Dorset) even larger masses of limestone have been found, which were almost certainly introduced by man. Shells are abundant (130 per lb.), but a large proportion of them are more or less broken or abraded, and immense numbers of comminuted shell-fragments are scattered throughout the mass.

While the trench was being dug a single flint implement was found,

which, from its strong iron stain, Mr. Shaw Mellor thinks may safely be attributed to the ferruginous layer. Dr. J. G. D. Clark reports on it: "The Box specimen is interesting because it is worked on a special form of flake, namely one struck from a pyramidal core. It is not possible to be positive, but the core from which it was struck might well have been Mesolithic. Such a core is quite what you would expect to find in a Mesolithic industry".

Report on the Non-Marine Mollusca from Box.

By A. S. KENNARD, A.L.S., F.G.S.

The results of the careful washing and sorting from the various beds at Box are tabulated in the following table with the numbers of specimens of the various species, but it must not be assumed that we have the complete faunule for each bed. At the present day snails are often sporadic in their occurrence, common in one locus and quite absent from what to us appears to be an identical one, and it is probably a question of food. In spite of this the lists are probably fairly complete, and one can make deductions fairly safely.

		BEDS.	2	- 3	4	5
Pomatias elegans (Müll.)			5		6	41
Carychium minimum Müll.		***			6	
, tridentatum (Risso)		16	7	169	515
Limnaea truncatula (Müll.)					16	10
Lauria anglica (Wood)		• • •	3	5	44	18
Vertigo pusilla Müll.		• • •	1	3	13	9
,, substriata (Jeff.)		•••				4
,, pygmaea (Drap.)		• • •	1			
Columella edentula (Drap.)		***			2	
Vallonia costata (Müll)		•••	1	2		11
,, excentrica Sterki			6			1
Punctum pygmaeum (Drap.)			2		4	2
Cochlicopa lubrica (Müll.)		***	15	1	24	10
Acanthinula aculeata (Müll.)		•••	2	2	21	21
Spermodea lamellata (Jeff.)		***			22	
Gonyodiscus rotundatus (Mül	1.)		35	11	148	249
Arion sp			1			
Ena montana (Drap.)		• • •			4	2
Petasına fulva (Müll.)		***		3	9	1
Oxychilus cellaria (Müll.)		•••	5	5	59	5
Retinella nitidula (Drap.)			8	13	94	30
, pura (Ald.)			2	15	28	15
,, radiatula (Ald.)				2	9	2
Vitrea crystallina (Müll.)		***	2	1	62	16
Zonitoides nitidus (Müll.)			1			
Cecilioides acicula (Müll.)			30	28	1	
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Planatella itala (Linné)	4.40	for how		: . ·		1 ,
Limax sp						
Trochulus hispidus (Linné)			73	6		4
striolatus (C. Pfr.)					4	
Arianta arbustorum (Linné)					1	1
Cepaea nemoralis (Linné)			. 1		1	5
,, hortensis (Müll.)				1	3	3
Clausilia rugosa (Drap.)			2	2	18	38
Marpessa laminata (Mont.)	•••			1	2	2
Succinea pfeifferi Rassm.				2		
Pisidium cinereum Ald.	***	1111			21	6

One ovum of a Helicoid occurred in Bed 2.

NOTES ON SOME SPECIES.

There are three species fairly common in the deposit that are not known living from Wiltshire: Lauria anglica, Vertigo pusilla and Spermodea lamellata. The last is not known in a living state nearer than Staffordshire, but the others are known from Gloucestershire. It is interesting to note that S. lamellata was recorded many years ago from a tufaceous deposit at Stroud, but since no specimens were extant, one concluded that it was a misidentification; there is now, however, no a priori reason to doubt the record. These three species are very characteristic of the various tufaceous deposits in England, and it would appear that the conditions that favoured the deposit of the tufa were certainly congenial for these snails.

Deductions.

It would appear that the conditions during the deposition of these four deposits were very similar. They are all swamp deposits, for the two freshwater species present can live on permanently damp ground. One can also conclude that there was a scrub or woodland growth and not grass. All the shells are well developed, so the temperature was certainly not colder, and there was an abundant rainfall. As to the age, the faunule strongly supports the view that it is Mesolithic as suggested by the single flint implement found. It must be noted that the only tufas that have been dated definitely by human artefacts, Blashenwell, Dorset, and Prestatyn, Flintshire, are Mesolithic (I. G. D. Clark, Proc. Prehist. Soc., for 1938, pp. 330-334) and probably the majority are of that age.

It is probable, though one cannot say more, that these tufas are of the same age as the peaty tufaceous deposits so well developed in Essex, such as Copford, Roxwell, Chignal St. James, Felsted and Shalford. Recently S. Hazzledine Warren, F.G.S., has discovered a particularly rich deposit at Tile Kiln, Takeley. All these yield abundant marsh shells with a number of species locally extinct, but hitherto no human artefacts have been obtained that could enable these peaty deposits to be dated.

SHIP-MONEY IN THE HUNDRED OF KINGSBRIDGE.

By C. W. Pugh.

The document transcribed in this article was formerly in the possession of Mr. H. N. Goddard, and has recently been given to the Society by the Rev. Canon E. H. Goddard. It is an interesting contemporary list of persons assessed for ship-money in the hundred of Kingsbridge, North Wilts, in 1635, when the tax, first levied in 1634 on maritime counties only, was extended to inland counties as well. This extension was made on the authority of the King alone, without the consent of Parliament, and aroused widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country. In Oxfordshire the constables to whom the collection of the tax was delegated refused to proceed with the assessment, on the ground that they "had no authority to assess or tax any man". The legality of the impost was challenged by John Hampden, but the court of twelve judges who tried the case decided against him, and this decision was one of the causes which led to the Civil War.

The method of assessment was to impose on each county the obligation to provide the cost of one or more ships of varying tonnage, ranging from 64 tons in Rutland to 960 tons in Yorkshire. Wiltshire was assessed at one ship of 560 tons.² The total estimated revenue from the tax for the whole country was £208,000,³ or twice the amount obtained from the restricted levy of 1634.

The Kingsbridge document consists of twelve leaves of paper measuring 8 ins. \times 6 ins., closely written on both sides in a clear 17th century script with the exception of part of the last page, which is far less easily legible than the rest, and is almost certainly in a different hand. The assessments are arranged under the names of the parishes and their tithings, and the totals for each group are separately added. As is not uncommon in documents of this period, there are some small errors in the additions. The gross total according to the writer is £365 15s. 3d.; actually it is £364 14s. 1d.

The final page seems to be intended as a summary of the whole, but it is difficult to reconcile the figures here given with those in the body of the document. In the first line the "Kingsbridge rate" is given as £300; further down the page it is £384; whereas the sum of the

¹ Dowell, History of Taxation, vol. I., pp. 217—218.

² Dowell, History of Taxation, vol. I., p. 244. But in a letter from Francis Goddard, Sheriff of Wilts, to John Scrope, of Castle Combe, appointing him as collector for the Hundred of Chippenham, the figure for Wiltshire is given as 700 tons. (Scrope, History of Castle Combe, p. 305). The Devizes Municipal Records also give the same figure (Cunnington, Some Annals of the Borough of Devizes, vol. I. pt. 2, pp. 93, 94.)

³ Dowell as above, p. 218.

various parochial amounts, as shown above, is £364 or £365. The £400,000 mentioned in the second line is quite inexplicable, unless it is intended as an estimate of the whole yield of the tax, in which case it is wildly off the mark, being nearly double the figure given by Dowell (see above). The mention of "Coate and Conduct Money", 4 suggests the possibility that another tax is included in the figure; but this is merely conjecture, and it seems impossible to arrive at a really satisfactory explanation of this page.

It may be of interest to Wiltshire readers to add to these notes the assessments of some of the towns in the county, as they are given by

Waylen in his History of Marlborough:

City of New Sarum, £102; Borough of Marlborough, £60; Borough of Devizes, £50 (increased to £52, 10s., according to the Borough records); Borough of Wilton, £5.

Transcript.

On front cover: Kingsbrid (sic) Hundred for the Ship-mony, 1635.

KINGSBIDGE (sic) HUNDRED FOR YE SHIP-MONEY, 1635.

East Side.		nborough.		,	£	S.	d.
Jo. Harward, Vicar					ĩ	10	4
Henry Lory als Hedge	es	•••			3	1	8
Mrs. Martha Hinton		•••	•••		2	18	0
Mr. Edward Goddard	• • •	•••			0	3	8
Mr. Thomas Haynes	•••	•••			0	11	6
Mr. John Dayly	• • •	•••	•••		0	4	9
John Clarke	***	•••	•••		0	5	8
Mr. William Fisher		•••	• • •			4	9
Mr. Henry Fisher	• • •	•••	•••		2	18	0
Mr. John Briend	• • •	•••	• • •		1	2	0
Mr. Thomas Briend	•••	•••	•••		0	13	0
Phillis Roade		•••	•••		0	4	9
John Hearing	• • •	• • •	•••		0	3	6
John Pound	• • •	•••	•••		0	3	2
William Hancocke			• • •		0	1	2
Thomas Hearing, Jun		•••	• • •		0	1	2
Widow Wilkins, of H	_	•••	•••	• • •	0	3	0
9.	John	Hancocke	(Antho	ny))	2	10	8
Edwards for the great	te Bar	gayne	•••)			
Thomas Elmes	•••	• • •	• • •		0	0	9
William Edwards of t	the Str	eete	• • •		0	3	6
John Warman	• • • •	•••	• • •		0	3	6
John Loveday	• • •	•••	•••		0	7	9

⁴ Coat money: "Money to provide a coat for each man furnished for military service, especially that exacted as a tax by Charles I when governing without a Parliament" (O.E.D.).

Conduct money was money paid for travelling expenses of these soldiers.

	_ ,				£	S.	d.
Widow Eliott					$\tilde{0}$	11	1
Henry Haggard					0	5	4
John Lory, als Hedges					0	1	0
John West					0	3	6
John Mills and his mot	her	•••			0	4	0
Thomas Smith					0	11	0
Mr. John Cox					0	17	0
Mr. John Blomer	•••				0	12	8
Alexander Cleeve and					1	15	4
John Reade		-			0	17	6
Thomas Edwards	•••			٠.	0	8	10
Henry Haman	•••	•••		• • •	0	4	2
Thomas Reade, Seni.		• • •	• • •	• • •	0	4	9
Thomas Cox, Juni.	• • •	***	• • •	• • •	-	4	0
	•••	•••	• • •	• • •	0		0
Henry Phillips	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	1	0	-
Thomas Elliott	• • •	• • •	***		0	6	0
William Stoute	• • •	• • •	•	• • •	0	4	0
William Warren	1 . 1 7 .	1 . TO 1.		• • •	0	12	0
The widow Anne Brien		onn Brier	ıa	• • •	0	6	4
Richard Blissett	• • •	• • •		• • •	0	3	6
Edmond Loveday	• •	•••	• • •	• • •	0	3	2
Margery and John Hea		• • •	• • •	• • •	0	5	0
Widow Francis Clarcke	€	***	• • •	• • •	0	1	7
John Coventrey	• • •	***	• • •	• • •	0	2	6
Widow Anne Briend	• • •	• • •	•••	• • •	0	1	7
John Wells	• • •	***	• • •	• • •	0	1	8
Thomas Loveday	• • •	• • •	• • •		0	1	4
John Gardiner	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	0	3	0
William Hearing, Jun.		• • •			0	3	8
Widow Coventrey		•••	• • •		0	2	6
William Morecocke	• • •	• • •	***			3	2
John Yorke		• • •			1	0	4
Christian Warman					0	2	0
Anthony Warman		• • •			0	2	0
Widow Morecocke	• • •				0	0	11
Thomas Loveday	• • •				0	5	0
Richard Reason					0	1	3
John Chifforde					0	6	0
Thomas Hearing					0	4	2
William Hearing					0	4	6
E[d]ward Haggarde					0	8	3
George Addams					0	1	2
William Reason		• • (0	0	5
Anthony Edwards					0	4	0
Richard Shaile		• • •			0	1	6
Thomas George	•••				0	3	0
Thomas Reade	•••				()	5	0

Ship-money in the	Hundred o	of Kingsbri	dge.			
2		, ,	Ü	£	s.	d.
Thomas Horne		•••		0	7	0
John Gardiner	•••	•••		0	1	0
John Wake	•••	•••		0	1	0
Thomas Cox, of the West Si	de	•••		0	0	6
Thomas Head		•••		0	0	6
John Greenaway	•••			0	1	0
Richard Phillips				0	3	0
William Loveday	•••	•••		0	5	0
Alexander Cleeve				0	5	0
Edward Smarte				0	1	0
John Jacobb	•••			0	12	0
Frances Whelforde	•••			0	1	6
Mr. John Rolte				1	0	0
Thomas Norris	***	•••		0	5	0
Katherine Cox		•••		0	6	0
Thomas George for grasebre		•••		1	3	4
Mr. John Briend, for Sr. Hu				1	3	4
,	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,					_
		The sum i	s £	39	0	0
Lid	ldington.			£	s.	d.
Thomas Goddard, Esqr.	••			4	0	0
Mr. Henry Fisher	,	•••		3	4	0
Mr. William Fisher, Sen.	•••	•••		1	12	0
Mr. William Fisher, Jun	••	•••		2	8	4
Mr. Robert Whip	•••			0	12	0
Mr. William Morse	••			0	5	4
The Vicaridge		•••		0	12	8
Robert Webb	•••	•••		0	18	0
John Hearinge, Sen.				0	12	0
Thomas Smarte, Sen.	•••	•••		0	10	0
Henry Morse		•••		0	6	0
Jane Martin	••	•••		0	6	8
Jeremy Sargeant	• • •	•••		0	6	8
Thomas Warman	••			0	5	4
William Webb	••	•••		0	4	8
William Warman	•••	•••		0	2	8
Richard Morse		•••		0	10	0
Joyce Gardiner		•••		0	5	4
John Hearing, Jun.	•••	•••		0	4	0
Anthony Loveday	•••	•••		0	3	4.
William Matthew	••	•••		0	3	4
Anthony Gardiner		•••		0	1	0
Thomas Morecocke		•••		0	4	8
Mrs. Edwards		•••		0	9	4
Raphe Haukes	•••	•••		0	2	9
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Henry Bristowe				£ 0	s. 10	a. 8
Robert Godwin	•••	* * *	•••	0	10	8
Thomas Walter		• • •	• • •	0	5	4
Henry Allin	•••	***		0	5	4
William Warman	•••			0	5	4
Henry Gray	•••	•••		0	5	4
William Haukes and Em		•••		0	5	4
Ferdinando Hughes		•••		0	6	8
Paul Hauker				0	8	8
Thomas Reade				0	2	8
Thomas Evens				0	1	4
Thomas Warman	•••			0	1	4
John Howells				0	2	0
Henry Haggard	•••			0	5	4
Robert Morse				0	2	4
The Parsonadge				2	0	0
Henry Hamam	•••			0	5	0
Henry Bloxham				0	2	4
John Gray				0	2	0
	7	Γhe Sum is		25	0	0
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Sir William Dawley Knig	ht		•••	£	6	3
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Mr. Gallimore for his par Mr. Thomas and Anthony	ght sonage y Buckeridg	•••	•••	10	6 10 14	3 0 6
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1	Badbury.			£	s.	d.
Nicholas Churche's Farmer,	Mr. Benn	et		ĩ	9	0
Mr. Nordnes, Farmer	•••			3	15	0
Mr. William Morse				1	11	7
Noahe Richman	•••	•••		1	15	6
Elizabeth Harding, widow	•••	•••		0	18	10
Widow Morse & her sonne	•••	•••		0	11	7
Thomas & John Crosby		•••		0	11	6
Joan Noake, widow	•••	•••		0	8	4
Nicholas Harding	• • •	•••		0	9	5
John Tybbs		•••		0	12	6
Henry Collet		•••		0	14	3
Anthony & John Kimber		•••		0	7	4
William Lamborne & his so	onn e	•••		0	8	4
William Combes, Sen.	•••	•••		0	7	4
Richard & Tho. Harding		• • •		0	11	6
Willi. & Jo. Simpson	• • •	•••		0	16	0
Tho. Taylor	•••	•••	•••	0	12	6
Nicholas Badcocke's Farme	er	•••		0	11	6
Bartholomew Huse	•••	• • •		. 0.	10	5
Richard Morse's Farmer W	illi. Hama	n		0	8	0
Thomas Tanner's Farmer	•••			0	6	0
Tho. Crooke	•••	• • •		0	6	3
Benedicke Taylor	•••			0	4	2
Tho. Bishop's Farmer		•••	• • •	0	2	1
Richard Richman for his st		•••	• • •	0	6	3
Nicholas Church for his sto		•••	• • •	0	3	0
John Crosby Carpenter for		•••		0	2	6
Robert Bunce for his stock			• • •	0	1	0
Anthony Bristow for his sto	oc ke	•••	• • •	0	1	0
	•••	•••		0	2	0
Alexander Combe for his st		•••		0	1	0
William Lovelocke for his s	stocke	•••	• • •	0	1	0
	7	The Sum is		39	10	0
e	Swindon.				_	a
				£ 5	s. 0	d. 0
		•••	•••		3	
Mr. Edward Martin of Uph		•••	•••	0	.0	$\frac{4}{0}$
Mr. Henry Martin Thomas Violett	•••	•••	•••	1	15	0
Robert Tuckey, Sen.	•••	*** ,	•••	2	0	ŏ
Lawrence Stichall	•••	•••	•••	1	0	0
Mr. John Stichall	•••	•••	• • •	1	0	0
Elizabeth Stichall, widdow	•••	•••	• • • •	0	10	0
Arthur Violett		•••	• • • •	0	15	0
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Willi. Larance				$\frac{\ell}{0}$	s. 15	d. 0	
Willi. Larance Mr. Willi. Gallimore	• • •	***	• • •	0	10	0	
Tho. Heath, Sen.	•••	**	•••	0	13	4	
T 1 TT	• • •	•••	• • •	0	13	4	
5001	•••	•••	•••	0	13	4	
3	•••	• • •	• • •	0	10	0	
Henry Farmer, Sen.	• • •	•••	• • •			0	
Willi E	• • •	•••	• • •	0	10		
Willi. Ewen	• • •	•••	• • •	0	6	8	
Roger Ewen	• • • •	•••	• • •	0	3	4	
Tho. Chaundler	•••	***		0	10	0	
Jo. Looker	• • •			0	6	8	
James Looker, Juni.	• • •	•••	• • •	0	6	8	
Tho. Looker	• • •	•••	• • •	0	5	0	
Mr. Totton	• • •	•••	• • •	0	3	4	
Henry Skilling		• • •	• • •	0	5	0	
John Barnard	• • •	•••	• • •	0	5	0	
Anthonie Streete		***		0	5	0	
Richard Martin		•••		0	4	0	
John Holloway		•••		0	5	0	
Jo. Ewen, Sen				0	5	0	
Robert Tuckey, Juni.				0	5	0	
Roger Harris				0	5	0	
Thomas Heathe, Jun.		•••		0	3	4	
John Allworth als Alder				0	5	0	
Jo. Heathe, Sen		•••		0	2	6	
Jo. Heathe, Ju				0	2	6	
Willi. Heathe Colteworker		•••		0	1	0	
Jo. Ewen, Ju				0	3	4	
Richard Tuckey		•••		0	3	4	
John Corlis		•••		0	2	6	
Willi. Smith		•••		0	3	4	
To. Stichall	•••	•••		0	1	0	
Widdow Restirop		***		0	3	4	
Tho. Wilde	• • •	•••		0	1	6	
T T31	• • •	•••	• • •	0	2	0	
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Samuel Lanne Edward Fewtrill	• • •	***	• • •	0	3	4	
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Thomas Stichall	• • •	• • •	• • •		_		
Tho. Ewen	• • •	* * *		0	1	0	
Nicholas Holloway	• • •			0	2	0	
Miles Holloway	• • •	•••		0	2	0	
Miles Wilde	• • •			0	2	0	
Richard Hopkins	• • •	• • •		0	2	0	
Alexander Cattle				0	2	6	
Amos Wilkins				0	1	0	
Willi. Avenill				0	1	0	
Robert Carpenter				()	1	()	

Snip-money in the Hunar	ea oj Kingsoria	ge.	_		
			£	s.	d.
Samuel Strong	***	• • •	.0		0
Ambrose Taylor	••• 1.1.1.1	• • •	0	1	0
Jo. Rudle, Sen	***	• • •	0	. 1	0
Richard Wylde			0	1	0
Samuel Haggard			0	. 1	0
Edward Thrushe	***		0	1	0
Willi. Fluce	•••		0	. 1	0
Noahe Webb of Draycot	•••		0	3	0
Richard Webb, Sen., of Draycot	***		0	0	9
Daniel Perkins of Werdyte	***		0	0.	9
Richard Phillips of Wanbroughe	•••		0	2	6
			. 0	2	6
John Wake of Wanboroughe	•••	• • •			
Jeffery Bayly of Wroughton	•••	• • •	0	.3	4
Jo. Horne	•••	• • •	0	3	4
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	The Sum is		25	10	0
Overtown	ıe.		£	s.	d.
Mr. E. Chadwell & Sr Wm Cawley f			3	13	4
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Mr. Jo. Sadler, sen ^r	•••	•••	1		8
Mr. Jo. Sadler, Jun ^r	***	• • •	1	16	8
Salthrop	9 .		£	s.	d.
	». 		$oldsymbol{\pounds}_{oldsymbol{2}}$	s. 10	d. 0
Mr. William Yorke for Salthrop	•		2		
Mr. William Yorke for Salthrop For Cancourt	•••	•••	2 3	$\begin{array}{c} 10 \\ 0 \end{array}$	0
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Mr. William Yorke for Salthrop For Cancourt Willm Spencer for Quidhampton	•••	•••	2 3 2	10 0 0	0 0 0
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Mr. William Yorke for Salthrop For Cancourt Willm Spencer for Quidhampton Westleed Tho. White for ye farme Mr. Rich. Violet for Westlease Mr. Jo. Sadler for Chilton Elcombo	 ot 		2 3 2 £ 2 3 2	10 0 0 s. 13 13 0	0 0 0 d. 4 4 0
Mr. William Yorke for Salthrop For Cancourt Willm Spencer for Quidhampton Westleed Tho. White for ye farme Mr. Rich. Violet for Westlease Mr. Jo. Sadler for Chilton Elcombo	 ot 		2 3 2 2 2 3 2	10 0 0 s. 13 13 0 s. 13	0 0 0 d. 4 4 0
Mr. William Yorke for Salthrop For Cancourt Willm Spencer for Quidhampton Westleed Tho. White for ye farme Mr. Rich. Violet for Westlease Mr. Jo. Sadler for Chilton Elcombo Richard Spenser for the Farme Richard Kemme for the Parke	 		2 3 2 £ 2 3 2	10 0 0 s. 13 13 0 s. 13	0 0 0 d. 4 4 0 d. 4 0
Mr. William Yorke for Salthrop For Cancourt Willm Spencer for Quidhampton Westleed Tho. White for ye farme Mr. Rich. Violet for Westlease Mr. Jo. Sadler for Chilton Elcombook Richard Spenser for the Farme Richard Kemme for the Parke Richard Kemme for his 5 yard lan	 		2 3 2 2 2 3 2 2 4 1 1	10 0 0 s. 13 13 0 s. 13 16	0 0 0 d. 4 4 0 d. 4 0 8
Mr. William Yorke for Salthrop For Cancourt Willm Spencer for Quidhampton Westleed Tho. White for ye farme Mr. Rich. Violet for Westlease Mr. Jo. Sadler for Chilton Elcombo Richard Spenser for the Farme Richard Kemme for the Parke	 		2 3 2 £ 2 3 2	10 0 0 s. 13 13 0 s. 13 0 16 3	0 0 0 d. 4 4 0 d. 4 0 8 4
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Edward Snell, gent.

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Tho. Browne

Jo. Sherur

Humphrey Butcher

Richard Jacobb ...

Thomas Walter ...

Thomas Willis ...

2	Ship-n	non e y in the	e Hundred	of Kingsbri	dge.			
	•	v				£	s.	d.
	Henry Barnard	& H umfrey	Barnard	•••	• • •	0	10	0
	John Bayly	•••	•••	•••	• • •	0	5	0
	Tho. Bayly	•••	• • •	•••	• • •	0	5	0
	James Ponting	•••		•••	• • •	0	5	0
	Edward Ponting	ç	•••	•••		0	4	0
	Willi, Wayte	•••		•••		0	5	0
	Humphry Goods	man		•••		0	5	0
	Willi. Phillips o	f littlecot	•••			1	0	0
	Robert Clement	s & Thoma	s Richman	ı		1	10	0
	Willi. Spence	•••	•••			0	5	0
	Sr William Butt	on				0	10	0
	Willi. Quintin o	f Corton, ge	ent.	•••		2	10	0
	E(d)ward Hopk	ins of Cleev	ancy	•••		1	0	0
	Jo. Hopkins	•••		•••		1	0	0
	Jo. Carpenter	•••				0	15	0
	David Macy	•••	•••	•••		0	15	0
	Mrs. Cawley, wie	dow		•••		0	10	0
	Willi. Arnold	• • •	•••			0	5	0
	Henry Bell					0	-5	0
	Edward Harper	•••				0	5	0
	Jo. Goldsmith o					3	0	0
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				The Sum is		32	0	0
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		Tock	enham W	eeke		£	s.	d.
	Mr. Still	•••	•••	• • •		0	8	0
	Willi. Jacob	•••		•••		0	12	0
	John Wayte					0	4	0
	Edward Newton	ı				0	2	0
	Jo. Weekes	,		•••		0	2	0
	Richard Church					0	2	0
	Edmund Quinty	ne				0	4	0
	Richard Cowles					0	5	0
	Egbert Cowles	•••		•••		0	6	0
	Mr. Danvers	•••		•••		1	0	0

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Richard Parsons...

Edward Webb ...

Roger Welsted ...

Widow Griffin

Sr Francis Englefield

Tho. Webb

Mr. Anthony Garrard for the Farme	E	roadtown (э.		£	s.	d.
Roger Spackman 0 8 0 Robert Garlicke 0 8 0 Jo. Parsons 0 8 0 Lyonell Collman 0 2 0 Roger Spackman for S' Francis Ryle's Farme 0 13 0 Jo. Sadler 0 6 0 Tho. Garlicke 0 6 0 Willi. Miller 0 6 0 Willi. Blissett 0 10 0 Tho. Norris 0 10 0 Tho. & Edmond Witt 0 6 0 D. Brooke 2 0 0 Tho. & Edmond Witt 0 6 0 0 0 Tho. Barnes 2 0 0 Robert Brookes 0							
Robert Garlicke	•					8	0
Lyonell Collman			•••		0	8	0
Roger Spackman for S' Francis Ryle's Farme 0 13 0 Jo. Sadler 0 6 0 Tho. Garlicke 0 3 0 Willi. Miller 0 6 0 Willi. Blissett 0 0 4 0 Tho. Norris 0 10 0 Tho. & Edmond Witt 0 6 0 D. Brooke 0 4 0 Lyneham Parishe £ s. d. Richard Long Esqr for his Temporals 2 0 0 For his Parsonadge of Lyneham & Clacke 0 10 0 Henry Lanfere 0 10 0 Tho. Barnes 0 5 0 Robert Tucke 0 10 0 Adam Tucke 0 10 0 Adam Archur 0 10 0 Tho. Huntly 0 5 0 Robert Brookes 0 4 0 Mary Shepheard, Widow 0 2 0 Henry Browne, Sen 0 10 0 Henry Browne, Sen 0 12 0 Henry Browne, Ju 0 3 0 Adam Moyse Clarke 0 2 0 Richard Huntley, Sen 0 5 0 Margaret Tucke, Widow 0 2 0 Thomas Newcombe 0 5 0	Jo. Parsons		•••		0	8	0
Jo. Sadler	Lyonell Collman		•••		0	2	0
Jo. Sadler	Roger Spackman for Sr Fr	ancis Ryle	's Farme		0	13	0
Willi. Miller 0 6 0 Willi. Blissett 0 4 0 Tho. Norris 0 10 0 Tho. & Edmond Witt 0 6 0 D. Brooke 0 4 0 Eyneham Parishe £ s. d. Richard Long Esqr for his Temporals 2 0 0 For his Parsonadge of Lyneham & Clacke 0 10 0 Henry Lanfere 0 10 0 Tho. Barnes 0 5 0 Robert Tucke 0 9 0 Adam Tucke 0 10 0 Adam Archur 0 10 0 Tho. Huntly 0 5 0 Robert Brookes 0 4 0 Mary Shepheard, Widow 0 2 0 Henry Browne, Sen. 0 12 0 Henry Browne, Ju. 0 3 0 Henry Browne, Ju. 0 3 0 Richard Huntley, Sen. 0 5 0 Margaret Tucke, Widow					0	6	0
Willi. Blissett 0 4 0 Tho. Norris 0 10 0 Tho. & Edmond Witt 0 6 0 D. Brooke 0 4 0 The Sum is 22 0 0 The Sum is 22 0 0 Eyneham Parishe £ s. d. Richard Long Esq¹ for his Temporals 2 0 0 For his Parsonadge of Lyneham & Clacke 0 10 0 Henry Lanfere 0 10 0 Tho. Barnes 0 10 0 Tho. Barnes 0 10 0 Robert Lacke 0 10 0 Tho. Barnes 0 10 0 Robert Tucke 0 10 0 Tho. Huntly 0 5 0 Robert Brookes 0 10 0 Tho. Huntly 0 2 0 Robert Brookes 0 12 0 Robert Brookes 0 12 0 Henry Browne, Ju. <td>Tho. Garlicke</td> <td></td> <td>• • •</td> <td></td> <td>0</td> <td>3</td> <td>0</td>	Tho. Garlicke		• • •		0	3	0
Tho. Norris	Willi. Miller	•••			0	6	0
The Sum is	Willi. Blissett	•••	•••		0	4	0
The Sum is	Tho. Norris	•••	•••	• • •	0	10	0
Lyneham Parishe £ s. d. Richard Long Esq² for his Temporals 2 0 0 For his Parsonadge of Lyneham & Clacke 0 10 0 Henry Lanfere 0 10 0 Tho. Barnes 0 5 0 Robert Tucke 0 10 0 Adam Tucke 0 10 0 Adam Archur 0 10 0 Tho. Huntly 0 5 0 Robert Brookes 0 4 0 Mary Shepheard, Widow 0 2 0 Henry Browne, Sen 0 12 0 Henry Browne, Ju 0 3 0 Adam Moyse Clarke 0 2 0 Richard Huntley, Sen 0 5 0 Margaret Tucke, Widow 0 12 0 Thomas Newcombe 0 3 0 Ellen Bradbury, Widow 0 2 0 Sr Willi. Button for Roger Reeves 0 6 0 Elizabeth Browne, widow 0 2 0 Tho. Venn 0 0 0 Preston £ s. d. Edith Weeke, widow 1 0 0 Robert Sparrow 0 10 0 Elizabeth Burchall 0 10 0 Jo. Burchall 0 10 0	Tho. & Edmond Witt	• • •	•••		0	6	0
Lyneham Parishe ₤ s. d. Richard Long Esq ^r for his Temporals 2 0 0 For his Parsonadge of Lyneham & Clacke 0 10 0 Henry Lanfere 0 10 0 Tho. Barnes 0 5 0 Robert Tucke 0 9 0 Adam Tucke 0 10 0 Adam Archur 0 10 0 Tho. Huntly 0 5 0 Robert Brookes 0 4 0 Mary Shepheard, Widow 0 2 0 Menry Browne, Sen. 0 12 0 Henry Browne, Ju. 0 3 0 Adam Moyse Clarke 0 2 0 Richard Huntley, Sen. 0 5 0 Margaret Tucke, Widow 0 12 0 Thomas Newcombe 0 3 0 Ellen Bradbury, Widow 0 2 0 S' Willi. Button for Roger Reeves 0 6 0 Elizabeth Browne, widow 0 2 0 Tho. Venn 0 2 0 Tho. Venn 0 0 6 Preston. £ s. d. Edith Weeke, widow 1 0 0<	D. Brooke	•••	•••		0	4	0
Lyneham Parishe ₤ s. d. Richard Long Esq ^r for his Temporals 2 0 0 For his Parsonadge of Lyneham & Clacke 0 10 0 Henry Lanfere 0 10 0 Tho. Barnes 0 5 0 Robert Tucke 0 9 0 Adam Tucke 0 10 0 Adam Archur 0 10 0 Tho. Huntly 0 5 0 Robert Brookes 0 4 0 Mary Shepheard, Widow 0 2 0 Menry Browne, Sen. 0 12 0 Henry Browne, Ju. 0 3 0 Adam Moyse Clarke 0 2 0 Richard Huntley, Sen. 0 5 0 Margaret Tucke, Widow 0 12 0 Thomas Newcombe 0 3 0 Ellen Bradbury, Widow 0 2 0 S' Willi. Button for Roger Reeves 0 6 0 Elizabeth Browne, widow 0 2 0 Tho. Venn 0 2 0 Tho. Venn 0 0 6 Preston. £ s. d. Edith Weeke, widow 1 0 0<							
Richard Long Esq² for his Temporals 2 0 0 For his Parsonadge of Lyneham & Clacke 0 10 0 Henry Lanfere 0 10 0 Tho. Barnes 0 5 0 Robert Tucke 0 9 0 Adam Tucke 0 10 0 Adam Archur 0 10 0 Tho. Huntly 0 5 0 Robert Brookes 0 4 0 Mary Shepheard, Widow 0 2 0 Henry Browne, Sen 0 12 0 Henry Browne, Ju 0 3 0 Adam Moyse Clarke 0 2 0 Richard Huntley, Sen 0 5 0 Margaret Tucke, Widow 0 12 0 Thomas Newcombe 0 3 0 Ellea Bradbury, Widow 0 2 0 S' Willi. Button for Roger Reeves 0 6 0 Browne, widow 0 6 0 Mr. Jo. Yong 0 2 0 Tho. Venn 0 10 0 Clitabeth Burchall 0 10 0 Robert Sparrow			The Sum is	• • • •	22	0	0
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Tho. Barnes		neham & C	Clacke	• • •	-		
Robert Tucke	3	•••	•••	• • • •			
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Adam Archur 0 10 0 Tho. Huntly 0 5 0 Robert Brookes 0 4 0 Mary Shepheard, Widow 0 2 0 Henry Browne, Sen. 0 12 0 Henry Browne, Ju. 0 3 0 Adam Moyse Clarke 0 2 0 Richard Huntley, Sen. 0 5 0 Margaret Tucke, Widow 0 12 0 Thomas Newcombe 0 3 0 Ellen Bradbury, Widow 0 2 0 Sr Willi. Button for Roger Reeves 0 6 0 Elizabeth Browne, widow 0 6 0 Mr. Jo. Yong 0 2 0 Tho. Venn £ s. d. Edith Weeke, widow 1 0 0 Robert Sparrow 0 10 0 Elizabeth Burchall, widow 0 10 0 Jo. Burchall 0 5 0 Nathaniell Burchall 0 10 0		•••	•••	• • •	_		
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	Sr John St John		_	_		$\tilde{2}$	3	5
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	Richard Prater	for S ^r Jo.	S ^t Jo. lan	ds		2	10	0
	Mr. Marloe Arch	-				2	10	0
	Peter Kibblewh	ite for Me	eighington			3	6	8
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	Gyles Allworthe	for Whit	hill	•••		1	3	4
	Jo. Perkins	• • •	•••	•••		0	6	8
	Robert Baker	•••	• • •	•••		0	5	0
	Jo. Saymore	• • •	•••	•••		0	6	8
	Jo. Bathe	• • •	• • •	•••	• • •	0	8	4
	Jo. Webb	• • •	•••	•••	• • •	0	6	0
	Richard Prater	• • •	•••	•••	• • • •	0	8	4
	Jo. Player	• • •	• • •	•••	• • •	0	2	0
	Jo. Greenwood	• • •	• • •	•••		0	4	0
	Widow Franklin	ne	•••	•••		0	3	4
	Willi. Woolforde	e	•••	•••		0	3	4
	Jo. Greenwood	• • •	•••	•••	• • •	0	2	0
	Edward Pannell	l	•••	•••	• • •	0	0	8
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	Widow Kent	•••	•••	***		. 0	8	4
	Mr. Oliver Buns		•••	***		0	2	0
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Sr Frances Englefield Barronett 5 0 0 The Executors of Sr Frances Englefield, deceased 15 0 0 Thomas Jacob for the land he holds, late Sr Frances 5 0	Wootton Bassett.					d.
The Executors of Sr Frances Englefield, deceased 15 0 0 1 Thomas Jacob for the land he holds, late Sr Frances 5 0 0 0 John Boxall 2 0 0 0 Willi. Brinsdon	Sr Frances Englefield Barr	£ 5	0	0		
Thomas Jacob for the land he holds, late Sr Frances 5 0 0 0 John Boxall				15	0	0
Willi. Brinsdon 0 10 0 Edward Wheeler 0 18 0 Anne Parker 1 0 0 Henry Webb 0 6 0 Thomas Weekes 0 16 0 Richard Bathe 0 16 0 Thos. Wheeler 0 8 0 Robert Bathe 0 8 0 Jo. Wheeler 0 6 0 Thomas Webb 0 18 0 The Vicaridge 1 10 0 Jo. Smith for Barnehill 0 12 0 Jo. Saddler 0 12 0 Jo. Saddler 0 8 0 Jane Maskeline 0 8 0 Simon Robbins 0 5 0 George Heale 0 3 0 Tho. Sadler 1 0 0 Robert Lyddall 1 0 0 Robert Maskeline 0 6 0 James Symmons 0 8 0 Anne Maskelyne, widow 0 10 0 Richard Hull 0 10 0 Willi, Church 0 10 0 John Cheeseman 0 2 0 Mary Sadler, widow 0 3 0 Richard Batton 0 6 0 Tho. Plott 0 2 0 Richard Curtis 0 2 0			9		0	0
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Corrigendum. Vol. l, No. clxxvii. December, 1942, page 65 The last word of the article should read ballflowers.

AN EPISCOPAL VISITATION OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SARUM IN 1607.

By C. R. EVERETT, F.S.G.

The right of the lord bishop of Sarum to visit his cathedral church dates, says Canon W. H. Rich Jones in the course of his observations on the subject. 1 (to which the compiler of this paper would like to acknowledge his indebtedness), to the foundation of the See, and is inherent in the bishopric. This prerogative was challenged, it is true, at an early period, but it was not on that occasion, or on any other. surrendered. This was in 1262 when Bishop Giles de Bridport claimed this "visitorial" right, but as a result of a protest by the Chapter withdrew the claim. In 1392, one hundred and thirty years later, the question was again raised; the issue was a compromise, or agreement. made between the then Bishop, John Waltham, and the Chapter, which was afterwards confirmed by the Pope, Boniface IX. In this all matters of dispute were settled, while the mode, and time, of visitations in the future, with the procedure to be followed, as well as the nature and the extent of the lord bishop's jurisdiction, were defined and set out for all time.² Actually, the settlement remained undisturbed for over four hundred years, but in 1683 the ancient controversy was revived by Thomas Pierce, the then dean, who, in addition to contesting Bishop Seth Ward's episcopal right, also challenged his power. on the ground that the composition sanctioned by Pope Boniface had no binding force. The dispute was referred to Lord North, the Keeper of the Great Seal, who reported completely in the bishop's favour, his action having the royal approval.3 Thus the lord bishop's visitorial prerogative, hallowed by tradition and ratified by the unwritten law of ancient custom, has been practised without effective protest for at least seven centuries, the last occasion being in 1880, by Bishop John Wordsworth

The Agreement.

The compromise arranged shows how claims apparently irreconcilable can with mutual good will be composed and adjusted in a common cause. In the present instance, where the principal issue involved was the delicate one of jurisdiction, it was found possible to reconcile the claims advanced on behalf of the episcopate without prejudicing or infringing in any way the fundamental rights of the lord dean, which, essentially largely administrative, remained unaffected. The lord bishop in the capacity of overseer or supervisor was to exercise independently, or in conjuction with the lord dean or

¹ Fasti Ecclesiæ Sarisberiensis.

² Statutes of Sarum 84.

³ Cath. Com. Report, 1852.

a Council of his own choosing, at the time of each visitation and for a limited period thereafter, a certain jurisdiction, coupled with specific powers whereby such amendments and corrections as might be deemed desirable, or requisite, were to be made.

These visitations were probably regarded by residents in the Close as a welcome diversion from its usual orderly, if monotonous, routine. They were limited to five days and accompanied by considerable ceremonial, particulars of which, with the formalities observed, are given in one of the Dean and Chapter's Act Books. Each day at the cathedral the arrivals and departure of the lord bishop were made known by the ringing of the bells in the belfry tower. There he was greeted by the dignities, canons and other ministers of the church together with the officials of the Chapter and escorted to his stall in the choir. From thence he proceeded, after Divine Service, in procession to the Chapter House, where the business of the visitation was centred. From there, in accordance with precedent, he visited in turn the dignities, canons, prebendaries, vicars-choral, the other ministers and permanent officials, who included the sub-dean, the sub-chanter and the master of the Grammar School.

The Articles of Enquiry.

These Articles, ministered to the dignities, canons, prebendaries, vicars-choral and, after the Reformation, to the lay-vicars or song-men, are found at different visitations to vary in character as well as number. They are precisely phrased, with economy of words, in simple and homely language. While some may be said to be of a routine character, appearing unaltered in Articles ministered over an extended period, others are suggested by contemporary conditions, or are attributable to special circumstances; charges may-be of maladministration, misconduct or neglect, the discovery of which, with their amendment, as well as the admonishment of the offenders, was called for. Many interrogations were accompanied with a demand for an answer "yes" or "noe", which at times may possibly have been embarrassing. In these Articles of Enquiry, answerable on oath, the lord bishop for the time being possessed an instrument whereby he could exercise an effective supervision over the administration of the cathedral church, as also over its organisation, the ingathering of its revenues and their distribution: he was also enabled thereby to satisfy himself as to the efficiency and sufficiency of those with whom responsibility rested.

Visitations.

The episcopal visitations are frequently mentioned in the muniments of the See and of the Chapter; it has, however, been impracticable in present conditions to refer to them in detail for the purpose of these notes. In a few instances only, as far as is known, have full transcripts of the Articles of Enquiry, with the Answers thereto, been recorded; this was the case at the Visitations of Bishop Cotton in 1607.

¹ Penruddock, 48.

The discovery of this record, previously unknown and unsuspected, was quite fortuitous, being made in the course of a cursory inspection of the contents of a somewhat dilapidated volume clad in parchment stored in the Diocesan Registry, into which, with various grants of prebendal estates and others of miscellaneous character, the details of the visitation had been copied. It is inscribed "supposed by Shuter"; hence the assumption that the contents extended, wholly or in part, over a period during which Thomas Shuter held the office of Chapter Clerk, or deputised as such. Owing to the loss of the contemporary Act Book its duration is uncertain. He was occupying the post in 1622, when, by Letters Patent dated 6th August in that year, he and Richard Lowe were granted the same for their lives and the life of the longer liver of them at a fee of £4 per annum, with 18s. more yearly at Christtide for a robe and 6s. 8d. at Michaelmas yearly for a chamber. Thomas Shuter was born in 1588, and, on the 16th February, 160%, married at the Cathedral Lucy, daughter of Andrew Mortimer, then acting as Chapter Clerk, whom, at his death in 1606, he probably succeeded in that position. His will, dated 18th July, 1660, was proved in the P.C.C. (28 Laud.) on the 6th February following. This transcript of the episcopal visitation of the cathedral church in question is printed with the kind co-operation of Canon Robert Quirk, Treasurer and Custos Munimentorum. It is, with some slight rectifications to clarify the text, an exact copy of the original. The capital letters used, with the forms of spelling adopted, are largely those in vogue at the period, although some of the vagaries noticeable may probably be attributed to the idiosyncrasies or carelessness of the writer, or of his clerk.

The majority of the signatories to the first set of Answers were residentiary canons. William Zouch was made Precentor in 1584. retaining the dignity until 1608, the year of his death. Thomas Hyde was, Chancellor from 1588 to 1618. Ralph Pickhaver was Archdeacon of Sarum (1583-1615).

The signatories to the second were, with the exception of John Fuller, all members of the commonalty of Vicars-Choral. John Fuller was by virtue of his office of Teacher of the Choristers, a Lay Vicar or Song-man.

Articles ministered by the Right Rev. ffather in God, Henry by God's grace Bishop of Sarum, in his ordinary visitation of his Cathedrall Church of Sarum to the dignities, canons, prebendaries & other ministers of the said cathedrall church of Sarum, 1607.

1. First, whether Statutum dni Roger Epi de rebus Ecclie conservandis qd incipit ne per ignorantiam be well and truly kept & observed or noe & if it be not what is the cause and in whom. Explain the whole truth wthowt any favour or partialitie.

- 2. Itm, whether every dignity, canon and prebendary be qualified according to the nature of his Stall & place or noe & whoe of them is not, and whoe of them is defective & wherein defect is shewn.
- 3. Item, whether the Deane & every Canon Resident doth keepe his or theire days Residentaries according to the Auntient order or noe & what was the cause of the alteration if there be any, by what authoritie have they altered the said auntient statute & ordinaries, & ev'y of the^m, being bound by oath at their severall admissions to observe & keepe the same.
- 4. Item, whether every Dignity, Canon & prebendary doe preache according to their days appoynted in his owne p'son or by his sufficient deputy qualified according to the late canons, if they doe not, what be the name or names of him or them that so offendeth, & howe often hath each one offended, and what mulct or other punish^{nt} hath byn inflicted for every such delinquent, when, how often & on whom . . . fiat ut supra.
- 5. Itm, whether there be any plate remaining to the churche & what it is & how many pieces there be of it, & whether it be kept accordingly and that in a certeyne place, & where or in whose custody the same or any part thereof is.
- 6. Item, whether the Church be well paved under foote, leaded or otherwise well repayred & all the windowes well glazed or noe.
- 7. Itm, whether the Towers, Cloysters, vaults & other edifices of the Churche belonging to the said Churche be well repayred or noe, & what is the valewe of the ruynes & decayes thereof as youe suppose.
- 8. Itm, whether all the Chauncells belonging to the Impropriations of the said Cathedral Church be well repayred or noe, yf not then throughe whose default & to what valewe as you conjecture & specific the same.
- 9. Itm, whether the Clarke of the Works doth make his Accoumpte accordingly or not.
- 10. Itm, whether the Statute qd incipit dignitas decani be well observ'd or noe, and wherein is it not wel observ'd.
- 11. Itm, whether the Adoptions & Options be receaved & bestowed accordingly or noe.
- 12. Itm, whether the Maister of the Works for the tyme being doth his dewty or noe.
- 13. Itm, whether the Revenewes que appellantur incerta, be faithfully and truly distributed or not.
- 14. Itm, whether there be any reall composition for the Ecclicall jurisdiction Betweene the Bishop & the Deane or noe, & wheth: it is to be seene & in hose custody it is.

- 15. Itm, whether all such portions of moneyes as have been bequeathed in testam^{ts} to the Cathedral Churche have byn diligently gathered by the Archdeacons, & whether they have made theire Accoumpte thereof and payed it in accordingly.
- 16. Itm, whether the Statutes be opened and read once a yeare to such as apperteyneth to knowe the same.
- 17. Itm, whether Statutum de conv'sacie vicariorum be well and trewly observed or noe.
- 18. Itm, whether you knowe or heare that the vicars be negligent in reading of their Statutes emonngest their company once att the least in every yeare as they are bounde, & when were the same last red.
- 19. Itm, whether every dignity, prebendary, vicarre or other minister of the church doe goe decently apparelled according to theare calling.
- 20. Itm, whether any man to yor knowledge doe take away or diminyshe the Stypend of the vicarrs or noe.
- 21. Itm, whether the vicarrs & other ministers doe come to the Churche att the devine service att convenient tyme or noe.
- 22. Itm, whether the full number of the vicars be in the Churche or noe, yf not what is the cause and howe many should there be.
- 23. Itm, whether any of the Company be insufficient p'sons for the roomes they arre in or noe.
- 24. Itm, whether ought not the Subchaunter to be one of that company.
- 25. Itm, whether any of the sayd company be accoumpted for comon Drunkerds, haunters of Tavernes or Alehouses, or comon brawlers or chiders or sowers of dissention and discorde or noe.
- 26. Itm, whether hath not the Sub Chaunter heretofore been one of the Company and Corporation of the Vicarrs Choralls. How many Subchaunters, as youe have knowen or heard tell, have been of that Company & Corporation & for howe longe tyme. If yea, whoe were they and what were there names.
- 27. Itm, whether doth the house wherein the Subchaunter now dwelleth belong to the sd vicars chorall, to whome dothe he pay rente, how much rent doth he pay & in what right.
- 28. Itm, whether any of theire company be vehemently noted, suspected or defamed for incontinency or noe.
- 29. Itm, whether the choristers and other younge men serving in the Church doe resorte and repayre to the Gramar Schoole or noe.

- 30. Item, whether the 42 Canon be dewly observed & put in execution touching Vicars Chorall and other ministers of the Church as appeareth in the latter end of the same Canon, & howe have they profitted therein.
- 31. Itm, whether all such munim^{to} and specialities as youe have be kept under such locks and keyes as is appoynted by yo^r Statutes & by the will of your founder.
- 32. Itm, whether the prebendaries houses both within the Close and abroade in the corpses¹ of their prebendes be well & sufficiently repayred or noe, or through whose default they lack reparations.
- 33. Itm, whether the Comoner as well of the church as of the vicars Chorall doth make his just Accoumpte once in the yeare, and the same Accoumpte so made and allowed doe deliver such somes of money as shall remayne upon his Accoumpte accordingly or noe.
- 34. Itm, what is the Revennewe of the vicars Chorall belonging to their Corporation of Rents and other Comodities certeyne, besides the casuall, uncerteyne & accidentall emergency as well by Fynes as otherwise. Declare and express the whole trewthe in that behalff.
- 35. Itm, what other helps, vayles, advantages, augmentations have they and every of them to better and increase their several wageis, livings, dividends and mayntenance over and besides their said Revenue certeyne, & over & above their casualties uncerteyne and accidentall emergency by ffines & otherwise as aforsaid.
- 36. Itm, what Fines, casualties & such oth advantages have the said vicars Choralls had made & receaved to their owne severall and private purses since the last visitation holden for the said Cathedrall Churche in June, 1600. Howe hath the same been ymployed & bestowed, and what care hath been taken by them or any of them for their posterity and successors of their societie & Corporation.
- 37. Itm, whether the walls belonging to the Cathedral Church and Close be well repayred, like as allso the Ditches & other water courses belonging thereunto be well skowred that no annoyances doe arise thereby to the edifices and buildings thereabouts, yf not what is the cause thereof & by whose defaulte.
- 38. Itm, whether all and singular the Canons agreed upon in the last Convocation, and confirmed by his Highnes royal authority, especially so many of them as concerne yor selves & this Church and, namely, the 13, 14, 18, 19, 24, 25, 27, 28, 43, 44, 51, 55, 62, 63, 65, 70, 74, 75, 79 & 86 be dewley observed and kept, yea or noe, and whoe arre faulty in them or any of them.

¹ (Sic) i.e., corpuses (for *corpus*, *prebendal* see Wordsworth and Macleane's Statutes, p. 437).

- 39. Itm, whether any p'son or p'sons living within the Close and being no servant of the Churche have offended in any order, as the punishment thereof ought to belonge and apperteyne to the Ecclicall jurisdiction, and yf there be any such what be their names and in what p'ticular points have they offended.
- 40. Itm, whether the Register book for all such matters, graunts and Confirmations as doe passe from tyme to tyme be dewely and orderly kept and all thinges therein Registered and recorded, and whether the same booke and the rest of the recordes be allwayes kept and reteyned within the Close & not carried abroade.
- 41. Itm, whether in the use of the Administration of the Sacraments of the lordes supper all things be done decently and orderly, and all necessaries thereto belonging be had in comely and decent sorte, and namely whether there be two comely & decent Coion Cupps of silver wth covers & two convenient standing Cupps of silver, or at the least of other fayre mettall, to conteyne the wine that is to serve at the holly Coion.
- 42. Itm, whether the Cathedrall Churche be cleanely kept, and the font carefully looked unto, and the Close preserved from all annoyances.
- 43. Itm, whether the Close gates be observed & looked unto & the wayes within the Close well kept and maynteyned according to the late decrees made in the Lord Cotton's tyme in ${\rm A^\circ}$ Dn. 1607.
- 44. Itm, whether there be any Butchers that kill within the Close, or any glovers or curriers that hang out their leathers whereby the Ayre may be infected.
- 45. Itm, whether the Gramar Schoole be carefully looked unto, and whether the Schollers be often examined to understand their profitting, and whether the maisters wageis be competent or yf not how it may be increased. Whether the maister hath subscribed to the Articles of religion and have taken the oath to the King's supremacie.
- 46. Itm, whether there be any license to keep Alehouses, victualling and Tipling houses within the Close and what be their names, and whether they doe enterteyne any, sell drinks in tyme of Devine Service and Sermons in holly dayes, Sonnedayes or dayes of lecture.
- 47. Itm, what revennewe there is remayning to the ffabrick of the church and how is it imployed. What stock of money there is to reedifie the decays and ruines thereof yf there shall be any upon a suddeyne.
- 48. Itm, what other benefit, Comodity, fees or advantages, either certeyne, uncerteyne or casuall, besides the revennewe of the landes belonging to the ffabrick aforesaid. To what yearly valewe and whether are the same wholly bestowed & imployed accordingly or not,

& whether is the Cape money dewely payed by all the prebendarys att or after their installations to the use of the said ffabric and converted wholely thereunto. If not, then specific and declare the contrary. Through whose defaulte and what valewe. What amount now charged upon the lands of the ffabrick and by whom and how payed, and how long hath it been so.

- 49. Itm, whether the vicars Chorall doe live together in peace and concorde as becometh bretheren, or yf they doe not what is the cause of the discorde.
- 50. Itm, whether the Residentaries of the Cathedrall Churche doe all the tyme of theire Residence frequent Divine Service as it becometh, and that in theire habit & vestures by lawe and custome appointed or noe. Yf not who have byn defective therein.
- 51. Itm, whether the Sexton and such others to whom the ringing and tolling of bells of this church belongeth do observe the auntient comendable use and order of tolling, tilling and ringing of bells such mornings & evenninges like as also before service & lectures, and agayn at Communion Sonnedayes overnight, as heretofore hath been comendably accustomed, and why is it not so still continued, throughe whose negligence and default is it.
- 52. Itm, whether have you the full number as well of laymen as of choristers in yo^r churche, yea or noe, and how many arre there wanting of eche and by whom are they nominated & p'vided from tyme to tyme.
- 53. Itm, whether is the mayster of the Choristars (or he to whome the charge over them is comitted) diligent, careful and paynefull in teaching & instructing of them in the skill and knoweleg of the arte of musique & especially for singing and making them fitt and halle for the service of the Churche. And whether doth hee in honest, carefull and convenient order as well for theire diett as also for theire lodging and apparell use them and keepe them cleane, seemly and decent as becometh Choristars to be kept, having speciall regarde to the honor and dignity of the place wherein they serve, or whether is he negligent and careles in that behalf, and whether is he blameworthy in any poynte thereof & specify in what.
- 54. Itm, whether are the said choristars and every of them fit for theire places as well for theire voyces as for theire skill, and whether arre they capable and apt to be made fitt. Yf they were well ordered and diligently tought & carefully looked unto. In whom is the faulte, and what is the reason; express yor whole knowledge & the cirkumstances thereof.
- 55. Itm, whether is the said Mayster and keeper of the Choristars a comon gamester, table player & company keeper abroade, neglecting the care of the Choristars comitted to his charge, and whereof doth he

evill entreate them, abuse them and wronng them, bothe in theire keeping & teaching, and how long hath he so behaved himself. Declare the whole trewthe, and what you knowe or have credibly hearde.

56. Itm, whether have the said vicars left & demised many or any of their mansion houses within the Close belonging to theire Company unto strangers and not being any of theire company, and whether have they not lett and demised of late years, especially since the orders agreed upon and contrary to theire owne faithfull promyse, one of theire owne mansion houses belonging to theire Company of purpos to shun, and avoyd the having of any more vicar or vicars into theire Company then as pleased themselves.

The Answer of Canons to ye Articles of Visitation exhibited by ye Henry Lord Bp of Saru, 1607.

To the ffirst we Annswear That we thinke this Statute is observed as farre as we take it to be needefull.

To the Second we thinke every one to be quallified according to his Stall or otherwise dispensed wthall.

To the Third we Answer that we doe keepe our Residence as it hath been kept many years past, and the cause why our predecessors did alter the same from the ffirst order was partely the decay of our divident & partely to the better discharging our deweties att our benefices.

To the iiijth we say that there have been some negligence in divers prebendaries at large and dignities heretofore, and, namely in the Treasurer and Archdeacon of Berks now being, as allso once in Mr. Buffeild, prebendary of Grimston, whoe, according to our order in that behalf, was punished.

To the ffifth we Annsweare that there are two Co'ion Cupps wth covers, as allso one silver fflagon given lately by Mr. Loe, w^{ch} remayne in the charge of the Sub Treasurer & are kept in the vestry.

To the Sixth we annsweare That there are decayes in Glass & lead, as allso in paving, w^{ch} we endeavour every day to repayre.

To the vijth we say that the towers & cloysters & vaults have been much repayred since the last visitacion and arre att this present in repayring, & shall be from tyme to time as the church can beare.

To the 8^{th} we annoweare that our chauncells belonging to our Church as we thinke arre in good reparacons saving that the Chauncell of S^t Martins, neare Sarum, is in some decay, for the present reparacon whereof by our Comoner we have taken order.

To the 9th we Annswear affirmatively.

To the tenth we say that it is well observed as farr as we knowe.

To the xjth we say they arre.

To the xijth we thinke they doe.

To the xiijth we say that they are distributed as they wer heretofore.

To the xiiijth we Annsweare in all dewtifull manner we thinke that by lawe we arre not bounde to annsweare this Article because it is a matter of title betweene yo $^{\rm r}$ L $^{\rm pp}$ & Mr. Deane.

To the xv^{th} we say that some legacies have been gathered & payd to the Clerke of the ffabrick by the Archdeacon of Sarum his Register, but whether any other Archdeacons or theire Registers have payd we knowe nott.

To the xvjth we Annsweare that they arre not, being in lattin, but whereas occasion is offered every one whome it concernith is out of them Admonished of his dewty.

To the $xvjj^{th}$ we referre our selves to the xxv^{th} Article as allso the 28^{th} Article.

To the xviijth we referre the Annsweare hereof to them selves that know it best.

To the xixth we Annsweare that the Dignities, Residentaries, prebendaries & Vicars present do as we think goe comonly decently in Apparell according to their calling.

To the xxth we Answer that we knowe none that wthdraweth any Stall wages from the Vicarrs, saving that we heare that Dr. Tooker hathe not yet payd them his Stall wages.

To the xxj^{th} we annoweare that they arre sometymes negligent & have been punished for the same.

To the 22^{th} we say that the number of vicarrs is not so greate as in fformer tymes by reason theire living is but smalle.

To the xxiijth we Annswer that we thinke them to be sufficient because at the tyme of theire admission they arre allowed by the vicarrs

To the xxiiij we thinke not for these causes. First, he hath a Stall allowed him in the Quier $w^{\rm ch}$ no vicarre hath. Secondly, in Sommons in a visitation he is called among the Dignities & Canons & not with the Vicarrs. Thirdly, he hath a place in the Chapter House assigned to him in his admission $w^{\rm ch}$ no vicarre hath. ffourthly, the Subchaunter hath been & may be a prebendary of this church & so not

competible to be a vicarre. Fifthly, bycause the Subchauntership is in the guyfte of the Lo. Bishopp, and the vicars arre to be elected & admitted by the Deane & Chapter.

To the xxvth we annswear that some fewe of them have some tymes offended, but by our admonitions of late we heare it is well amended.

To the xxvjth we annowe are that we never knewe any Subchaunter to be of the Corporation of the vicars, but Mr. Sheapeard, whoe as we think was vicarre first & after Subchaunter, since which tyme we have known Dr. Hill & Mr. Croumpe successively to have been Subchaunters & prebendaries of this churche.

To the xxvijth we thinke the house doth belong to the office of Subchaunter for the w^{ch} he doth pay a quit rent unto the vicars.

To the xxviijth we Annswear that there was a suspition to some scandall by Mathewe White his often resorting to Lawes his house for the w^{ch} without any presentment he was convened before us & both parties warned not to keepe company either wth other in such suspitious manner, since w^{ch} tyme we have heard no more of that matter.

To the 29th we Annswear that some of them do & some doe not.

To the 30th we say that it hath not yet been put in execution.

To the 31^{st} we Annswear that they arre kept either under lock & key or in the hand of our officer whoe is chosen to keepe them.

To the 32th we Annsweare that the Residentaries houses within the Close arre nowe in better reparation for the most parte than they have been before wth in the memory of man, what they arre abroade we cannot tell.

To the 33^{th} we Annswear for our Comoner affirmatively, and as for the vicarrs we thinke the like, bycause we heare of no Complaynte from them.

To the 34th we cannot Annswear to all the poyntes of this Article but referr it to them weh knowe best.

To the 35th we Annsweare that some of them have Augmentations from us of our benevolence and some doe serve Cures about the Towne and more to this we cannot Annswear.

To the 36th we Annswear that we can not tell.

To the 37th we say that the walls of the Close have been in greate decay longe before our tyme, and a greate parte thereof doth not belonge to our charge but to the charge of others, and as for the Diches we hope they be scoured sufficiently as farre forth as to us apperteynith.

To the 38th we Annswear to the 13 & 14 Canons that they arre dewely observed, and that concerning the xviijth & 19th there is some disorder by some Comers to the Church by walking & other disorderly behaviour, weh we have endeavoured heretofore to redresse and hope by yor Lpps helpe shall be reformed, and touching the 24th Canon it is not observid. And concerning the 25, 27, 28, 43 Cannons we thinke them dewely observid, and touching the 44th we arre as often resident upon our benefices as we can be spared from our Churche. And as for the 51, 55, 62, 63, 65, 70, 74, 75 & 79 Canons we thinke all theise to be observed respectively by them in our Churche whome it dothe concerne, & touching the 58 Canon we knowe no Churches in decay. To the 39th, we say that there was a woman brough[t] a-bed and punished accordingly, and besides we have heard of some others the certeynty whereof we knowe not. To the 40th, we thinke that all thinges conteyned in this Article are done accordingly.

To the 41st we thinke that all thinges are done orderly and decently & that we have two Coion Cupps wth covers & one Silver fflagon given by Mr. Loe, as allso one other Cupp promised to the Church by Mr. Thomas Sadler, the performance whereof we dayly expect.

To the 42^{th} we thinke the Cathedrall Churche is cleanely kept and the ffont carefully looked unto, but there be some annoyances in the Close w^{ch} by $yo^r \, L^{pps}$ helpe may be sooner reformed.

To the $43^{\rm th}$ we thinke the Close gates are not so well looked unto as it shoulde, the cause whereof we fynd to be by reason of certeyne p'sons dwelling in the Close who arre irregular.

To the 44th we knowe of no such annoyances wth in our Close.

To the 45th we thinke the Gramar Schoole is well looked unto and allso that the Schollers there proffitt well & that his stipend is competent, and that the Schoolem^r at the tyme of his admission did take his oathe as allso subscribe to the Articles.

To the 46th we say that Richard Warren was licensed in the Sessions to keepe an Alehouse and Hughe Mawdes likewise is licensed by us in regarde of his poore mayntenance, as allso for the repayre of Ringers thither, but so that he orderly behave himself according to the tenor of the Article, w^{ch} Licence we knowe no otherwise, but they doe well use it.

To the 47th & 48th we say that there is some xxx^{ll} remayning above all reprises, all weh ys bestowed upon the reparacons of the Churche as neede is, and that we have no stock of money upon any suddeyn occasion to repayre decayes, but then we must be forced to use the benefitt of the Statute to impose a Comon Charge upon the prebendaryes att large. As for casuall revennewes by cape money, legacies and fines they cannot be yearly valewed because they arre uncerteyne, all weh when they are receaved arre imployed upon the reparacons of the Churche as appeareth by the Accoumptes of the Clerke of the Works.

To the 49th we thinke that they doe.

To the 50th we thinke this Article is p'formed accordingly.

To the 51th we say that the officers of the Churche have not of late p'formed theire dewty by reason of the newe casting of our bells, but nowe they arre enjoyned to doe it & we hope they will.

To the 52th we thinke that there be as many of lay men & choristars as we thinke the state of the Churche will beare, saving that of late there is one chorister's place voyed, by reason that one lately was taken for the Kinges Chappell.

To the 53^{th} we Annsweare that we have heard of many complaynts as well for the insufficensie of the children as well in theire teaching as in theire keeping and thereupon we have admonished him often.

To the $54^{\rm th}$ we thinke that they woulde be made fitt for the place if they were well applyed.

To the 55th we say that we knowe not whether he be a comon gamester, but that he hath been negligent in looking to the children and hath evill entreated them, whereof allso we have admonished him.

To the 56th we Annswear that we knowe not of any houses demised by the vicarrs since the tyme of the order taken in that behalff, but of one to Mr. Marten, and touching other houses we referr it to the Annswear of the vicarrs whoe knowe best.

> W. Souch. Thomas Hide. Rd. Pickhaver. Abr. Conham. Tho. Paynter.

The Answear of the Vicars to the Articles ministered by the Right Rev'nd ffather in God Henry by God's providence Bishop of Sarum in his ordinary visitation of his cathedral churche of Sarum to the dignities, canons, prebendaries & other ministers of the said cathedrall church of Sarum, 1607.

Inprimis to the j. ij, iij, iiijth & fifthe they concerne us not.

To the vj^{th} & vij^{th} Articles the Churche is reasonably well paved & repayred so farr as we knowe.

To the viijth, ixth, xth, xjth, xijth, xiijth, xiiijth & xvth they concerne us not.

To the xvjth & xvijth we can not Answear.

To the xviijth we knowe no Statute that we arre bounde to reade att any sett tyme but as we have occasion to use them.

To the xixth we Annswear affirmatively.

To the xxth Mr. Doctor Turker hathe deteyned stall wages from us for his prebend ever since his first admission untill the last yeare, w^{ch} is about xvij^{tene} years, w^{ch} cometh to xvij^{ti}, and the last quarter he payd us x^{li} in parte thereof. Mr. Thornburgh is behinde for his prebend two years, w^{ch} is iii^{ll}, and the stall wages of Blewbury prebend hath been kept back for the space of this xxv years upward and Farringdon & Hortin likewise.

To the $21^{\rm th}$ the more part of the lay men arre defective herein & especially James & Browne, & we cannot excuse our selves but that we arre somewhat faulty herein allso.

To the 22th our number of vicars is full.

To the 23th we know no insufficient p'son for his roome emonngest us.

To the $xxiv^{th}$ we Annsweare that there have been heretofore vicars w^{ch} have been Subchaunters & so of o' corporation not as Subchaunters but as Vicars whoe have been very necessary men for the better service of the churche, as namely Mr. Mathew, Mr. Brethers, Mr. Walker & Mr. Poole, whoe were singular bases as we have heard and expert in songe and Mr. Shepeard whoe sung a good tenor.

To the 25th we knowe none.

To the 26th we annowear as before to the 24th Article.

To the 27th the house wherein the Subchaunter dwelleth is a house belonging to his office and payeth unto us for the same and for his house at Stratford xxviij⁸ & iiij^d yearly.

To the 28th we know none.

To the 29th some of the choristars doe resorte to the Gramar Schoole.

To the 30th our Records were kept under locks & keyes.

To the 31^{th} we dayley reade the Scriptures.

To the 32th our Comoner maketh his just accoumpte yearely.

To the 33th we can not annsweare.

To the 34th we referr our selves to our valuation web we will be allwayes ready to shewe yf neede require.

To the 35th our Company have some helpes to amend theire living. Mr. Smegergill hath xl* a yeare for reading of morning prayer and the vayles thereunto belonging and iiij" a yeare for St. Nicholas. Mr. Smith hath xx* a yeare and v^{ll} for ffisherton from the Maisters. Mr. Simkins hathe xxvj* S^d, a yeare from the Mr & serving of Harnam vj^{ll}.

Mr. Ganyett liij^s iiij^d a yeare and xli^s for Strattford from the Masters. Mr. Farrant hathe for the Organist xxvj^s viij^d a yeare. Mr. Clun for serving of Laverstock liij^s iiij^d by the yeare.

To the 36th we have had certeyne fynes since the visitation mentioned in this Article, the w^{ch} we have ymployed to the good of our house and of our selves as our predecessors have done before us tyme out of mynde.

To the 37th they are repayrid so farr as we know.

To the 38^{th} the Cannons that arre mentioned in this Article arre for the most parte observed so farre as we know except the xviij Canon, weh we have broaken in talking some tyme in the tyme of divine service, weh God willing shall hereafter be amended, and to the 40th Canon there is no Cape worne at the Comunion.

To the 39th we knowe none.

To the 40th it concerns us not.

To the 41th & 42th we Annswear affirmatively.

To the 43^{th} we Annsweare affirmatively so farre as we knowe.

To the 44th we Annswear negatively.

To the $45^{\text{th}}\text{, }46^{\text{th}}\text{, }47^{\text{th}}\text{, }48^{\text{th}}$ they concerne us not.

To the 49th we Annsweare affirmatively.

To the 50^{th} we knowe not what residence it is that the Cannons are bounde unto.

To the 51th the Sexton and they that should ringe and tolle the bells have been very negligent and faulty therein.

To the 52th we have the full number of laymen in payment of wages for two of the bases have three mens wages between them, and there wanteth one of the number of the choristers so farre as we knowe, for we neither knowe when they come as choristars or when they goe forth, and therefore doe desire that they may be first tryed in the Chapter house, according to our auntient Statute in that behalf, before they be admitted.

To the 53th, 54th, 55th Articles we finde a greate defect bothe in the teacher of the Choristers and the Choristers themselves in that the teacher doeth not take paynes wth them to make them fitt for the service of the churche, neither dothe he take any good regarde to choose such boyes as have good voyces, for the boyes that he now hathe have for the most part no good voyces to serve the Churche.

To the $56^{\rm th}$ Article we say that we have demised some of our houses within the Close and lately one by importunate suite $w^{\rm ch}$ otherwise should not have been demised, $w^{\rm ch}$ house is now in the tenure of Mr. Gouge or his assignes.

William Smegergill William Simkins John ffarrant

Roger Smithe Richard Ganyett Nicholas Clun.

Readers who have perused and studied the foregoing Articles and the two sets of Answers made to them will, it is to be hoped, consider themselves repaid by having added to their knowledge of the practical working of the Sarum Cathedral constitution and the administration of its affairs. While it may be said that they are, generally, free from ambiguity¹ and are, as already emphasised, as a rule very much to the point, it may happen that here and there some elucidation may be helpful to facilitate their understanding. The dual use of the word "canon" tends to confusion; it is used for a Dignity of the Church and for an Ordinance of Convocation, 1630, dealing with matters concerning the life of the Church. These Ordinances are numerous, dealing with a wide range of subjects of a diverse character and great complexity; it is in such circumstances scarcely a surprise to find that the Canons' Answer to Article 38 is mostly of a general character and unenlightening. Nevertheless, the Ordinances in question are thought to be intrinsically of such interest that, for the sake of completeness, a summary of them is appended, including the two mentioned respectively in Article 30 and, by an error, in the Vicars' Answer to Article 38, where "40th" is a slip, probably of the original transcriber, not the Vicars, for " 24th ."

CANON.

- No. 13. Due celebration of Sundays and Holy-Days.
 - " 14. The Book of Common Prayer to be used without addition or diminution.
 - "· 18. Reverent behaviour in Church.
 - ,, 19. Loiterers not to be suffered near the Church during Divine Service.
 - " 24. Copes to be worn in Cathedral Churches by those who administer the Communion.
 - ,, 25. Surplices and Hoods to be worn in Cathedral Churches when there is no Communion.

¹ The Vicars' Answers to Articles 38, 39 and 40, it will be noticed, are run together in a single paragraph, owing to someone's confusion between Canons and Articles.

- 186 An Episcopal Visitation of the Cathedral Church of Sarum in 1607.
- No. 27. Schismatics not to be admitted to the Communion.
 - ,, 28. Strangers from other parishes not to be admitted to the Communion.
- [,, 40. Oath against Simony to be taken at institution to a Benefice.]
 - , 42. Residence and Duties of the Dean; and the obligation of the Vicars Choral to be diligent in Bible study.
 - , 43. Deans and Prebendaries to preach during their Residence.
 - ,, 44. Prebendaries to be resident at their Benefices.
 - 51. Strangers not to be admitted to preach in Cathedral churches without due authority.
 - 55. A Bidding Prayer to be used by all preachers before their Sermons.
 - , 62. Ministers not to marry any person without Banns or Licence.
 - , 63. All churches, including those of special privilege, to observe the above rule.
 - 65. Recusants and excommunicates to be publicly denounced twice a year in their parish churches and in the Cathedral church.
 - ,, 70. Ministers to keep a Register of Christenings, Weddings and Burials.
 - , 74. Seemliness of Apparel enjoined on Ministers.
 - ,, 75. Sober and Studious life required of Ministers.
 - ,, 79. Duty of Schoolmasters.
 - ,, 86. Churches to be surveyed, and the Decays certified to the High Commissioners.

There are, it will be observed, occasional divergencies between the respective Answers of the Canons and the Vicars, even when matters of fact are in question. Articles 25 and 28 are cases in point. Whereas in their reply to the latter the Canons make a definite charge, the Vicars profess an ignorance which their interrogator probably regarded with suspicion. Both Canons and Vicars are, however, united in their strictures on the keeping and management of the Cathedral Choristers and in their expressions of disapproval of John Farrant, their teacher. This official, in his capacity of Lay Vicar, is one of the signatories to the Answers of the Vicars to the Articles. Thus, he makes himself a party to the allegations against himself, inferentially, it can be said, admitting their relevancy and justice.

Some readers may be puzzled at the allusion to "Cape" money in Article 48; it represented, it may be explained, a fee payable at one

time by every Canon on the occasion of his installation to a prebend. This money was originally to supply a vestment of this name¹. Another payment, designated "Stall wages" was a contribution by each Canon, calculated on the annual value of his prebend, towards the sustentation of his Vicar, whose duty it was to represent him when absent at his prebendal estate and on all other occasions. In Articles 24, 26 and 27, an apparently old controversy is revived touching the qualifications of the holder of the office of Succentor or Sub-Chanter. Whatever the motives which actuated the enquiries, they suggest that its holder had hitherto been a member of the Corporation of Vicars Choral. Canons seem disinclined to acquiesce in this view, giving what appear to be five excellent reasons for their opinion. The Vicars for their part make no claim to the permanent association of their Corporation with the Office, although, not unnaturally, they point out that it has been necessary from time to time, for the better service of the Church, to fill the place of Sub-Chanter from the ranks of the Vicars Choral.

In conclusion, advantage may be taken of the opportunity provided by these notes to draw attention to the burden of responsibility borne by the Deans and Chapter of our Cathedral Churches, especially those of the old foundation, for their preservation and maintenance. The Articles, Nos. 47 and 48, with the Canon's Answers thereto, are a melancholy reminder of the then insufficiency of the revenue of the fabric to meet the demand made upon it. Indeed, a similar condition of things had always prevailed. At no time had there ever been a stock of money available to "rectifie the decayes and ruiees thereof if there shall be any upon a suddyne". Since the enactment in 1840 of the Cathedral Act the position under its provisions has deteriorated further. By it the old dioceses, including that of Sarum, were deprived of their prebendal and other endowments, which, bestowed in ancient times, they had enjoyed almost continuously for many centuries. this way they suffered the loss of a permanent source of income, being unable—to quote from the Canons' Answer—to use the benefit of the ancient statute to impose a common charge upon the prebendaries at large in times of emergency, as contemplated by its framers and envisaged by the lord bishop in the Article of Enquiry in question.

¹ See Wordsworth and Macleane, "Statutes of Salisbury Cathedral", p. 347, "either twenty pounds or a cope of silk befitting their Dignity and rank" (Statutum de capis.).

THE LARKHILL FLORA.

By CAPT. R. C. L. BURGES.

Having spent two years on Salisbury Plain as medical officer to the Larkhill Garrison, I think it worth while recording certain interesting features of the flora of the district.

The flora falls into three fairly distinct groups.

- (1.) Indigenous plants growing on the downs.
- (2.) Weeds of cultivation.
- (3.) Alien plants probably introduced with horse fodder.

(1.) Indigenous Plants.

About the middle of March, Carex humilis Leyss begins to appear and the bright green needle-like leaves together with the showy yellow anthers make it a conspicuous plant amongst the other herbage, which still maintains its dead winter appearance. The pale green leaves enable the plant to be distinguished throughout the summer. C. humilis covers a wide area, and Flower's statement in the Flora of Wilts, p. 333, "Salisbury Plain between Stonehenge and Heytesbury", is undoubtedly true, but it should be emphasised that the plant only grows on established down land. Appearing with C. humilis are dwarfed forms of Viola hirta L. and Primula veris. It is remarkable to note how the primrose shuns the chalk downs, where it is nowhere to be seen.

Towards the end of May the downs are carpeted with the bright blue flower of *Polygala calcarea*, F. Schultz, and fairly commonly *Senecio campestris* DC., and *Orchis ustulata* L. Two cream-coloured plants of *O. ustulata* were found. These plants had no dark spots on the lips and were true albino forms.

An interesting variety of *Cerastium vulgatum* L. was seen on old mole hills, this form has a decumbent growth with a few large flowers, which bear a superficial resemblance to *C. arvense* L.

Arenaria tenuifolia L. was found on barish tracks and was particularly abundant near Stonehenge.

Lathyrus nissolia L. was seen on two grassy banks.

Astragalus danicus Retz. was extremely abundant between Bulford and Tidworth but not seen at Larkhill, where Hippocrepis comosa L. was frequent.

Gentiana lingulata var. præcox Towns., appeared to be extremely local and was only seen on Camp Down near Salisbury, but G. amarella L. was generally distributed.

During the summer the downs were covered with *Spiræa filipendula* L., *Scabiosa columbaria* L., and *Campanula glomerata* L. *Cynoglossum officinale* was common on roadsides and particularly liked the entrance to rabbit burrows.

Orobanche elatior Sutton, was extremely common on Centaurea scabiosa L., whilst two forms of Orobanche minor Sm. were noticed, the type on clover and a pale coloured form on Daucus and Peucedanum; this may be the variety flavescens Reut.

A few patches of Thesium humifusum DC. grew on barish banks.

The chief grasses on the Plain were Avena pubescens Huds., Trisetum flavescens Beauv., Bromus erectus Huds., and Koeleria gracilis Pers.

Festuca arundinacea Howarth grew in thick tufts by roadsides in Larkhill and Bulford.

Viburnum lantana L., Rhamnus catharticus L., and rarely Euonymus europæus grew in the hedge rows.

(2.) Weeds of cultivation.

Adonis autumnalis L. was seen on waste ground in Larkhill and, from information received, has been known here for many years, rarely appearing in the same spot two years running.

In June, 1940, Adonis was seen in abundance by the side of the new Bulford by-pass, hundreds of plants making a vivid picture over nearly a half-mile of broad roadside. The flowering period continued until November, and it was seen again in 1941, but was much less prolific, being overcome by the coarser native plants colonising the bare

ground.

Several interesting plants grew in my own garden and may be taken as typical weeds of the district. The four Bentham poppies, Papaver rheas, P. dubium, P. argemone L., P. hybridum L., the last named being common among the huts in the new camp opposite Stonehenge, and also in fields between Larkhill and Stonehenge.

Funaria micrantha Lag, and a form of F. officinalis L. with smaller leaflets and flowers than the type grew in the garden. This might have been F. officinalis var. minor Koch.

Funaria boræi Jord. and Medicago maculata Sibth. were both growing on a rubbish heap.

Valerianella dentata Poll, Lindria minor Desf. and Veronica polita Fr. were all common garden weeds, and robust specimens of Caruna segetum Benth. grew on recently manured ground.

Silene noctiflora L., Lychnis githago Scop. and Caucalis arvensis Huds. grew in the fields round Woodhenge.

Diplotaxis muralis DC. showed a marked preference for the tops of the newly-made air-raid shelters.

There was an abundance of Melilotus altissima Thuill. round the stables.

The attractive blue flowers of *Cichorium intybus* L. were frequently seen by field borders and waste ground.

(3.) Aliens.

A well established patch of *Anchusa officinalis* L. was seen on waste ground immediately south of the R.A. Mess, Packway. The flowers varied from blue to pink with intermediate shades.

Anchusa italica Retz. appeared to be establishing itself as a weed.

Near the Garrison Church was a fine patch of *Euphorbia virgata* var. *esulifolia* which has survived the ploughing up of the ground for potatoes.

Brassica erucastrum Vill. was seen in many waste places on Larkhill and even extended to an arable field near Stonehenge.

It was interesting to find this plant semi-naturalised, here as at Newmarket, both important horse centres, one army and one civilian. In Larkhill, however, the glory of the horse has now probably departed for ever.

Falcaria vulgaris Benth. was holding its own well in competition with nettles just outside my garden fence in Fargo Road, and had extended by underground shoots into the garden itself.

Amongst other casual aliens were Lepidium draba L., Silybium marianum Gært., Amaranthus paniculatus L., Melilotus alba Desr., and

a Verbascum which may turn out to be V. pyramidatum MB.

One fact which must never be lost sight of by exploring botanists in Larkhill is that there are scattered about all over Larkhill the remains of soldiers' gardens from the last war (and in the future from the present war), and hardy perennials such as asters and solidagos, not to mention salvias and many other garden plants, present a superficial appearance of being naturalised.

NOTES.

The Future of Archæology. Miss Kathleen Kenyon, Acting Director of the University of London Institute of Archæology, gives notice of a Conference on the Future of Archæology to be held from Friday, August 6th (Evening) to Sunday, August 8th, 1943, at the Institute of Archæology, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N,W.1. The following paragraphs are here extracted from the circular:—

The subjects provisionally suggested for discussion are: The Contribution of Archæology to the Post-War World; The Future of Discovery at Home and Overseas; The Training of Archæologists; Archæology as a Career; Planning and the Independence of Societies; Museums and the Public; Archæology and Education, in Schools and Universities; and Archæology and the State at Home and Overseas.

If it is felt that it is necessary to approach the State on any matter, it is believed that a Conference such as this would provide evidence of a strong body of opinion behind any such approach. It is not intended, however, that any action should be taken at the Conference which will commit those not psesent, but views will probably emerge on what action is desirable, and suggestions may be made on the way in which an executive body, representative of all interests, may be created to take such action.

It is hoped that Universities and local societies will arrange to be formally represented at the Conference. It is also hoped that as many individual archæologists and members of the archæological societies as possible will attend, in order to make the Conference fully representative.

All interested are asked to notify the Secretary, Institute of Archæology, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W. 1. A detailed programme will be sent as soon as possible, and applications to attend may be made after that. A fee of 7s. 6d. will be charged for the whole Conference, or 2s. for the Friday Session, and 4s. each for the Sessions on Saturday and Sunday.

Seend. The Bell Inn Club. A copy of the rules of this club, founded in 1800, has been recently given to the Library, and an abstract of these rules was printed by Capt. Cunnington in the *Wiltshire Gazette*, April 15th, 1937, with a few short notes by Mr. T. C. Usher on the proceedings of the club on Whit-Monday. E. H. GODDARD.

Five Late Bronze Age Enclosures in N. Wiltshire. By C. M. Piggott. Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society for 1942. New series. Vol. viii, pp. 48—61.

"Earthworks of this type have been known for some years, thanks largely to the researches in Wessex of General Pitt-Rivers and Dr. J. F. S. Stone. They consist of an area of downland, probably less

than an acre, more or less surrounded by a low bank and ditch. Within this area, in the absence of signs of human habitation, it is presumed that cattle were folded. Culturally the enclosures belong to the Deverel-Rimbury people of the Late Bronze Age, who were also responsible for the complicated ditch system. The new sites lie some thirty miles further north from those previously known, bringing us almost to the northern edge of the Chalk Downs above Swindon and the western extension of the White Horse Vale. Here is a large tract of open country, but little explored by archæologists at any period and urgently demanding field work. . . . The whole district is covered with field systems and ditches and littered with pottery and flints ".

Whilst describing the five sites as cattle enclosures, Mrs. Piggott, however, expressly states "that our cuttings have by no means proved that the sites were uninhabited, although occupation is unlikely in the case of Preshute at least. Plans of all five enclosures are given, and a map showing the site of eleven possible Late Bronze Age enclosures of this kind in Wessex. She regards the great ditches as probably cattle-ways made necessary by the introduction of arable farming after the invasion of the Deverel-Rimbury people. The ditches, she notes, are much less abundant south of Salisbury than they are in North Wilts, which would suggest that they are the work not of the first invaders but of those who succeeded them and became arable farmers as well as owners of flocks and herds, and so found it necessary to have cattle enclosures, and deep cattle-ways, to keep their beasts from straying. This is an important paper, excellently illustrated, on a subject of general interest, on which we have still a great deal to learn.

E. H. GODDARD.

Coate Water and the River Cole. Under the title of "Jefferies' Pool", a short article by B. J. Jones in the North Wilts Herald and Advertiser of February 26th, 1943, describes the curious engineering feat by which the waters of the River Cole are conveyed by an artificial culvert under the bed and dam of the reservoir at Coate, which was formed originally for the purpose of supplying the water necessary to maintain the level of the Swindon Canal. An indistinct photograph shows the entrance of the subterranean culvert. E. H. GODDARD.

Wiltshire Terms, 1811—1820. A small MS. note book was found by Mr. F. Stevens amongst other notes in Salisbury Museum and presented to our library in January, 1943. It does not contain any signature or author's name, but appears to belong to the south of the county. I have only printed here such words and expressions as have not appeared in more recent Wiltshire glossaries.

E. H. GODDARD.

Belting of him. Thrashing him.

Besom squires. Dealers in besoms at market.

Big. He preaches big, i.e., so loud.

Bron. Very bron, of indifferent or bad quality.

Buzly. "The hedge will soon grow buzly", i.e., thick or bushy.

Churly. "The weather looks very churly", i.e., dark and lowering. Cone. To get mouldy or rotten. "Larch wood is not so apt to get

Cone. To get mouldy or rotten, "Larch wood is not so apt to get cone as other woods".

Cored. Rotten, decayed at the core.

Coward cheese. The highest priced cheese. Salisbury paper, 1811.

Dangerously. "I shall dangerously see him tomorrow". Certainly, without fail.

Frightful. "The horse is rather frightful", i.e., apt to take fright.

Gig. "You look quite gig", i.e., odd, so as to make people giggle at you. Said to an old gentleman who gave up powdering his hair.

Goggle. "My head's all of a goggle", i.e., giddy.

Hucksters. Of a girl's dress, the armholes.

Jobbet. A small bundle or load. "Two little jobbets of hay or corn".

Keckhorm. The windpipe.

Killand and selland. For "killing and selling".

Konck. Kankery, decayed, rotten; said of wood, &c.

Line. To line a pickaxe or prong, to draw it out or straighten it.

Misling. Small misty rain.

Nattled pigs. Dwarfed or stunted in their growth.

Ohing or Hoing. "I've been ohing all the week for Saturday", i.e., wishing for—oh for this or that!

Quarled. Curdled. Of a cow with a swelled udder: "The milk can't be quarled in her yet".

Range. "He ranges very much", i.e., talks and acts wildly or as if deranged.

Redded. "The meat was redded", i.e., cooked enough.

Rookery. Quarrel or disturbance. "There was a pretty rookery at market to-day between such and such people".

Scale. To singe. "You must scale the rag at the fire".

Scroop. "I heard the door scroop", i.e., creak.

Sellender. "Small veal is more sellender than large", i.e., more readily sold.

Sewant, of plants, &c. Healthy, strong growing (in addition to other uses).

Slatted, of peas, &c. Podded.

Snatch. A mouse trap. "The mice wont go into the snatch".

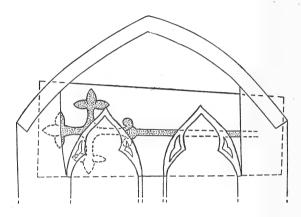
Starky. A starky day, i.e., rough and windy, which blows the corn against the reaper's conveyers.

T'other day. I.e., not yesterday but the day before it.

Vinny or Finny. Veined, mouldy or mildewy, as blue vinny cheese, chiefly made in Dorset and Devon.

Warped, of lambs or calves. "Mr. Tanner had many of his lambs come warped", i.e., dead.

A Window in St. Andrew's Church, Nunton. During recent repairs to the south-east chapel of St. Andrew's, Nunton, it was found that at some time in the late fourteenth century the carved heads of a two-light window were cut out of a flat, tapering tomb-lid of local stone, bearing an ornamental cross dating from the



thirteenth century, which was placed sideways across the top of the window. The lines are lightly incised and the foot of the cross, now hidden, may have been stepped. The stone has been preserved carefully so that its arrangement and the remains of the cross may be seen. The Church was practically rebuilt in 1854—5 with the exception of the chapel, whose south wall is pierced with this window.

Medieval Enclosures at Barbury and Blunsdon.

An observer standing on Barbury Castle and looking north sees on

D. H. Montgomerie, F.S.A.

his right, on the grass land, a banked enclosure which is of Roman date, as proved by excavation carried out by Mr. Story-Maskelyne, and on his left, on the plough, traces of a large enclosure, which is seen just east of the road from Rockley to Wroughton. This was proved by the same excavator to be of medieval date; it is of very weak construction, roughly oblong in shape, with a small annexe to the south. This has double walls about ten feet apart and was probably a pen for small cattle with dogs running round the double walls at night. . . . The large enclosure is 220 feet by 158 feet, the small annexe is about

100 feet each way. From the air it is seen to sit on an older and complicated area of small enclosures. For some unknown reason the Ordnance Survey marks this as the site of a battle.

A similar enclosure was discovered from the air by the late Major Allen. It is at Hyde, in Blunsdon Parish, 1250 yards N.W. of the Kingsdown crossroads, and 165 yards due south of B.M. 425.5 on the Roman Road from Cirencester to Newbury (Speen). Neither of these can be seen on the ground, but both are plain from the air. I was able

once to prove the above measurements, which are accurate to within five feet. In J.R.S. for 1939, vol. 29, part 2, pp. 33—1 and 34—2 these enclosures are claimed to be of Roman date. This has, however, been corrected in a later number.

A. D. Passmore.

Scratch Dials on Churches. A further addition to the Wiltshire list was found E. of the porch at Ditteridge when the ivy was removed.

R. G. V. Dymock.

A Savernake Forest Parish. The ecclesiastical parish of North and South Savernake with Brimslade and Cadley is commonly stated to have been formed from the civil parish of Savernake and parts of the parishes of Burbage and Preshute in 1854. Actually a Marlborough boy recorded in his diary under date November 27th, 1852. "Went to see the new Church in Forest". The discrepancy in dates is due to the fact that the first church at Cadley collapsed and had to be rebuilt. It appears, however, that we must go back not two, but nearly two hundred, years for the first proposal of such a parish. The Rev. R. H. Lane of Marlborough College has come across the following entry in the journals of the House of Commons:—"Saturday, the 14th of February, 1656. A bill for the erecting of a Church. settling a Ministry, and establishing a Parish in the Parks of Brimslade and Savernack, and Forest or Chace of Savernack, and parts adjacent. belonging to and part of the said Forest, was this Day read the First time". . . Mr. Lane, however, could discover nothing further in the journals about the history and ultimate fate of this bill. Cromwell's Protectorate was fertile in schemes which never came to fruition. H. C. BRENTNALL.

Wiltshire Gift to the National Trust. The following appeared in the *Times* of April 30th, 1943:—

Dinton Fark and Mansion.

The National Trust announces that Mr. Bertram Phillips has presented to the Trust Dinton Park, of some 200 acres, together with the mansion and Hyde's house (formerly the Rectory House) and some cottages. The village of Dinton, where the Trust already owns Little Clarendon and other property, lies nine miles west of Salisbury on the Wincanton road.

The property stands prominently on rising ground facing south, overlooking the beautiful Nadder Valley, and is backed by a fine wooded ridge. The mansion, of local Chilmark stone, was designed by Jeffrey Wyatt in the neo-Grecian style, with portico and central lantern, and was completed in 1816. It is a house of remarkably beautiful proportions and architectural refinement both inside and out. Until 1917 it was the seat of the Wyndham family, and has now been let by Mr. Philipps on a long lease to the Y.W.C.A. as a holiday home.

Hyde's house, where Mr. and Mrs. Philipps will continue to live, is of an earlier date but it too is an admirable specimen of its period and style, though on a more modest scale. Originally a Tudor building

it was refaced and reconstituted in the latter half of the seventeenth century in the manner of Wren, who was brought up in the village of East Knoyle, only seven miles away.

The Rectory of Dinton remained in the Hyde family until 1722. The

famous Lord Chancellor Clarendon was born at Dinton in 1609.

Avebury for the Nation. Under this heading *The Times* of March 23rd, 1943, announced to the world the happy conclusion of a transaction which had been eagerly awaited for at least a year. It will, of course, be remembered that Stonehenge and the area about it passed a number of years ago into the keeping of H.M. Office of Works (now the Ministry of Works—and other things, which vary at intervals) and the National Trust respectively. With the assumption by this latter body of the responsibility for the circles and avenue of Avebury our two most famous Wiltshire prehistoric monuments are secure, it may be hoped, for all time against the vandal and the "improver" of our country-side.

The caution of this statement is not unwarranted. Even under Mr. Keiller's care, it has not been possible to foresee or to provide against all forms of attack, and in the distractions of the present moment it is more than ever difficult to protect the stones of Avebury from outrage. Thus within the month that preceded the completion of these protracted negotiations two megaliths were defaced with the bench-mark of the Ordnance Survey! The broad arrow of the symbol carries a suggestion befitting the desecration. How are we to be sure that other sign manuals will not be appended in the future? Stonehenge is a comparatively small affair: all of it that the ordinary visitor notices could be re-erected on the summit of Silbury Hill. But Avebury covers many acres and is sub-divided by the village. Its policing, if it must come to that, will not be easy.

It is hoped to publish at a later date an authoritative article on the future position of Avebury and Windmill Hill. In the meantime the following record of the facts is borrowed from the article in *The Times*.

H. C. Brentnall.

"The National Trust has acquired 950 acres of land at Avebury for the nation. The purchase includes the greater part of the group of prehistoric remains that make this one of the most important archæological sites of Europe.

Some 300 acres have been bought from Mr. Alexander Keiller, F.S.A., whose work and discoveries at Avebury since 1925, carried out at his own expense, have added distinguished pages to the story of British archæology. Within the 300 acres are all but a small part of the Avebury Circles and the immense bank and ditch that surround them; the northern third of the West Kennet Avenue of megaliths running south from the Circles; and the Neolithic site of Windmill Hill, a mile and a half north-west of Avebury. The Trust has at the same time bought Manor Farm, of 650 acres. The other part of the Avebury

Circle is on Manor Farm, which extends southwards on both sides of the West Kennet Avenue towards the Bath Road.

"The museum and most of the present-day village of Avebury are comprised in the purchase from Mr. Keiller, which covers all his Avebury property except the sixteenth-century manor house and some adjacent land that does not include any known sites of prehistoric interest. The National Trust, in its announcement of the transfer, pays a tribute to the generous way in which Mr. Keiller has helped to secure this noteworthy addition to our national treasures.

"A public appeal for funds to meet the cost was considered impossible in war-time. Happily the Pilgrim Trust and Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A., came forward with gifts that covered the purchase of Mr. Keiller's property and went some way towards buying Manor Farm. The acquisitions should facilitate the completion of the Wiltshire County Council's planning scheme for the preservation of the Avebury country-side from undesirable development. The financing of that scheme was among the objects of an appeal made in 1937 by a number of societies, among them the National Trust, which hopes to have recourse now to the preservation fund for a grant towards the purchase of Manor Farm, leaving the balance to be raised by mortgage".

The 91st Report of the Marlborough College Natural History Society, for 1942, is a slenderer volume than ever before, but it contains lists of bird, insect and flower observations which show that the Society manfully maintains its activities despite the many distractions and preoccupations of a war year. The usual meteorological record is appended.

Among birds the Editor selects for particular notice records of the Hooded Crow, Hawfinch, Siskin, Tree Sparrow, Willow Tit, Redbacked Shrike (nesting), Long-eared and Short-eared Owls, Peregrine Falcon, a probable Merlin and a bird new to the district, the Black-throated Diver. He notes also that Black-headed Gulls were more common than usual. Though the cold spring delayed the early song by anything up to a month, the migrants nearly all arrived before their average date.

Interesting flower records are Aquilegia vulgaris, Linum bienne, Lathyrus sylvestris, Sambucus ebulus, Mentha rotundifolia, Thesium humifusum, Quercus sessiliflora, Neottia Nidus-avis, Epipactis palustris, Himantoglossum hircinum, Scirpus sylvaticus, Bromus lepidus = britannicus.

The flowering plants were often from three to eight weeks behind their normal date until the year was nearly half over. The profusion of fruit on the sloes, bullaces, elders and buckthorns is noted as a feature of the autumn and, as elsewhere in England, spruce cones were particularly plentiful even on young trees.

Under insects, the regrettable prevalence of "cabbage whites" is recorded, and the following occurrences of special interest: Pararge egeria, Drepana lacertinaria, Hylophila bicolorana, Agrotis cinerea,

Eumichtis adusta (pupa), Euchloris pustulata, Lobophora halterata and Sesia culiciformis.

The weather records show that the mean reading of the barometer was slightly ($\cdot 05$ inch) higher than the normal. The total rainfall for the year was $33 \cdot 15$ in. ($\cdot 58$ in. higher than the Marlborough average for the 78 years last past) and the sun shone some 46 hours longer than the mean of 62 years' records.

WILTS OBITUARY.

Canon Arthur Edward George Peters, died January, 1943, aged 76. Buried at St. John's, Weston, Bath. Son of Rev. Thomas Peters, Vicar of Burton, Rudstock, near Bridport. Born February 12th, 1866. Educated at Christ's Hospital and Worcester College Oxford. B.A., 1899. M.A., 1901. Deacon, 1891. Priest, 1892. Curate of Gillingham, Dorset, 1891—95; St. Alban's, Fulham, 1895—97; Missioner of St. Andrew, Salisbury, 1898—1905; Warden, 1903—1905; Domestic Chaplain to Bishop of Salisbury, 1901—1905; Hon. Chaplain, 1905—1911; Vicar of St. Mary's, Marlborough, 1905—1917; Rural Dean of Marlborough, 1911—1917; Vicar of Bremhill with Foxham and Highway, 1917, until he resigned in 1939; Rural Dean of Avebury, 1925, until he resigned—Canon and Preb. of Salisbury, 1930. His work as Rural Dean was much appreciated in the Calne neighbourhood. He married Jessica Catherine Loftus, of Croydon, who died before him, leaving one son.

Obit. notice, Wiltshire Gazette, January 25th, 1943.

Alexander Cradock Bolney Brown, died October 20th, 1942, at Salisbury. He was 60 years old and had just retired from the staff of Marlborough College, where he had been an assistant master for 34 years. Scholar of Winchester and of New College, Oxford. First class in classical moderations, Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, student of the British School in Athens and for two years Lecturer in Manchester University. He came to Marlborough in 1908, where he soon proved himself, and throughout his whole career remained, a conscientious and highly successful teacher of senior boys and a learned, witty and engaging colleague. He was a devotee of the British railways and of Cathedral music, tastes which he found conveniently complementary. He never took a boarding-house and lived a somewhat solitary life tempered by occasional conviviality and a few enduring friendships. His literary activity was confined to a number of classical textbooks.

Joseph Nichols, of Upavon. died February, 1943 Buried at Everleigh. He came to Everleigh in 1918 from Icomb. Gloucester, buying in conjuction with W. F. Hazell two large farms which were part of the Everleigh estate. Here he introduced a system of mechanization which was new to the neighbourhood and made a name for himself as a barley grower, broadcasting on this subject with other farmers. At Everleigh he was Rector's Churchwarden for 27 years and for many years chairman of the Parish Council, J.P. for Wilts, 1922, and member of the Pewsey Rural District Council and of the County Council, where his work on many agricultural committees made him well-known throughout the county, and he was elected an alderman. His first wife died 1938 and he married, secondly, the daughter

of James Strong, of Pewsey, who, with a daughter, survives him. He retired from farming 1934, and lived at "Overbrow", Upavon, devoting himself entirely to public work.

Obit. notice, Wilts Gazette, March 4th, 1943.

Temple Charles Gabriel Sandford, died December 27th, 1942, at Marlborough, age 65. Son of Archdeacon Sandford of Exeter. Educated at Marlborough and Keble College, Oxford. Member of the Marlborough College cricket, football and hockey teams, each for three consecutive years, and for two years of his University hockey XI. Returned to Marlborough in 1902 and remained on the staff for 35 years, for 30 of which he was house-master of three boarding-houses in succession, one in and two out of college. He played cricket in his earlier summer holidays, first for Devon and then for Wiltshire, and his interest in games lasted until his death. His teaching was confined to junior boys, a task for which he had peculiar gifts, but there was no part of the school in which his influence was not felt and scarcely an interest which he did not share. After four years of retirement, during which he visited India, he returned to the College staff in 1941 and was still at work when overtaken by his first and last serious illness. His loss is keenly felt by many hundreds of old Marlburians and others whose friendship his own frank and sincere friendliness continually secured.

He was the eldest of a distinguished family. One brother was in the English Rugby XV, a second won the V.C. in the last war as submarine commander in the famous attack on the mole at Zeebrugge and was there rescued from the water by another naval brother, who had won the D.S.O. in the Dardanelles. A fourth has taken a leading but little known part in the restoration of the Emperor of Abyssinia in the course of the present war.

Arthur Frederick Williams, of Sheldon Road Nurseries, Chippenham, died March, 1943, aged 73. Buried at St. Paul's, Chippenham. Born at Devizes, he had carried on the nursery business at Chippenham since 1900. He married Miss Hockley, of Devizes, who with four sons, all of whom are in the nursery business at Lacock and Cheltenham, survives him. He was one of the most regular attendants, for many years past, at the annual excursions of the Wilts Archæological Society. His special interest, however, lay in the great collection of cacti and succulents which he had formed in one of the large glass houses in the Sheldon Road Nursery at Chippenham. It is probably safe to say that there is nothing like it in Wiltshire or indeed in this part of England.

John Rowland Taylor must be presumed to have died at sea, February 14th, 1942, at the age of 72. A scholar of Marlborough and Trinity College, Cambridge, 32nd Wrangler and for three years a member of the University Hockey XI. He returned to Marlborough in 1895 to begin a scholastic career of remarkable variety. He became

a house-master in 1899, first in college and then of an out-boardinghouse In 1912 he was made Bursar and in 1916 filled the post of Master of Marlborough during an interregnum. He then took another out-boarding-house until his retirement in 1923. Already an indefatigable traveller in three continents, he found in his retirement the opportunity for a couple of journeys round the world, on the latter of which he was tempted to enter the Educational Service of the Strait Settlements. He spent 15 years as headmaster of native schools in Singapore and Johore. The outbreak of war in the Far East restricted his travels for a time, but when he finally retired from the service at the age of 70 he managed to visit South Africa and Uganda. Resisting all pressure to stay on indefinitely with a friend at Kampala, he returned to Muar in Johore to spend his remaining years among his many native and European friends there. But the advance of the Japanese drove him down the coast to Singapore. Very shortly before the enemy entered the city he joined a party of refugees, who left the harbour on a small steamer bound on a forlorn hope of reaching India. Japanese bombers discovered them next morning and sank the vessel. Among the survivors there was no trace or word of Mr. J. R. Taylor, nor has anything been heard of him since. Marlborough mourns a many-sided and much esteemed pupil, preceptor, colleague, companion, administrator and friend.

R. M. Harring, died December 28th, 1942, at Trowbridge, where he settled some 30 years ago after retirement from an inspectorship in the Metropolitan Police Force. Possessed of many interests and two enthusiasms, he covered most of the county on his bicycle, examining every Church he passed, and amassed an extensive library of books on naval history and ship construction, many of which have been presented to the Nautical Research Library at Greenwich. Though his nearest contact with the sea was a brief spell of service with the Gosport River Police during the last war, he had acquired a highly competent knowledge of flag signals, which made him not unnaturally critical of many amateur "hoists". He was an old and loyal member of our Society.

Obit. notice, Wiltshire Times, January 9th, 1943.

The Rt. Hon. Sydney Olivier, First Baron Olivier of Ramsden, was born in 1859, one of the ten children of the Rev. H. A. Olivier, later Rector of Poulshot. He married Margaret, daughter of Homesham Cox, Esq., and had four daughters. Educated at Lausanne, Tonbridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Entered Colonial Office 1882; Acting Colonial Secretary, British Honduras, 1890—1; Auditor General, Leeward Islands, 1895—6; Secretary, W, Indian Royal Commission, 1897. Colonial Secretary, Jamaica, 1899-1904. Acting Governor 1900, 2, 4. Principal Clerk, W. African and W. Indian Depts., Colonial Office, 1904—7. K.C.M.G. 1907; Governor of Jamaica 1907—13; Permanent Secretary, Board of Agriculture, 1913

—17: Assistant Comptroller and Auditor of the Exchequer, 1917: Secretary for India and Privy Councillor 1924, in which year he was raised to the peerage.

He was Secretary of the Fabian Society 1886-90, and found time in an active life to publish books on social subjects, a book of poems and parodies, and others on various Colonial questions, as also articles and essays in a lighter vein, in some of which his affection for Wiltshire found eloquent expression.

He died February 15th, 1943, leaving no successor to the title. Obit. notice, *The Times*. February 16th, 1943.

ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

Museum.

- Presented by MISS PHYLLIS EBBAGE: Iron finger-ring with bezel for setting, found on site of a Romano-British village at Upton Lovel, near Knook Castle, in 1931.
 - ,, Lt.-Col. Cunnington: Fragment of Neolithic Stone Axe from Barton Farm, Marlborough.

Library.

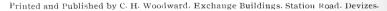
- Presented by Canon E. H. Goddard: John of Salisbury. By Clement C. J. Webb (1932). MS. Notes by J. Britton on Stonehenge and other Stone Monuments.
 - ,, Mr. Basil Hankey: Architectural and Historical description of the Town of Malmesbury (1838). Bound with Moffatt's History of the Town of Malmesbury (1805).
 - ,, Mr. A. Shaw Mellor: MS. Notes on Box, Hazelbury and Lacock. MS. Astronomical Notes by Nevil Maskelyne.
 - ,, Mr. C. Everett: 238 Wiltshire Estate Sales Catalogues.
 - ,, Mr. Alexander Keiller: Seven recent Photographs of Avebury and the West Kennett Avenue.
 - ,, Mr. W. Gibbons: Bound copies of Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette, various dates, 1828—1871.
 - ,, Mr. A. W. Webb: Transcriptions from the Melksham Registers: Burials, 1734 - 1798. List of memorials in Melksham Parish Churchyard, with

Plan and Index.

- General View of the Agriculture of Wilts, by Thomas Davis (1794).
- " CAPT. B. H. CUNNINGTON: "A descriptive account in blank verse of the Old Serpentine Temple of the Druids at Avebury", by Charles Lucas (2nd edition, with MS. Notes on the fly leaves by William Cunnington).
- , THE REV. W. S. TUPHOLME, D.D.: MS. Copy of the Sale Catalogues of the Chedworth Estates in Steeple Langford, Berwick St. James and Winterbourne Stoke, June 9th and 10th, 1807.
- , "The Author: "Stonehenge To-day and Yesterday", by F. Stevens, O.B.E., F.S.A. Reprint from the Smithsonian Report for 1940. Large 8vo.
- " MISS ANN GILCHRIST, F.S.A.: "Death of the Gallant in English Balladry". Reprint from *The English Folk* Dance and Song Society. Vol. iv., No. 2, December, 1941.

- Presented by Mr. G. W. Willis, Hon. Curator of the Basingstoke Museum, 30 Old Wiltshire Deeds from a Solicitor's Office
 - " Mr. Philip Johnston: Bundle of Old Deeds, mostly relating to Devizes.
 - " Mrs. Jackson: Plans and Sections of the Berks and Hants Extension Railway. Stert to Westbury, 1866, and Avon Valley ditto, November, 1863.
 - ",", Mrs. Crosfield: "Neolithic Dew Ponds and Cattleways", by A. J. Hubbard and G. Hubbard. Second edition. Illustrated.
 - " The Authors, Messrs. B. Buckeridge and J. D. Pocock, "Pinhills" (Calne), 1941.
 - ,, CANON H. E. KETCHLEY: Copy of the Register of Quaker Marriages at Slaughterford, 1678—1753.
 - " Frank Stevens, Eso., O.B.E., F.S.A.: "The Family of Monk, of Melksham, Fordington and Melbourne". Compiled by Rev. R. W. M. Lewis, M.A. Privately printed, 1938.
 - "The Author, J. H. Blackford: "The Manor and Village of Cherhill from Early Times to the Present Day". 1941, 8vo.
 - ,, ,, MISS MONICA BRADFORD: Old Wilts Illustrations from $The\ Illustrated\ London\ News.$
 - ", ", Mr. H. C. Brentnall, F.S.A.: Original Drawing of Map of Savernake Forest.
 - ,, The Author, J. F. S. Stone, D.Phil.: "The Deveril-Rimbury Settlement on Thorny Down, Winterbourne Gunner, South Wilts. Reprint from *Proceedings of* Prehistoric Society, 1941, 4to.
 - ,, Miss Gale of Lacock: A large number of Old Deeds concerning Lacock. [Through Mr. Hinton.]
 - ,, British Record Association: A number of Old Wiltshire Deeds concerning Buttermere and the Westbury Parliamentary Election of 1747.
 - Joseph Whitaker, F.Z.S. (1892). Sale Catalogue of Rowdeford House. "Church Bells of Wilts", part III, by H. B. Walters, F.S.A.

The Society is most anxious to acquire any old deeds which may be rescued from undiscriminated material consigned to "salvage" or from other sources. Their bearing upon details of county history may prove to be most important.





THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS (Continued).

STONEHENGE AND ITS BARROWS, by W. Long, Nos. 46-47 of the *Magazine* in separate wrapper 3s. 6d. This still remains one of the best and most reliable accounts of Stonehenge and its Earthworks.

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Archæological & Natural History

MAGAZINE

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EDITED BY
H. C. BRENTNALL, F.S.A.,
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[The authors of the papers printed in this "Magazine" are alone responsible for all statements made therein.]



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WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."-Ovid.

No. CLXXIX.

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VOL. L.

A LIST OF WILTSHIRE CHURCHES CONTAINING OLD GLASS.

By Canon E, H. Goddard, F.S.A.

It occurred to me some years ago that a complete list of the old glass remaining in the churches of Wiltshire, with short notes thereon where possible, might be of use for reference. This could only be compiled by a personal visit to each church, which I proceeded to make as occasion offered. The war, however, and the consequent impossibility of locomotion, put an end to any hope of completing the list, and as it is obvious that I cannot myself carry the work further, it seems worth while to print the list in its incomplete state. The majority of the churches here mentioned are in northern and central Wilts. Those in the south of the county are largely as yet unnoted.

An incomplete list of Wiltshire churches which contain no old glass will be found at the end of this article.

ALL CANNINGS. North and south windows of the transepts have small fragments of 15th century glass of yellow stain in the head lights. In the S. transept one small window light contains a pane with a large I on a floriated background. The corresponding light had another [initial] in yellow stain, but it is now broken.

In the E. window of the S. transept or chapel the head lights contain a few small fragments of 15th century glass.

ALTON BARNES. The western light of the small two-light window in the north wall of the chancel contains a heraldic panel of arms and crest in memory of W. Lamplugh, Rector, 1728—37. There is no other old glass in the church.

AMESBURY. The only old glass is in the large four-light 14th century window on the N. side of the chancel. The whole of the tracery lights in the head of this window are filled with quarries and fragments, mostly of grisaille glass with some coloured fragments, none of them in situ. Some of the grisaille foliage pattern appears to be of the late 13th century (?) Of the main lights, two have their heads filled with brownish old fragments. The second light from the east contains the bust of a crowned female saint, with bits of border glass at the sides;

? 14th century. The head is in good preservation. In the head of the easternmost light are a few 15th century fragments, suns, crowns, &c.

Baverstock. A few old quarries are preserved in the tower window.

Bedwyn, Great. There is in this church some glass removed from Wulfhall in 1905.

BISHOPSTONE, N. WILTS. The 14th century window at the E. end of the S. aisle contains interesting old glass, which has been well reset, apparently coeval with the window. In the three reticulated tracery head lights are three trees with large spreading bases. On the centre tree is hung a circular medallion with IHS. In the right hand light the tree bears a shield with chalice and host (the base of the chalice is missing). The left hand light shows a bird standing on a book, ? the eagle of St. Mark and his Gospel (only half the bird remains).

The background of all three lights is blue, and the glass is apparently in its original position (well repaired with plain white glass).

In the main lights of the window the central light has remains of canopy work with a red background in the head of the light.

The north light has a medallion made up of fragments. A good half of a figure of St. Peter with keys, surrounded by fragments of grisaille quarries, leaf patterns of oak, &c.

The south light has a similar medallion of half of a female figure in robe ornamented with crowned MS. The B.V.M. in an Annunciation (?) scene.

The centre light has a smaller patch of odd quarry fragments in the centre.

Bradford-on-Avon, Parish Church. A large window on the south side of the nave is filled with 28 roundels, ovals and squares of good Flemish (?) glass of the 16th (?) and 17th centuries, set in bad modern glass of 1760. The glass is said to be by Jan Verscrick, 1630.

Bremhill. N. aisle window nearest pulpit. Old glass in the six heads of the window. In the westernmost head light a coloured shield of arms, ermine, a chevron gules, three maidenheads on a chief. The other five head lights are all in yellow stain thus from west to east: M \mid IHS \mid Implements of the Passion \mid (broken) \mid a merchant's mark. One of these head lights was broken by a stone,

Bromham. No old glass except in the easternmost S. window of the Beauchamp chapel. In all five lights the glass in the canopy work in the head is in good condition, with circular medallions of arms underneath. In the main tracery lights, from left to right, there are figures of a king, a pieta, two angels holding shields of arms, the figure of a king, the figure of a bishop. In the small top lights of the tracery there are three half-figures of angels. This is good glass coeval with the chapel.

Broughton Gifford. "2nd window from E. end on N. side. Fragments of original glass about 16th cent". (Inventory of Church goods, 1928.)

Glass in N. aisle in tracery 1887. E. Kite. Tracings of this in Kemm's Drawings, II, 55, in Devizes Museum. Angel censing. Female saint crowned (? Virgin in Annunciation) as seen by E. H. G. December 7th, 1933.

Window in N. wall of nave. Three head lights have remains of yellow stain figures (the 4th light is plain yellow glass). The larger light in the centre has a yellow stain figure with another subject, apparently a beast's head, over it. The side lights have angels censing. (One side is clearly this. The other is not). In the cusps of the lights below are suns or stars and crowns.

In the small lancet low-side window in the S. wall of the Lady Chapel are fragments of border.

CALSTONE. The S. window of the sanctuary contains a panel made up of fragments of old glass, cusp roundels, foliage, &c.

CHALFIELD, GREAT. Fragments of 14th and 15th century glass in the east and north windows of the chancel; vestry, east window; south window of St. Martin's Chapel; and north and west windows of the the nave. (Inventory of Church goods, 1928).

CHIRTON. A small window on the W. side of the porch has a head and three fragments (two cusp pieces) of nice 15th century glass. In the small window over the outside door are three pieces of apparently old glass (?). A crowned head of Christ. Two kneeling angels. This hardly looks mediæval. E. H. G., 1936. No other glass in the church.

CHISELDON. In the right light of a modern two-light window at the W. end of the N. aisle. In the head of the light are three quarries and one cusp piece (a crown) of 15th century glass, chiefly yellow stain made up with a few other small fragments. There is no other old glass.

CHITTERNE. (E. H. G., June, 1931.) Only the chancel of the old Church remains. In the window on the S. side, furthest west, is a panel of glass, yellow stain of the 15th century (?) showing the evangelistic symbol of a winged bull.

In the east window are a few quarries of old much corroded glass of which nothing is decipherable.

CHRISTIAN MALFORD. There are fragments of old glass in the head of the 14th century east window of the south aisle.

CLYFFE PYPARD. The head lights of the 15th century windows of the N. and S. aisles of the nave contain a number of fragments of 15th century glass with a single quarry in the head of the west window—all these belonged to the church and were placed where they are at the restoration of the church. The second and third from the east of the three-light 15th century windows on the north side of the nave contain a number of complete roundels and other pieces of continental glass, Swiss, Flemish, &c., much of it of good quality. All this was collected on the continent by Mr. J. E. Nightingale, of Wilton, and on his death it was given by his sisters to Canon E. H. Goddard, then Vicar of Clyffe Pypard, who had it mounted in these two windows. The main panel in the westernmost of these windows is good Swiss glass, cir. 1520—26. It contains the kneeling figure of "Conrad Mäyer Pfarer zu Kilchberg" kneeling with his shield of arms before St. John the Baptist. The inscription over his head reads: O Sancte Ioannes Ora Pro Nob⁸ Dev.

This panel is fully described and figured in a paper by Albert Hollaender, Ph.D., in Wilts Arch. Mag., L., 13—18, where it is suggested that it may have been drawn by Hans Holbein, the younger.

COLERNE. In the centre light of the three-light window in the N. aisle is a single panel composed of fragments of yellowish glass of 14th or 15th (?) century, leaf pattern, &c., much darkened and corroded. There is no coloured glass.

CORSHAM. The only old glass consists of four very small fragments in the head lights of two north windows of the Lady Chapel, or N. aisle of the chancel, one of which has the Hungerford sickles on it. (The fine Renaissance window at the east end of the Tropenel Chapel is a copy of Flemish glass in Lichfield Cathedral.)

CRUDWELL. A window in the N. aisle is filled with fine 15th century glass. Of the seven sacraments, parts of five remain.

DEVIZES St. Mary's. The only bits of old glass are four or five very small quarries in the smallest openings of the head tracery of the windows on the N. side of the nave.

Durnford, Great. The western light of a two-light window in the N. wall of the nave, near the reading desk, contains at the bottom a panel of the crucifixion showing the drops of blood on (apparently) a sheet suspended from the cross, in yellow stain. Above is part of a figure, without a head, in blue-and-red robe with the inscription "Nicolase". The border is composed of the usual border ornaments and is nearly complete. (July 30th, 1931. E. H. G.)

EDINGTON. Much old glass coeval with the building remains in the clerestory windows of the nave, &c.

ERCHFONT. There is much 14th century glass in this church.

FIGHELDEAN. Stained glass of the five wounds was taken from the church about 1860. (M.S. letter in vol. viii., p. 137 of "Cuttings and Scraps", in Devizes Museum Library.)

FOXHAM. A single quarry of old glass with the Hungerford badge (sickles) remains. Said to have been saved by the clerk from the old Church when it was rebuilt by Butterfield.

INGLESHAM. (Notes by E. H. G., May, 1925.) 13th century window in E. wall of N. chapel of nave. In the head and two lights, a quantity of old corroded plain lights, the old quarries arranged in lozenges.

In the W. window of the nave, remains of drapery, without heads, of two figures in two head lights, and two spandrel lights of 15th century yellow stain.

In the two-light window of the S. nave aisle three roses or crowns in the cusps of the eastermost window—15th century.

In the window on the S. side of the chancel, late 13th or 14th century, a roundel opening in the head contains fragments of the original glazing.

LACOCK (E. H. G., 1930). In the window, at the east end of the chapel on the N. side of the chancel, ten small quatrefoil, &c., lights, and the tracery of the window, have some perfect and others only fragmentary original glass. A rose in the centre with yellow stain foliage round, all of the date of the chapel. Also in the head of the three main lights, fragments of canopy work, a crown and other bits, with one later coat of arms. There is a good deal of old glass in the east window of the Lady Chapel, including the glazier's arms.

(There are nice figures of old glass in the Long Gallery of Lacock Abbey.)

Lydiard Millicent (January, 1928. E. H. G.).

E. window of S. aisle. Fragments of old glass, vine leaves, &c., made up with gaudy modern glass in head lights.

Eastermost window in S. aisle, S. wall. In the quatrefoil in the head of the window; figure of St. Matthew's emblem (? entirely old) and part of legend.

West window, S. aisle. Fragments of 14th century (?) grisaille, &c., in the headlights made up with glaring modern glass.

West window, under tower. Ditto in headlights.

N. aisle, W. window of N. wall. A small head and a few fragments of old glass in headlights.

N. aisle, easternmost window. Vine leaves and fragments of shields in headlights.

Malmesbury Abbey. The small two-light window at the E. end of the N. aisle just west of the stone screen of the vestry has about two dozen quarries of grisaille outline leaf pattern glass arranged roughly in two lozenges. This is the only old glass in the church.

MERE. In glass in the south chapel. The figure of St. Thomas a'Beckett. (W.A. Mag., xxxiii, 122.)

MILDENHALL. "Bits of 15th century glass in the two N. and one S. window of the chancel, also in the east window, including two almost complete figures, one of which is an archbishop with cross, bearing the name "Augustinus". (W.A. Mag., xxviii, 124.)

MILTON LILBOURNE. The quatrefoil head of the 14th century window on the S. side of the chancel is filled with fragments round a lion's face in the centre. There is no other old glass.

MINETY. Three panels, made up of quarries of 15th century glass from the heads of windows, are mounted in the vestry door. I.H.S., M., crowns, roses, &c.

NETTLETON. The N. aisle window in the N. wall east of the door has two small spandrel pieces of apparently old glass set in plain lights. In the window in the N. wall to the west of the door, of three lights, with a shield-shaped panel in each light of angels holding—what?, the date in each being 1854. Is any of this glass older than this date? The headlights of the W. window in the same aisle have symbols of the evangelists also. I suppose of 1854, but good for that date. (E. H. G.)

Oaksey. Noted April 10th, 1926. In the three-light perpendicular window in the N. wall of the nave nearest the chancel are a great many fragments of glass, largely of canopy work, but also of figures, arranged now in confusion, but a considerable proportion apparently belongs to the original window. This is said to have represented the seven sacraments, of which a child in a font, a priest celebrating at the altar (?), a penitent kneeling (?), are still visible. The Vicar tells me that this glass was badly broken by a violent hailstorm in 1915 (?) It seems to me that I remember it more perfect than it is now. The central four-light window in the N. wall next to this one, westwards, has in its eight tracery lights, charming figures of cherubim in yellow stain, still mostly perfect, of the 15th century. The clerestory windows in the same N. wall have a good deal of old glass in quarries of the 15th century, many of them much blackened, but showing a flower. There is nothing but these quarries in the clerestory. The east window of the S. aisle has remains of figure subjects in three of its four lights.

- 1. (Left) St. Ann teaching the B.V.M. to read. This is fairly perfect.
 - 2. Blank.
 - 3. Head of the B.V.M. apparently.
- 4. St. Katherine with curious wheel and pommel of a very large sword. Half length, all of the 15th century.

In the centre headlight is a pelican of later date.

(This window was releaded and rearranged by experts in 1936.)

In the centre small two-light window (13th or early 14th century) the quatrefoil head light is filled with what looks like early glass, but has a rose and yellow stain, so presumably is of the 14th century.

OGBOURNE St. Andrew. In windows on the S. side of the nave are fragments of 15th century glass. One is a chalice, the other is a shield bearing emblems of the Passion, the cross with crown of thorns, hammer, pincers and two nails (Inventory of Church goods, 1928).

Purton. West window in N. aisle wall. Portions of two figures and other fragments in the upper lights.

East window in N. aisle wall. Fragments of old glass arranged in the headlights of a modern stained glass window.

S. transept window. The headlights are filled with fragments of old glass.

Chapel, S. of chancel. A few old fragments in the head lights.

N. transept window behind the organ. Fragments of old glass are made up in the headlights.

Two boxes of old stained glass kept at the Vicarage which was taken out of the windows when modern stained glass was put in, were examined by Dr. F. C. Eeles and E. H. G. on May 29th, 1935, and advice was given by the former as to restoring it to the Church. Among this glass was a great number of quarries of four-leaved flower, gleaming star, &c., with portions of headlights in the original leading, and larger pieces in 19th century leading of fragments of all sorts of late 14th and early 15th century glass. Amongst these were five or six heads or portions of heads of figures, many border pieces, crowns, &c., from the cusping, enough to make a window if filled out with plain glass.

Rodbourne Cheney. All the head tracery lights of the windows in the nave are filled with small fragments of 15th century glass made up with bad modern glass, blue, yellow and red, of 1853, the date of the rebuilding of the church. Altogether there is a good deal of old glass, but very fragmentary. The windows containing it are the west (tower) window, six windows of the N. aisle and three of the S. aisle (E. H. G., 1929.)

Rushall. In the window in the Poore "Pew" are two valuable pieces of old glass. One shows the Virgin seated with the Child in her lap. She wears a blue robe and is crowned and surrounded by rays of gold; around this are "myriads of angels", some on a blue ground, and others on red. The other subject is the Crucifixion, on one side of the cross is the Virgin in blue, on the other St. John in red. (W.A. Mag., xxxiv., 229.)

Salisbury St. Edmund. In the vestry is preserved a panel of Swiss glass, by Master Hegly, 1617, made for Hans Lässer, of Spreitenbach, and Barbel Brunerin his wife. Twelve small panels of the Creation and the Fall are arranged as in a frame round a German inscription from Exodus, xx., and two shields with merchants' marks.

This panel is figured and described by Dr. Hollaender in Wilts Arch. Mag., L., 18—23.

SALISBURY St. Thomas. A few fragments of old glass in the east window and elsewhere.

"In the vestry there are considerable remains of a beautiful three-light window, with two subjects still almost complete; St. Christopher bearing the Child Christ in the centre, and St. Thomas a'Becket on the right". Foord's, Winchester and Salisbury, 1925. W.A. Mag., xxxvi, 10.

At the east end of the S. aisle is a five-light window with eight tracery lights containing two figures, in two tracery lights, of the Annunciation. Six other lights have merchants' marks. The tabernacle work in the heads of the five large lights remains with borders and some other fragments, all of the 15th century.

The four-light window at E. end of N. aisle. Six tracery lights filled with 15th century fragments, bits of figures amongst them. The two outside lights have bits of canopy work, and in all the lights there are borders made up of fragments.

In the N. aisle the easternmost window of the N. wall has three lights. The two outside lights have the heads of the main lights and the tracery lights filled with remains of old glass. The tracery lights are apparently in situ and complete. The heads of the two main lights have apparently a vine with tendrils and grapes in each. The two tracery lights have the same; a few fragments of the same glass are in the smaller tracery lights in the window next westwards.

SEEND. A few very small bits of the original 15th century glass remain in the tracery openings of the W. window of the N. aisle.

SOMERFORD, GREAT. The small single-light window in the S. wall of the nave high up over the pulpit contains fragments of 15th century canopy work and the bust of a small figure. There is no other old glass in the church.

STEEPLE ASHTON. "In all the windows of both aisless there is a considerable amount of ancient glass (1480—1501). Enough portions remain *in situ* to make it possible to reconstruct the original designs". (Church Inventory of 1928.)

STOURTON. The upper half of four lights in a late 15th century window on the N. side at the E. end of the N. aisle contains figures under crown-shaped canopies. The only one at all complete is that of a female saint. The three other figures are fragmentary. In the centre tracery light is a shield of arms.

In the N. wall of the chancel is a four-light window, in the centre of the tracery lights of which is a crucifix in yellow stain.

SUTTON BENGER. In the head of the westernmost window in the south aisle wall are three small fragments (two foliage, one part of canopy) of 14th century glass coeval with the aisle (the window itself is restored).

Westwood. "The chancel windows are filled with early 15th century stained glass, once in the N. aisle. The central light in the east window has the Crucifixion, the side lights have shields with the instruments of the Passion, held by angels. Over the prayer desk is the head of St. Matthew with a legend, a portion of the creed 'Sanctom communionem remissionem pecatom'". (The fragment of the mast of a ship on the dexter side stamps the head as that of St. Matthew, but according to the usual tradition these two articles of the creed belong to Simon Zelotes. The last window was entirely releaded in 1923 and the cracked glass plated". (From the 1928 Inventory return).

Some account of this glass with illustrations of the east and south chancel windows is given by E. G. Lister in a paper on Westwood Manor in *Country Life*, August 14th, 1926, p. 250.

WILTON NEW CHURCH. There is a great deal of fine old continental glass from the 13th century downwards. Some of the finest in the county of Wilts.

WINTERBOURNE BASSETT. The headlight of the 14th century window on the N. side of the chancel is filled with original glass.

YATESBURY. In the headlights of the three-light 15th century window, nearest the east end, in the S. wall of the nave are four circular medallions of the emblems of the evangelists, surrounded by fragments of old glass, all apparently of yellow stain. One of the medallions has a large piece out of it, and two others are broken across. One is nearly or quite perfect. All the tracery lights have fragments of this glass—(?) late 15th century—in them. In the corresponding window to the west the central cusp of the head of four main lights has each a bit of the old glass in it, and the small tracery lights have small fragments also.

LIST OF CHURCHES WHICH HAVE NO OLD GLASS. (Not complete, especially in S. Wilts.)

Alderton; All Cannings; Anstey; Ashton, West; Baydon; Beechingstoke; Bishopstone (N. Wilts); Blacklands; Box; Bradenstoke; Broad Town; Brokenborough; Burbage; Calne; Cherhill; Cheverell, Great; Cheverell, Little; Chippenham, Parish; Chitterne; Chittoe; Collingbourne Ducis; Collingbourne Kingston; Compton Bassett; Corston; Coulston, West; Derry Hill; Devizes, St. Mary's; Erlestoke; Etchilhampton; Fittleton; Hardenhuish; Heddington; Hilmarton; Hilperton; Hullavington; Kelloways; Kennet, East; Langley Burrell; Lavington, Market; Limpley Stoke; Manningford Abbots; Manningford Bruce; Marlborough, St. Mary's; Marlborough, St. Peter's; Melksham Forest; Netheravon; Newnton, North; Oare; Overton, West; Patney; Rodbourne, near Malmesbury; Semington; Sevenhampton; Stanton St. Quinton; Staverton; Stratford-sub-Castle; Stratton St. Margaret; Studley; Tisbury; Trowbridge, Holy Trinity; Whaddon; Wilsford (Pewsey Vale); Wingfield; Woodborough; Wootton Bassett.

THE YORKSHIRE ESTATE OF THE DANVERS OF DAUNTSEY.

By J. J. SLADE.

Canon Tackson, in his annotations to Aubrev's Topographical Collections of Wiltshire, gives interesting information of the Danvers family of Dauntsey, as well as of their predecessors there, but he touches lightly on their Yorkshire associations. In his "Pedigree of Dauntesey, Stradling, and Danvers of Dauntesey" he merely says of one Sir John Danvers, that he "had Danby in co. York". This property, like that of Dauntsey, came to the Danvers by marriage. The circumstances attending the Dauntsey acquisition are well-known. The whole Stradling household, including Sir Edward Stradling, was murdered. with the exception of Sir Edward's sister, who was absent. became his heiress, and one Sir John Danvers, of a Northamptonshire family, "a handsome gentleman, clapt up a match with her before she heard the newes, he by good fortune lighting upon the messenger first ". So goes the story, or tradition. His great grandson, also John, followed his example in more orthodox manner, but also with profit, by marrying the heiress of the last of the Nevilles, Lords Latimer, Lords of Danby in Yorkshire. Danby, near Whitby, was a goodly heritage; it had been with the Nevilles since the early part of the 14th century. Besides the more or less cultivated area it included minerals and forest. An early Norman castle, said to have been "enormously strong", was demolished before the Nevilles came into possession, but under them a second castle was built, and it was standing when the later Sir John Danvers married Elizabeth Neville. From this marriage came Charles, who was beheaded, leaving the second son, Henry, as head of the family, and a third son, another John. Henry became a favourite with both James I, who ennobled him as Baron Danvers (of Dauntsey) and Charles I, who made him Earl (of Danby), also Knight of the Garter. Earl Danby did not marry, and settled his estates on his nephew Henry. son of Sir John. (The Earl's disapproval of his brother is referred to below.) According to a quotation by Jackson, Sir John, by Parliamentary proceedings, overthrew the will, and certainly in 1647, as shown below, he had the disposal of Danby and held certain Wiltshire settled estates. At the same time his son Henry did have a considerable amount of property, whether received from his uncle or otherwise, as dying (from smallpox) six months before his father in the early half of 1655 he left a portion of it to trustees to help pay his father's debts, leaving the rest to his sister Anne.

This reference to Sir John Danvers' debts brings us to the matter that this article is concerned with particularly—the circumstances in which the Danby estate was alienated from the Danvers family of Dauntsey One cause of these debts was his passion for making ornamental gardens. He first had a house at Chelsea—Danvers House,

adjoining that of Sir Thomas More; it was pulled down in 1696 to make room for Danvers Street. He furnished it sumptuously "and curiously" and spent large sums laying out gardens in the Italian manner. He it was, says Aubrey, who first brought in to this country that style of gardening. This taste Sir John indulged in on an even more lavish scale at West Lavington. Like his great-great-grand-father and his father he made a profitable marriage, with a daughter of the family of the Dauntseys of West Lavington, who brought him that property. The Manor House, belonging to the Holloway family, is on the site of Danvers' house. Apart from these specific causes of Sir John's financial difficulties, there was, according to Lord Clarendon (quoted below in another connection), generally reckless expenditure, His embarrassments were certainly troubling him as early as 1638.

The authority for this is a document, one of a number kept in an old oak chest in the apartment in Danby Castle known as the Jury Room -described as an oak-panelled room with a grandly moulded late mediæval fireplace in it, only hidden away from view by modern "gothic" innovation. This is the description given by Canon Atkinson in his "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish". The document, dated 1st May, 1647, recites that "Sir Thomas Sawley, Bart., now deceased, in his lifetime, at the request of Sir John Danvers, and together with him as his surety, and for his only and proper debt, became bound in the following obligations, viz., to Isaac Jones, Esqr, in an obligation of £3000, dated February 12th, 1641, conditioned for the payment of £1500, principal debt and interest" [seven similar obligations to other parties are recorded, the earliest dated May 24th, 1638, the total amounts of the corresponding sums being £14,600 and £7,600 respectively, and the text proceeds:—] " and that the said Sir John Danvers became bound to divers other persons in divers other great summes of money, for all or the greatest parte whereof some other of his ffriendes, or some of his servants, stand ingaged with him as his suertyes in severall other obligations: And that the said Sir John Danvers, out of his greate care to have all such debtes as are his owne proper and just debtes, and not any other, for which he stands bound or ingaged as suerty with or for any other person or persons, to bee paid, and to have his ffriendes, servants, and suertys, and their estates, kept harmelesse and without any damage or losse by reason of any of their ingagementes for him, which, if the times had not bene soe troublesome, and his losses by reason of those troubles soe greate as they have of late byn, hee intended to have done before this tyme, but finding those his owne debtes to bee since these troubles soe much encreased by the greatnes of his losses, as that for the present he hath noe other meanes to satisfie them, he is now desirous and resolved to make some provision for raysing of moneys for that purpose by the leasinge and selling either absolutely or by way of mortgage some of his landes of inheritance. And conceavinge his property hereafter mentioned in the County of Yorke, in respect of their remoteness from the rest of his landes which. for the most partes, lye in the County of Wiltes, may be fittest for that

purpose: and that the same is intailed, and that he hath issue heritable to that estate-entail, and at present he only designs to pay Sir Thos. Sir Peter Osborne and Dr. Mountford"-he therefore covenants with Rowland Jewkes, senior, to levy a fine at Westminster, before the end of Trinity term next, of the Manor and Castle of Danby, and the Forest and Chase of Danby, and the Rectory of Danby, and all tithes in Danby, Leleholmes, and Glacedale, together with Bennington and Flixton in the same county, and all Leetes, Lawdays, Viewes of Frank pledges, etc., and the fine is to inure to the uses declared in the deed to the parties of the third part" [four in number, two described as "clerks" and two as "gentlemen". The covenanted fine was accordingly levied on the 28th May following. Then occurs a hiatus in the proceedings; so far as the extant records go, nothing further happened for some seven years. Atkinson suggested, with some reasonableness, that it was because the unsettled, even chaotic, political conditions of the time were unfavourable for such transactions. However that may be, it was not till 1655 that the final steps were taken for the alienation of the Yorkshire estates from the Danvers family.

It is not necessary to relate the legal processes, but one quotation should be made, as it shows that Sir John Danvers at any rate professed regard for the tenants, and stipulated for their considerate treatment, much as is, happily, to be noticed to-day when large estates are being broken up by their hereditary owners. The "demeasne lands, messuages, farmes, tenements", etc., together with the Rectory and tythes, of Danby, were to be sold and conveyed unto certain persons, with power to appoint others also, upon this special trust:—"That all and every the tenanntes and farmors within the said Manor and Lordshippe shall have full freedome and power to purchase all and singuler their severall and respective farmes and landes as are now held by them respectively, at such reasonable rates and values as they are now agreed to be sold att, the purchase and value of the said Manor and Lordship, together with all necessary charges and expences about purchaseinge and dividinge the same duely considered". The purchase money was £17,000, payable in three instalments within the next eighteen months or so. The purchasers are named as Sam Levingstonne, clerk, John Agar, Rob. Prodam, Geo. Harrison, and Thos. Watson, yeomen, so the tenant farmers did purchase their holdings—at any rate some of them

Thus the manor of Danby passed from the Danvers family, that had held it since about the middle of the 16th century: the date of the marriage of John Danvers and Elizabeth Neville is not given. With its passing the state of overlordship of many centuries changed to individual ownership by the cultivators of the soil—the "uncrested yeomen", to use Shakespeare's picturesque phrase. This was, in 1654—55, giving the Danvers regime rather less than a century. It should be added that Sir John Danvers died during the ultimate stage of the proceedings that he initiated in 1638 (the date of the earliest of the "obligations"); his name is on a document dated 21st February,

165⁴₅, but is omitted from that of the 7th July in the same year, and the receipt for the first instalment of the purchase money is signed by certain "trustees for Sir John Danvers, Knight, deceased".

As an addendum it may be mentioned that Canon Atkinson, though very careful in his researches, went astray in his reasoning. Concerning the delay of seven years (1647-54) he suggested that the "times soetroublesome" accounted for it, and that such a supposition is by no means inconsistent with what we infer (if we do not absolutely know) of Sir John Danvers himself and the "almost certain" explanation of his difficulties and their origin. "The favour shown to Henry, Sir John's brother, by both James I. and Charles I. indicates attachment and devotion to the House of Stuart and its interests" . . . The period at which these money obligations are seen in their choative and most urgent stages corresponds with the period at and through which a voluntary war tax was levied in every county for the purpose of equipping forces to fight for the King, and when gifts of money and plate for the King's service became the order of the day among the royalist adherents. The year 1638 [the date of the earliest of the recorded "obligations" was the year of the said voluntary tax and 1643 that of the gifts of plate and money, and it was in the year 1638 that Sir John Danvers incurred the obligations of £6,000 to one party and £2,000 to another, adding £3,500 the following year and increasing the burden further in 1641 . . . affording a very strong presumption that Sir John was one of the goodly band of noble and faithful gentlemen who impoverished themselves and risked all they had in the effort to support a doubtful cause". This speculative suggestion appears plausible, but it is not "almost certain", and Atkinson would not have advanced it, had he remembered Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion". Sir John Danvers, although a member of the privy chamber of the King, sided with Parliament. He was one of the commissioners appointed for King Charles's trial, many of whom did not attend at all, but he attended all the sittings but two and signed the death warrant, earning the title of Regicide. Clarendon brackets him with Sir Henry Mildmay, who was member for Westbury 1623-24, as being the only two men who were known to the King before the troubles. As to Sir John:-" Being neglected by his brother (Lord Danby) and having by vain expense in his way of living contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud, formal, weak man, between being seduced and a seducer, became so far involved in their counsels that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed him and contemned him at once; nor did that party of miscreants look upon any two men in the Kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay". Mildmay, however, did not sign the death warrant, nor did he attend so many sittings of the commission as did Danvers, who missed two only. Sir John was attainted in 1661, and the property confiscated. except some part for which measures of protection had been taken.

As against the bitter condemnation of Sir John just quoted may in fairness be set the opinion of Isaak Walton, a steadfast Royalist and a contemporary of all these events. In his "Life of George Herbert", recording Sir John's marriage to the poet's widowed mother, he describes the bridegroom as "a noble gentleman". This may be a tribute to Sir John's character; or it may be an allusion to Sir John's connection with nobility. Whatever the inference, there it is.

Danby Castle is now owned by Lord Downe, of Wykeham Abbey, near Scarborough. It is largely a ruin, but a portion of it, in a good state of repair, is used by a farmer as his dwelling house, with limited

accommodation for farm stock adjacent to it.

Note. As several Sir John Danvers are mentioned, it is desirable to make them easily distinguishable, and for that purpose is appended the following abstract from Canon Jackson's Pedigree of Dauntesey, Stradling, and Danvers of Dauntesey. It includes only those members of the successive generations whose personalities are relevant to the subject. The Sir Henry Danvers who was ennobled as Baron Danvers of Dauntsey, elevated to an Earldom and made a Knight of the Garter was of course a steadfast supporter of the Stuart cause, and his brother John's alienation from it (it was James I. who gave him his knighthood, showing where his sympathies first lay), added to his extravagant habits, sufficiently explain the terms of the Earl's will.

1. Sir John Danvers married Ann Stradling and so became possessed

of the Dauntsey estate. Of nine children, one-

2. Thomas Danvers, married Margaret Courtney. Of three children, one —

- 3. Silvester Danvers, married Elizabeth Mordaunt. Of six children, one—
- 4. Sir John Danvers, married Elizabeth Neville, and so became possessed of the Danby estate. Of ten children, one—
- 5. Sir Henry Danvers, became Baron Danvers of Dauntsey and Earl Danby, but died unmarried. His younger brother, Sir John Danvers of Chelsea, married Ann Dauntsey and so became possessed of the West Lavington estate. Of this Sir John Danvers' children, one—
- 6. Henry, inherited the estate of his uncle, Earl Danby, but dying unmarried in the same year as his father, left much of his property to his sister, Anne Danvers.

THE HUNDREDS OF WILTSHIRE.

By H. C. BRENTNALL, F.S.A.

Much has been written about the origin, functions and organisation of the Hundreds, Wards and Wapentakes of England, and much will still be written, for much remains obscure. But the issues concern the legal and constitutional historians, who must decide, if decision is possible, whether a Hundred denoted a hundred families or a hundred hides of land or an institution already divorced from any such simple meaning before our ancestors left the Continent to settle in this island. They might also decide, for the comfort of the ignorant, whether a Wapentake is to be called a Woppentake or a Wappentake or a Waypentake, but they would probably regard the invitation as trivial.

For the ordinary man the term Hundred has had little meaning for a long time. The County Courts Act of 1867 deprived the Hundred of its small remnant of judicial authority, and the Riot (Damages) Act of 1886 relieved it of its last responsibility, which was to make good the damages done by civil commotion—perhaps the last survival of the frank-pledge system into modern times. Even as a geographical expression the Hundred has almost lost its significance in the new division of counties into urban and rural districts, though its influence was strong enough to give names to the Voluntary Aid Detachments of Essex in the last war. It survives, as might be expected, in an occasional legal document, was used as the basis of Sir Richard Hoare's great (but incomplete) survey of Wiltshire and has been retained by the English Place-Name Society as the unit for the grouping of parishes in its county surveys. But it would puzzle most Englishmen to say in which Hundred they live, and a comparison of different lists of English Hundreds (Wards and Wapentakes) and their components compiled in the course of the last nine centuries might serve as some excuse for their bewilderment.

The fact that the subject was discussed in this Magazine ten years ago¹ has just been recalled to me. I have to confess that I had forgotten Mr. Walters' article as completely as my readers will have forgotten mine in a much shorter space of time. If to some extent we traverse the same ground, it is because my own ideas had already taken shape before I re-read what Mr. Walters had written, and I find myself more than once at variance with his conclusions. But it is fair to admit that ten years ago I should have accepted—and doubtless did accept—most of his statements without question (though even then I must have been surprised at his scepticism about the existence of Swanborough Tump). The travels of manors and parishes from Hundred to Hundred, the confusion of the original Hundreds by the appearance and disappearance of later creations, and the combination of many of them into larger units, are complications of the picture which no one who has not made a fairly close study of the resulting

¹ W.A.M., xlvi, p. 301. The Wiltshire Hundreds, by H. B. Walters, F.S.A.

kaleidoscope can hope to unravel. I happen to have my head full of these things at the moment and can therefore see a number of inaccuracies in Mr. Walters' account which will probably be invisible again six months hence. But I am also in a position to realise how fatally easy it is to be inaccurate in such points and how likely I am to make similar mistakes myself.

It must further be added that the questions at issue have been partially clarified, since Mr. Walters wrote, by the publication of the English Place-Name Society's volume on Wiltshire, a work to which I shall have so often to refer that I propose to adopt the accepted abbreviation of its name to PN,W. If even there one may detect an occasional error in the ascription of parishes to Hundreds, Mr. Walters

and I may both take comfort, though doubtless unworthily.

PN,W. carries a map in its pocket showing the Hundreds of Wiltshire, which is invaluable to the investigator. It does not show the modern boundaries, as Mr. Walters attempted to do in his. On the question of its supposed date it affords us no assistance, and that for the sufficient reason that it corresponds to no single period of time. It includes the Hundred of Scipe, named in the Liber Exoniensis but in no later document, but it also includes the lesser Hundred of Malmesbury proper, which is first mentioned in 1226. It does not recognise the Hundred of Knowel (Knovle), created at some date between 1272 and 13072, yet it separates the two Roboroughs, a distinction which is not recorded till 1327. Both the Roboroughs were afterwards merged in other Hundreds; North Damerham, formed six years before we hear of the division of the Roboroughs and still in existence (or at least in suspended animation), is omitted from the map, though a footnote in the text on page 65 takes cognisance of that curiously named Hundred and supplies the date of its birth. Clearly the best description of this map would be the one used by the same editors for the map in their Buckinghamshire volume. It is headed "Hundreds (ancient)", and at that we may leave its Wiltshire counterpart.

No map accompanies the present discussion, but a list of the Hundreds showing their state at various dates seems an indispensable preliminary to the understanding of the points involved. In the following table the first column is taken from Jones's Exon. Domesday in the volume mentioned in the note below. This is the earliest known list of the Wiltshire Hundreds and the earliest we are ever likely to know. The second is from Miss Cam's list in The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, Appendix iv.

¹ This name is used rather than that of Exon. Domesday, as by Jones in his Domesday for Wiltshire, because J. H. Round has accused him of confusing the Inquisitio Geldi with the Exon. Domesday, and Round's brief note (Feudal England, p. 148) does not make clear the extent of Jones's offending. It is best, therefore, for one who makes no claim to be a historian to walk warily. The Inquisitio Geldi has been dated to the years 1083—4.

² Apparently before 1274.

Liber Exoniensis (1083—4)	Rotuli Hundre- dorum (1274)	Nomina Villarum (1316)	Modern Names
Cicemethorn Sterchele Thorngrave	Cheggelewe Malmesburi Sterkele	Cheggelewe Sterkelee	Malmesbury
Dunelawe Cepeham	Cyppeham	Chippenham	Chippenham
Crechelade	Crikkelade	Crekkelade	Cricklade
Scipe) Wurde	Wurth	Worth	Highworth and Staple
Staple Chingbrige	Stapelee Kinbrig	Staple Kynebrigge	1
Blachegrave Thornhylle	Blackingrove Thornhulle	Blackingrove Thornhill	Kingsbridge
Selchelai Ramesberie	Selkele Rammesbir'	Selklee	Selkley
Bradeford	Bradeford	Ramesbury Bradeford	Ramsbury Bradford
Melchesham	Melkesham	Melksham	Melksham
Calne	Calne	Calne	Calne
Wervesdone .	Wervollesdone	Wherewelles-	Whorwells-
Canenge	Caninges	downe Caninges	down Potterne
		(Episcopi)	and
		Rubergh	Cannings
Rugeherge	Rughebergh	(Episcopi) Rubergh (Regis))	
Stodfald	Stodfolde	Stodfolde	Swanborough
Swaneberg	Swaneber'	Swanebergh	
Westberie Warministre	Westbyry	Westberie	Westbury
Hestredeberie	Werministre	Wereminster	Warminster
	Hettredesbur'	Heghtesbury	Heytesbury
Eilestebbe	Ellestubbe	Ellestubbe	Elstub and Everley
Chenewarestan	Kynewardston	Kynewardston	Kinwardstone
Mere	Mere	Meyre	Mere
Donworth Dolesfeld	Donewurth	Doneworth	Dunworth
	Dolesfeud	Dolesfeld	Branch and
Brenchesberge Ambresberie	Brenchesberewe	Brenchesborowe	Dole
Stanford	Ambresbir' Chalk	Aumbresbury	Amesbury
Caudune	Caudon	Chalke Caudon	Chalk
Cadeworde	Cadewith	Cadeworth	Cawdon and Cadworth
Domerham	N. and S. Damer- ham	Domerham	N. Damerham S. Damerham
Windredic	Wonderdich	Wonderdyche	Underditch
Ferstesfeld	Furstefeld	Furstesfeld	Frustfield
Alwarberie	Alwarbyr'	Alwardebury	Alderbury
Duntone	Dunton and Knowel	Dunton Knowel(Episcopi)	Downton
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I have followed Jones's order, but as nearly every list that I have seen has a different one, and all except the alphabetical are equally inexplicable, the order does not seem to be of much importance. Jones himself regards his list as representing two groups of North and South Wilts respectively. His line is drawn between Swanborough and Westbury, a division which places Kinwardstone, including Chilton Foliat, in the South, and Whorwellsdown, including Edington to its boundary with Norton Bavant, in the north—a curious allocation perhaps, but not easy to amend when "ragged" Hundreds are involved.

"Ragged", or scattered, Hundreds have the peculiar interest which attaches to stray fragments of counties found imbedded in their neighbours, like those of Worcestershire. They are due to similar causes, but they are not the only form of accretion, for that may take place on the boundary of a Hundred (or county) without inviting particular notice. The addition of Bromham to the Hundred of Cannings has even removed it from the class of ragged Hundreds by bridging the gap between Bishop's Cannings and Chittoe; and the final inclusion of Collingbourne Ducis, which in the Liber Exoniensis appears to be independent, in Elstub is in no way contributory to the ruin of Elstub's original ring-fence, since the manor was locally contiguous to that Hundred already.

Many of these changes are historically intelligible, though others are not. It was a magnanimous concession of the Feudal System that a man might (sometimes) choose what overlord he pleased; and wherever he went, his land might go with him. It was natural, too, that a lord should require, for his own convenience and profit, that his tenants should make suit in his own court regardless alike of geographical conditions and the comfort of the suitor. The manorial court of the lord of a Hundred would tend, of course, to be also the meeting-place of its tithing-men. Hence the movement of the manors, which appears on the evidence of the Hundred Rolls, to have become marked in the thirteenth century. Thus, for instance, in 1275, the men of the Barton of Marlborough find that the tithing of Manton of the liberty of the honour of Wallingford used to make suit in the Hundred of Selkele but has withdrawn that suit for sixteen years past, on what warrant they do not know. That suit, however, does not seem to have been permanently lost to the Hundred.

Ragged Hundreds, for all that, were in most counties the exception rather than the rule. There were none, for instance, in Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire or Essex and only one in Cambridgeshire or among the Wapentakes of Nottinghamshire. Yet no less than seven of the ten Hundreds of Warwickshire had scattered parishes. It may be noted that Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire were comparatively late creations, and the Hundreds of Essex are not of early date. In Warwickshire, on the other hand, the Hundreds seem to belong to a remote period and have consequently been more exposed to readjustments.¹

¹ See the Introductions to the relevant volumes of the Place-Name Survey.

It may be inferred that the case of Wiltshire was rather similar.

The most tattered of the ragged Hundreds in our modern lists are undoubtedly Elstub and North Damerham. The latter, as we have seen, is not accorded substantive rank in PN,W.; the former stands compact upon its map. In both cases the explanation of their present raggedness is ecclesiastical convenience. The Prior of St. Swithin's, Winchester, came into possession, at some date before 1270, of a number of manors in Wiltshire, some at least of which, like Enford in Elstub Hundred and Alton Priors in Swanborough, had belonged to the Bishop of Winchester in the time of Domesday. So Alton Priors, Everley, Ham, Little Hinton, Patney (originally part of Alton Priors), Rollestone, Stockton and Westwood with Iford were extracted from their native Hundreds and joined to Elstub under the new name of Elstub and Everley. No less than seven Hundreds were laid under contribution to swell the numbers who owed attendance at the Hundred court in Enford.

Similarly the Glastonbury manors in North Wilts: Christian Malford, Grittleton, Nettleton, Kington St. Michael and Kington Langley, were taken from the ancient Hundreds of Starkley, Thorngrove and Chippenham and erected into a new Hundred of North Damerham. The name suggests that these manors at one time sent their representatives to the Abbot's manorial court at Damerham, a journey of forty miles across the county. But Hundred courts met every three weeks, too frequently for such an expedition, and the tithing-men of these manors went as late as 1316 to the courts of their local Hundreds. It was in 1321, as we have seen, that the new Hundred was created under a name which preserved the association with the principal Glastonbury manor in the county.

The Hundred of Knowel was yet another ecclesiastical creation, but without the vitality of North Damerham or Elstub-and-Everley. It was the smallest of our ragged, or indeed of any of our Hundreds, for it consisted only of the two manors of East Knoyle in Mere and Font-hill Bishop in Dunworth. They belonged to the Bishop of Winchester, and when the working was found, presumably, to prove uneconomic, they were transferred, not to their original Hundreds again, but to Downton, of which the Bishop of Winchester was also lord.

None of the other ragged Hundreds (and there are fourteen of them all together) deserves particular mention. Some, like Chalk and Warminster, were ragged before Domesday; some, like Kinwardstone, have become ragged with the years. One curious and irregular

¹ The PN,W. map might appear to imply that Chilton Foliat was always a detached member of Kinwardstone. This is not the case; the detachment is merely the result of a loss of intervening Wiltshire territory (Charnham Street) to Berkshire in the last century.

It may, however, be pointed out that PN,W. is distinctly wrong, alike in map and text, when it shows Orcheston St. George as an undisturbed unit of the Hundred of Dole. It is, and always has been since Domesday at least, a detached member of Heytesbury Hundred.

example may be mentioned. In the time of Elizabeth the Wilton manors constituted a kind of adulterine Hundred known as the Hundred of the Bellhouse from the building in which their representative met, the present Almonry at Wilton. What its relations were with the Hundred of Chalk, of which the Abbess of Wilton had been the lady, I cannot say, but their functions would seem to have overlapped.

With all these accretions, detachments, amalgamations and new creations. I might be asked whether I could point to any Hundred still lying within its original ring-fence without loss or alteration. It is a difficult question to answer because, as I have already observed, even a ring-fence may be deceptive. A close examination reveals five possible cases, and I notice that Jones has given them what we may call a "clean certificate". They are Alderbury, Amesbury, Selkley, Westbury and Frustfield. But Alderbury included Melchet and Plaitford, which destroyed its ring-fence, and the Burgus de Lutegarsale, though perhaps not the whole parish of Ludgershall. is included under Selkelee in the Nomina Villarum. This would seem to destroy the claims of two Hundreds: Amesbury, in which Ludgershall now lies, and Selkley, with which it once philandered. Selkley, moreover, lost East Overton, at least for a period, to Elstub and is under some suspicion of having parted in Saxon times with Berwick Bassett to the Hundred of Calne. At any rate the ring-fence is badly dented by that parish. Only Westbury and Frustfield. then, remain. Westbury, an admirably compact Hundred, now contains four parishes, Bratton and Westbury, Heywood and Dilton Marsh. Frustfield, the smallest of the Wiltshire Hundreds, consists of two parishes only, Langford and Whiteparish. So far as we can tell, Westbury and Frustfield alone among all the original forty Hundreds of Wiltshire, can claim to represent a primitive Saxon association of a hundred—what? Households?—scarcely. Hides?—certainly not. Listen to the Liber Exoniensis: "In the Hundred of Westbury are forty hides, and seven carucates paying no geld": and again: "In the Hundred of Ferstesfeld are 11 hides and half a virgate t'. But to this question I shall have eventually to return.

Of the forty Wiltshire Hundreds only three are mentioned in the Exchequer Domesday. There they are called *Cicemertone*, *Sutelesberg* and *Wrderusteselle*, and the first two are found together (fol. 64) in a passage which Jones translates as follows:

"Walter Hosed, from two parts of the borough of Malmesberie, pays £8 to the King; the borough itself paid a like sum in the time of King Edward, and in this holding were included the pleas of the Hundreds of Cicemertone and Sutelesberg, which belonged to the King".

¹ Originally Whitchurch, so called from the convent of White Nuns once established at Whelpley—the *Album Monasterium*.

The two Malmesbury Hundreds of this date were Cicemethorn¹ and Sterkley, or Startley as that place is now called. The first, Jones had no difficulty in recognising in this passage: the second should presumably be there as well. This Jones admits; he seems prepared to identify *Sutelesberg* and *Sterchelee* locally but not nominally, for, as he very properly remarks, "it is difficult to regard the one as a corruption of the other". But may it not simply be a case of a change of venue?

Startley to-day is a straggling hamlet in the south-west of Great Somerford parish. It was centrally situated in its Hundred and within easy reach of Malmesbury town, half or all of which at this date lay in Sterkley Hundred. We do not know exactly where the Hundred met, though we assume that it would hardly have borne a name otherwise insignificant if it had not met somewhere in Startley. But must we assume that it always met, or always had met, in the same spot?

I ask the question because I find sudden illumination in PN,W., a resource unavailable to Canon Jones. Among the minor names of Malmesbury parish on page 461 there is mentioned "Shuttlebourne", for which two ancient and highly interesting forms are given, entirely disposing of the "bourne" idea; from the Registrum Malmesburiense, a 13th century Schotelesbure; from the Assize Roll of 1334, Shutelborewe. The two together point unmistakably to the Domesday Sutelesberg. It is, perhaps, useless at this time of day to ask who Sutel was; we only know that like the Mærl of Marlborough he was the titular possessor of a barrow, in which there is no reason to suppose that he was himself interred. And yet I am tempted to think that a little more may be told of him.

He was not a Norman intruder; so much is obvious. When, therefore, we find on a widely separated page of Domesday (fol. 73), compiled probably from the notes of another clerk, a *Chetel* holding one hide of land in Malmesberie, we are only mildly interested in what may be a slight coincidence. But this Chetel was a King's thane, and all the King's thanes were Englishmen. Further search shows two other (or identical) Chetels holding land T.R.E. In one case it was five hides in Steeple Langford; in the other, and nearer, it was one hide in Hilmarton. And now we turn to the southern border of the county. In Bower Chalke, where Wiltshire, Hampshire and Dorset meet, there is a "Kitt's grave" on the site of a *Chetolesbeorge* mentioned in a 13th century copy of a charter of 955. On the other side of the boundary was a *Cheotoles heafde*, now Chettle Head. PN,W., from which these facts are taken, suggests the name *Ceotol* as the original.

I do not assume that any one man of that name went about Wiltshire getting barrows called after him. That is merely a possible coincidence. But it seems to me not impossible that the *Chetel* of the

¹ For the connection of this name with Chedglow see PN.W., p. 33. It is a complicated but convincing equation.

one hide in Malmesbury, or an ancestor and namesake of his, and the *Sutel* of *Sutelesberg* were the same man, whose real name *Ceotol* was variously reproduced by two different Norman scribes and has now become not *Chettle*, as in the south, but *Shuttle*.

However that may be, it does not advance me in my task of equating the Hundred of Sutelesberg with the Hundred of Sterkley, and I can only suggest that there had been not only a change of venue but a change of name. The one indeed would follow from the other, but conservatism might retain the old name, especially when past conditions were in view—"In this holding were included the pleas of . . . Sutelesberg, which belonged to the King"—obviously to King Edward. We have a later instance of a similar conservatism in the same neighbourhood. In the Hundred lists given above (page 221) it may be noted that Malmesbury proper appears in the Hundred Rolls but not in the Nomina Villarum of forty or fifty years later, where Sterkley recovers all its manors.

So far, I regret to add, I have been unable to locate Shuttlebourne in Malmesbury. The name is evidently not generally known and is probably a field-name. But its location properly belongs to an account of the moot-stows of the Hundreds, a subject which would

occupy many pages.

The last of the three Wiltshire Hundreds mentioned in the Exchequer Domesday occurs under the heading "Rents of Edward of Salisbury" (fol. 69), where we are told that "The same Edward holds six hides in the Hundred of Wrderusteselle... Brictric held it, Huard holds it of Edward". Here Jones has no solution to offer. He rejects the suggestion, based on the previous tenant's name, that Whorwellsdown, where Brictric held several manors, is the Hundred meant, because he can account otherwise for the whole of Whorwellsdown. And in that rejection he is surely right, for what seems to me a better solution is offered by his own labours in another place.

Rusteselle occurs as the name of a manor among the lands of Humphrey de l'Isle, and Jones is constrained to suppose it an error for Lusteselle, which he identifies with Lushill, a tithing of Castle Eaton—a solution which satisfies the editors of PN,W. His evidence is a statement under the heading of Worth (i.e., Highworth) Hundred in the Liber Exoniensis. Assuming that the same confusion of the initial R and L occurs twice over in the same combination, Wrderusteselle may now be interpreted as "Worthlushill"—and where have we got to?

Highworth Hundred proper, Jones tells us, originally consisted of a few estates in the north-east of the county. The larger part of its later constituents belonged to the Hundred of Scipe, which is named in the Liber Exoniensis and nowhere else. Scipe is a curious name for a

¹ Including, by the by, Hullavington and Stanton St. Quinton, which PN,W. assigns respectively to Chedglow (Cicemethorn) and Chippenham.

Hundred. It would seem to be the Saxon noun which Bosworth and Toller's Dictionary translates by the Latin *stipendium*, reward or emolument. It seems to have survived in our language, in the form of *schipe*, as late as Chaucer, who uses it in the prose of *The Parson's Tale*. It may or may not be significant that among the tenants of Scipe Hundred in the *Liber Exoniensis* occur the names of two of the King's physicians and one of his cooks. But between them they only account for less than ten out of the eighty hides in Scipe, though their holdings cover more than half the land in demesne.¹

Whatever may be the explanation of the name, Scipe, by Jones's identifications, "comprised the larger portion of the present Hundred of Highworth . . . most probably all the manors on the western side of that Hundred, such as Blunsdon, Rodbourne Cheney, Stratton St. Margaret, and others". May we not include among these other western manors the holding at Lushill? Iones, it is true, puts Lushill in Highworth proper, but only, apparently, because Gunter, the subtenant, is credited with two hides there by the gift of his wife's (?) grandfather, Turold, out of the latter's manor of Eaton. We need not include these two hides in Gunter's manor of Lushill, though they may well have lain alongside it. The two hides must have been of the land of Earl Roger, Turold's overlord: Lushill belonged to Humphrey de l'Isle and is included in his lands in the Exchequer Domesday. Nor need we look to Domesday to explain why Lushill is now a tithing of Castle Eaton. Hundreds dealt with manors, not necessarily with parishes.

All of which leads up to the suggestion that Wrderusteselle, or rather, Wrdelusteselle, was merely another name for the Hundred of Scipe, already regarded as virtually a part of Worth Hundred—the Lushill part of it—and soon to be merged in it. But it is not a little remarkable that two out of the only three Wiltshire Hundreds mentioned in the Exchequer Domesday should appear under names so different from those they bear in the Liber Exoniensis. Such evidence for the comparative dates of the two volumes as the names afford appears to be conflicting. Cicemertone points neither way—it is the product of a faulty ear or pen; Sutelesberg suggests that the Exchequer Domesday is the earlier: Wrdelusteselle, on the other hand, would seem to make it later. But unless a considerable difference of date could be allowed, the evidence is not worth debating.

I must return for a moment to the *Liber Exoniensis* and the Wiltshire hidage. Jones in his *Exon. Domesday* mentions, and sometimes quotes, all three MSS. of that record. They differ in some minor details, and none of them can be trusted to make the hides assigned *in dominio* to

¹ There is some difficulty in the arithmetic of this entry, where 17 hides are accounted for out of an alleged 15 in dominio. But the extra 2 hides are needed to make up the total hidage, and they seem to throw no light on the present question.

the various barones agree with the total hidage declared to be in their hands. But whatever their errors of arithmetic, they all three agree as to the number of hides contained in each Hundred, and when these are added together, the 40 Wiltshire Hundreds are found to be assessed at $3999\frac{5}{5}$ hides¹. This comes remarkably close to an average of 100 hides per Hundred. But it is only an average, for the sizes vary from the great double Hundreds of Selkley $(196\frac{5}{5})$ and Kinwardstone $(196\frac{1}{4})$ to the surprisingly low-rated Frustfield $(11\frac{1}{5})$ hides only)². There is actually no Wiltshire Hundred which, at the date of Domesday, was assessed at exactly 100 hides, but a comparison of the entries in the Exchequer Domesday and the Liber Exoniensis seems to show that Downton was so assessed until the time of Canute. In that reign Downton lost five hides in all, but two of them, which were taken into the King's Forest, were still reckoned in the reduced total of 97, though their occupants had been driven out³.

Much labour and ingenuity might be expended in re-allocating manors to the various Hundreds until a complete series of 50, 100, 150 and 200-hide units was re-established in Wiltshire, and its 4,000 hides neatly distributed among its 40 original Hundreds. But it seems much more probable that the round total of 4,000 was chosen by the central authority as a fair assessment for the shire, and the division of the

¹ Jones makes the total **3**996 (Introduction, p. xxxvii). I cannot explain the discrepancy unless, in a rather intricate calculation, he was content with his first result. Nor can I find the odd virgate and a half which would complete the round 4,000 hides. Perhaps, by another error of early arithmetic, they never existed.

² Frustfield contains 8829 acres and, if acreage may serve as a rough guide to value, might be expected to pay geld on not less than 30 hides. Though it was a Royal Hundred, there is no mention of geld-free land, but much of it may have been forest. The neighbouring Hundred of Alderbury had also a low hidage, probably for a like cause.

 $^{^3}$ D.B. "T,R.E. geldavit [Duntone] pro c hidis *tribus minus*. Duæ ex his non sunt Episcopi, quia ablatæ fuerunt *cum aliis tribus*. tempore Cnut Regis". Note the insistance on a grievance even in this cold record of fact.

Lib. Exon.: "In hundreto de Duntone sunt xcvii hid. . . . Duo hidæ de terra Walchelini Episcopi sunt ibi wastæ propter forestam Regis".

The Winchester Lands of Downton formed the Hundred of that name, so the two entries may be equated. The 3 hides are not identifiable, but it is tempting to see a vestige of the other two in No Man's Land (which PN,W., against the fact and the evidence of its own map, assigns to Frustfield) among the purlieus of the present New Forest. No Man's Land contains only 14 acres, but it may represent an unreclaimed fragment of the wastum, which, it is interesting to observe, was not the result of William I's alleged devastations but the work of a predecessor some 50 years before him.

burden left to local adjustments. Four thousand hides meant 40 hundreds—so much respect would be paid to the word—but no attempt was necessarily made to arrive at even hundreds, or half or double hundreds. The holdings should carry their fair share of the total assessment and the grouping into Hundreds be determined by geographical or proprietary convenience. As for the military requirements from each, they would presumably be decided according to the population, so long as the total for the shire reached the requisite figure.

In an often quoted passage Tacitus said of the German centeni: "Quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est". But that, I take leave to think, did not imply the divorce, in his day, of the name from the figure; it only turned a hundred fighting men into a Hundred. For conditions in this country at least, I would rather take a hint from Tacitus's metrical opening and complete it thus:—

Quod primo numerus, iam nominis umbra et imago.

But what do we read on pages 116, 117 of Mr. Jolliffe's Constitutional History of Medieval England? "There can be little doubt that the Hundreds were first formed as private associations or frith-guilds and were part of the response of the countrysides to the edict of Grately". So the Hundreds were the creation of the tenth century! The doom of Aethelstan appears to be the doom of all theories of a Germanic origin of the institution. Yet it seems strange that these private associations should with one accord re-invent a unit adopted by their ancestors but unknown among themselves for some four hundred years. Is it a case of the long arm of—folk-memory? I can only echo the remark of the Disciple in Miss Cam's pleasant quotation from the Dialogus de Scaccario:—"I don't think I know what a 'Hundred' really is". But that I must have made sufficiently obvious.

It was my intention in this article to discuss the meeting-places of the Wiltshire Hundreds and the possibility of identifying them. But certain preliminary matters had first to be dealt with, and they led on to others . . And it must be admitted that present conditions are not best suited for the local investigations which such an inquiry would certainly have demanded. It must await a happier moment.

THE SARUM ILLUMINATOR AND HIS SCHOOL.

By Albert Hollaender, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION.

On the following pages an attempt is made to describe and to classify five 13th century illuminated ecclesiastical manuscripts forming amongst themselves a group the importance of which can hardly be overrated. They are, in their splendour of colouring and advanced mastery of execution, documentary evidence of the activity of a mid-13th century Salisbury Master, unknown by name and social rank, whom we may be permitted to call the "Sarum Master"—not simply for the sake of convenience but because most of his employers were either high-ranking Sarum personalities or at least closely connected with the See and City The school of the Sarum Illuminator does not seem to have outlived the century, it reached its full bloom between 1240 and 1260; after that period it faded out, and all that remains is a small and restricted number of tomes, which, however, are specimens of paramount significance, not merely in themselves but also with regard to their influence on the style and conception displayed in other contemporary works of art of different nature, such as the monumental, i.e. mural and glass painting.

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The Society, as well as the author, is much indebted to Mr. Frank Stevens for defraying the cost of the blocks which illustrate this article. The editor is also grateful to Mr. E. H. S. Walters of Marlborough College, who prepared the photographs for reproduction, a task of no little delicacy and skill.

H. C. B.

The method observed in this paper is that of historical and iconographical investigation—to avoid the word "art-historical", which has, in my opinion, been used far too frequently and has even more often been misinterpreted and misunderstood. Furthermore, our inquiry does not deal with the liturgical side of the manuscripts and has but little to say about the merely palaeographical problems arising from a close examination of the manuscripts concerned.

Our five MSS are:

- I. The SARUM MISSAL of Henry of Chichester (MS Lat. 24, John Rylands Library, Manchester)¹;
- II. The so-called AMESBURY PSALTER (MS Lat. VI, Codrington Library, All Souls' College, Oxford) 2 ;
- III. The SARUM BIBLE of William de Hales (MS Royal 1 B XII, British Museum, London).*;
- IV. The WILTON PSALTER (Royal College of Physicians, London) 4 :
- V.~A medical MS consisting of five various treatises, which was certainly up to 1933 in the collection of Baron Robert von Hirsch. Frankfurt on the Main, Germany.⁵

From this short list it becomes evident that of the five MSS to which this paper is devoted only four have remained within the British Isles, whereas the fifth has, at an uncertain date, been allowed to leave the country; it has, however, been properly recorded. There exists

¹ Montague Rhodes James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, i, Oxford 1921, 73 sqq.—Eric George Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century, Paris and Brussels, 1926, 53 sqq.; French edition, ibidem, 61 sqq.—O. Elfrida Saunders, English Illumination, Paris and Florence, 1928, i, 62 sqq.

² H. O. Coxe, Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford 1842, 2 sq.—S. C. Cockerell, Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, London 1908, 19. Millar, op. cit., and Saunders, op. cit.

³ Sir G. F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, British Museum, London 1921, i, 13.—Millar, op. cit., and Saunders, op cit.

⁴ Eric G. Millar, in Bulletin de la Société française de Réproduction de Manuscrits à peintures, Paris 1914—1920, 128 sqq. Millar, op. cit., and Saunders, op. cit.

⁵ Georg Swarzenski and Rosy Schilling, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Einzelminiaturen in Frankfurter Besitz, Frankfurt a.M., 1929, 65 sq.

⁶ Owing to the way in which Nazi Germany has been treating the property of non-Aryan art collectors, even before the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, the present whereabouts of this MS is unknown, and after the war it will be most difficult, if not impossible, to trace it.

probably a sixth MS, a 13th century Psalter, which is, under the present circumstances, unavailable to the European research student, for it is MS 21 of The John Frederic Lewis Collection in The Free Library of Philadelphia, U.S.A.; it has been registered as probably being of Sarum use, possibly written (in England) for the Abbey of St. Pierre of Sens, and was formerly in the possession of Henry Gee Barnard of Cave Castle, Howden, Yorkshire. The famous Rutland Psalter cannot, for reasons given below, be regarded as belonging to the Sarum group. In what follows separate chapters are allotted to the description of MSS I and II, whereas MSS III—V are dealt with under a common heading. In chapter IV the reader will find some concluding observations.

I. THE SARUM MISSAL.

As stated above, this paper does not deal with the merely liturgical side of the MS or any church historical question connected with particulars of its actual text. In that respect, all necessary work has been exemplarily done by Dr. F. Wickham Legg in his excellent critical edition of the Sarum Missal, the introduction to which contains some valuable data as to the age and history of the volume.

The Sarum Missal is an imposing tome of $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, consisting of 258 leaves numbered i, ii, and 1-256. It is written on vellum in double columns of 31, 40 and more lines, with music on four line staves, the writing of the text being executed by two very clear and skilled hands: fol. la-15b shows a smaller, fol. 16a-256a a larger hand, but there are several additions in other less characteristic hands. It has still kept its old binding, skin over boards, and remains of strap and pin fastening are still to be noticed. On the fly-leaf (fol. la) at the top there is written, in a hand of the later 13th century, a note which is of utmost importance with regard to the provenance of the volume. We read: "Memoriale Henrici de Cicestria canonici Exon[iensis], prec. lx s". Who was Henricus de Cicestria, who, as we shall see later on, commissioned the Missal and whose probable portrait we find on fol. 15a in a superb illumination representing the Virgin and Child enthroned? On the occasion of the MS being exhibited in London in 1895, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson wrote an account of the exhibition, wherein, with reference to the Sarum Missal, he pointed out that Henry of Chichester was Precentor of Crediton, the early see and predecessor

⁷ Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, A Census of Mediæval and Renaissance Manuscripts in The United States and in Canada, New York, 1935, ii, 2028 sq. The MS is there said to contain 25 large miniatures, 24 smaller miniatures (also throughout the Kalendar) and 187 illuminated initials.

⁸ Duke of Rutland Library, Belvoir Castle. Millar, op. cit., 54; Saunders, op. cit., 64.

⁹ F. Wickham Legg, The Sarum Missal, edited from three early Manuscripts, Oxford, 1916.

of Exeter Cathedral, and that he resigned that office in 1264.10 The references to Henry of Chichester with which the muniments of the Diocese and Cathedral of Exeter provide us are, however, very scarce. The "Manuscriptum de consuetudinibus Ecclesie Exon. penes Decanum et Capitulum Exon." contains a list" De Pallis, Capis, Casulis, Tuniculis, et aliis ecclesiasticis Ornamentis, a Regibus, Episcopis, Canonis et aliis Ecclesie Exoniensi collatis", dated 1277. In this list Henry of Chichester appears as the giver of some vestments to the Cathedral: "De dono Henrici de Cicestre: —Una capa baudek cum scutis. Unum missale. Una cuppa deaurata pendens ultra majus altare cum corpore Dominico. Ista cuppa furata fuit et loco suo dedit Episcopus Johannes de Grandissono aliam". 11 It may well be, concludes Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, that it was this Henry of Chichester who was Chancellor of Lincoln from about 1260 to 1268 12 and that the "unum missale" is our volume. Henry may have stayed in Salisbury some years before and commissioned the missal; on the other hand, between the Sees of Sarum and Exeter there appears to have been some lively interchange of negotiations, ideas and personalities. The above inventory gives us the names of two dignitaries who were most likely Wiltshiremen, if not of Sarum origin: "De dono Willielmi de Sweyndon: - Duo cape de alba diapra cum floribus circa bordarium" and "De dono Hugonis de Wylton: - Una capa de alba diapra cum punctis deauratis". 13 Anyway, the Missal belonged to Exeter Cathedral at a very early date. The oldest catalogue of Exeter Cathedral Library, of 1327,14 the "Inventarium Librorum, Vestimentorum et aliorum Ornamentorum bonorum Ecclesie Beati Petri Exoniensis", compiled by the Subdean Richard of Brailegh by request of the Treasurer Thomas of Hinton and delivered, together with the entire library, into the custody of the Subtreasurer William Vialde, refers to it under the rubric "Missalia" as follows: "Quatuordecim Missalia: . . . septimum, bonum notatum cum tropariis cum multis ymaginibus subtilibus de auro in canone, 3 L[ibræ] . . "15 The Missal was not entered in the inventory of 1506.16 At what time and how it came into the possession of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres and through whose hands it had gone in the meantime, we do not know. 17 In 1895 we find it in London

¹⁰ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in London, IInd series, vol. xvi/1895, 222. For the following see also N. R. Ker, Mediæval Libraries of Great Britain. A list of surviving books. Royal Historical Society, Guides and Handbooks, vol. iii, London, 1941, 44 sq. and 152.

¹¹ George Oliver, Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral, Exeter, 1861, 300.

¹² Procc. Soc. Ant., etc., 244.

¹³ Oliver, op. cit., 300.

¹⁴ Cathedral MS 3671; Oliver, op. cit., 301—310.

¹⁵ Ibid., 305.

¹⁶ Ibid., 366—375.

¹⁷ On the Crawford Library cf. W. A. G. Archbold, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, xi, 1164 sq.

at an exhibition of English Mediæval paintings and illuminations, where it was, so to speak, "re-discovered" by the late Sir Edward Maunde Thompson ¹⁸ and classed as definitely of Sarum origin. In 1899 Lord Crawford was approached with a request to allow this magnificent MS to be transcribed. He consented to its temporary transfer to the library of the University of Aberdeen, where the late F. C. Eccles started the transcription. More than two-thirds of the MS had been copied out, and the leaves were ready to be sent to the printers, when the volume was suddenly recalled in August 1901 owing to a change of ownership. All further work upon the MS ceased until close upon 1909. The MS had meanwhile been left to the John Rylands Library at Manchester, where Dr. Wickham Legg finished his edition. ¹⁹

A brief summary of all evidence pointing to a Sarum origin may be found useful. The Kalendar is Sarum. David and Chad are absent. Furthermore, there is an entry under September 15th: "FESTIVITAS RELIQUIARUM SARUM". At the end of the order of the Mass we find this statement: "Sicque completur officium misse secundum usum Sarum". Apart from these entries, the whole pictorial work has been executed by the same master who adorned at least the whole Amesbury Psalter (All Souls College, Oxford),20 and to whose school the other three MSS have also to be attributed. As to the age. Dr. Legg has pointed out that there would seem to be some evidence that the book was written after 1150 and before 1319; for in 1150, or thereabouts, the Feast of Relics was fixed on September 15th by Bishop Jocelyn, and in 1319 the day of this feast was changed from September 15th to the Sunday after the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury in July, so that the time of writing of the volume lies somewhere between 1150 as terminus a quo and 1319 as terminus ad quem. Also, the missal does not contain any mention of the feast of Corpus Christi, a fact whichargumentum ex silentio!-points to an earlier date. It is assumed that the beginnings of the festival arose in 1246 at Liège, a place not altogether too far from the British Isles. The celebration of this festival was not made compulsory in this country until a council held in 1252; on the other hand, Pope Urban IV had instituted the feast in 1262 with indulgences for those who kept it and other encouragements for spreading its observance. In view of this last consideration the volume must have been written before the end of the 13th century. I maintain, however, that an even more precise date can be fixed, and that the most probable terminus ad quem must be the year 1264, in which Henry of Chichester resigned his office as precentor of Crediton. Moreover, the date must be later than 1244, as St. Edward the Confessor occurs in the Kalendar, and perhaps even later than 1252, since the octave of the Nativity of the Virgin is mentioned in the text though not in the Kalendar. This would reduce our space of time to a period

¹⁸ See above, page 232.

¹⁹ Legg, op. cit., vii sq.

²⁰ See above, page 231 and note 2.

of only twelve years.²¹ Above all—and this may be taken as a decisive criterion—throughout the whole volume a fully developed and rather typical "half-broken" book minuscule writing of the middle of the 13th century is predominant. We may therefore safely assume that the Sarum Missal was commissioned and executed between 1252 and 1264 in Salisbury. It was brought to Exeter some time before 1277 and remained there at least until the year 1327. It probably did not change owners up to the days of the dissolution under Henry VIII—characteristically, it cannot be traced in later inventories, but the fact that it has not been intabulated in the Library Catalogue of 1506 is not sufficient proof of its entire absence. It was perhaps sold, given away or otherwise removed from the Cathedral Treasury in the days of the Civil War. What happened to it until it was acquired by the Earl of Crawford we do not know.

We may now turn to the description of the magnificent pictorial work, comprising twenty illuminations, twelve of which are historiated initials and eight full page illustrations. Lat may be stated that mass books were in those days not usually selected for profuse decoration, the Canon being, as a rule, the only portion of the service reserved for special attention and frequently having a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion accompanying it. The Sarum Missal of Henry of Chichester represents a very remarkable exception to this rule, having several miniature initials within the text, and in the middle of the volume, preceding the Canon, eight full-page miniatures illustrating the birth, passion and resurrection of Our Lord; one of these depicts in a very advanced style the Virgin and Child with a clerk, the latter, as mentioned above, presumably representing Henry of Chichester. We first go through the historiated initials, then turn to the full-page illuminations, numbering consecutively each painting thus described.

A.—HISTORIATED INITIALS.

I. fol. 16a. Ad te levavi. Initial with old linen guard. Kneeling bearded man holds up a nude figure (his soul?: "Unto Thee lift I up my soul"). Building on the left, altar with candles on the right. Bust of Christ above in cloud.

II. fol. 26a. Christmas. The Virgin sits up in bed suckling the Child. Ox, ass and manger in front. Joseph on the right.

III. fol. 102b. Easter introit. Christ with resurrection cross and banner steps out of a tomb.

IV. fol. 102b. Easter collect. The angel seated on a tomb. The woman on the right.

V. fol. 114b. Ascension. The Virgin and apostles, half length. The feet of Christ ascending seen also.

²¹ Legg, op. cit., viii; James, op. cit., 74 sq.

²² The following index is based on James, op. cit., i, 75 sq.

²³ See below, page 237.

VI. fol. 117b. *Pentecost*. The Virgin and apostles half length. The Dove descending.

VII. fol. 117b. Pentecost. Priest in blue chasuble. Altar and two candles on the left. Dove descending.

VIII. fol. 122b. Trinity Sunday. God seated, blessing, orb between his feet.

IX. fol. 122b. Trinity Sunday. Priest in blue chasuble. Altar, chalice, and Host on the Right. Head of Christ above.

X. fol. 147b. Larger initial: Ordo Missae, Sursum Corda. Priest at altar, on which is chalice. Deacon behind, holding up pax (?).

XI. fol. 147b. *Preface*. John the Baptist on the left and an angel on the right, holding between them a vesica in which is the Paschal Lamb.

XII. fol. 153a. Initial to Canon of Mass. Gold ground. Christ on the Cross (which is formed by the letter "T"). Above, God, half length, with orb, blessing. On the left, the Church crowned with red cross, banner and chalice. On the right, the Synagogue blindfold with broken crescent banner and inverted vessel, whose contents are poured out (Plate I).

B.— $FULL\ PAGE\ PAINTINGS.$ In frames of patterned bands edged with blue, gold or red:

XIII. fol. 149a. Annunciation. Gold ground. Two trefoiled arches. Under that of the left, Gabriel (face damaged) with scroll inscribed in Lombardic Capitals: "AVE DOMINUS". On the right, Virgin with scroll: "ECCE FIAT MICHI". The dove descends towards her ear. Above the arches, three angels, two at the sides with crowns, one in centre with censers.²⁴

XIV. fol. 149b. Nativity. Blue ground with white dots. The Virgin reclines (head to centre) suckling the Child. Ox and ass feed in front. A woman in red stands adjusting the coverlet over the Virgin. Joseph sitting on the right. White curtains looped up. Trefoil arch. Angels censing in spandrels (Plate II). This is one of the very best and most moving illuminations throughout all five MSS, and displays in iconographical detail, though not in attitude, a striking resemblance to the Virgin and Child in the Amesbury Psalter. Although the Sarum Master generally observes in this work a rather archaic manner, his ideas of anthropomorphism, i.e. humanization of the Deity, are obviously advanced, and he stands—at least in this country—at the beginning of the development of late mediæval religious art focusing its gaze upon the Virgin in her most human relationship, her motherhood, the human relation between mother and divine child typefied

²⁴ Unfortunately it has not been possible to obtain a photograph of this and many other excellent paintings, as the MS has been evacuated to a place less vulnerable than the hard-hit City of Manchester.



pater y ihm com filia cu um domínum nostrá sup plices wannus acpeninus ini accepta habeas et venedi cas Dec 4 dora Dec 4 mu nan Dect sa facifica il ubata, Inprimis quetibi offerimus peccha rua sca catholica quam pacificave. custodire, avunare, er regere diqueus wio obe wirarim una cum famulo ruo papa niv. H. etamafare não. H. er vere mio. H. er omitb: 02 thodoris any catholice et a postolice fider cultoribus.

emento dne famio pamiak quak HAH. et omnium curumalianci um quo tubi fides cognita est et nota deuocio, p quity noi offermus uel qui ubi offermus hoc sacritaŭ laudis

p fe fuiste omity p redemper one animate suate p spe satuus er incolumnaus sue i red dint uota sua eremo deouiuo er uero.

ommunicames et memotram uencamus i primif oliose semp unging marre ge nuras da er dur mi thu xij Sed et beatox aplox ac marrie morperspaul. Andree. Tacost. I ohis I home Jacobi. Philipp Barcholomet Dades. Simonis et diade Liniclen. Clemenus, Syru Cornelu Cippiani Laurencu Grilo goni. Tobis et pauli Colme er Damiani et oium stoz tu orum. Orioz merms preabyq concedes fur in ordity precions que muniam auxilio. peunde xom drin nostrum Amen. anc g oblacionem ferin tures me led 4 cuncte familie rue Os difeurplaca rus accipias. dielqi mis in anta pace disponasant ab ent' na campnacione nof eripi!er in elector mor mitras grege



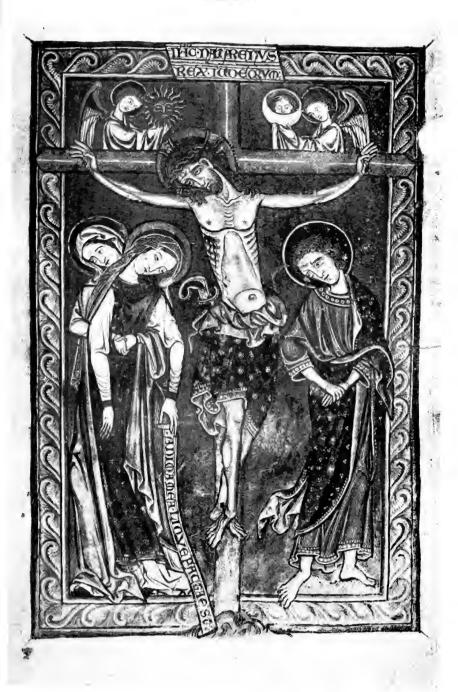
The Nativity. Sarum Missal, MS Lat. R 24, fol. 149b. John Rylands Library, Manchester.



The Virgin and Child, with Henry of Chichester (?).
Sarum Missal, MS Lat. R 24, fol. 150a.
John Rylands Library, Manchester.



The Betrayal. Sarum Missal, MS Lat. R 24, fol. 150b. John Rylands Library, Manchester.



The Crucifixion. Sarum Missal, MS Lat. R. 24, fol. 152a. John Rylands Library, Manchester.



The Annunciation. Amesbury Psalter, MS Lat. VI, fol. 3a. All Souls College (Codrington Library), Oxford.



The Virgin and Child. Amesbury Psalter, MS Lat. VI, fol. 4a. All Souls College (Codrington Library), Oxford.



The Crucifixion. Amesbury Psalter, MS Lat. VI, fol. 5a. All Souls College (Codrington Library), Oxford.



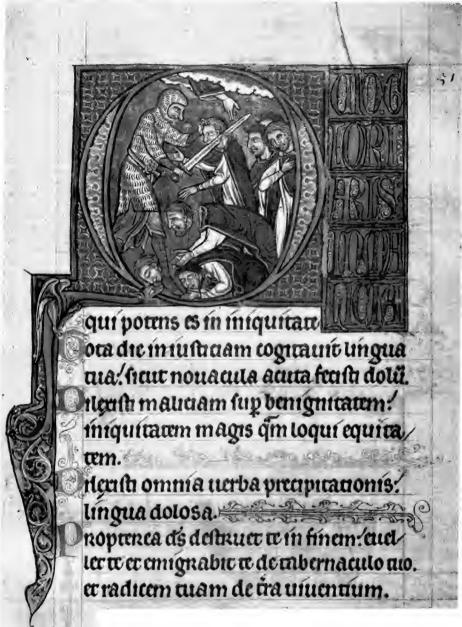
Maiestas Domini (Christ in Glory). Amesbury Psalter, MS Lat. VI, fol. 6a. All Souls College (Codrington Library), Oxford.



Beatus Page with Tree of Jesse (on the margin tinted sketch drawings of animals). Amesbury Psalter, MS Lat. VI, fol. 7a. All Souls College (Codrington Library), Oxford.



Maiestas Domini ("Christ in Glory"). Psalter of Westminster Abbey, MS Royal 2 A XX, fol. 14a. British Museum, London.



Torture of Martys
(perhaps based on the Legend of St. Melor).
Amesbury Psalter, MS Lat. VI, fol. 64a.
All Souls College (Codrington Library), Oxford.



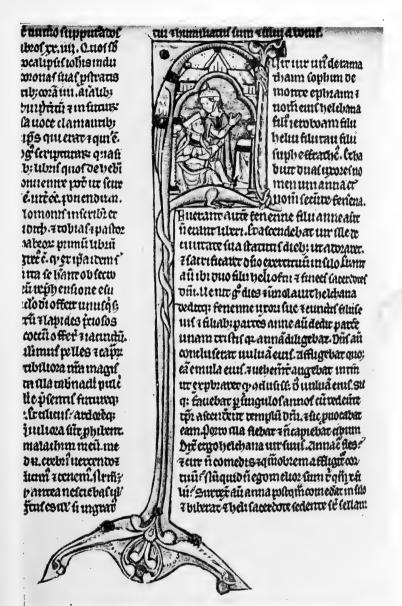
Monkey playing Harp.

Initial on fol. 18a, Amesbury Psalter, MS Lat. VI (enlarged).

All Souls College (Codrington Library), Oxford.



King David arguing with the Fool. Wilton Psalter, Royal College of Physicians, London, fol. 66b (enlarged).



Combined Initial on fol. 84b, William de Hales Bible, MS Royal 1 B XII, British Museum, London.



St. Peter with the Sword. Wilton Psalter, fol. 212a, and Hales Bible, fol. 39a (enlarged).

best by the womanly breast.²⁵ The representation of the Virgin suckling the Child seems, in those days, to have been restricted to illumination. It occurs neither in monumental nor early panel painting.

XV. fol. 150a. The Virgin and Child. Gold ground. Cinquefoil arch. Censing angels in spandrels. On an elaborate throne the Virgin. The Child in red on her lap leans over to take the scroll inscribed (in uncial lettering): "FILI DEI MISER[ER]E MEI" from a priest. bearded, in blue cope over white, who kneels on the right. On the steps of the throne are three small lions (Plate III). To portray or. at least, to depict the personality who commissioned the work within or without the frame of a devotional image is one of the peculiarities of the Sarum Master. It means indeed the first step towards the insertion of the founder figure in later mediæval panel painting, in so far as the votive picture is concerned.²⁶ We shall see that the Amesbury Psalter was most probably commissioned by a nun of noble descent. whose figure in an attitude of adoration we shall find below the fourth and last full-page illumination of the Psalter, outside the actual representation of the "Maiestas Domini" (Christ in Glory).27

XVI. fol. 150b. The Betrayal. Pink ground. Architecture as above. The kiss of Judas. Seven soldiers. On the left, Peter and Malchus. Christ bearing scroll (uncial lettering): "MITTE GLADI[UM TU]UM I[N] VAGIN[AM]". The soldiers and Malchus have dark and fierce faces (and so throughout in the passion scenes). Judas is red-haired and holds the hand of a soldier in order to guide him (PLATE IV). This is a very realistic picture of gloomy weight and dramatic tension.

XVII. fol. 151a. The Scourging. Gold ground. Two imperfect trefoil arches. The Saviour full face, bound to the central shaft.

XVIII, fol. 151b. The Crossbearer. Blue ground with white dots. bordered with pink. Christ bearing the (green) cross to the right. Two men on the left (one with a hammer), two on the right (one with nails).

XIX. fol. 152a. Christ on the Cross. Gold ground. Christ on the (green) cross, nailed with three nails. Title in uncial letters: "IHC NAZARENUS REX IUDEORUM". On the left, the Virgin supported by a nimbed woman and holding a scroll (uncial lettering): "ANIMA MEA LIQUEFACTA EST". On the right, St. John. Above the arms of the cross, two angels half length: one on the left holds the sun. red and grey, with male face; the other, the moon, with female face, seen above the crescent (Plate V). This illumination shows clearly the identity of the master of the pictured works in both MSS, the Sarum Missal and the Amesbury Psalter.

²⁵ Frank Kendon, Mural Paintings in English Churches during the Middle Ages, London, 1923, 112 sq. See below, page 242.

²⁶ The German cliché "zuständliches Andachtsbild" used by Carl Maria Swoboda of the German University in Prague does not necessarily mean the same as "Votivtafel" (votive panel).

²⁷ See Chapter II.

²⁸ Cf. James, op. cit., ii, PLL. 13-15 and 18. Millar, op. cit., PLL. 18—84b. Saunders, op. cit., ii, P1, 68. VOL. L.—NO. CLXXIX.

XX. fol. 152b. The Resurrection. Pink ground with white rings. Christ with cross and banner steps out of a tomb. Angel on the left plays viol, on the right, harp. In front, three mailed soldiers in sleeping posture.

Subject to some conclusions to follow at the end, we are justified in stating that the entire pictorial work of the Sarum Missal is done in a fine and rather archaic manner and that the master adheres to an archaic conception. Apart from some minor French influences, the Sarum Illuminator follows traditions converging towards the primary and original picture work of the famous PSALTER OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY, 29 which comprises only the first five full-page illustrations preceding the actual psalter text, 30 and the illuminations of the Sarum Missal are, therefore, characteristically English, The Westminster Psalter is, as can be said preliminarily, perhaps not as old as previous research would anticipate. Sir G. F. Warner and Mr. J. P. Gilson very cautiously dated it to the "end of the 12th century", but already Ernest Kitzinger dates it—and with good reason—to "about 1200"31. Perhaps the Sarum Master, in his earlier days, grew up under the guidance of the Westminster Illuminator, or he may have seen products of his school. The illuminations of the Manchester Missal do not vet show the quaint vivacity displayed in the Amesbury Psalter, and in spite of the boldness, even roughness, of the style, some figures still show a solemn and statuesque simplicity—call it austere dignity—which hints at a slight and certainly late effect of Byzantine traditions, due perhaps to the Crusades. But the realistic and dramatic conception. especially of the passion scenes, is beyond any doubt. The colour is excellent. The only thing not very satisfactory is the face-drawing. which cannot be called very skilful—the eyes are beady and doll-like. The general impression, however, remains superb, and the condition, for the most part, very good indeed.32

²⁹ British Museum, London, MS Royal 2 A XXII.

³⁰ Warner & Gilson, *op. cit.*, i, **37**. The five touched pendrawings at the end show the hand or, at least, the school of Matthew Paris and are, as will be shown in the last chapter, of some special interest to us. On Matthew Paris as draughtsman cf. Tancred Borenius and Ernest William Tristram, *English Mediæval Painting*, Paris 1927, 13 sq. Further references to the Westminster Psalter will be found below.

³¹ Ernest Kitzinger, Early Mediæval Art, London, 1934, PL. 32. Previous to the war, Kitzinger was a temporary member of the staff at the British Museum.

³² For a further comparison with earlier illuminated MSS recourse may be made, especially with regard to the historiated initials, to MS. Egerton 1151, a Book of Hours of the very late 12th century, and to MS Royal 1 D X, a Psalter of the beginning of the 13th century, passim. Cf. Schools of Illumination, Reproductions of MSS in the British Museum, ii, 1915, 6 sq., and PLL. 4, 12 ab., etc.

II.—THE AMESBURY PSALTER.

In 1772 a valuable 13th century Psalter book was bequeathed to All Souls College, Oxford, by Dr. Daniel Lysons, M.D., of Bath, who had been fellow of the College in 1752.33 When and where he had acquired it is unknown, and only quite recently has the Amesbury provenance of the MS been ascertained.³⁴ It does not seem to have attracted the attention of antiquaries or scholars up to the late thirties of the last century, when the then librarian of the Codrington Library, Coxe, rearranged the vast number of manuscripts for the printed catalogue which appeared in 1842,35 and which may be called quite a remarkable achievement. In this catalogue it was listed as MS Lat. No. VI and thus described: "Membranaceus, in folio minori, ff. 188, sec. xiii, optime exaratus et servatus et quoad literas initiales pictus et deauratus; olim Danielis Lysons, M.D. Bathoniensis. (Cont.:) 1. Kalendarium cum monostichis, fol. 7. 2. Davidis Psalterium cum notulis musicalibus³⁶ hic illic instructum, fol. 13. 3. Cantica sacra ex utroque Testamento desumpta, Litaniae et orationes, fol. 161. 4. Officium defunctorum, 37 fol. 180. Praemittuntur optimae pictae et auratae imagines quatuor, in quibus repraesentantur Annunciatio et Salvator infans, crucifixus et in caelis inthronizatus". From the last passage it emerges that Coxe counted only the full-page illuminations. The pictorial work of a richly and profusely illuminated MS obviously did not convey very much to him. On the interleaf opposite the printed catalogue column we find the following very interesting pencil note: "Ad diem Kal. Decemb. notatus est 'Obitus Reginae Mariae cuius animo propitietur Dominus'. This MS was probably written after 1252, as it comprises the octave of the Nativity of B.V.M. (8th September). Certainly after 1222, because of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Probably (teste H. M. Bannister, of Pembroke College, Oxford) written at Amesbury, Melorus 38 being found not only on October 1st, but also on May 6th, as in no other English Calendar. The Nuns and Monks are dressed in blue over green, the order of Fontevrault".

³³ The fly-leaf bears the following entry (in ink): "DD Dan: Lysons M.D. Bathoniensis et Coll: Omn: An: quondam socius, 1772". The year of Lysons' fellowship was given to me from the registers by the present Sub-Librarian, Mr. A. C. B. Whitaker.

³⁴ Ker, op. cit., 2 and 161.

³⁵ See note 2.

³⁶ On a four line stave.

³⁷ Should be "Officium pro defunctis" (Requiem).

³⁸ Melor, the boy Saint. The nunnery, later on, claimed his relics. Numerous places in the North and West of Brittany have St. Mélar as their patron, and St. Mylor was the patron of three churches in Cornwall, namely, Mylor, Linkinshorne, and Merther Mylor in the parish of St. Martin-in-Meneage. The mediæval Life of Melianus the Martyr, abridged from a French vita and probably written at Amesbury, states that he was of noble British blood, son of Melianus, Duke of Cornowaille

Amesbury (Ambrosii burgum, Ambresberia, Ambresbury)³⁹ was founded as a Bendictine monastic establishment for nuns in about 980 and was later on mainly a cell of the Abbey of Benedictine nuns in Fontevrault (St. Everault), Normandy. Robert d'Arbrissel (1045?-1117) had, before his death, caused Petronilla de Craon Chemille to be appointed head and chief of this order, of which she was to draw up the statutes and place it under the order of St. Benedict. In 1177, Henry II expelled the nuns from the old monastery, as it is said, "propter incontinentiam "40. Having distributed them amongst other religious houses under a stricter discipline, he gave the monastery to the Abbey of Fontevrault, and a prioress and twenty-four nuns were brought from the Continent. After the removal of the original nuns from the monastery and the establishment of the Fontevrault order, Amesbury seems to have increased in splendour and royal favour. King John conferred upon it many important privileges, and Eleanor, the only daughter of Geoffrey, Earl of Bretagne, was buried there, at her own request, in 1241 (25 Henry III)⁴¹. Many ladies of noble descent took the veil, joining the community of Amesbury, and even as late as 1283 —the monastery had, in the meantime, become the Abbey of B.M.V. and St. Melor (Meilor)-Mary, the sixth daughter of King Henry III. together with thirteen young ladies of noble birth, were admitted, and in 1287 even Queen Eleanor, wife of Henry III and the mother of

⁽in Brittany). When he was seven years old, his uncle, Rivoldus, murdered Melianus, usurped his power, and maining Melorus by cutting off his right hand and left foot, confined him in a monastery. By the time the boy was fourteen his miracles earned him such honour that Rivoldus began to fear him and bargained with his guardian Cerialtanus to get rid of him. Accordingly Cerialtanus smote off his head. dead body of Melorus wrought several miracles, including the death of his murderers, and was buried with honour. After many years missionaries brought the relics to Amesbury, whence they were supernaturally prevented from removing them. The legend current in Cornwall in the Middle Ages was substantially the same, but as written down by John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, the events are staged in Cornwall. The Breton legend, as it appears in the pages of Albert le Grand in the seventeenth century, is longer and more detailed, some of the details being supplied out of the editor's head. Cf. Alban Butler, The Lives of the Saints, edd. Norah Leeson and D. Attwater, x, London 1936, 9 sq.

³⁹ Cf., besides the data given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1846, and Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, Edward Kite, in *W.N.Q.*, iii, 114—119, 146—54, 221—27, 258—67, 289—305, 354—66, 433—48, and iv, 74—80, 124—38; C. H. Talbot, *ibidem*, iii, 549—56, and iv, 11—20, 138; J. E. Jackson, in *W.A.M.*, vol. x, 61—84.

⁴⁰ Sir Richard Colt Hoare, The History of Modern Wiltshire, vol. ii/1 (Hundreds of Everley, Ambresbury and Underditch), London 1826, 58.
⁴¹ Ibidem. 72.

Edward I, took the vows. 42 One of the many ladies who took the veil in Amesbury between 1250 and 1260 may have commissioned the wonderful Psalter book which is one of the most beautiful illuminated

English manuscripts of the whole century.

The Amesbury Psalter is an elegant volume of medium size, about 10 by 14 inches and two inches thick. It was apparently rebound in the middle of the 18th century in dark morocco. The writing, which shows at least three distinct and clear hands, extends over the full page, leaving ample space for line-filling ornaments in blue and red, consisting of plant and animal motifs of a sometimes fantastic and extravagant character. The psalter text shows the typical English "ten-partition", which is also characteristic of the Belgian psalters, whereas the French psalters prefer the "eight-partition".

The pictorial work consists of full-page illuminations, the number of which is restricted to four, and of historiated and ornamental initials, the latter being for the greater part small-size figure initials, often not larger than a postage stamp. The transition from the purely ornamental to the figure initial, a process the first symptons of which occurred in this country towards the middle of the 12th century, appears almost fully accomplished. 44 The historiated initials are—with the exception of the Beatus page with a magnificent Tree of Jesse which occupies nearly a full page (fol. 13a)—either half-page or approximately square quarter-page initials. For the full page illustrations no Old Testament subject has been chosen, and there are very few Old Testament scenes throughout the rest of the MS, and comparatively few scenes based on the lives of the Saints. There is only one picture likely to contain a reference to the legend of St. Melor. Not a single picture has been taken from the Apocrypha. Thus it is most difficult to assign the Amesbury Psalter to one of the western Psalter groups for which Günther Haseloff tried to evolve a comprehensible system. 45 In that respect the Amesbury Psalter stands rather isolated. The full page paintings are still very realistic, stern and austere, but less bold and rough, yet dramatic; they show a strange but highly noteworthy alloy of drawing and plastic tendencies which can be met with in some more or less contemporary works of the West-German School, as for instance the Heisterbach Bible. 46 The artist apparently makes it a rule to balance the effect of the hard, edgy and often unrelenting outline by a

⁴² Ibidem, 62; Ker, op. cit., 161.

⁴³ Günther Haseloff, Die Psalterillustration im XIII. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden, (Leipzig) 1938, 60 sqq.

⁴⁴ Haseloff, op. cit., 9.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, 62 sq.

⁴⁶ State Library, Berlin, Cod. Lat. Fol. no. 370; cf. Hans Swarzenski, Die Lateinischen Illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Vereines für Kunstwissenschaft), Berlin 1936, i, 18 sq.

complicated and refined system of colour-shading. To this opalescent play of colours comes a sovereign mastery of the space, stressing, in the full page illuminations as well as in the historiated initials, the scenic effect. One feels that, in spite of the small quantity of figures used and in spite of the still undeveloped "stage" effect, "something is going on " in all these pictures. The narrative character is sometimes more strongly emphasized than in the Sarum Missal, in spite of the abundance of figures, especially in the passion scenes of that manuscript. In the small initials the master strikes a note hitherto unknown: the grotesque, The artist does not even shrink from depicting monstrous and fabulous-fantastic caricatures. He is by no means constrained in ascetic austerity; he obviously knew how to laugh and to be gay and to make fun of things and did not mind if his psalter book caused a smile on the face of his readers. About his drawing and tinting of animals a special word will have to be said a little later on. Already at this stage, however, we can state that this part of the pictured work of the Amesbury Psalter is a milestone on the long way that leads, via the Rutland Psalter, to the famous drolleries of the "Maestricht Horae". the priceless and often reproduced little "Book of Hours" executed in Belgium at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century and now in the Stowe Collection.⁴⁷ The illustrations of the latter are definitely based upon earlier types, if not patterns, of the Anglo-French-Belgian sphere of artistic production.

In the following paragraph we give some sort of "Catalogue raisonné" of the illuminations in the Amesbury Psalter, noting, as in Chapter I, first the full-page illuminations, then the historiated initials and last, but not least, the more important of the historiated initials.⁴⁸

A.—FULL PAGE ILLUMINATIONS.

I. fol. 3a. The Annunciation. Size of painting: $5\frac{1}{5}$ by $7\frac{3}{5}$ inches. Diptych. Gold ground with tile pattern. The Virgin on the right,

⁴⁷ British Museum, MS Stowe 17. Cf. Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts, i, London 1895, 12 sq. On the appearance of monstrosities and freaks of nature in the 13th century illuminated MSS, as derived from contemporary pictured Bestiaries, and their influence on, e.g., Sculpture, cf. now M. D. Anderson, The Mediæval Carver, Cambridge, 1936, 95 ssq.

⁴⁸ For the following cf. Millar, op. cit., and Saunders, op. cit. As to the plates illustrating this chapter: The Crucifixus and the Maiestas Domini are reproduced from the negatives no. 63156 and 63157 in the Photo-Archive of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (cf. also English Mediæval Art. Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1930, i, no. 157, p. 33, and ii, Pl. 35); the remainder of the photographs from the Amesbury Psalter were taken from the MS, in September, 1943, by the staff photographer to Messrs. John Johnson, printers to the University at the Oxford University Press, to whom my thanks are due for their excellent work.

angel on the left. The Virgin in blue robe with faint little white flowers and gold lace, claret-coloured cloak, white veil, blue nimb, holding book in left hand, shoes on her feet. Dove descending in vermilion flash of fire above the head of the Virgin. Angel, barefooted, in blue cloak over white robe, cloak ornamented with little white flowers; in the left hand bearing a scroll: "AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM". Architectural background: walled and towered town (Plate VI).

II. fol. 4a. The Virgin and Child. Size of painting: $5\frac{1}{10}$ by $7\frac{3}{5}$ inches. Gold ground. Foliage (tendril) pattern. On an elaborate throne (or faldistorium?) the Virgin, seated, suckling the Child. Dress as in I, but golden girdle with buckle. At her feet, lion and dragon. Canopy of throne crowned by two censing angels (censers pending on red chains). On the left, nun in Fontevrault dress, kneeling, holding up scroll inscribed (uncial): "AVE MARIA GRACI[A PL]ENA D[OMI]N[U]S TECUM BENE[DICTA]" (PLATE VII).

III. fol. 5a. The Crucifixus. Size of painting: 7½ by 7½ inches. Christ on the (green) cross, on his nimbed head the (green) crown of thorns; his blue cloak (with little white flowers, lined in amber) gathered round his loins. On the left, the Virgin, dress as in I, but cloak lined crimson. Head right inclined, hands clasped. On the right, St. John, standing, head left inclined supported by right hand. Dress: orange cloak lined light green, over blue cloth (under garment). On top of the vertical limb of the cross, scroll inscribed (uncial lettering): "IHC NAZARENUS REX IVDEORUM". Above the left arm of the cross, the sun red-faced, male, above the right, the moon, white-faced, female. Framework: at the corners four circular medallions with angels in kneeling position, censing upwards at the bottom, downwards at the top. At the sides, joining in the patterned bands, four semi-circular medallions, depicting the following subjects: - Top: Christ, flanked by two angels, holding the dove. Left: The Church crowned, with cross and banner (the little cross actually sticking out of the frame), holding up chalice. Right: The Synagogue (head strongly bent to the right) with broken crescent banner and inverted vessel, the contents of which is poured out. This time the Synagogue is not represented blindfolded -a remarkable variation. Bottom: Souls in purgatory (?); three naked men in a wherry, the left figure and the slightly larger centre figure (bearded) holding up their folded hands in an attitude of prayer, the right figure (bearded) pointing upwards with his right hand, his left hand hidden behind his back. It must be noted that the same faces occur throughout the small initials. The body of Christ is relentlessly realistic and shows an attempt at anatomic comprehension (Plate VIII).

IV. fol. 6a. Maiestas Domini (Christ in Glory). Size of painting: $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{2}{3}$ inches. Gold ground, tendril pattern. In a vesica, on an elaborate cushioned chair, Christ, holding up his right arm (hand with raised fingers) blessing, his left hand holding up chalice, orb with A Ω and Greek Church symbol over between his bare feet. Dress: claret-coloured cloak, lined dark red, over blue robe with girdle,

both cloak and robe gold-laced: white under-garment. In the corners, the emblems of the four evangelists: top left, angel with bat's wings bearing scroll "S MATHEUS"; top right, eagle with a scroll in his beak "S' IOHANNES"; bottom left, lion (note grotesque face) with wings, having scroll "S MARCVS", and bottom, right winged bull having scroll "S's LVCAS". Below the painting, the portrait of a Fontevrault nun kneeling in front of a lectern, on which is an opened psalter book (pouch book) showing Beatus page. The head of the nun and her hands, held up in an attitude of adoration, cut into the patterned bottom band of the painting, pointing towards the centre (PLATE IX). The representation of Christ in Glory with the chalice occurs very rarely and has only very few parallels in illuminations and other works of art of the period. There are only three specimens to be traced in European illuminated manuscripts: the Beatus page of a Psalter belonging to the so-called Peterborough School, executed between 1260 and 1270 49; the Christ in Glory of the Rheinau Psalter in Zürich, which, according to some data we have on the man who commissioned it, Abbot Heinrich II de Wartenbach (who is himself represented in it)⁵⁰, was executed during the first quarter of the 13th century, and one in an earlier 13th century Anglo-French Psalter, now in London. 51 French examples are to be found in the rose window of the south transept of Chartres Cathedral and on a tympanum at St. Sulpice de Favières (Christ standing, with chalice). A specimen in ivory carving of the later 12th century of French-Belgian origin is in the Victoria and Albert

⁴⁹ Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge, MS Lat. 12; cf. Montague Rhodes James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1895, 22, and Pl. II. An insertion in the Kalendar ad May 21, by a late hand, "Obitus ffulconis Basset Episcopi Londinensis" is a reference to a Wiltshireman, as Bishop Fulke Bassett (1244-1259) had been incumbent of St. Katharina and St. Peter's, Winterbourne Bassett, between 1220 and 1230. Cf. also Saunders, op. cit., ii, Pl. 64. As to the above-mentioned "pouch book" (German "Beutelbuch"): to carry the (small size) Book of Hours or Psalter with a pouch fastened to the boards is a typical French-Belgian fashion which lasted till about 1500. Only a very few specimens still exist, our information being mainly based on representations in late mediæval French and Flemish panel painting. Cf., for instance, Msgr. H. Pesendorffer, in Christliche Kunstblätter, 1934/35 (on the Pouched Book of Kremsmünster, Upper Austria) and Albert Hollaender. Das Beutelbuch von Kremsmünster, "Wiener Zeitung", 28/1/1935.

⁵⁰ Central Library, Zürich, MS Rheinau 14; cf. Hans Swarzenski, op. cit., i, 47, and ii, fig. 669. Abbot Heinrich II de Wartenbach is mentioned in several charters of the years 1206, 1210 and 1222.

⁵¹ British Museum, London, MS Cotton, Julius D VII.

Museum, London.⁵² The chalice in our painting shows a form common throughout Western Europe during the 13th century: a vessel, not very broad in proportion to its height, the foot (stemma) and bowl (cuppa) being of about equal diameter; the bowl was generally shallow, with or without slightly outturned lip, the knop (nodus) somewhat flattened, the foot circular and widely splayed. In comparison with chalices of earlier centuries, the 13th century vessel was simple and plain, the sumptuous enrichment of precious stones was no longer prevalent, the bowl was usually with a simple ornament or without any. 52a As to to style and attitude, the resembance to the Christ in Glory in the Westminster Psalter is most striking indeed, in spite of some variants in attributes and iconographical detail.⁵³ It has a gold ground. Within a vesica Christ is seated on the rainbow—no use is yet made of the element of enthronement. His bare feet are resting on a smaller concentric rainbow intersecting the vesica, as in the Amesbury Psalter. He holds up his right hand, blessing; with his left hand he holds an opened book, which rests on his left knee and is inscribed in strong uncial letters: "A Q IESUS". Dress: light amber cloak gathered in form of a toga over blue dalmatica with small white dots and red lace; white under-garment. In the corners, the emblems of the four evangelists: angels holding book, lion, eagle and steer having scrolls. Posture and bearing: the strongly frontal attitude and effective corporeality are almost the same as in the Amesbury Psalter, and even the face-drawing shows a surprising similarity with this later specimen (PLATE XI). That leads to the conclusion that the Sarum Illuminator has certainly seen the Westminster Psalter and was obviously deeply impressed by the simple but telling dignity of that illumination—though he might actually never have belonged to the epigoni of the King's craftsmen of Henry II's Westminster School. Another conclusion we may safely draw from this resemblance is that our Master did not con-

⁵² Hans Swarzenski, op. cit., i, 135; Emile Måle, L'art réligieuse du xiiime siècle, Paris, 1920, 378, Pl. 178; Adolf Goldschmidt, Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und süchsischen Kaiser, ii, Berlin 1920, No. 170, Pl. xlviii. The superb French aumbry door in iron and bronze, with Christ (standing) showing the chalice, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (No. 509 ex 1899), one of the finest specimens of the late 15th century metalwork, follows clearly the tradition of the tympanum of St. Sulpice de Favières, though it is, iconographically, not exactly a Christ in glory. Cf. F. J. Starkie Gardner and W. W. Watts, Ironwork (Victoria and Albert Museum Publl.), vol. i, London, 1927, 113 and PL. 40.

^{52a} See W. W. Watts, Catalogue of Chalices and other Communion Vessels, Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Metalwork, London, 1922, 17.

⁵³ Fol. 14a; a good coloured plate may also be seen in Sir G. F. Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1903, Pl. 14.

fine himself to Salisbury, but that he, in his early days, had travelled about and perhaps spent some time in London and had access to the liturgical books of the Abbey. The Westminster Psalter was certainly executed for and belonged to Westminster Abbey and can be identified in inventories of 1388 and 1540, changing owners only at a comparatively late date.⁵⁴

B.—V. The BEATUS PAGE with the Tree of Jesse ranks as a fullpage illumination too (PLATE X). With its six portrait medallions it stands, iconographically, just between two types of the representation of the Tree of Jesse: the so-called early concrete and the genealogical tables, thus marking a transition which can be observed towards the end of the first half of the 13th century.⁵⁵ Typical specimens of these representations may be found in the Tree of Jesse in the Huntingfield Psalter (MS Lat. 43 of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, fol. 33b) and on the Beatus page of the—earlier—Bible de St. Bartin (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Lat. 16746, fol. 7b).56 Analogous features can be traced from the Tree of Jesse in a Bible executed in England or Northern France during the first third of the 13th century, now in the British Museum 57 A special—and delightful—feature of this page are the little pale-tinted animal drawings partly below and partly round the Jesse Tree, set up, apparently, without any definite arrangement, a fact which might lead to the conclusion that these little but very accurate animal-drawings were the work of another hand, but a close examination of the small initials, an extract-index of which is given below, shows them to be sketches for many of the small initials occurring throughout the latter part of the manuscript, which contains animal motifs, sometimes of a very strongly symbolic conception, this being characteristically English, though a certain influence of earlier French and Italian traditions cannot be denied. 58

 $^{^{54}}$ Warner & Gilson, op. cit; Millar, op. $cit.,\,90$ sq., and PLL. 62 and 63.

⁵⁵ Cf. Arthur Watson, The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse, Oxford 1934, 42 sqq.

 $^{^{56}}$ Ibidem, PLL. 22 and 23.

⁵⁷ MS Add. 15462, fol. 331b.

⁵⁸ Mâle, op. cit., passim. A lovely little detail of the marginal drawings on our plate is the dog (or bear?) as a patient, in the centre, with head-dressing and crutches, holding up the typical mid-13th-century medicine-bottle, specimens of which can be studied among the objects of mediæval pottery from Old Sarum in the Salisbury Museum. The surprising accuracy of these little tinted animal drawings appears, to my knowledge, only surpassed by the bordering animal figures of au illuminated charter of Freewarren, of Edward I for Roger de Pilkington (Lancs.) ddo. 1291, June. The 32 figures painted thereon include a finely painted and drawn peacock with blue neck and breast and gold tail, woodcock, owl, hawk, finches and

C.—HISTORIATED INITIALS. There are, all in all, eleven larger historiated initials, representing the following subjects:

VI. fol. 35b. Baptismal (?).

VII. fol. 50b. The Massacre of the Innocent.

VIII. fol. 64a. Torture of Martyrs (Plate XII). This scene is probably based on the legend of St. Melor. Note executioner in mail.

IX. fol. 64b. Christ and the Devil.

X. fol. 79a. Jonas (?).

XI. fol. 96a. Jacob's Ladder (?).

XII, fol. 112a. The Shepherds in the Field.

XIII. fol. 114a. The Resurrection.

XIV. fol. 128a. Miracle (Resuscitation from the Dead).

XV. fol. 143a. The Saviour.

XVI. fol. 161a. Abbot taking a monk's vow.

These paintings are much larger in size than those in the Sarum Missal. The effect of the figures is stressed by the choice of dark colours. The face-drawing is for the most part excellent indeed.

D.—SMALL INITIALS. These begin on fol. 13b and comprise many obviously zodiacal elements (so fols. 23ab, 31a, 71b, 119a, etc.) which are often repeated throughout the MS. In some cases, however, it is not quite certain whether the motif is zodiacal or not. These cases are registered here with a query. In general, the most characteristic items are: 1. fol. 16a: he-goat with fiddle (Aries?). 2. fol. 18a: monkey playing harp (Plate XIII). 3. fol. 22a: grotesque. 4. fol. 25b: dancing bear. 5. fol. 28b: peacock. 6. fol. 39a: portrait of a man. 7. fol. 45b: portrait of Christ, exactly the same as on the Maiestas Domini. 8. fol. 55b: monk as musician (playing gamba). 59 9. fol, 58a: archer, half man half animal (zodiacal?). 10. fol. 58b: little hare beating drum. 11. fol. 68a: two little doves. 12. fol. 68a: mermaid suckling her young. 13. fol. 72b: dragon with cock's comb. 14. fol. 76a: The Eucharist (pelican). 15. fol. 76b: hare and hound. 16. fol. 83a: portrait (head) of Christ. 17. fol. 88b: squirrel. 18. fol. 95a: griffon (?). 19. fol. 97a: nude man, riding a monstrous bird. 20. fol. 97b: animal, half ram half lion, with club and shield. 21. fol. 107b: angel in adoring posture. 22. fol. 108a: elephant with tower. 23. fol. 109b: mermaid playing harp. 60 24. fol. 119a: three fishes

quail, furthermore a brace of rabbits, a cow, a squirrel, a fox and a wild boar and a variety of deer. At the bottom left-hand corner is a keeper with bow and arrows and a dog behind him. See Charles Clay, in *Antiquaries Journal*, xi/1931, 129—132, and PL. 18.

⁵⁹ It is, of course, not the real leg-viol, which did not come into proper use—and fashion—before the second half of the 15th century, but a forerunner of that instrument. Cf. Cecil Forsyth, *Orchestration*, London 1926, 300, footnote 2.

⁶⁰ Repeated on fol. 126b.

(Pisces?). 25. fol. 121a: grotesque, male. 26. fol. 138a: portrait of a man, half length. 27. fol. 145a: bird of prey upon a bullock. 28. fol. 146a: dragon. 29. fol. 146b: crowned king behind two bars (David?). 30. fol. 148a: monk. 31. fol. 148b: figure of a man. 32. fol. 155a: grotesque. 61 33. fol. 159a: angel. 34. fol. 178b and 179a: grotesque animals and rich marginal border. 62

These little pictures show not only a highly advanced and experienced craftsmanship but also great ingenuity and an often stout-hearted sense of humour. The Amesbury Psalter is the only work of the Sarum Master and his school in which the artist—and it was doubtless the artist himself—permits us to take a glance into the hidden nooks of his inner world, his own thinking, contemplating and ideas. As the pictures show, his world was a very rich one. It was the world of the "Gothic Man".

III.—THREE WORKS OF THE SARUM SCHOOL.

The three MSS described in this chapter are not of such outstanding importance as the Sarum Missal and the Amesbury Psalter. They are, to a large extent, to be classed as works of the School, but still showing the Master's experienced and guiding hand, though only in details. They thus demand close examination.

The WILTON PSALTER is a historical curiosity.⁶³ Of the old Wilton Library only three MSS: a fragment of a chartulary,⁶⁴ a curious Life of St. Editha (Eadgitha), the patroness of the Wilton Nunnery,⁶⁵ and our Psalter, have come, down to us: they are, so to speak, "omnia quae extant". The Psalter must have left its home at a very early date, at any rate many years before the Dissolution, and in 1523 it was in "private" hands. On fol. 144a/b we find, from a hand of the 16th century, the following interesting entry: "The xth daye of october yn the yeare of our Lord God oon thousand fyve hundredth and xxiii, the xvth

⁶¹ Similar to no. 3.

 $^{^{62}}$ With slight variations re-appearing on fols. 180b, 182a and 188a.

⁶³ Ker, op. cit., 111, 151, and 161; for the following cf. Eric George Millar, Les manuscrits à peintures des Bibliothèques de Londres, = Bulletin de la Société Française de Réproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, iv/1, Paris 1914—1920, 128—149; on Wilton Abbey see James Edward Nightingale, F.S.A., in W.A.M., xviii/1878, 85—88, and xix/1881, 342—362; and idem, Memorials of Wilton, ed. Edward Kite, Devizes, 1906, passim.

⁶⁴ British Museum, London, MS Harley 436; cf. Registrum Wiltunense, ed. R. C. Hoare, 1827.

⁶⁵ British Museum, London, MS Cotton Faustina B III; cf. C. Horstmann, S. Editha, sive Chronicon Vilodunense, 1883, drawn from Chronicon Vilodunense, ed. N. H. Black, 1830; ad hoc cf. W. Hunt, in D.N.B., 387, and Raymond Webster, in Catholic Encyclopedia, xv, 647b.

yere of king Henry the viiith and the xxiii yeare of the translation of my Lord Rychard Ffoxe Bysshop of Wynchestre, maistre Raufe Lepton parson of Alresford and Kynges Worthy servaunt and chapelayne to my saide Lord Rychard, gaue thys boke to Elisabeth Langrege whos grandfather John Warner gentylman was uncle to my Lady dame Anne Westbroke Abess of Romsey—to the saide Elisabeth mynchynne of Romsey the said maister Raufe was grete uncle unto. Above that the said maister Raufe gaue first at the veylling of the saide Elizabeth—in money: ffyve poundes deliuered to John Raye Baylyff of Romsey, Above that the saide maister Raufe gaue to the saide Elizabeth oon goblet of syluer all gylted couered with thre(e) lyons on the fote and two sponys, the oon crystable garnysshed with siluer gylted with an ymage on the ende, the other all whyte ".66 From this entry we learn that Ralph Lepton, parson of Alresford and King's Worthy, gave the Psalter to his grand niece Elizabeth Langrege (Langridge?) on the 10th October. 1523, the day on which she took the veil at Wilton. When, where, and on what occasion Master Ralph had got hold of the book, he does not disclose. But the entry is of some historical interest in so far as it refers to a young lady of good family taking the veil at Wilton at a time when the reputation of that convent was not just the very best. The years following the century of the Black Death (1348—1478) are characterized not only by a decrease in the number of nuns-at one time towards the end of the 15th century there were only nineteen left —but also by a serious decay and relaxation of discipline. 67 Further entries are of historical interest too. On fol. vb we find, written in a hand of the later 16th century, the following sentence: "Protestatum sit omnibus visuris quod ego Willelmus Saunder denego et abrenuncio nomini papiste extra totum istum librum", and on fol. la, as if it were an apology: "This was my great-grandmother's father's book and therefore for the antiquities sake I keepe it—Nich Saunders". Nicholas Saunder or Saunders of Ewell, Surrey, was in 1581 fellow of Balliol, and in 1583 student of the Inner Temple, and M.P. for several boroughs between 1588 and 1626. Taking great interest in science and philosophy, he kept close friendship with the famous mathematician and astronomer Dr. John Dee, with whom he frequently exchanged books, learned papers and manuscripts. The Psalter thus appears to have formed part of a library containing books and manuscripts which partly belonged to Dr. John Dee and Nicholas Saunders. 68 At the end of his life Dee was, as we know, so miserably poor that he had, from time to time, to dispose of his books and papers to procure subsistence. He died, worn out by age and infirmities, in December, 1608.69 How our Psalter

⁶⁶ Millar, Bull, etc., 138.

⁶⁷ T. Perkins, Romsey Abbey, London, 1907, 77 sq.

⁶⁸ Millar, Bull. etc., 139.

⁶⁹ Cf. Thompson Cooper, in *D.N.B.*, v, 1908. 727 sq. On the Dee Library cf. also James, *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts*, London, 1928, 83—85. Saunders is mentioned there as "P." Saunders (page 84).

passed, either after 1608, or after 1626, into the possession of the Marquess of Dorchester, we cannot say. All we know is that between 1680 and 1687 the whole library of the Marquess was bequeathed to the Royal College of Physicians in London, in whose possession it has remained up to the present day. 70

The Wilton Psalter 71 is a volume of medium size, 111 by 8 inches, bound in vellum and comprising V + 221 vellum leaves, each page having an average of eighteen lines. There are, at the beginning, four leaves of scriptorium waste, containing fragments of a tract on Canon Law, one leaf left blank: then follows a discourse in French on the Paternoster. The actual context consists of the Wilton Kalendar, the Psalter (fol. 7a-186a), Canticles (fol. 186b-204a), the Wilton Litany (fol. 204b-210a); then follow collects, a commendatio animarum. officium pro defunctis (fol. 213a), psalms, anthems and prayers to be said before and after a burial. As regards the age of the volume, we may safely assume that it was commissioned, written and illuminated round about 1250 or a few years thereafter. In general, what we have said with regard to the date of the Amesbury Psalter, applies to the Wilton Psalter, There cannot be any doubt that the Psalter was written for Wilton. This is proved by prayers in the Litany for the Abbess and for the Congregation of the Church of St. Mary and St. Editha to whose life there is one pictorial reference.⁷² The writer, or rather, the editor, has adhered to the English "ten-partition" of the psalter-text.

The pictorial work consists of twelve roundels (medallions) in the Kalendar of the signs of the Zodiac and the occupations of the months. and 'only two large historiated initials to psalms xxvi and lii (representing "Pentecost" and "King David arguing with the fool"), the other eight large initials having been removed; furthermore, of small historiated initials (181 in all, one to every psalm), and a great variety of line endings including some very good patterns of birds and dragons. As regards the two large historiated initials, it is quite possible that they are based upon draughts by the Master, but the general impression is that of a pupil's or assistant's work. They are, especially the first (Pentecost). rather staring and motionless, to a certain extent even lifeless and a little clumsy. The laying of the bright colours, which shows the Master's technique, cannot blot out this impression. Also, we have to note a marked difference in the use of space which is not merely due to the smaller size of the paintings. There is, in the Pentecost-piece again, a certain terseness; the figures appear needlessly crowded, the faces are stiff and devoid of expression. The following short descriptions will be found sufficient:

I. fol. 33a. Pentecost ("Dominus illuminatio mea"). Great and

⁷⁰ Millar, Bull. etc., 140.

⁷¹ Ibidem, 129 sq.; Cockerell, op. cit., no. 42.

⁷² Fol. 76b, see below, page 252.

richly patterned D. Gold (gold-brown) ground. In the centre, the Virgin amidst the apostles. Dress: blue cloak with white dots. Holding red book against her breast. Blue nimbus. On the left, St. Paul (sic! this inexactness is not uncommon in works of mediæval artists) with the sword. Scarlet nimbus. Dress: vermilion cloak over green robe. Sword gold-brown. On the right, St. Peter with the keys. Red cloak, red nimbus. The faces and figures of the other apostles are undistinguishable, only the crowns of their heads are to be seen. Dove, nimbed, descending from a cloud which is graduated blue and brown, tongues of fire coming out of its beak. It must be noted that St. Peter as archiclaviger is a very rare iconographical detail in mediæval representations of Pentecost.⁷³

II. fol. 66b. King David arguing with the Fool ("Dixit Insipiens"). Great patterned D, similar to that in I. Goldbrown ground, ornamented, tendril pattern, as in the Amesbury Psalter. On the right David, bearded, seated on a cushioned throne, lifting up his right hand, index finger raised. Dress: blue cloak with white dots over brown robe with yellow borders, blue under-garment (sleeves), a red cap with white dots on his head, shoes black with red dots. Throne red and yellow. On the left, the fool, standing, wearing a red skirted tunic and short hose, a green capuchin on his head. This is by far the better design, especially the fool's face, which shows the Master's hand and sense of humour (Plate XIV).74

Much more significant than the two remaining large historiated initials are the small initials, and it seems as if the Master had reserved the execution of this part of the pictured work for himself. They show the same hand, the same mastery of the small space, the same scenic agitation and, to a certain extent, even the same face-drawing as the little pictures in the Amesbury Psalter, quite apart from the fact that several of the representations we found in that MS actually occur again in the Wilton Psalter. As a most detailed catalogue of the small initials is given in Millar's paper, 75 we can restrict ourselves to a few remarks on some of the more typical of these little pictures.

On fol. 8 ("Cum invocarem") we see an eagle attacking a sheep; the resemblance to the bird of prey upon a bullock on fol. 145a in the Amesbury Psalter is obvious. Fol. 10b (psalm vii, "Domine Deus meus in Te speravi") shows our little monkey playing the harp; almost identical with Plate XIII. Fol. 25a ("Exaudiat te Dominus") contains an initial displaying the zodiacal motif of the fish which appears several times throughout the Amesbury Psalter. Fol. 25b (psalm xx, "Domine in virtute tua"), the little hare beating the drum is a direct

⁷³ Millar, Bull. etc., Pl. LIII.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, Pl. LIV.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, 142 sqq., and PL. LV.

⁷⁶ D/27, see above, p 247; Millar, Bull. etc., cat. no. 25.

 $^{^{77}}$ D/2, above, p. 247; there psalm viii; Millar, Bull. etc., cat. no. 26. 78 From fol. 71b onwards.

replica of the small painting in the initial O to psalm xlvi in that MS.⁷⁹ Finally, on fol. 168a (psalm cxxix, "De profundis clamavi ad Te, Domine") we see the crowned king (David?), his head and shoulders emerging from a trellis. He holds an open book. This initial exhibits the closest affinity to the crowned king behind two bars on fol. 146b of the Amesbury Psalter.⁸⁰ Other subjects of interest and significant for the style of the Master—to mention only a few items taken at random—are: fol. 60a ("Omnes gentes plaudite"): three musicians, playing viol, trumpet and harp. Fol. 72a: a monk and a nun in conversation; above them a devil grasping them, with his legs at their shoulders. Fol. 90b: Franciscan preaching to four monks. Fol. 161a: nun teach-

ing a young boy, who holds an open book.

The initial on fol. 76b deserves special attention, as it contains most probably a reference to the legend of St. Editha, the patroness of Wilton. A crowned king with a falcon humbly pays homage to a crowned queen. This is perhaps an allusion to the story of the mystic appearance of St. Editha to King Canute of Denmark who, on the occasion of a stay at Wilton, had audaciously opened her tomb.⁸¹. William of Malmesbury gives us the following somewhat obscure account: "Cui successit Cnuto, natione Danus, vir efficax, sed qui pro gentilitiis inimicitiis sanctos Anglos non diligeret. Qua consuetudine contumatior, cum quadam Pentecoste apud Wiltunam esset, in ipsam virginem solennes cachinnos effudit: 'Nunquam se crediturum filiam regis Eadgari sanctam esse, qui vitiis deditus maximeque libidinis servus in subjectos propior tiranno fuisset.' Haec dum ille, stomacho suo serviens, cruditate ructaret barbarica, contradicebat Ednodus archiepiscopus qui aderat. Cnuto concitatior aperiri sepulchrum jubet, visurus quid sancti mortua virgo afferret. Effracto ergo mausoleo, defuncta, oppanso ante faciem velo, cingulotenus assurgere, et in contumacem regem impetum facere visa. Hoc ille metu turbatus, longe reducto capite debilitatoque rigore genuum, lapsus humo concidit. Ruina corpus attrivit, adeo ut intercepto diutius anhelitu examinis putaretur. Sed redeunte paulatim vigore, letum erubuit quod, quamvis severe castigatus, penitentiae reservatus sit. Habetur ergo in plurimis locis Angliae festum ejus venerabile, quod nemo impune temerare praesumat . . ".82 We must leave it undecided whether the illumination is a real reference to that "atrocity story" or not, but if it was meant to be that, the Sarum Master must have been a man of fairly wide reading, able to recast the legend in his own and very original way.

 $^{^{79}}$ D/10, above, p. 247; Millar, Bull. etc., cat. no. 32.

⁸⁰ D/29, above, p. 247; Millar, Bull., etc., cat. no. 114.

⁸¹ Goscelin's Vita S. Eadgithe, in Migne, Patrologia Latina, clv., 115; see also Hunt, op. cit., 387.

 $^{^{82}}$ William de Malmesbury, Rolls Series, vol. 52, 190; Millar, Bulletc., 145, and PL. LV, b.

[[]A translation of this curious passage may perhaps be acceptable. It is an attempt to remove the obscurities. "Canute, a Dane, succeeded

Subject to a casual return to the Wilton Psalter, we now turn to the next work of our group, the SARUM BIBLE of William de Hales.⁸⁸

This is the only manuscript of the group which is properly and definitely dated. The volume, bound in vellum and containing 431 leaves (size 12½ by 8 inches) was commissioned and executed in Salisbury in 1254. At the end of fol. 399b are the "Interpretationes Hebraicorum nominum" (by Remigius of Auxerre), followed, on fol. 401a, by the colophon: "Hunc librum scripsit Willelmus de Hales magistro Thome de la Wile quem vocavit Magister Radulfus de Heham tunc cancellarius Sarisburiensis ad regimen scolarum Sarisburiensium quibus Deus in hoc seculo et in futuro propicietur. Amen. Factus fuit liber anno MCCLquarto ab incarnatione Domini." In other words: In 1254 the chancellor Radulf of Heham appointed Master Thomas de la Wile (of Wylye?) to be inspector of all Salisbury schools 84, and in com-

him. He was a capable ruler but had no love for the English or for English saints. This attitude made him not a little overbearing, and one Whitsuntide, when he was at Wilton, he vented his customary gibes against the virgin saint herself 'He would never believe', he said, 'that a daughter of King Edgar could be a saint. Edgar had been a vicious man, and a slave to his passions, though to his subjects he had been more like a tyrant'. This splenetic and unmannerly outburst drew a protest from Archbishop Ednod, who was present. Canute became still more violent and insisted that the tomb should be opened: he would see what evidence of sanctity the dead girl could produce. When the vault was broken open the corpse was seen rising to a sitting posture, with the veil covering its face, and assailing the insolent king. Canute was startled, he threw his head back as far as he could, his knees failed him, and he collapsed upon the floor. The fall affected him so seriously that for some time he ceased to breathe, and he was thought to be dead. But gradually his strength returned, and he was overcome with shame to think of the death he had escaped and [of the divine mercy which had indeed chastised him severely yet spared him that he might repent. So it is that St. Editha's Day is observed with due respect in many parts of England. Let no one think he may dishonour it with impunity!" H. C. B.]

 83 For the following cf. Warner & Gilson, i, 13 ; Millar, op. cit., 54 ; Saunders, op. cit., 62.

⁸⁴ Millar, *op. cit.*, translates the words "regimen scolarum" by "mastership". "Radulphus de Heham" is most probably identical with Chancellor Ralph de Hotham, who was apparently appointed superintendent of both the Sarum schools existing at the time, the High School of the Valley Scholars (St. Nicholas Hospital, instituted certainly before 1260) and the Grammar School (situated near the corner of St. Ann's Gate, founded by Bishop Robert de Bingham). See Henry Hatcher and Robert Benson, *Salisbury*, in Sir Richard Co Hoare's *History of Modern Wiltshire*, London, 1843, 50 sq.

memoration of his appointment Master Thomas commissioned the Bible (of St. Jerome's version), parts of which had, perhaps, been written before. Who William of Hales, the scribe, was, where he came from and what may have been his official position and rank, we do not know: his name has disappeared from the Sarum chronicles, and so far no other manuscript in his fine handwriting—our volume is written in double columns—has been traced. We may, however, safely assume that upon receipt of Master Thomas's orders he approached the Illuminator, with whom he may have been associated, asking him to do the pictorial work, which consists of a number of very well executed illuminated initials at the beginning of each book, in many cases (31 in all) containing small figure paintings. There are no full page or half page illuminations and no larger historiated initials as in the Psalters of Amesbury and Wilton. There are several other initials in light blue. with dainty red filigree work. 85 A very characteristic initial is to be found on fol. 84b. The letter 'F' is a "combined" or "stem" initial, connecting the plant and animal motif (bird and reptile). representation in this miniature—Eli comforting Hannah before the altar at Shiloh (I. Sam. i, vv. 9-19, the initial F covering the Incipit "Fuit vir unus de ramathaim sophim", v. 1)—shows the characteristic architectonic arrangement (stage effect) which we noticed in the Sarum Missal (Plate XV).86 A comparison with the little paintings of the Wilton Psalter confirms an absolute identity of hands. An example given on PLATE XVI, two representations of St. Peter with the sword (Hales Bible, fol. 39a and Wilton Psalter, fol. 212a, here in form of a bust) proves the same conception of portraiture.87 Some other miniatures bear the traces of quick work and may have been finished in the workshop.

[&]amp; Gilson, op. cit. The particulars are very scanty. On fol. Ia is an old pressmark written by a hand of the 17th century: "P.33", which conveys nothing. The volume came into the British Museum from the Theyer Library (Sale Catalogue, no. 42) and was collated for Canon Wordsworth's edition of the Vulgate (referred to in the critical appendix as "W"). On the Theyer Library which, at one time, contained also the Westminster Psalter and was, as a whole, bought by Charles II for the Royal Library, see James, Wanderings, etc., 72 sq.

⁸⁶ Warner & Gilson, op. cit., iv, PL. VIII.

⁸⁷ Millar, Bull. etc., PL. LV g and h. A similar portrait of St. Peter (with the key), engraved on coppergilt, appears on the fine little portable altar given by Abbot Thidericus probably to the abbey of Scheida, near Cologne, in the 13th cent., now in the British Museum. The same piece also contains an element noticed in the Psalters of Westminster and Amesbury: the emblems of the four evangelists in medallions, the symbolic animals bearing (plain) scrolls. See Dalton and Tonnochy, British Museum—A Guide to the Mediaeval Antiquities, etc. (1924), 233, 283, and Pl. XIII.

As regards the fifth and last manuscript of the group, we can merely repeat the description which was given nearly fifteen years ago by Georg Swarzenski and Miss Rosy Schilling.⁸⁸ It is a medico-historical MS of about 1250, of quarto size, comprising 65 leaves written in double columns of 28 lines each, bound (at the beginning of the 19th century) in brown leather with gold imprint. Inside the front board is an Ex libris with the coat of arms of Thomas Hayward Southby of Carswell, and another Exlibris of George Dunn of Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead, Berkshire, a third Ex libris shows the name of R. Busch, of Mainz, whose entire library was auctioned at Joseph Baer's, Frankfurt on the Main, on April 4th, 1921, where it was acquired by Baron Robert von Hirsch, Frankfurt, in whose possession it remained at least until 1933. It contains five major tracts on medical subjects, i.e., i. Iohannitii Ysagoge in p.c. xxvii Tegni Galeni, ii. Hippocratis liber aphorismorum et prognosticatio, iii. Theophili Protosphatarios, liber urinarum, iv. Philaretis liber pulsuum, and v. Tegni Galeni distinctiones super libros Johannitii, Theophili, etc.

The pictured work consists of twelve figure initials depicting the following subjects:

- 1. Fol. la (Ysagoge). Initial M, with the representation of a physician lecturing to his pupil (or adept). On the left, the "Doctor", seated on a cushioned chair explaining to the pupil facing him a passage in an open book. Dress light green, dark crimson and dark blue. Cushion gold. The letter blue with white pattern. The panel squared, and framed with gold. According to this miniature ⁸⁹ the relationship to the historiated initials in the Hales Bible and the Wilton Psalter is at least very close.
- 2. Fol. 15b (Hippocratis aphorismorum liber). Initial V. The bearded "Doctor", seated, turning to the right in order to read in the book in front of him. Dress red and blue.
- 3. Fol. 19b (Particula tertia). Initial M. The "Doctor" in a teaching attitude.
- 4. Fol. 21b (Particula quarta). Initial P. Pregnant woman. The letter with dragon's head on gold ground.
- 5. Fol. 25a (Particula quinta). Initial S. The "Doctor" seated, with folded arms.
- 6. Fol. 32a (Hypocratis liber Prognosticorum). Initial O. The Doctor", holding an open book, standing at the bed of a patient.
- 7. Fol. 32b (Prima particula). Initial O. Teacher and pupil, half-length.
 - 8. Fol. 35a (Secunda particula). Initial O. Teacher and pupil, as 7.
- 9. Fol. 42b (Liber urinarum). Initial D. The "Doctor" seated on a bench, demonstrating the urine bottle whilst lecturing from a book which lies before him.

⁸⁸ See chapter I, notes 5 and 6.

⁸⁹ Swarzenski & Schilling, op. cit., PL. XXVII c, the only reproduction given from the MS.

10. Fol. 43b (Quid sit urina). Initial U. The "Doctor" demonstrating the urine bottle to a pupil.

11. Fol. 61a (Tegni Galieni distinctiones). Initial T. The "Doctor"

seated, lecturing to three pupils. Letter as in 1.

12. Fol. 61b (Diffinitio Medicinæ). Initial M. In the centre the "Doctor", seated under an arch, lifting up his right hand, which holds an open book. On the right and on the left, in the wedges of the letter, two priests, apparently his pupils. 90

Having completed the description and analysis of the five Sarum MSS, we shall conclude this paper with a few critical remarks.

IV.—THE SARUM MASTER AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

In the first two chapters of this paper we have tried, with special reference to the "Christ in Glory" in the Amesbury Psalter, to point towards the Psalter of Westminster Abbey as a possible source of artistic inspiration and perhaps even as some sort of pattern book as regards style and iconographic details. It is, however, clear that the Westminster Psalter was not the sole source from which the Sarum Illuminator got his impressions and ideas. It is true that this wonderful book was executed for a dignitary of Westminster Abbey and it is, according to what we know about the craftsmen of the Westminster School, generally supposed to have been produced there. But as early as 1920, the late M. R. James drew attention to the resemblance of the first (and original) five full page illuminations to the pictorial work of certain books produced at the famous "Academy" of St. Albans of about the same date, adducing especially a glossed Gospel book and an Epistle book at Trinity College, Cambridge (MSS B. 5. 3, and O. 5. 8) and other MSS, mainly Bibles, at Eton, Cambridge and Dublin. 91 To me it is beyond any doubt that the artistic activities of the "scriptorium" at St. Albans did not fail to have a deeper and lasting effect on the work of the Sarum Master.92

The scriptorium of St. Albans, founded by Abbot Paul towards the end of the 11th century, was re-endowed and repaired during the last quarter of the 12th century by Abbot Simon (d. 1183), the ardent lover of arts and books, who always kept two or three first-rate scriveners continually at work in his chamber, copying carefully many valuable works. He also ordained that his successors should always maintain a special scrivener. 93 During the first decade of the 13th century (under

⁹⁰ See also the French miniatures, ibidem, PLL. XVIII—XXVI.

⁹¹ M. R. James, La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei, Roxburghe Club, 1920, 33: Millar, op. cit., 42 sq.

⁹² Borenius & Tristram, op. cit., 6 sq.

⁹⁸ William Hunt, in D.N.B., xv, 207. See also M. R. James, The Drawings of Matthew Paris, Walpole Society, xiv/1925 - 1926, Oxford 1926, passim. On the School of St. Albans see also "Gesta Abbatum", as quoted in W. H. St. Hope, Quire Screens in English Churches, with special reference to the Twelfth Century Quire Screen formerly in the Cathedral Church of Ely, Archæologia, vol. lxviii/1917, 89 sq.

Abbot John de Cella), Roger of Wendover, the historiographer of the house, held this office. The following years are marked by a fresh impetus not only in the scriptorium, but also as regards painting. especially mural decoration, in the Abbey buildings and In the Cathedral. The names of some of the artists responsible for the execution of this great work, have come down to us. There were Master Walter of Colchester and his brother, Master Simon, and the latter's son Richard. Walter, sacrist under Abbot William de Trumpington (1214-1235) had, as an unrivalled painter and sculptor, according to the "Gesta Abbatum", completed a loft in the middle of the Cathedral with a great cross and Mary and John and "other suitable structures". He became a monk soon after 1220. They created the important series of frescoes, which are simple, severe and thoroughly monumental, with the Byzantine element still strongly marked, but, undoubtedly under French influence, the change of style begins to take shape, and that is where the new element comes in, which we called the stage effect. The Crucifixus pages in the Sarum Missal and Amesbury Psalter are certainly outstanding specimens of scenic passion pictures. but the fundamental elements of their composition are already to be found in the Crucifixus frescoes of St. Albans Cathedral of the period 1220-1250. Here we find iconographic details which had only to be re-cast by the illuminator to create his new and unusual, yet archaic psalter illustrations. The side figures of the Virgin and St. John converging towards the cross, the censing angels, and even the green cross with the boughs freshly sawn off-the germ and origin of all these details lies in the St. Albans frescoes. 94 Of another iconographic detail of some importance according to the scheme of composition—the feet nailed to the cross side by side -the Sarum Master made no use: it seemed to him too stiff, too lifeless and inanimate, not sufficiently expressing the momentum of torture and pain. Thus he painted them nailed crossways to the shaft.95

Also from St. Albans there comes the artist to whom the Sarum Master definitely stands in a certain relationship, at least with regard to drawing, and whose earlier works may have given him many an impulse, Matthew Paris, a man of remarkably versatile gifts—he was historian, diplomatist, church administrator, goldsmith, sculptor and, according to Walsingham, the chronicler, "pictor peroptimus". Born about 1200 and educated at the monastic school of St. Albans, he became a monk in 1217 and was, in 1236, appointed chief of the scriptorium. The manuscripts of his works, the most important of which are doubtless the "Chronica Maiora" (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), the "Historia minor" and the "Collectiones" (both British Museum), are adorned with numerous outline drawings most probably from his own hand. The "Historia minor" contains a wonderful tinted drawing of the Virgin tenderly embracing the Child

⁹⁴ Borenius & Tristram, op. cit., PLL. XII and XIV.

⁹⁵ Ibidem, Plates V and VIII.

below, kneeling in an attitude of adoration, the figure of the artist. probably a self-portrait. 96 There is a strong affinity of sentiment and, up to a certain point, of drawing too, between this excellent work and the two representations of the Virgin and Child in the Psalter of Amesbury Abbey and the Sarum Missal, but also between it and another famous work, a mural painting, far better known to the general art lover than the St. Albans frescoes or the Sarum MSS either—the lovely roundel with the Virgin and Child on the wall of the Episcopal Palace Chapel at Chichester, which has been dated to about 1260 and rightfully called "the purest gem of English mediaeval painting now in existence".97 Within a circular space, in a four-lobed panel, we see the Virgin seated on an elaborate throne, the back of which is triangular, with her left hand clasping the Infant Christ embracing his holy mother; on the right and left, censing angels. 98 A parallel has been drawn, by Miss O. Elfrieda Saunders, between this roundel and the Sarum illuminations. She writes: "The Virgin and Child [of the Sarum Missal] shows the particularly tender and gracious type which appears in all the MSS of the Salisbury School. While Italian artists were still painting only rigid and forbidding Madonnas on the Byzantine model (for even Cimabue was not born till 1240), these English painters were depicting the Virgin as a beautiful woman, leaning down sweetly to caress the infant, who reaches up towards her with a natural gesture. Already in 1228 this human presentment of the Madonna and Child has appeared on the reverse of the seal of Robert de Bingham, Bishop of Salisbury, a fact which shows that the tradition was not inaugurated by these manuscripts. The type is so unusual for the period that it seems not unreasonable to suggest a Salisbury origin for the roundel of the Virgin and Child in the Bishop's Palace at Chichester, which, moreover, shows a line as graceful, if not as flowing, as these illuminations. The fresco is, at any rate, nearer in feeling to the Salisbury School than to any other."99

To suggest a direct Salisbury origin for the Chichester roundel, means definitely pressing an undoubted analogy too far, especially if we think first of Matthew Paris and consider that certain elements of drawing may just as well be found in works of the Winchester School, for instance the vault-paintings in the Chapel of the Guardian Angels in Winchester Cathedral, of about 1250—1260, 100 and other, later paintings, part of which are connected with Matthew Paris' mission to

⁹⁶ Borenius & Tristram, op. cit., 8 sq., and PL. XVIII.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, PLATES III and VII.

⁹⁸ Ibidem, 9, and PL. XVII; Kendon, op. cit., PL. III (coloured).

⁹⁹ Saunders, op. cit., i, 67. On the incorporation and use of the Virgin and Child motif in ecclesiastical seals of the 12th/13th century, cf. Walter de Gray Birch. Seals, London, 1907, 78 sqq. Sarum appears amongst the first sees that adopted the Virgin and Child motif (as well as the Annunciation) in their typars. Ibidem, 87 sq.

¹⁰⁰ Borenius & Tristram, op. cit., PL. XII.

Norway (1248—50), which was most important for the development of artistic relations between England and Scandinavia during the reign of Henry III and Haakon Haakonsson (1218—1264).¹⁰¹ In this connection the medallions on the roof of Salisbury Cathedral, the (destroyed) frescoes of Winterbourne Dauntsey and the faded mural paintings in the quire and in the Lady Chapel of Romsey Abbey must not be forgotten.^{101a} The fact remains that Matthew Paris, the Sarum Illuminator and the Master of the Chichester roundel were contemporaries, and it seems not unlikely that the Sarum Master, who was probably a southerner, received the most valuable and lasting impulses from the rich work of the Schools of Westminster, probably Winchester, but certainly St. Albans and its most important pupil Matthew Paris, without allowing himself to get too deeply rooted in any.

This is an assertion for which we have sufficient proof and evidence. The Estoire of Aedward le Rei, a fully illustrated Life of Edward the Confessor (MS EE 3.59 of Cambridge University Library) is believed by Dr. James to be a work of Matthew Paris, carried out at St. Albans' Abbey under his supervision, but not by his own hand. He thinks (p. 17) it was made for presentatation to Henry's Queen, Eleanor of Provence, soon after the time (1241) when Henry III had made a new and splendid shrine for the relics of St. Edward the Confessor. To us this is very important, as some figures in these scenic drawings display a striking resemblance to the figures of King David and the Fool in the Wilton Psalter. On page 12 of the MS (James, no. 11, scene a) we see, under a broad trefoil arch with battlements above, Edward receiving the news of Hardicanute's death. He is shown full-faced on a draped seat. Attitude and face and partly dress (headwear) have a strong similarity to the David in the Wilton Psalter. On page 15 of the MS (James, no. 14) we see Edward watching the thief in his chamber. The thief, bareheaded, rough-haired, with prominent nose and chin, in tunic with bare legs, high shoes, his toes sticking out of one shoe, his lap full of money, one hand in the chest taking more, the other holding up his robe, is in the act of walking away. This figure displays most definitely affinity

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, 13 sqq., and PLL. XXVI—XXIX.

¹⁰¹a On the Winterbourne Dauntsey frescoes cf. Tancred Borenius, A destroyed Cycle of Wall-Paintings in a Church in Wiltshire. The Antiquaries Journal, xii/1932, 393—409. Borenius dates the (lost) paintings to the second half or end of the 13th century, and suggests a relationship between them and the (very scarce) fragments of the mural decoration at Clarendon Palace, for the execution of which, as he hints, the craftsmen of the royal court of Henry III may have been called in. The photographs of the frescoes, however, which were taken before the demolition of the old church, and reprints of which are attached to Borenius's paper, show a clear affinity with the illuminations in the MSS of the Sarum group. On the whole, Borenius seems to underestimate the enormous influence of illumination on monumental painting.

with the Fool in the Wilton Psalter and some grotesques in the Amesbury Psalter. On page 32 of the MS (James, no 31,) in the drawing representing the Tribute of the Salmon, the fisherman on the right, bearded, in tunic and high shoes, should be compared with the Fool and on page 59 of the MS (James, no. 58) Harold throned, full faced with crossed legs, raising his right arm and addressing a group of courtiers corresponds in composition and bearing to our King David. Other noticeable similarities occur throughout Matthew's drawings in MS 26 of Corpus Christi College, especially in the delicate little "Nativity" and "Crucifixion", and especially the burial figures in the Offa story of the Chronica Maiora (British Museum, Cotton MS Nero D 1)—we think of the two figures on the extreme right and left—which may be regarded as prototypes of Mary and St. John in the Crucifixus of the Amesbury Psalter (James, Walpole Society edition, PL. I, nos. 5 and 9, and PL. XIXb, no. 130).

Perhaps he was also "influenced"—sit venia verbo—from a third and entirely different sphere. On April 24th, 1220, the foundation stone of the new Sarum Cathedral was laid. The Master may have seen the edifice growing stone by stone, canopy by canopy, and he may have felt fascinated by the marvel of the west-front figure sculpture, which, apart from a few worn-out fragments, we have to regard as irreparably lost. On the other hand, he may also have seen and watched the growth of the imagery of the west front of Wells Cathedral, and we must admit that pieces like the tympanum of the central doorway with the Virgin and Child flanked by censing angels (ca. 1220, probably a work of Master Adam Lock and his son Thomas) or the Coronation of the Virgin with its bold treatment of bearing and drapery (ca. 1240, probably by Master Noreys) and the Angels in the quatrefoils, offered alluring possibilities to the Master's open and susceptible mind, Here it may be interesting to note that the Wells Bible-story reliefs are probably based upon a series of miniatures in a MS.103 The work of the Sarum Master and his School inspired a number of artists, the most important of whom was definitely the Master of the Chichester roundel. But also glass-painters seem to have gratefully received ideas of drawing, colouring, composition and scenic motion. We have only to think of some painted glass of Canterbury Cathedral, 104 and it would certainly be a fascinating pursuit to trace the influence of our miniatures on contemporary stone carving, but it would lead us too far and would

¹⁰² W. H. St. Hope and W. R. Lethaby, The Imagery and Sculptures on the West Front of Wells Cathedral Church, Archæologia, vol. lix/1904, PL. XXII/1 and 2, and XXIV, and better R. L. Gardner, Handbook of English Mediaeval Sculpture, Cambridge 1934, 144.

¹⁰³ Hope & Lethaby, op. cit., 38 sq.

¹⁰⁴ A compilation of large-size photographs and water colour copies in an exhibition, "The Church and the Artist", arranged by C.E.M.A and held, in April, 1943, in the South Transept of Salisbury Cathedral, has brought these relations to my mind.

demand a thorough search into the hidden treasures of southern statue and relief sculpture as well as into the inexhaustible well of 13th century sepulchral effigies.

Of all contemporary MSS outside the Sarum group the so-called RUTLAND PSALTER comes nearest to our illuminations, with regard to line drawing and colouring. It is, however, for reasons of method, absolutely mistaken and wrong to claim it as "the leading" work of the Sarum group and to speak of "The group of the Rutland Psalter", as has been done comparatively recently. 105 It is true, the Rutland Psalter, which was, in the 15th century, given to Reading Abbey, 106 has the Sarum Kalendar and the Sarum Litanies, but this is no evidence as to its provenance, and the—admittedly magnificent—pictured work shows only remote affinities to the Amesbury Psalter. The decoration consists of twenty-four roundels in the Kalendar, six full-page illuminations, eight large historiated initials to the special psalms and a large quantity of marginal drolleries, grotesques and scenes from mediaeval life. It is apparently the earliest book in which these drolleries, none of which has any actual connection with the text, and which we meet so frequently at a later date, are so marked a feature. Also the choice of subjects does not point to the Sarum workshop, quite apart from the fact that we may date it to the third quarter of the 13th century and that it is the work of several hands, only two of the large miniatures, i.e. Saul casting his javelin at David 107 and Jacob's dream, 108 showing the same origin, whereas the other large paintings are clearly by different hands. It has, therefore, as Sir G. F. Warner pointed out, to be regarded "as a kind of album to which various artists, some possibly only casual visitors to the scriptorium where it was produced, were invited to contribute ".107a The provenance remains quite uncertain, and it will be most difficult, if not impossible, to find "the" group for it.

There still remains one more word to be said about some parallels in contemporary continental illumination. To the Heisterbach Bible in Berlin and the Rheinau Psalter reference has already been made. 109 Apart from iconographic details taken over, such as the enthroned Maiestas with the chalice, the pictorial work of these MSS shows similar tendencies with regard to the tense rhythm of motion and the composition of certain block-like groups of figures. To the same category of illuminations also belong a few more MSS of the Bavarian-Frankish School, as, for instance, two Psalters, one in the Bavarian State Library in Munich, and the other in the State Library at Bamberg, the latter

¹⁰⁵ Hans Swarzenski, op. cit., i, 47.

¹⁰⁶ Cockerell, op. cit., 20. The only clue to a possible early ownership is the obit of Edmund de Lacy, probably the Earl of Lincoln of that name who died in 1258, cf. Millar, op. cit., 53.

¹⁰⁷ Millar, op. cit., PL. 78. 107a Illuminated MSS, etc., 48; Millar, op. cit., 54.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, PL. 80a.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter II.

perhaps executed at the scriptorium of the Cistercian Abbey on the Michelsberg near Bamberg, and last, but not least, the three volumes of the Würzburg Bible, dated 1240.¹¹⁰. Other sporadic affinities between the West German, especially the Cologne, School, and the contemporary illuminations of the English-Belgian-Dutch sphere focusing in the work of Walter de Braille, are perhaps to be explained by the political relations between the German and British kingdoms in the days of the Interregnum. We know, for instance, that the "Reichs-Governor" (Statthalter) Konrad von Hochstaden was given his mitre by Duke Richard of Cornwall (King Elect) in London. 111

The Sarum Illuminator was probably, after Matthew Paris, the first artist of the Gothic period in this country. In spite of the stress he laid upon the archaic austerity and solemn dignity of his figures, which are vet not without affectation, he boldly pierced the old Byzantine system with his new emphasis on motion and dramatic effect. emotion which he tries to demonstrate in the faces of his figures is sincere. His own feeling for fine ornament and decoration, both of line and figure, he tried to impose on his pupils. His progressive mind and his advanced sense of anthropomorphism lead to the delicate and graceful tenderness with which he depicted subjects like the Nativity and the Saviour's childhood as expressed in the representation of the Virgin and Child, which is almost unexcelled throughout the whole 13th century English book illustration. Finally, his drolleries mark the beginning of a new era of symbolism, to which we owe the precious treasure of late mediæval grotesques, arabesques and gargoyles. The Sarum Master made no stand where his predecessors and contemporaries reached the zenith of perfection. In granting his creative and imaginative spirit open and free space for action he succeeded in freeing himself from tradition and surpassed his masters.

110 Cod. Lat. Monac. 3900, Cod. Bamberg. 2 A 47, and University Library Würzburg Cod. Fol. Max. no. 9; cf. Hans Swarzenski, Vorgotische Miniaturen. Die ersten Jahrhunderte Deutscher Malerei. Leipzig 1928, passim.

¹¹¹ Hans Swarzenski, Die Lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts, etc., i, 19. Of a considerable importance were certainly also the flourishing commercial and trade relations between the two countries during the 13th century. On these and the employment of German and Dutch craftsmen and skilled labourers in England during the reign of Henry III, see the excellent account by J. F. Bense, Anglo-Dutch relatious from the earliest times to the death of William the Third, Oxford, London and Den Haag, 1925, 29 sqq. See also note 87,

THE SPIRE OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

By D. H. Montgomerie, F.S.A.

The symmetrical elegance of Salisbury's lofty spire, as seen from certain directions, is marred by a slight deviation of the summit towards the south-west, whose amount, though small compared with the enormous height, is readily discernible by the eye. The bold experiment of adding a tower and spire, for which no provision had been made in the original building, came very near to the danger point. Unequal settlement of the piers and years of weathering had their effect in producing distortion, and disaster was only averted by the insertion of new arches, braces, buttresses and bands of iron.

In 1668, Sir Christopher Wren, at the request of Bishop Ward, made a thorough survey of the whole building, and he estimated, from partial data, the amount of the declination to be $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches to the west and $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches south.

In 1681, Thomas Naish (then Clerk of the Works) made a more exact test by lowering a plummet to the pavement of the church from a staple at the highest accessible point within the spire, level with the little weather-door, some 30 feet below the summit, and also measuring outside from this door to the top. The declination thus arrived at amounted to 16 inches west and 24 inches south. This experiment was repeated in 1736 by William Naish and no change was detected. In July, 1737, a different method altogether was used by James Mill in the presence of the Lord Bishop and others, as described in detail by Francis Price in his "Observations on the Cathedral Church of Salisbury", 1753, pp. 68—70. In these tests true north and west lines were produced from the centre of the crossing, through the old north door of the main transept and the great west door respectively, as far as the walls of the churchyard.

A plummet was then suspended upon the said north line, where it met the wall, and a lighted candle was placed upon the west line in the church that was produced from the centre, and moved until its light and the capstone of the spire were cut exactly by the plumb line.

The centre of the candle was thus found to be 16½ inches from the centre of the crossing, this being the total declination to the west. This process was repeated along the west line; the lighted candle, placed on the north line, was aligned by the plummet with the capstone, and the declination to the south proved to be 24½ inches from the true centre. These results agree very closely with those of the earlier tests. Now, on the low north wall of the churchyard, facing the Cathedral and some 24 feet from the garden of Ladywell House, there has been scribed a vertical line, at the top of which, on a slanting coping stone, is the word "Meridies". This mark is on the Meridian, due north of the centre of the tower crossing and was evidently made for the tests just described. The true western line from the church would have fallen a few feet to the south of the double wooden gate in the churchyard wall on that

side, but that wall has largely been rebuilt in modern times, and the evidence is lacking.

At the northern mark the coping bears traces of two circles, whose purpose is uncertain, of 2 inches diameter and at 281 inches interval on each side. It has been suggested that a set of plummet sights were observed from these and the mean taken as a check on the central one. It is possible that this was their use, but since the filling up of the old north door by Wyatt, in 1791, it is difficult to say if this method were feasible. The mark has the reputation of forming a kind of sun-dial, with the summit of the spire as a gnomon, whose shadow on the wall would indicate noon at the summer solstice. Such noon-marks are to be found in or on ancient buildings; for example, in the Duomo, Milan, the pavement is marked with a meridian line laid down by the astronomers of the Brera in 1786. It is crossed at noon by the sun's rays passing through a small aperture in the roof. In the church of San Petronio, Bologna, there is a line laid down by Cassini in 1656 and renewed in 1776, and the Palazzo della Ragione, Padua, contains another example. In 1511, a round brass slab was placed in the floor of the Duomo, Florence, for the purpose of making solar observations through a corresponding aperture in the dome, and a graduated dial was added in 1755 to admit of more accurate observations. These noonmarks are, of course, much more rare than the full-blown sun-dial giving the hours, so common in an age when the art of dialling was a special branch of education.

When visiting Salisbury in 1654, Evelyn noted among other remarkable monuments, "the cloysters of the palace and garden, and the greate mural dial". It is probable that this was on the south wall of the palace, prior to the extensive restoration carried out by Bishop Seth Ward in 1667 to 1684. The inference that our mark was used in the deviation experiment, so clearly described by Price, and not as a sundial, is supported by the following figures. The greatest altitude of the sun in this latitude is $62\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ at noon at the summer solstice, whereas the elevation of the spire summit above the mark is 471°, an angle only attained by the sun on April 11th-12th and September 1st-2nd. In summer, therefore, the noon-shadow of the spire would fall short while in winter it would reach far beyond the churchyard wall. Some regret may, perhaps, arise at the destruction of a picturesque legend, but the mark is an interesting relic of a very careful piece of research. The lettering "Meridies" is said to have been re-cut and repainted early in the 19th century, though no appearance of such treatment can now be detected.

Two years after these tests, Naish's old system of plumbing was resorted to, and no variation was found; and the same is true of a test by Wyatt in 1786. Mr. H. Messenger has kindly permitted a note in his possession to be quoted, made by F. R. Fisher, Clerk of the Works, 1837—1872, in which it is stated that on September 30th, 1858, the plumbing experiment was repeated and that no change in the declination was observed, nor was any detected by Gilbert Scott in 1862.

At the present day the middle of the crossing is marked on a brass plate inscribed "A.D. 1737. THE CENTER OF THE TOWER", and set in a stone about a yard square, on which and on the surrounding pavement is traced an octagon, representing a horizontal section of the spire at the level of the weather-door; a small brass mark indicates the plumb line from the staple near that door which was used in Naish's tests. A hole in the south-west corner of the slab, $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the brass "CENTER", is supposed to mark the summit of the spire. It is curious that, although Price (p. 72) gives the south-westerly declination as $29\frac{2}{3}$ inches, this is altered to $22\frac{2}{3}$ inches in the anonymous "Description of that admirable structure the Cathedral Church of Salisbury", published in 1787 and based largely upon Price. Now, although the diagonal of a parallelogram can hardly be less than its side, this lower figure, or the even more inaccurate distance on the floor stone, seems to have been accepted in modern times.

In the orientation of ancient churches slight errors often occurred and though Salisbury Cathedral is very truly symmetrical and rectangular in plan, its main axis does not lie upon the west line already referred to but is deflected about 1½° to the south of true east and the axis of the main transept, with the same deviation, cuts the churchyard wall on the north at a point 6½ feet east of the "Meridies" mark. Here, also, a line has been scribed, probably at an earlier date, for the coping bore the word "MEDIANUS" in capital letters, now very much defaced and weathered, while the line itself has been filled in roughly with pink Roman cement, and the letters show traces of this. A similar axial line to the west would have fallen about 9 feet north of the true west mark on the churchyard wall, now rebuilt as mentioned above. The object of this earlier mark is not apparent.

Mr. Mill aimed evidently at a greater precision by using the cardinal points, but both sets of lines would practically be coincident within the small space on the church floor on which the spire's declination was laid down. The whole method was ingenious and capable of considerable accuracy, and it had the advantage of a direct observation of the summit and of avoiding the rather complicated plumbing from the weather-door staple, outside to the capstone.

In modern times, close attention has been paid to the security of this great and magnificent building, notably during the years 1935—1940 when very extensive work was undertaken to strengthen the tower, spire, and roofs of the Cathedral Church, and it is comforting to know that we may now consider the whole structure to be as stable as human effort can make it.

A LETTER FROM DR. ARNOLD OF RUGBY.

The Editor is indebted to Mr. A. R. Stedman, Headmaster of Marlborough Grammar School, for permission to print the following unpublished letter, preserved among the archives of the school. A word or two of explanation should precede it.

Thomas Arnold, as Dean Stanley informs us, was sent in 1803 to Warminster School in the days of Dr. Griffiths. With the Rev. J. T. Lawes, then an assistant master there, he kept up an intercourse long after they had parted. In 1807 Arnold was sent to Winchester, of which Dr. Goddard was then headmaster, and never revisited Warminster till January, 1828. That visit doubtless recalled vividly his earliest schooldays and sharpened the memories of them to which he refers in this letter, written before the year was out. But, to quote once more from Stanley's Life, "He long retained a grateful remembrance of the miscellaneous books to which he had access in the school library at Warminster, and when, in his Professorial chair at Oxford, he quoted Dr. Priestley's Lectures on History, it was from his recollection of what he had there read when he was eight years old ".

One of his earliest friends, George Evelyn, with whom also he maintained a correspondence till Evelyn's death in 1829, had been a boy at Warminster with him, though he moved on to Harrow a year before Arnold departed to Winchester. In a letter of condolence to Mrs. Evelyn in 1929, he speaks of Lawes as the common friend of her husband and himself, who had been indebted to Evelyn's kindness (presentation to a living) and whom he had also lost within the last few months. Lawes was appointed Headmaster of Marlborough Grammar School in 1809, and held the post till he died in 1828. We have no record that Arnold ever visited him at Marlborough.

The years which Arnold spent at Warminster were among the most impressionable in a boy's life, and we may reflect, with a satisfaction which Lytton Strachey's faint praise and scarcely hesitant dislike should be powerless to dispel, that Wiltshire played its part in the moulding of his character.

The letter is folded without envelope, as befits its date, and bears the address:

Mrs. Lawes, Marlborough, Wilts.

Rugby, November 6th, 1828.

My dear Madam,

Though I have not the Pleasure of more than a very slight personal Acquaintance with yourself, yet I trust you will forgive my intruding for a few Moments on your Time with the Expressions of my deep & most sincere Sympathy for the great Loss which you have lately

sustained. In Comparison with your's, any Regrets must, I know, be feeble:-but your Husband was to me the Person from whom I first received Kindness out of my own Family:-and for the last five & twenty Years, a very large Portion of my Life, I have had continued Reason to think of him with Gratitude. His Kindness to me, when I first went to School a Child of eight years old, was indeed of no common Sort :—he used to let me sit near him in School, he lent me Books, he used to take me out to walk with him, and to the latest Hour of my Life, and, if it please God, beyond this Life, I shall have reason to be thankful to him for the Impressions which as a Child I derived from him. No Lapse of Time nor Change of Circumstances ever seemed to alter his Feelings towards me; —and I may truly say that I have lost in him the oldest Friend out of my own Family that I had in the World, and one of the truest and kindest.—If his Pupils think of offering any Tribute of Respect to his Memory, it would be my earnest Request that I might be allowed to join in it; and if it may be in my Power to be of any Service to yourself in any Way—although I know that you must have many nearer & abler Friends,—yet believe me that I should be most thankful for any Opportunity of showing my Respect & Love for your most lamented Husband. It was only last Night that I was informed quite suddenly of your Loss, or I should not thus long have forborne to write to you.

Believe me to be,

My dear Madam,

With sincere Respect & Regard,

Your very faithful Friend
& Servant

T. Arnold.

WILTSHIRE BIRD NOTES.

By L. G. Peirson.

These few notes refer to the period January—October, 1943, and, unless otherwise stated, to the Marlborough District. They are almost entirely the work of members of the Marlborough College Natural History Society. I should be very glad to receive records from other Wiltshire observers which I may include in possible future instalments of these notes; this instalment is hardly worthy of its title. Communications should please be addressed to me at Marlborough College, Wilts.

The authority for the entry of an unusual bird (unless otherwise stated) is either myself or an observer whom I have cross-questioned to my satisfaction. Bird observers and recorders will understand that any estimates of increase or decrease of species are based on impression only, not on accurate counts. These estimates should be read as alterations of those that I gave in the Handlist of the Birds of the Marlborough District (1939).1

The exceptionally mild winter meant that we saw none of the birds we look for in cold weather. I have no record for example of Hooded Crow, Green Sandpiper, Jack Snipe or unusual ducks.

Some observers think that the Magpie may be increasing; many observers agree that Greenfinches, Goldfinches and, to a smaller extent, Bullfinches are more common than in recent years.

Cirl Buntings nested just outside Marlborough and brought off two broods. Much conflicting evidence suggests that there may have been one or even two other pairs close by. It is a very scarce bird near Marlborough.

Long-tailed Tits liked the mild winter and were seen frequently in the early part of the year, but the Goldcrest, its fellow-sufferer in the recent severe winters, is still scarce.

On September 13th, near Imber, I saw a small party of large Wheatears and put them down with much hesitation as the Greenland race. A female Wheatear brought in by a cat at Aldbourne on September 23rd was sent to me and on measurement proved clearly to be of the Greenland race. One seen at Totterdown on October 13th may also be of this race.

Whinchats were seen at Aldbourne in April, near Clatford in June and, on migration, near Imber in mid-September, and near Rockley in late September.

The main Sand-Martin colony in the Marlborough district is now at Folly Farm near Great Bedwyn. There are very few left at Savernake Station.

A Hoopoe spent several days in a garden at West Overton during the second half of April.

¹ Obtainable from me at Marlborough College, price 2d.; postage 1½d. as printed matter, 3d. by letter post.

Both the Spotted Woodpeckers seem to me to be commoner than they used to be; the Greater is still commoner than the Lesser.

Peregrine Falcons were seen near Marlborough in March and April, and a Merlin near Clatford in January.

The Heronry in Savernake Forest is just keeping up its numbers. There seemed to be eight occupied nests this spring.

A Black Tern was seen near Clatford in June. It was flying up and down the Kennet and was watched for some time.

Gulls are now seen near Marlborough much more frequently and in much larger numbers than formerly. For several years now flocks which had presumably come up the Salisbury Avon have been seen feeding in winter in the Pewsey Vale, but near Marlborough they were much less common and merely passed over. This year, for the first time as far as I know, a considerable flock of Common and Black-headed Gulls spent some time in the Kennet Valley. They roosted near Boreham Wood and in Temple Bottom and could be seen following the plough near Fyfield and elsewhere. I saw them finally leave the valley at the end of March: they flew off in a south-easterly direction.

Once again a summer has passed without my hearing of a single Land-Rail near Marlborough, but Quail were reported several times from Fyfield and Aldbourne.

THE CHANGING VEGETATION OF COATE WATER.

By J. D. GROSE.

Coate Water is an artificial lake about three-quarters of a mile long and up to a quarter of a mile wide, lying two miles south-east of Swindon. It was originally constructed as a feeder for the now derelict Wilts and Berks Canal. The observations mentioned in this paper were taken on the south-east margin, which is fenced and left largely in an undisturbed state.

The flora is much what would be expected of the border of an inland lake, and uncommon species are few. About ten years ago it was noticed that certain plants varied in quantity from year to year in an extreme degree, presumably owing to changes in the water-level. As an example, Rorippa amphibia (L.) Besser, was once so plentiful that the border of the lake was a mass of yellow blossom visible from a great distance, and the scent (normally not noticeable) could be detected long before the water was reached. Yet, in the following year, not a single flowering specimen could be found. At this period the level of the water varied considerably from season to season.

In 1934, five species were selected for observation, and notes were taken from that date of the relative frequency of these plants. Five or six visits were made each season.

In 1938, there was a change of policy in the management of the lake, and after the construction of new ducts, the water was maintained at a consistent low level. Coarse grasses, notably *Phalaris arundinacea* L. became much more abundant on the reclaimed ground as it dried, and by 1940 such plants as *Sonchus arvensis* L. and *Cirsium arvense* (L.) Scop. became frequent. The five selected species suffered badly under the new conditions, and none of them is now common.

In the subjoined table, the following abbreviations are used:

O.—Not seen.	Water	Level:	NNormal.
S.—Scarce.			H.—High.
F.—Frequent.			L.—Low.
C.—Common.			
A.—Abundant.			

Water- Spring Summer Autumn	1934. L. L. L. N.	1935. N. N. N. H.	1936. H. H. N.	1937. H. N. L. L.	1938. L. L. L. L.	1939. L. L. L. L.	1940. L. L. L. L.
Ranunculus Flammula L. Rorippa amphibia (L.)	Ο.	S.	A.	Α.	F.	F.	F.
Besser.	Ο.	A.	O.	S.	F.	S.	S.
Bidens tripartita L.	S.	. O.	. A.	O.	C.	F.	F.
Veronica Scutellata L.	S.	A.	Ο.	S.	S.	S.	S.
Alopecurus aequalis Sobol.	Α.	F.	S.	F.	C.	F.	S.

FLOWERING PLANTS.

C. P. Hurst.

(A MS. list of plants observed in the neighbourhood of Great Bedwyn by Mr. C. P. Hurst in 1924 has recently come into my possession. Most of the more interesting notices have already been published in the W.A.M., but is seems worth while to place a few others on record, and these have been extracted from Mr. Hurst's list.—J.D.G.)

Ranunculus peltatus Schrank. In a pool on the downs near Tidcombe.

R. hederaceus L. Meadow near Shalbourne Newtown.

R. auricomus L. Near Marten.

Arabis hirsuta Scop. Meadow near Shalbourne Newtown.

Viola canina L. Meadow near Shalbourne Newtown and in some quantity near West Leas.

Montia fontana L. Near Shalbourne Newtown.

Salix purpurea L. Between Froxfield and Harrow Farm.

Populus nigra L. Shalbourne Newtown.

Galanthus nivalis L. Near the ramparts of Chisbury Camp and near Stokke House.

Sieglingia decumbens Bernh. Plentiful on Conyger Hill, Bedwyn. Hordeum nodosum L. By the Canal at Bedwyn.

WILTSHIRE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES.

[This list is in no way exhaustive. The Editor appeals to all authors and publishers of material connected with the county to send him copies, and to editors of papers and members of the Society to send copies of articles, views or portraits of county interest for record and preservation in the Society's Library.

The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the 16th and 17th Centuries, by G. D. Ramsay, Oxford, 1943.

8vo. Price 10s. Reviewed by G. M. Young.

This is a book of exceptional interest, and of great importance for the economic history of Wiltshire. I think I shall do best if I give a short summary of it chapter by chapter, from which members of the Society will see how much it contains of local value, and what promising lines of research it opens for the future.

Chapter I places the Wiltshire woollen industry fairly on the map. North to south, the industrial area stretched from the Gloucestershire border to Warminster, with an appendage running down the Wylye Valley to Salisbury. East to west, it reached from Bishops Cannings to the Somerset border. The chief centres were the hundreds of Chippenham and Melksham. Cotswold supplied the wool: the Avon and its tributaries clear water: fuller's earth was abundant at Westbury and the Lavingtons, at Rowde and Calne. Finally the Avon Valley and Somerset yielded the food required by the individual population.

Chapter II traces the history of the fleece from the grazier to the clothier, and in this history the principal, and sometimes sinister, figure is the broker, the wool-brogger. (It occurs as a personal name in Marlborough as early as the fourteenth century.) Naturally, whenever prices went up, the middleman was blamed: there were prosecutions for hoarding, the Privy Council intervened, Parliament passed an Act or two—and things went on as before. The great clothiers, who could send agents to buy in Cirencester market, or at Castle Combe, could do without him. But the little growers relied on his periodic visits to get their wool off their hands. And many of the clothiers grew their own wool.

Chapter III presents the great capitalist of Tudor Wiltshire, Stumpe of Malmesbury, who by establishing his looms and weavers in the empty monastic buildings, might almost be called the Father of the Factory. Oxford suggested he should do the same at Oseney Abbey, and the scale on which he operated is shown by a stipulation that he should bring 2,000 skilled hands into the business. Stumpe was evidently as tough a customer as Tropenell before him. But we owe him a great debt. He secured the nave of the Abbey Church for parochial use and so, in all likelihood, saved it from complete ruin. His son was knighted in his father's lifetime-married into the county-and transmitted a fortune to three granddaughters who married three earls. Lesser, but still conspicuous lights in Malmesbury are Kyng and Hedges: at Trowbridge, Longford and Yerbury: at Bradford, the Hortons and Baileys. By frequent intermarriage the great clothiers seemed to have formed an industrial aristocracy, which, as land and houses were the best investment, was always on the way to become a landed aristocracy, a gentry—but far less generous to the Church than their Catholic predecessors, and not always acceptable to the old families, who none the less were glad enough sometimes to borrow money of them, and sometimes to marry their daughters.

In Chapter IV we come upon a tale which has a familiar ring—the controversy between laisser-faire, in the strict sense of the word, and Government control. It was of the highest importance to the country that English wares should be of standard quality and therefore readily taken in the foreign market. How was the standard to be enforced? By Government inspectors, the aulnagers? Or by local searchers appointed by the Justices? All cloth for export passed through the bottleneck of Blackwell Hall in London, and there the controversy was renewed. For fifty years the Wiltshire clothiers fought the City of London from court to court, and in the end they won. Private enterprise had triumphed.

But (and this also is familiar) the foreign market is a precarious stay for a great industry. Chapters V and VI lead us, through occasional setbacks and recoveries, to the great crisis of the early seventeenth century. Untimely interference by the Government of James I threw the mechanism of the export trade out of gear, and before it could recover, the Thirty Years War had broken out. Idle looms: reduced wages: rioting: pilfering—all the symptons of acute industrial distress are traceable in the records. The Poor Law broke down: relief work was sketchily introduced: the people suffered. And the Government of Charles I, paralysed by the opposition between King and Parliament, and distrust between City and King, was not in a position to help.

On these ruins the great West of England industry was built. The world was wide; there were other markets besides Germany and Holland. So the most enterprising of the clothiers reasoned, and in Chapters VII and VIII we have the story of the revival, and the re-organisation of the industry to meet the new conditions. Webb of Kingswood, Potticary of Stockton, were among the first to see which way the tide was running, and to turn from the old Wiltshire white cloths, undyed and undressed, to the fine coloured cloth called Spanish. The revival has, like the earlier prosperity in Henry VIII's time, left its trace on our architecture, in the fine houses built for the clothiers of Bradford and Trowbridge; and the meteoric rise of the Stumpes has its counterpart in the equally rapid but more durable elevation of the Methuens. Such instances are doubtless rare. The woollen industry of the XVIII century, which Defoe pronounced to be the greatest in the world, rested on the capacity and initiative of scores of manufacturers who founded no families and whose names are in no history books.

Wiltshire Clothiers' Houses. Country Life for November 19th, 1943, contained a review of Mr. Ramsay's book by Christopher Hussey, lavishly illustrated with photographs of Malmesbury Abbey, the so-called Flemish buildings at Corsham, South Wraxall Manor, Westwood Church, Stockton Manor, Lake House, Corsham Court, Beanacre and Iford Manors. The families with which these places are associated are briefly traced, and the fine old buildings of Bradford, Malmesbury and Devizes are also mentioned.

A Historical and Descriptive Guide to the Churches of Shrewton, Maddington and Rollestone, in the County of Wilts. By the Rev. Canon J. M. J. Fletcher, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., Librarian of Salisbury Cathedral, and the Rev. Arthur S. Robins,

Vicar. 8vo., pp. 23.

This excellent little guide, which is really a model of what such parochial "guides" should be, begins with a page of introduction dealing very shortly with the features of the Downland neighbourhood, its earthworks, barrows, etc., and their contents. The next page deals with "The Winterbourne" and more particularly with the disastrous flood of January 13th, 1841, and the building of the 14 "Flood Cottages" which were built by means of the Flood Relief Fund which was raised to replace the houses destroyed. Another page is given to the History of Shrewton—derivation of the name as Shire-reve-ton, as being mentioned in Domesday as the property of Edward of Salisbury, then Sheriff of Wilts and the owner of 38 manors in the county. The descent of the manor and of the rectorial tithes is shortly traced. The Church as it was in 1825 is described carefully, as well as the practically rebuilt Church of 1854. The principal memorials, the bells, and communion plate are described, and a complete list of the Vicars from 1323 to 1923 is given.

The history of Maddington fills pp. 10 to 17. The various forms of the name Moedenbeorgh, Madynton, Winterbourne Madynton or Maiden Winterbourne, all refer to the fact that Amesbury Priory held half the manor, which at the Dissolution was purchased with the rest of the property of the Priory by Will. Tooker. The Vicarage House was built in 1704 by Sir Stephen Fox and was enlarged in 1876. Burials were found on the site with Romano-British pottery. The field next to the Church bears the name of Bury. The Church, rebuilt in the 13th century, has a few fragments of Norman work. The south transept was built as a chantry chapel at the east end of the nave. The tower was rebuilt in the 17th century except for a portion of the lowest

¹ This form is unknown to the Editors of PN,W., as also to Ekblom. If correct, it could only refer to a barrow, and its association with the "Maiden" forms derived from the nuns of Amesbury seems unlikely.

storey. In 1603 the south wall of the nave was taken down, and a south aisle was formed. About 1699 the chancel was rebuilt by Sir Stephen Fox who then owned the manor. He also gave the plate. This chancel was rebuilt in 1846, the 13th century side windows being preserved. The chief memorials in the Church are described. A list of the incumbents of Maddington from 1649 to 1923 is given. Maddington and Shrewton were united in 1870. The parochial charities are described.

The notes on Rollestone parish, united with Shrewton and Maddington in 1922, fills pages 18 to 23. The Rectory house was built about 1680—1700. The "village" consists of the manor and $3\frac{1}{2}$ cottages, one cottage being half in the parish of Shrewton. The Church consists of chancel, nave and porch, built in the 13th century and restored in 1845. The patronage of the living belonged originally to the Knights Hospitaller, and an estate here belonged to the Hospital of Buckland, in Somerset, where were the poor sisters of S. John of Jerusalem, the only female branch of the order.

The Church plate, Elizabethan, and the registers from 1653 are noticed, and a list of the Rectors from 1302 is given. E. H. G.

Friends of the Cathedral. Annual Report. Year 1943, pp. 11. The Dean in this, the last report that he will make as Dean of Salisbury, an office which he has now held for seven years, calls attention to the fact that before the war put a stop to any large work of either repair or improvement, his own term of office was wholly taken up with the great work of repairing and safeguarding the fabric of the tower and spire, and he suggests that his successor's attention might well be given to the beautification of the interior. Amongst other things he suggests that Sir Gilbert Scott's reredos "might be taken down and placed in the disused chapel in the north transept where it could be re-erected and kept carefully in case anyone ever wished to put it back". As to the east windows of the Lady Chapel he suggests that "no scheme could really prosper until they are removed", and as for Moses and the brazen serpent in the east window over the high altar, "It is a valuable work of art which illustrates the best the age could do in the way of stained glass and as such should certainly be preserved in a museum, but its effect in its present position is nothing short of disastrous". The choir screen too he would fain see removed. This is followed by a good article by the librarian, Canon Quirk, shortly describing a number of the most interesting objects in the library, with, at their head, one of the four extant copies of Magna Carta. The subscriptions of the "Friends" for the year 1942 amounted to £574 15s. 8d. It would be well if their number could be substantially increased. There are three particularly good photographs of the Cathedral from the air, "The Garth and Library" and "St. Ann's Gate", as well as an illustration of a panel of 15th century Flemish glass. E. H. G.

"My Wiltshire Garden". By Mabel E. Long. A short paper, in "My Garden", June, 1943, pp. 445—448, on the most notable wild flowers of the North Wilts—Cotswold country.

E. H. G.

Four Historic Homes safeguarded by the National Trust. By Christopher Hussey. This article appeared in Country Life for August 27th, 1943. Two of the historic homes it deals with are in Wiltshire, Great Chalfield and Westwood, the properties respectively of Col. R. F. Fuller and Mr. E. G. Lister. The former has been given to the Trust with a large endowment, the latter is safeguarded under a protective covenant. Both "belong to that large and lovely group of West Country manor houses built at the close of the middle ages, for the most part by men enriched by the wool industry". Great Chalfield probably dates from 1480 and was built by Thomas Tropenell, a wool grower; Westwood is rather later and was built by Thomas Horton, a clothier, on a similar but less elaborate plan. Two good photographs of each house illustrate the articles, which traces the history of the properties and describes briefly their most interesting features H.C.B.

Buried History. By W. J. Farrar. Under this title The Spectator of August 6th, 1943, has an article on three papers in the June, 1943, number of the Magazine, "Cardinals Beneficed in Sarum Cathedral", by the Rev. C. Moor; "Shipmoney in the Hundred of Kingsbridge", by C. W. Pugh"; and "An Episcopal Visitation of the Cathedral Church of Sarum", by C. R. Everett. "Three articles which at once bring past history into the world of authentic. They may be said to call to life respectively the need for our severance from Rome, the English Revolution, and the Character of the Reformed Anglican Church". The writer goes on to give a resumé of the contents of each of the three papers, and to point out that each of them throws a vivid light on the particular feature of English history with which it deals.

E. H. G.

Place Names and Topography of the Upper Thames Country. A Regional Essay. By W. J. Arkell. Oxoniensia, Vol. VII, 1942, 4to, p. 23.

This most valuable paper, founded on Dr. Arkell's unrivalled knowledge of the geology of the country from Cricklade and Wootton Bassett to Faringdon, Wantage, Abingdon, and Oxford, deals with the derivation of many of the place names of the district from more or less a new point of view, in which the geological formation of the locality is shown to explain the derivation of the name. Among the Wiltshire items dealt with are the following. As to Rag Farm, at Highworth, he maintains that "the name refers to the Rag-stone formerly quarried there, rather than to vanished woodland as maintained in the *Place Names of Wiltshire*, and quotes the occurrence of

the word "Ragg" for stone in deeds of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. As to "Catsbrain" at the junction of Kingsdown Lane and the Highworth-Swindon Road in Stanton Fitzwarren, he suggests that though the origin of the name is obscure it may refer to the "clayey facies of the Coral Rag", at that point. Chiseldon (Cyseldene) "preserves the O.E. word ceosol, cisel (meaning gravel or shingle) found in Chesil Beach (Dorset), etc. The name is probably due to the prevalence of chalk flints, but it is puzzling because the denu or combe is in Lower Chalk, which does not contain flints".

"The numerous leazes and sleights as farm and field names in various combinations, are indicative of soils suitable respectively for pastures and sheep walks". Moredon, near Swindon, is a village surrounded by marshes. "Wanborough and Little Hinton charters show that the upper reach of the Cole was called the *Smite* in the 9th and 11th centuries, and that the parallel feeder which flows from Bishopstone was called the Lenta, a name which survives in Lint Bridge and Farm near Lechlade and so must have been at one time the name for the main river".

"Crouch Hill, north of Highworth, is a corruption of British cruc, hill. Brazen Church Hill, about two miles to the north-west... may be suspected of being another cruc1, but the first element is obscure. Cricklade is probably another (with O.E. gelad 'passage' or 'crossing' as in Lechlade'.

"Lushill, an isolated outlier of sand and limestone north-west of the northernmost spur of the Corallian Hills near Hannington was Lustes-hulle in 1166, Losteshulle in 1275. It was probable a personal name".

"Hannington and Blunsdon are personal names Blunt and Hana, compounded with O.E. dun". Bury Blunsdon is called after the prehistoric earthwork. Hook, between Purton and Wootton Bassett, is the O.E. Haca, hook, a hill spur. As to "Lydiard", "The hills around both villages are peculiar in consisting of outliers of Kimmeridge Clay standing upon the limestone plateau of the Coral Rag. The hills are the muddiest places in the district, and on the summit of one is a withy bed. From this it appears possible that the first element is derived from another Celtic word luta—meaning mud, but there are difficulties in accepting this on linguistic grounds".

"The Church Hills, two miles south-west of Lydiard Tregoze, probably embody the Celtic *cruc* since there is no Church near them".1

"Toot, a mile west of Old Swindon, is an isolated 'look-out' hill of which there are several on the Dorset coast".

"Rowborough Farm, east of South Marston, is named after a neighbouring hill of red sands (Upper Calcareous Grit) which must formerly have been left rough or uncultivated. Red Down, near Highworth, owes its name to the same sands, which are highly ferruginous. They also underlie the hamlet of Redlands".

¹ Cf. the Note on Gunschurch Barrow below.—H. C. B.

This most useful paper ends with a three page list of the Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and O.E. topographical words mentioned as the source of place names in the district.

Ed. H. Goddard.

William Hazlitt. Under the heading, "Uneasy Genius", The Spectator, October 22nd, 1913, has a review by C. E. Vulliamy of Born under Saturn. A Biography of William Hazlitt. By Catherine M. Maclean-Collins. 21s.

"It was his misfortune to be continually thrown into the posture of angry defence; a victim of the petulent, unqualified assertions which he himself mistook for principles. No perspicacious biographer of William Hazlitt would look for uniformity or precision in this astonishing and exasperating individual. . . . He was born to be the destroyer, not only of his own happiness and eventually of his life, but also of the natural potency and integrity of his genius. In every relation of life Hazlitt was unsuccessful. In his crazy pursuit of immediate, full and enduring satisfaction, he was invariably and inevitably thwarted. Miss Maclean's technique of loyal evasion does not conceal the fact that Hazlitt with all his exquisite perception was a sensualist of peculiar crudity. Although Miss Maclean has tried with patient industry to do so, it is impossible to depict Hazlitt as an amiable character, nor can he be regarded as a man who ever rose to the level of true greatness. either in thought or performance. He has indeed a fixed and enduring place in the literary constellation of the Romantic period. but his light is that of a variable and uncertain star. Miss Maclean does not seem to realise how zealously Hazlitt himself invited the appearance of persecution and how intolerable he was in his customary behaviour. That her book is 'the final word on its subject and a work of art in itself', as the publishers say, may possibly be doubted ". E. H. G.

MOONRAKE MEDLEY.

!—That mark of exclamation is intended to forestall criticism. title may seem a departure from the canons of high seriousness which —one might even say, who—have distinguished this Magazine in the past; but many subscribe to it who may legitimately complain that the bulk of its contents is apt to be a little—technical. It should be remembered that it still bears on the first page of each issue, whatever it may carry on its cover, the original title, The Wiltshire Magazine, which gives scope for much that is not strictly archæology and even for some unnatural history. Such material, of course, has always found a welcome, but usually among the Notes, where it tends to be obscured by matters of more specialised interest. It is hoped that if a separate category is reserved for them, communications of more general interest may be submitted with greater freedom, though their inclusion must necessarily depend upon considerations of space and merit. attempt is made to define acceptable subjects, though most of them might be classed as folk-lore—itself a tolerably vague term. "To rake up straws and sticks and the dust of the floor "was the function of another implement, which moved Bunyan to scorn; yet, if the Editor's present purpose holds, it is in some such gathering together of unconsidered trifles that the moonrake will be employed. often be puzzled to know whether a particular contribution should not rather have found a place among the "Notes", which will still be found in their own place—or vice versa; but the present examples may show his intention more clearly than further words.

Skimmington-riding. Mr. Cunnington included in his *Records* of the County of Wilts (Devizes, 1932) two accounts of this custom as practised at Quemerford in 1618 and at Marden in 1626. For the benefit of readers to whom the term is unfamiliar, Dartnell and Goddard, Glossary of Wiltshire Words (1893) may be quoted;—

"Skimmenton, Skimmenton-riding. A serenade of rough music got up to express disapproval in cases of great scandal and immorality". "Housset", they add, "is the same thing", and under that word they further inform us "In Berks, the 'Hooset' is a draped horse's head carried at a 'Hooset Hunt'".

Both words seem to have been in use only in the north of the county, though the practice was common to many parts of England. No occurrence has yet been reported from South Wilts.

Certainly this Magazine lost no time in recording the ceremony. A paper by F. A. Carrington, of Ogbourne St. George, on certain ancient Wiltshire customs appeared in the very first number, just ninety years ago, and one of the customs described is the "Wooset". (The W, he admits, is silent, and he does not explain why he prints it). Carrington had seen two—one at Burbage in 1835, and the other at Ogbourne St. George about 1840. From his description they seemed to lack little or nothing of their earlier elaboration, the processions taking place on

nine nights out of a consecutive fifteen. Both, it should be noted, dealt with cases of conjugal infidelity. The Skimmington was reserved for henpecked husbands. The two processions, he says, were different. The rough band of frying-pans, old kettles filled with stones, sheeps' horns, cracked sheep-bells, discarded fish-kettles beaten with a marrowbone, or any other instrument, we may suppose, supplied by the village dump, doubtless figured in both, but in place of the seven-foot cross carrying a chemise on its arms and on its head a horse's skull with a pair of deer horns attached, which formed the main exhibit of the 'Ooset', the principal group in the Skimmington was the stuffed figure of a man placed on horseback with a man in woman's clothes riding behind him and beating the figure about the head with with a wooden ladel. Carrington had seen such a procession in Gloucestershire when a boy. He also mentions a passage in Hudibras (part II, canto 2) and an illustration to it, which describe and depict a Skimmington.

Zachary Grey's edition of *Hudibras* ("adorned with a new set of cuts") was published in 1772, and the "new cuts" for it were drawn by Hogarth. Plate IX, opposite page 405 of the first volume, is doubtless the one referred to, and the notes to Butler's text call the passage, which is much too long to quote here, "an excellent description of the Skimmington", without, however, any further enlightenment. Many of the details illustrated by Hogarth agree closely with Carrington's descriptions, though he seems to combine the features of the Ooset and the Skimmington. Ralphe, the Squire of Sir Hudibras, sums up the latter when he says that the procession

"Is but a riding, us'd of course when the grey mare's the better horse".

Mr. E. R. Pole has supplied, from an edition of *The Works of Hogarth with 68 illustrations* published, without date, by J. Dicks, the following note on a reproduction of this plate:—

It is interesting to find that this custom of the "Skimmington" or "riding the stang", as it was sometimes termed, was observed in Spain three centuries ago pretty much as in England. From a work published in the town of Seville in 1593, we learn that the patient and injured husband was put astride of a mule, with his hands shackled, and having on an amazingly large pair of antlers, which were twisted about with herbs, with four little flags at the top and three bells. The vixen wife rode on another mule, and was made to belabour her husband with a crabbed stick. Behind her, on foot, followed a trumpeter, holding in his left hand a trumpet, and in his right a bastinado. or large strap of leather, with which he beat the woman as they went along. The passengers or spectators in this old Spanish picture, to which we now refer, are each holding up at them two fingers, like "snails' horns". In Spain this procession was styled "Ejecución justiciera de los cornudos pacientes".

Mr. Pole has also traced the custom to the threshold of our own day in North Wilts, as these accounts, which appear over his name, will show:

"Mr. Richard Hill, of Ramsbury, now residing at Crofton, remembers clearly that when a lad of about ten years old he saw 'Oosit hunting' at Ramsbury in the year 1868 or 69.

A man known to have been unfaithful to his wife, although they had a large family (and for that reason the name is withheld) was the

object.

A procession was formed led by a man holding the skeleton of a horse's head on a stick, its jaws made to open and shut by pulling a string, with a rough band consisting of trumpets, trombones, kettledrums, etc., followed by a rabble with pots and pans and anything they could make a noise on or with. They paraded up to and around the man's house for three or four nights, each night the crowd increasing. The police tried to stop them but were unable to do so".

"Returning from Bedwyn station on the afternoon of the 17th April, 1943, I was walking down the viliage street when I met an old inhabitant now living at Stokke Common and stopped to speak to him. His age is eighty-four.

"Well, how are you? You are just the chap I want to ask a

question of. What do you know of 'Osit'-hunting?"

"You don't mean Osit-hunting. It is Oosit-hunting. Do you want a horse's head? You know—a skeleton? I know where there is one which I can get you," he said, with a gleam in his eye.

"No, I don't want to do any hunting, but weren't you active in an

Oosit-hunt in 1895?"

"Yes," he laughed, "Mr. X and Miss Y of Little Bedwyn."

"That's it," I said. "Now what did you do?"

"Well, there was old so-and-so and several others (whom he named) and myself, we were all in it, but I don't think that time we could get hold of a horse's head, but for three nights we went to both houses—a large number of us—with a rough band. You know—pots and pans and kettles and anything we could make a noise on, and we did give it 'em!'"

"Was that the last one you remember around here?"

"Well, there was another at Shalbourne about the same time, but I can't remember now if it was before this Bedwyn one or not. I think it was a few months after."

After the account Mr. Hill had given me in the winter of Ramsbury, I was naturally most interested to find that this old custom had not died out in the eighteenth century but had actually been nearly carried into the twentieth. Of course Mr. X was a married man with children, and Miss Y needs no comment.

E. R. Pole.

Darell's Stile. Those who are familiar with the story of Wild Darell of Littlecote will remember the tradition that he met his end at a stile in Ramsbury. The tragedy must have confirmed for many not over-logical minds the truth of the charge of which William Darell was acquitted in a court of law, and I had long meant to

identify the place. Any inhabitant of Ramsbury could have directed me to it, but the inquiry was never made.

Two correspondents have now combined to leave me in no doubt about its position. The Rev. J. S. Fowle of Ogbourne St. George wrote: -- "On the top of the little hill above Ramsbury there is a stile still called "Shagstile" by the villagers. It was here that the notorious Darell met his death while hunting. The path winds up the hill from the mill round a chalk-pit and is rather precipitous until one gets to the stile, which leads into the road". (The question, however, remained; which hill and what road?) He added: "When I was a boy, this path and stile were supposed to be haunted by the spirit of [Wild Darell], and I have heard many tales from people who were convinced they had seen the apparition of a headless horseman, especially on moonlight nights, galloping along and jumping over the stile with his head under his arm. Few people would venture the path and stile at night". Britton, I am reminded, gave it a similar reputation, but the detached head is a gratuitous addition almost inevitable in our local ghoststories. Within a few hundred yards of where I write, on Granham Hill. Marlborough, I have been told of (but never seen) a coach which is driven through a "shard" in the field-hedge by a headless coachman "on the stroke of midnight". The hedge in question once formed the boundary of Savernake Forest, and the only shard in it lies on an ancient cattle-track leading down to the Kennet, which none but a headless coachman would attempt to use.

But the identity of the hill and road at Ramsbury was established by Mr. E. R. Pole of Great Bedwyn, who wrote: "Everybody in Ramsbury used to know, when I was a boy, Shag's stile, the place where Wild Darell was thrown off and broke his neck. And didn't I see myself Mr. Chamberlain of Ambrose Farm, in 1887 or 8, drag, with a team of seven horses, a large sarsen stone for a step to go over the stile? It was thought that in years to come it would be shown as the actual stone on which Darell's neck was broken, but I never heard anyone say so. . . . The road from the Harrow past Scrope Farm takes a sharp turn to the right about a hundred yards from Shag's stile, which was in the straight piece after turning this right bend".

So Shag (or Shag's) stile lay on the crest of the ridge of Rudge, a mile south of Ramsbury and half a mile north-west of Hugditch, at a spot well known, in fact, if not by name, to all who used that upper road. But alas for the romantic, and alas for all who loved the Rudge!—it lies there no more. Recent changes have obliterated all landmarks, and I have identified Darell's stile too late. H. C. B.

The Will-o'-the-wisp, or Spunky. This is a story of a Scotsman farming in Wiltshire. Before the days of partridge driving it was the custom to fly a kite over the field in which the shooting was to take place to make the birds, particularly the wildest ones, sit tight. The story is told that a neighbouring farmer had invited a shooting party to shoot partridges over his farm, and the Scotsman was one of the party. After

a convivial supper, whilst the guests were making merry, the host slipped out without being followed, got hold of a lantern, tied it to the tail of the kite, and flew it up. Safely up, he anchored the cord and quietly walked back into the room, announcing to the party that there appeared to be a strange light in the sky that evening. All got up and rushed out, and seeing the light, there was at once general speculation as to whatever it could be; but the Scotsman had no doubt, he knew at once, and he cried out positively, "Well, mun, that's a spunky!"

In the water-meadows at Bedwyn, the will-o'-the-wisp has been seen by numerous people on numerous occasions, and at what is called The Folly Handing Post, where the road divides to go to Shalbourne and Oxenwood, it is common after a very wet period. On one night the farmer at Harding Farm saw one rise near the oak tree bordering the road and move away, not with a continuous movement, but sometimes rising, sometimes falling, halting, but gradually going further on until it crossed the road before him and went across Wilton Common to disappear near Hill Barn. The following night he, with members of the family, went out again with the express purpose of seeing if it would appear again. This time one passed near the cottages on the road to the farm and disappeared near the Downs. The autumn of 1915 and spring of 1916 were very wet. During this period many were seen.

E. R. Pole.

The Witch of Tidcombe. This story bears some resemblance to one told at Winterslow and recorded under that heading in *Moonrakings*, a publication of the Women's Institutes of the county, which bears no date but appeared in 1930. When that volume was reviewed in this *Magazine*, it was remarked that most of the contributions came from South Wilts. The Moonrake (which acknowledges no copyright in the idea underlying its name) may seem in this instalment to go to the other extreme. That is an accident due to the district in which it was first employed. There is no intention of confining its operations to North Wilts.

"J. L. was a farm labourer who was positively scared if anyone referred to his having any knowledge of the witch of Tidcombe. Yet, with bated breath, he was on one occasion prevailed on to tell what he knew to his master. Hesitant and reluctantly, he related that when a boy he used to work for Mr. Tanner of Tidcombe, and that at this particular time they had been sowing towards the bottom running to Martin, and that the rooks were following them doing much damage. The foreman decided to get up early before break of day to set about these rooks. He was standing in the shelter of the hedge running from Martin to Tidcombe, when he saw a hare. He shot at it and could see he had wounded it, for it crept away at the side of the hedge, but not going too fast for him to follow it. He followed it, and to his astonishment it went into a cottage at Tidcombe. The same day, later, he heard that the old woman who lived in the cottage was ill, and the

following day she died. Unfortunately, the master, who tells this story, has forgotten the old woman's name, although J. L. did give her name and firmly believed the story—so much so, that it was a slip when he first referred to her, and a long time after before he would tell the complete story ".

E. R. POLE.

Pewsey. "My father, who died in 1921, aged 87, told me that, when he was a boy, Pewsey was known as the village where 'the bacon ate the cat'. The story arose from a child rushing out into the street crying:—'Oh, mother, mother, the bacon has ate the cat'! He also said that the people there used to call gates 'yurkles' and knives 'gullies'. These words seem now to have vanished'". J. S. Fowle.

The cat-bacon collocation is to be heard in various forms. Here at least is a simple explanation. The additions to the dialect of the Pewsey Vale must be accepted with reserve; they are like nothing in the dictionaries of provincialisms.

Folk Songs of the Upper Kennet. Mr. Alfred Lockey, of Bedwyn, who died in January, 1941, was one of the last singers of the old songs in this part of Wiltshire. He began life as a farm-boy on Chisbury Manor Farm and remembered helping to fill in the moat, over which a draw-bridge gave entry to Chisbury Manor. This must have been in the seventies of the last century. "Bob" Lockey, as he was generally called, was for many years a regular attendant at the Great Bedwyn Bowls-supper, at which he made his last appearance, when nearly 80, in November, 1940. On these occasions he was invariably called upon for his song, but he would never allow the words to be recorded until about four years before his death. Even then he was insistent that they should not be communicated during his lifetime

On examination they turn out to be a variant of a song recorded by Alfred Williams in his Folk-songs of the Upper Thames. Since Williams notes (p. 207) that the song "was once widely known, but at this time (1923) scarcely to be met with ", and that he searched the whole Vale before he was able to take down the words complete from a man at Taynton, near Burford, Bob Lockey's version deserves to be put on record. It is rather shorter than the Taynton copy, but not, I think, inferior. With Mr. Pole's transcript I have taken a few liberties metri gratia, and I have supplied the missing last couplet from Williams's version. This is perhaps reprehensible, but Lockey's memory had clearly misled him. All these alterations are bracketed.

We are all Jolly Fellows that follow the Plough.

It was early one morning by the break of the day.

The cocks were a-crowing, the farmer did say,

"Come all you bold fellows, [come rise with] good will, Your horses want something their bellies to fill".

When four o'clock comes, then up we do rise And into the stable, boys, nimbly we flies. With rubbing and scrubbing our horses, [I vow] We are all jolly fellows that follows the plough.

Then six o'clock comes; to breakfast we meet. With beef, bread, and pork we so heartily eat. With a piece in our pocket, I'll swear and I vow We are all jolly fellows that follows the plough.

When seven o'clock comes, then [to] harness we goes— Hop over the plain, boys, as nimbly as does, And when we get there, [we are] jolly and bold To see which of us the straight furrow can hold.

Our master came to us, and this he did say, "What have you been doing this long summer's day? You ain't ploughed one acre, I swear and I vow. You are all lazy fellows that follows the plough.

I stepped up to him, and I made this reply, "We have all ploughed an acre, so you tell a lie". Our master turned to us and laughed at the joke: "It's past two o'clock boys, it's time to unyoke.

Unharness your horses and rub them down well, And I'll give you a jug of bonny brown ale". [So ne'er fear your masters. I swear and I vow We are all jolly fellows that follows the plough.]

Before singing the song (Mr. Pole adds), "Old Bob" would insist on having a glass of ale and then, with his glass lifted, at the end would give this toast:

"The inside of a loaf and the outside of a jail, A pound of beefsteak and a pot of good ale. Here's to the crow that sits on the plough—If he bent got off, he's on ther now."

Mr. Pole also recorded another song of Lockey's, of which, however, the singer was not very sure. There were other verses which he couldn't properly remember, but the fragment is worth preserving. It is not in Williams's collection, nor have I seen it elsewhere.

The Carter's Lad's Song.

Crack, crack, goes my whip,
I whistle and I sing,
I sit upon my waggon,
I'm as happy as a king.
My horses always willing,
For me, I'm never sad,
There's none can lead a happier life
Than Jim the Carter's lad.
For it's crack, crack, goes my whip,
I whistle and I sing,
I sit upon my waggon,
I'm as happy as a king.

I snap my finger at the snow,
I whistle at the rain,
I've braved the storm for many a day
And can do so again.
For it's crack, crack, goes my whip,
I whistle and I sing,
I sit upon my waggon,
I'm as happy as a king.
H. C. B.

White-livered Men. In the December, 1942, issue of this Magazine (Vol. L, p. 25) Canon Goddard mentioned a supposed case of this peculiar condition from Thornhill, Clyffe Pypard (or Broad Town?) in 1891. The sufferer, if he may be so described, came from Newcastle, so the disability is evidently widespread. He was then 22. The following case, however, certainly occurred in North Wilts. It is recorded by Dr. W. B Maurice, of Marlborough, and names and places are suppressed. Dr. Maurice wrote on September 23rd, 1943:

"In the first week of November, 1914, I was attending a patient in a village near Marlborough, whose age was 75. When I came down from seeing him, some of his neighbours asked me how he was. I said he was in a very poor way and would not live more than a day or two. Their reply was that he would not die yet, as he was 'one of them white-livered men, and his wife was bound to die first'.

I asked them what they meant, as I had never heard of this idea. They then told me that white-livered men always outlived their wives and generally had three. I said I did not think it likely to come off this time, as he was very near the end, and, though his wife was not well at the time, there was nothing to suggest that she was about to die. Actually, they both died on the 9th of November, a day or two after this took place, and the wife died first. Her age was 60. She was his third wife.

I have never been able to ascertain how it is known that a man is "white-livered". The daughter-in-law could not tell me this, but believed there were others in the district. Some years ago I asked her about this and for names. She sent me the names of two and believed another lived in a neighbouring village. I have unfortunately lost the letter in which she gave me this information, and she is unable now to recollect how she got it. She is also unable to tell me whether her husband, the son of my patients, is white-livered. She is his first wife and is confident she will out-live him, and he certainly is unlikely to acquire two more wives".

Finally, to do tardy justice to South Wilts, here are two items from that part of the county. First, a letter addressed to Canon Goddard in 1938 from Fisherton Delamere.

Hills Growing. "I was walking up a high conical down at Bratton, out hunting. An old man was on the top. I said, 'I think these hills VOL. L.—NO. CLXXIX.

are higher than they used to be'. He answered, 'Well, so they be. Don't 'em grow from the bottom?' Thinking it over, I believe he is right in a way, because more material is washed off the slopes and the valley than off the top. It struck me as a fellow-story to the flints growing.

R. S. Newall.

Secondly, some extracts from a delightful article in the *Salisbury Diocesan Gazette* for November, 1943, to which Canon Goddard draws attention. It was written by Canon J. S. Stuart, Vicar of Christ Church, Warminster, from 1899 to 1941.

Warminster Common. "I believe about 150 years ago a horde of gipsies and the like settled on the Common and built their own hovels. They were regarded as outlaws, and few dared to pass through the district. A judge, hearing some of the prisoners came from Warminster Common, expressed astonishment, saying: "I thought we had hanged them all from there." For years there was no church, chapel or school in the district, and as late as 1850 the conditions were deplorable.

"We still have our superstitions, our belief in witchcraft, charms, etc. Here is a charm I found in use, and evidently with success, for the cure of a little child badly burnt:—

'Four Holy Angels from the North, Out fire—in frost; In the name of the Father, The Son and the Holy Ghost'.

I came across the same charm some time later in a folklore book under the title of 'A 14th Century Exorcism of Fire'.

"Here is another, which I found on Warminster Common in a little notebook, dated time of Charles II: 'How to keep boys from stealing your apples. Cut a piece of virgin parchment ln four quarters. Write on each the words, Moyses said exergat [exsurgat] Deus. Place at each corner of your orchard and any boy venturing thereon will be spellbound and can be caught'.

"I have received gifts of herbs for medicine gathered under certain planets and have twice had an urgent call on a Sunday night to drive a devil out of a house, and that within the last few years."

The article is a short one, but contains several good Wiltshire stories and ends with the words—*To be continued*.

NOTES.

Carved Stones built into the Wall of Sarum Close.

Caron Goddard has kindly made this digest of various notes by Mrs. J. L. Lovibond of Salisbury on the stones from Old Sarum now recognisable in the wall of the Close at Salisbury. The original notes were made in 1936 or earlier, but Mrs. Lovibond has recently confirmed the progress of the decay to which she here draws attention.

"The first half of the 12th century was the date of most of the sculptured stones now in the wall, which came from the Cathedral of Old Sarum. The general richness of its decoration is shown by the great number of ornamental details still existing in this wall as well as by the quantity of carved detail found during the excavation of the foundations of the building itself.

In 1326 Edward III granted a licence to the Dean and Chapter to surround the Close with an embattled wall and in 1331 issued letters patent to the Bishop, Dean and Canons authorising them to use for that purpose the stones of the walls of the Cathedral of Old Sarum and of the houses there formerly occupied by the Dean and Canons. This, apparently, is the date of the existing wall of the Close, built when Robert de Wyvil had been two years Bishop. His earliest work seems to have been the completion of the Close wall and the enlargement of the Cloisters.

The sculptured details are built into both sides of the wall, especially the long outside stretch in Exeter Street and the inside of it enclosing the gardens in the Close. In that portion enclosing Lady Eyre Coote's garden there are on the inside 21 sculptured stones, three of which bear, each of them, two rosettes, each enclosing a five-pointed star. There are also in this garden three good pieces of moulding, one of them with dog-tooth ornament. These are better preserved than the stones of the same pattern on the outer (Exeter St.) side of the wall. On this outside stretch there are 105 sculptured stones of different patterns.

As regards the Exeter St. side Mrs. Lovibond notes: 'Having carefully gone over the wall on the inside enclosing the Palace grounds, twice, I have found only one carved stone, the great majority being on the outside of the wall in Exeter Street'. She further remarks: 'When I began to note the carved stones in the Close wall in the autumn of 1932, the carvings were still well preserved, their condition good and the details sharp and clear, but when inspecting them in the early summer of 1936 I found the definition of the carving no longer sharp but blurred and, in some cases, actually difficult to distinguish, and the stones in places becoming disintegrated. As the same decay can be noted in the wall of the Friary, where the motors and lorries stand, is it not reasonable to suggest that this modern disintegration of the stone is caused by the petrol fumes from the engines of the cars?'''

Scratch Dials in Wiltshire. Mr. R. G. V. Dymock adds to his list: Knook Church; the western half (?) of a dial turned on its side adjoining the top stone of the column forming the northern support of the tympanum of the west door.

Canon Goddard observed (May 27th, 1943) at Alton Barnes Church "the faint remains of the scratches of a rectangular dial on the top

stone of the S.E. corner of the nave wall ".

Mr. Dymock has not so far included the example in Preshute Church and asks that it should be mentioned. It will be found in the N.W. angle of the interior of the tower (a dark corner) about 5ft. from the ground. Mr. G. A. A. Wright, in his account of the Church, gives this description: "Under the plaster [of the tower interior] was found an incised cross, the arms ending in fleurs-de-lys enclosed within a double circle. It was probably originally an external consecration cross of 13th cent. date. The hole in the middle may have held a metal bracket for a candle. . . The lines radiating from this hole in an upward direction suggest that, in the 14th cent., it was converted into a 'scratch' sundial, a style or gnomon replacing the bracket, and finally was discarded and built into the tower, upside down, when the latter was reconstructed in the 15th century".

The House of Correction, Devizes. Through the kindness of Mr. Ralph Owen, of The Woods, Devizes, the Museum has acquired a fine brace of pistols of the 18th century. They are fifteen inches long, five-eighths of an inch in bore, mounted in mahogany stocks and with brass fittings complete. They are of the old flint-lock type, but one has been converted into a percussion cap pistol, the can nipple being screwed into the powder pan. Percussion caps were introduced about 1825, so these pistols probably date from the 18th century. Each has the following inscription on the barrel: "W. PARKER. MAKER TO HIS MAJESTY. LONDON. HOUSE OF CORRECTION. DEVIZES".

This House of Correction, later known as "The Bridewell", probably dates from the reign of King Edward VI, as previous to that time prisoners were confined in the Castle at Devizes. For many years it was the only County jail in Wiltshire. Fisherton jail at Salisbury, and the prison at Devizes were not built until the 18th and 19th centuries. In the Wilts Quarter Sessions Great Rolls of the 17th century (1648) it is recorded that a boy aged 15 years was captured by William Dicke, the Master of the House of Correction in Devizes, and taken to that prison, where he was put in the stocks and received "floure score blowes with a whippe and almost beaten to death".

According to an inventory made in 1617, the contents of the House of Correction included amongst other articles:—"one little malt mill, sixe spinninge turnes and three weales, one pair of stockes, three bedd-steads, six paire of irons and three paire of handbolts".

In 1784 the Old Bridewell at Devizes was reconstructed by order of the County Magistrates at a cost of £800. In 1834 Charles Coward, the then Mayor of Devizes, sentenced Ann Wheeler to twenty days im-

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prisonment in the House of Correction for leaving the service of her master. Thus the old House of Correction remained in use until about a hundred years ago, but I cannot find any record of the date when it was given up.

B. Howard Cunnington.

Wiltshire Exhibits in an Essex Museum. In the museum at Saffron Walden, Essex, there are some fragments of an Anglo-Saxon glass cup of well-known type having lobes or horn-like projections. The entry in the museum register is as follows: "14 June, 1894. Portions of a Saxon glass Drinking Cup from an ancient barrow in Wiltshire". The donor was Joseph Clarke, F.S A., who died in 1894, aged 92.

In a catalogue of the same museum, dated 1845, is an entry as follows: "Roman Lamp, small vessel with twisted handle, and a rude but elegantly designed vessel ornamented at the lip with a head of Jupiter Ammon, found in a tumulus in Wiltshire, 1837. Presented by Mr. S. K. Baines".

Unfortunately neither the locality nor any detail of these two finds is known.

M. E. Cunnington.

Langley Burrell Church. Note by the late Sir Harold Brakespeare, F.S.A. "This little Church retains in the lower part of the south side of the nave and the west side of the porch portions of walls of a Church of Saxon days, and foundations of the same work still remain under the north window. An aisle was added on the north side of the nave about 1200. The chancel was rebuilt and probably enlarged some twenty years later. A general scheme of rebuilding was begun about the middle of the thirteenth century and consisted of remodelling the Church, lengthening the nave westward and building a wide north aisle in place of the narrow early one. This was followed by the erection of the tower in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The nave and aisles were re-roofed in the fifteenth century and a battlemented parapet added on the north side".

Wansdyke. Military Damage reported and checked. On May 16th of this year Mr. Cunnington informed me, as County Correspondent of the Ancient Monuments Department, of reports that had reached him about damage done to this earthwork in his neighbourhood. The report was sent on to a quarter capable of dealing with the matter, and an investigation was promptly made, as the following extract from a letter received will show.

"On May 25th I found it to be even as reported. A piece of the bank about 10 yards long has been cut down, but not right down to the original surface under the bank. The loose chalk and soil has been pushed down the scarp. A shallow trench has been dug in the bottom of the ditch. At the top of the counterscarp some turf has been removed and the topsoil disturbed. Clearly someone has been practising bridge-building. There is a most unsightly mess, but the real archæological loss is probably nil.

This spoliation of Wansdyke was particularly distressing to the officers with me, because one of them on the spot only four weeks before had impressed upon the troops there the necessity of avoiding damage to ancient earthworks. Those troops were gunners; no doubt the bridge-builders are sappers; hence probably the mistake ".

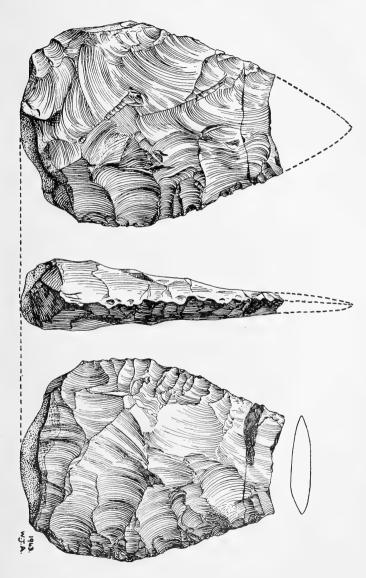
My correspondent added that the military authorities were always most anxious to protect our monuments and would do their utmost to prevent a recurrence of such misplaced activities. They would also see that the mess was cleared up and the bank restored as nearly as possible to its former condition.

H. C. Brentnall.

Palaeolith from Gravels at Sutton Benger. Mr. Alan J. Gibson is to be congratulated on the discovery in 1943 of the fine palaeolith illustrated on the opposite page, among gravel raised by mechanical excavator at the Pyramid Sand and Gravel Co.'s pit, Sutton Benger. The broken fragment was found later. The tip has, unfortunately, not been recovered.

The palaeolith is a broad, flat, Acheulian pointed hand-axe, 10.8 cms. wide, 3.5 cms. thick near the butt, 2.1-2.2 cms. thick in the middle region, and probably about 17-17.5 cms. long before the tip was broken off by the excavator. The cross-section is bilaterally symmetrical. A large part of both faces consists of wide, shallow, rippled primary flakes. Secondary flaking is shallow and controlled, and on one face one of the sides has been trimmed with a series of small, regular, elongate, parallel flakes showing a high degree of technical skill. The cortex butt provides a comfortable hand-grip. The implement has a mottled blue and white patina and is slightly rolled. The cortex is white and deep. Typologically the implement seems to be early Upper Acheulian. It has been presented by Mr. A. J. Gibson to the British Museum (Natural History), and I am indebted to Dr. K. P. Oakley for the loan of it with the suggestion that it should be recorded and figured.

The find spot is 800 yards south-east of Sutton Benger Church and about 600 yards west of the River Avon, where the surface level is 170-174 feet O.D. The gravel is 9 feet thick (including soil), and has yielded remains of Elephas primigenius (mammoth), Rhinoceros sp., and Equus sp. Wolf has also been recorded. In the Geological Survey memoir (Geology of the Country around Marlborough, 1925, p. 95) it is stated that hereabouts the gravel "rises in an unbroken slope from the river to Sutton Benger". The higher part of the slope, which extends under the village, belongs to the Christian Malford terrace of the Avon (25 feet above the river), but on the Geological Survey map (Marlborough sheet, 266, published 1925) a strip adjoining the river is assigned to the youngest or Flood Plain terrace (15 feet above the river), the assumed boundary being dotted. The find-spot indicated by Mr. Gibson is just on the younger gravel; but even if the gravel from which the implement was obtained belongs to the younger stage, the blending of the two terraces at this point and the slightly rolled condition of the implement indicate that it may have been derived from the older terrace. W. J. ARKELL.



A Church Chest from Blunsdon. Early this year (1943) a church chest was included in a sale at Broad Blunsdon. It is said that a former churchwarden took it home after its removal from the church and on leaving the place left it behind, where it remained for years till the present sale. It is formed of massive oak plank, six feet three inches long and twenty inches square, and of great weight. It is bound with wide iron bands round the middle, while the ends are secured by angle pieces bolted right through the wood. The whole was fastened by two padlocks in front, but the locks are now missing. The date is probably sixteenth century or may be a bit earlier.

It was bought and will be cared for by Dr. Patton of Stratton St. Margaret's. A. D. Passmore.

A photograph of this chest has been presented by Mr. Passmore to Society's collection.

A Skull full of Lead. In the Church at Stratton St. Margaret's near Swindon, is preserved a human skull full of lead. It was dug up years ago under the floor of the building on the S. side. The classical scholar will be reminded of Septimuleius and the head of Gracchus.

At the church of Badwell Ash in Suffolk in 1774 human bones filled with lead were found under the floor. One other case of a skull is recorded but cannot be traced for the moment.

A. D. Passmore.

An unrecorded Pigeon House. At Stratton St. Margaret's, a road leaves the Roman way (known as Ermine Street, which is a mistake; Ermine St. proper goes N. from London) towards Swindon, and on the W. side of this, about 140 yards distant, is Pigeon House Lane. At the end of this stands a large pigeon house, 20 feet 3 inches square, built of fine stone work with walls about 17 feet high. The roof (not the original one) goes up about another six feet with a weather cock at its point. The walls are 2 feet 4 inches thick. Inside, the nest holes start two feet from the ground, with twenty horizontal rows of 12 and 13 holes alternately. Each nest hole is $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches at the entrance, and expands to about 12 inches square inside. Allowing for the doorway, the number must have been about 950. On the N. side, an entrance for carts has been cut through, and a window to the W., all of which are not original work.

This is a fine, but somewhat late, example of a manorial pigeon house. They seem to be rare in Wiltshire. Date probably 16th—17th century.

A. D. Passmore.

A photograph of this pigeon house hes been presented by Mr: Passmore to the Society's Library. He suggests that details of other ancient pigeon houses in Wiltshire, of which there must be many, might usefully be recorded in the *Magazine*. He has only found references to two, one at Notton, said to be described in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, and one at Avebury, as yet undescribed.

Roman Stones at Latton. Near the entrance to the church-yard at Latton stand two stones said to have been removed from Water Eaton Church years ago. There seems to be no record of this building, but in a field there are foundations of buildings still remaining, sometimes known as "The Old Town". In 1831 it is said to have contained 58 inhabitants.

The larger stone is the drum of a fine Ionic column 2 feet 10 inches in diameter and 15 inches high. It has 19 flutes instead of the usual 24 the odd space being plain as if to stand against the wall. The flutes are three inches across and one deep, with an interval of one inch between them. This column must have been about 25 feet high and thus once belonged to a large and fine building. The drum is much damaged and overgrown with ivy and weeds, making a critical examination impossible. It seems to be hollow and is said to have been used as a font. The second example is the base of a column, 19 inches high, 23 inches across the base moulding and 16 inches in the shaft. This is said to have been the base on which the above stone rested. Both are of Roman work and may have been carried as loot from the great temples and public buildings of Roman Cirencester.

Water Eaton now consists only of a new farm-house between Crick-lade and Castle Eaton on the S. bank of the Thames and in Wilts; the village has now disappeared. The Vicar of Latton tells me that the church was destroyed about 200 years ago, and that the stones in question were lying about till at last it seemed wicked to some, as they had been used as a font, so the pair was removed to Latton. I can find no record of this church anywhere, nor have I any idea as to whether it was a chapel, private or otherwise. The only mention of the place that one can find is that a Hungerford left property there to charity many years ago (Wilts I.P.M.).

A. D. Passmore.

"Gunschurch" Barrow. The Rev. F. G. Walker, Rector of Upton Lovell, writing to Canon Goddard in 1925, says:

"J. U. Powell in his paper on the Early History of the Upper Wylye Valley, W.A.M., xxxiii, 128, says 'The name Gunschurch is a puzzle. It is a round barrow standing on the southern extremity of Hill [Deverill] away on the down, and the Teutonic 'Spectre Hunt' has become localised round it'. J. U. Powell could not tell me which this tumulus was on the Ordnance map and directed me to the blacksmith of Longbridge Deverill for its location. This man, Arthur Smith, has known the tumulus all his life, and his father and grandfather before him, by the name of Gun's Church. Yesterday some friends motored me over to the Deverills. We picked up Smith and he took us to the spot. The exact locality is Ordnance Survey Map, 6in. edition, Wilts, Sheet LVIII, S.W., near the top left-hand corner of the sheet. It is the tumulus (standing alone) between the [spot level] 714 and Pertwood Wood. It is a bell barrow, and bears signs of having been opened ".

The name Gunschurch is noteworthy. It seems to contain a Celtic word for "barrow", cruc, cryc, or cyric, which became confused with

the Saxon cirice, "church". (Cf. p. 276.) A crycbeorh (="barrow" barrow") is quoted from a Saxon charter of Creech St. Michael, Somerset (E.P.N.S.,I, pt. 2). Gunschurch seems to mean "Gun's barrow", but we know nothing of Gun, whose name has a Danish look.

It may be added that in the year of this communication the mound was reported to be in good condition, though the ditch and outer bank had almost disappeared under the plough. The barrow lies on "Rook Hill". It is not, as the account may seem to imply, on the parish boundary.

H. C. B.

Four more Houses for the National Trust. surrender of country houses under pressure of taxation is not an aspect of the Social Revolution which this Magazine views with any complacency, but it has to record the facts, and the instances become more numerous year by year. The willingness of the National Trust to take charge of these national monuments is the one consolation which the onlooker, and perhaps the owner, can see in the situation. Too late for record under the heading of Wiltshire Books, etc., the issue of Country Life for December 17th, 1943, contains an article on Dinton, Wiltshire, by James Lee-Milne, which adds another four cases to the two from the same source already included in this number of the Magazine. They all lie in the same parish. In 1940 Mrs. Engleheart presented Little Clarendon House and Lawes Cottage: in 1943 Mr. Bertram Philipps made over Dinton House and Hyde House. gifts are made with the reservation of the principal house for the occupation of the donors and their descendants with right of entry for the public at stated times.

The chief early landowner in Dinton was Shaftesbury Abbey. Hyde House, then called the Rectory, passed at the Dissolution to the Arundells, then to the Mayhews, then to the Souths. In Elizabeth's reign Laurence Hyde married the widow of the owner, and his son Henry married in 1595 the daughter of a Trowbridge clothier. Edward Hyde, later the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, was this Henry's son and grandfather of the Queens Mary II and Anne. The Lord Clarendon who wrote the History of the Great Rebellion was born at the Rectory House in 1609. In 1722 the house passed to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and Magdalen College sold the property in 1923 to Mr. Bertram Philipps, who changed the name to Hyde House and made various alterations. Mr. Lee-Milne considers that the elevation of the present building cannot be earlier than 1720.

Dinton House was completed in 1816 on the model of Pyt House, Tisbury, to designs of Jeffry Wyatt. It was Wyndham property for six generations, but was sold to Mr. Philipps in 1916. Little Clarendon was probably never Hyde property. When bought by the Rev. George Engleheart in 1901 it was a farm-house. It probably dates from the fifteenth century, though parts are later. It has been carefully restored by its recent owners. Lawes House, a thatched stone cottage adjoining, was the house of the seventeeth century composer, William Lawes,

"the Father of Musick", who was killed in the Royalist cause at Chester in 1643.

This most interesting article is illustrated by two photographs of Hyde House, five of Dinton House, three of Little Clarendon and one of Lawes Cottage, all of the excellent quality we associate with *Country Life*.

H. C. B.

WILTS OBITUARY.

Lieut.-Col. Victor Alexander Cazalet, M.P., aged 46. Killed in aeroplane accident near Gibraltar, July 5th, 1943, whilst accompanying Gen. Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister. Born 1896, s. of William Marshall and Maud Lucia Heron Cazalet. Educated at Eton, where he played in the XI and was President of the Eton Society, and Christ Church, Oxford, where he was a blue for tennis and racquets. Joined W. Kent Yeomanry 1915, transferred to 1st Life Guards 1916, and later to the Household Battalion, and served in the war until 1918. He gained the M.C. After the Armistice he was at the Supreme War Conference at Versailles, and on the British Staff in Siberia 1918, 1919. In 1924 he became Conservative M.P. for Chippenham, and held the seat until his death. Parliamentary Private Secretary to the President of the Board of Trade, and later to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"Few members of the House of Commons had a wider variety of interests than Cazalet. His athletic prowess was not allowed to interfere with his political work, and from the outset he settled down to learn all there was to know about the work of a Government department. He accompanied Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen as Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Economic Conference at Ottawa in 1932. He was always keenly interested in the affairs of the Dominions. He visited India in 1934 and Spain in 1938. His knowledge of Central Europe was probably unequalled among the younger M.Ps., and he was appointed liaison officer with Gen. Sikorski in 1940, and for the rest of his life he devoted himself to promoting the welfare of the Polish people both inside and outside their native country. . . . His work on behalf of Poland will not be easily forgotten. In 1927 he went to Canada and the United States as a member of the squash rackets team which won the international trophy. He never married. His home was in Kent.

In the Chippenham Division his tragic death is a blow which has cast a gloom over the whole area. Apart from his brilliance as a politician, he was very popular with all classes and sections, and while his Conservative supporters mourn the untimely death of a gallant gentleman, his political opponents have also suffered the loss of a great friend ".

Obit. notices and portraits, Times, July 6th and 7th; and Wilts Gazette, July 7th; and in N.W. Herald, July 9th, 1943.

Sir David Gamble, Bt., died at White Lodge, Purton, Wiltshire, July 17th, 1943.

"Born on May 1, 1876, eldest son of the second baronet (whom he succeeded in 1908), he was educated at Shrewsbury and at the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester. Since 1930 he had been farming in Wiltshire, but like other members of his family he was

better known for his connexion with the chemical industry at St. Helens, Lancashire. He had taken an active part in the public life of that town, where he lived in a house built by his grandfather. Sir David Gamble, created first baronet of Windlehurst, St. Helens, in 1897. When he became mayor of St. Helens in 1913 he carried on a family tradition, for his grandfather was first in the office after the borough received its charter of incorporation, and his father was mayor in 1888. Sir David Gamble had also been a member of the Prescot Board of Guardians, the Whiston Rural District Council. and Windle Parish Council, a county magistrate, chairman of St. Helens Hospital, and a director of the Liverpool Daily Post and Echo, Limited, and he was actively interested in education and church work. In 1903 he married Eveline Frances Josephine. second daughter of the late Rev. A. B. Cole, and had four sons. The eldest, Mr. David Arthur Josias Gamble, was born in 1907, and married in 1932 Elinor Mary, only daughter of Mr. H. E. Cele of Long Sutton, Hampshire. They have a son ".-From The Times, Tuly 20th, 1943.

A fuller obit. notice was published in the Wiltshire Gazette, July 22nd, 1943.

Dr. Augustus Lea Edwards, died at Westwell, Upavon, August 27th, 1943. aged 70. Buried at Milton Lilbourne. S. of George Lloyd Edwards of Herne Hill, London. Educated at St. Paul's School London, and took his degrees at St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington. In 1903 he bought the practice at Upavon and remained there until he retired in 1938. He married the daughter of B. C. Scammel of Milton Lilbourne in 1907. He left no children. As a country doctor he was loved and respected widely in the Upavon neighbourhood.

Obit. notice, Wilts Gazette, September 1st, 1943.

The Rev. Fitzhenry Townshend Scudamore Powell, Rector of Wilcot, died August 15th, 1943, aged 54, a son of the Rev. Francis Powell, of Bawnlahan Union Hall, County Cork. He was reading for Holy Orders at St. Mark's Anglican Theological College, Vancouver, when the last war broke out, and coming to Ireland, joined the Royal Munster Fusiliers and served with them as a captain in Gallipoli and Serbia, being mentioned in despatches and awarded the Serbian White Eagle. He was invalided from the Army—he had been blinded-in 1917, but as soon as his sight was restored he resumed reading for Holy Orders at Hatfield College, Durham, took his L.Th. (Durham) in 1920, and was ordained deacon in the same year and priest in the following year in the Diocese of Southwell. He was appointed Curate of St. Leonard's, Newark, in 1920, subsequently becoming Vicar of Oakamoor and Cotton (1923-29), and Curate of Winslow (1929-34). He came to Wilcot in 1934, and for several years has been also chaplain of the Pewsey Mental Colony.

He will be mourned by his parishioners, to whom he had endeared

himself during his nine years' residence. He leaves a widow, formerly Miss Alice May Brook, of Ryde, Isle of Wight, and one daughter.

Obit. notice, Marlborough Times, August 20th, 1943.

Col. Edward William Tremayne Miles, M.C., died September 22nd, 1943. Eldest son of the late Col. W. T. Miles, of Dauntsey Park. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst. Joined Royal Dragoons and served throughout the last war, gaining the M.C. He later commanded his regiment, and was recently Commanding Officer of "G" Company of the 1st Battalion of the Wilts Home Guard. He married Mary Gibbs, of Barrow Court, Bristol, who with their two sons, Peter and Robert, survives him. He was well-known as a member of the committee of the Beaufort Hunt. He lived at Kington Langley, where he was buried.

Obit. notice, Wilts Gazette, September 30th, 1943.

Charles Powis Isaac, died suddenly October 10th, 1943, aged 72. Buried at Devizes, where he had lived since 1925. Son of the Rev. C. P. Isaac, of Albrighton, Salop. Educated at Dover College. Entered the Civil Service in the Audit Department of Somerset House. He began work in E. Africa where he spent 18 months, including a three months' treck from Zanzibar to Lake Victoria, auditing the Government accounts. He was afterwards transferred to W. Africa. Returned to Somerset House and was sent to S. Africa to audit Rail and Harbour accounts over all S. Africa.

He retired as Assistant Controller and Auditor General, S. Africa, in 1916. He married in 1911, Wilhelmina May Robertson-Glasgow, who survives him. He leaves no children. For many years he was churchwarden of St. John's, Devizes, and secretary and treasurer of the Parochial Church Council, and the parish was greatly indebted to him for the long and careful service which he gave to it. He served for three years on the Town Council, and was for many years Hon. Auditor of the Wilts Friendly Soc., and had recently undertaken the same office for the Wilts Archæological Soc., of whose committee he had long been a member.

Obit. notice, Wilts Gazette, October 14th, 1943.

The Rev. Edward Earle Dorling, F.S.A., died suddenly at Epsom, October 26th, 1943, aged 79. Clare Coll., Cambridge, B.A., 1884. M.A., 1888. Deacon 1887, Priest 1890, Southwell. Assistant Master at Derby School, 1886—90; Chaplain, 1887—90; Vicar Choral and Master of Choristers' School, Salisbury, 1890—1900; Vicar of Burcombe, Wilts, 1900—05; Curate of Ham (Surrey), 1905—10; Temporary Chaplain to the Forces, 1917—19. He was a recognised authority on Heraldry and a member of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. He was the author of Epsom and the Dorlings, 1939, in which he gave an account of his family's long connection with the Epsom race meetings, where he inherited the general managership of the Epsom Grand Stand Association.

Short obit. notice in Times, October 28th, 1943.

He was the author of the following:—

Notes on the Montague Monument in Salisbury Cathedral. Article in Ancestor, No. 6. July, 1906, 3 pp., 2 illusts. of Tomb of Sir John Montagu.

Register of Old Choristers of Salisbury Cathedral, 1810—1897. 1898. Cloth, Cr. 8vo., pp. xvii + 43. List of Masters and Index.

Lions of England or Royal Arms. Lecture at Salisbury Museum. Salisbury Journal, March 3rd, 1897.

Salisbury Museum. Salisbury Journal, March 10th, 1900.

Notes on the Arms of Cardinal Pole. Wilts Arch. Mag., xxx, 338-347, 1 plate.

License to the Vicars of Sarum, 1337. Transcript of MS. Salisbury Field Club Trans., I, 104.

A Hatchment in Salisbury Cathedral. Salisbury Field Club Trans., II, 73-74. Wilts Arch. Mag., xxvii, 314-316.

Notes on the Arms of Hyde. Salisbury Field Club Trans., II, 119—122, 1 plate.

A History of Salisbury. J. Nisbet & Co., 1911. Boards, $5 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x + 193, 12 illusts.

Leopards of England, and other Papers on Heraldry. London, Constable, 1912. Cloth, 8vo., pp. viii + 136, 9 coloured plates of Arms. 15 photos, 27 cuts in text. [This contains "Armoral Glass in Salisbury Cathedral", pp. 57—72, 2 plates; "Two Nevill Shields at Salisbury", pp. 79—88, 2 plates.

The Arts of the Church. Heraldry of the Church. A Handbock for Decorators. 83 illusts. Mowbray & Co., 1912. Linen, $6 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 194. 1/6 net.

Wilts and Dorset at the Opening of the Twentieth Century. Pike's New Century Series, No. 16. 4to., $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 304. 1906. The Sketch of Wiltshire, by E. E. Dorling, occupies 68 pp. with illusts. of Churches, &c. Biographies of Wilts occupy pp. 69—191. Many illusts.

Harry Herbert Baker, died May 13th, 1943. Buried at Devizes. S. of Henry Baker of Devizes. Born in the Isle of Wight, but came with his parents to Erchfont in his infancy and later to Devizes, where he spent his whole life in the advancement of music in Wiltshire. He has been the conductor of the Devizes Musical Association ever since its foundation 55 years ago. His 50th year of service was marked by the presentation of a testimonial gift. He was for 45 years organist at St. John's Church, and was concerned with all sorts of musical matters at Devizes.

A long obituary notice with portrait appeared in the $Wiltshire\ Gazette$, May 13th, 1943.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1942-3.

Membership. The number of members in the Society is 376, of whom 22 are life-members. In the last Report the figure was given as 466, but an examination of the Financial Secretary's Register shows that this total included a considerable number who for several years have not been able to be traced, and whose subscriptions have lapsed, so that the actual reduction in the number is not so great as it appears. It is satisfactory to note that in spite of war conditions 31 new members have been elected during the year.

Resignation of Canon Goddard. It is with the deepest regret that the Committee reports the resignation, at the end of last year, of Canon E. H. Goddard, who for considerably more than half a century, held the office of Honorary Secretary of the Society and Editor of the Magazine. It is indeed difficult to express the immense debt of gratitude which the Society owes to him for his unwearied work in these offices during this long period. All members of the Society—and indeed many others who are interested in archæology—will very deeply regret his severance from these activities, and his wide knowledge and experience will be greatly missed. The duties of Editor of the Magazine have been kindly undertaken by Mr. H. C. Brentnall, F.S.A., and those of Hon. Secretary by Mr. C. W. Pugh, M.B.E. Another vacancy has occurred among the officers of the Society, and Mr. C. P. Isaac has kindly undertaken to act as Hon. Auditor in the place of the late Captain Gundry.

The Magazine. The half-yearly numbers have been regularly issued in spite of the difficulties due to war conditions. It is interesting to record that the December, 1942, number formed the first part of the fiftieth volume.

Additions to the Museum and Library. As far as the Museum is concerned, these have not been numerous, but the Library has received considerable additions, both by gift and purchase, particularly of old deeds connected with the county. To all the donors of gifts the thanks of the Society are due. The problem of accommodation for this fresh material is becoming acute, and will need to be dealt with as soon as circumstances allow. Sales of the Society's publications have recently increased. Some have been bought by the B.B.C., and the Swindon Public Library is being supplied with a complete set of the Magazine, as well as with several other volumes from our list.

Finance. The accounts for the year 1942, printed on another page, show a deficit on the General Fund of £7 4s. 6d., compared with a surplus of £12 10s. 9d. in 1941. On the other hand, the deficit on the Museum Maintenance Fund is reduced from £68 5s. 5d. to £41 17s. 7d., the improvement being due to a decrease of £17 10s. in the War Risk insurance charge, and to an increase of over £5 in the amount received for admissions to the Museum, which this year amounted to more than

£21. The number of visitors has grown remarkably during the last two or three years, the total for this year being approximately 1,200. The Museum Building Fund now amounts to £1372 18s. 4d.

The Committee deeply regrets that it has again been impossible to hold the Annual Meeting of members which has been so agreeable and useful a feature of the Society's activities in the past, and hopes that the time is not far distant when conditions will allow these meetings to be resumed.

Note. Two days after the Committee Meeting which closed, under present conditions, the period with which this Report is concerned, Mr. Isaac died. His obituary will be found in another place, but the Society's loss of his valued services should briefly be recorded here.

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society,

GENERAL FUND, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1942.

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Audited and found correct, C. P. ISAAC, Honorary Auditor; 22nd July, 1943.

ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

Museum.

- Presented by Mr. C. T. Mogridge: Mould used for making "Churchwarden" clay pipes.
 - ,, Mr. R. D. Owen: A pair of Flint-lock Pistols formerly part of the equipment of the House of Correction Devizes.
 - " Mr. George Simpson: Two Powder Flasks and a Shot Flask used with muzzle-loading guns.

Library.

- Presented by The Marquess of Allesbury: Back numbers of the Magazine, and other of the Society's publications.
 - " THE REV. R. W. M. LEWIS: "The Family of Monk of Melksham," etc.
 - ,, Mr. W. H. Hallam: Additions to the List of Swindon Street Names (W.A.M., xlviii, pp. 523—529)
 - " CAPT. A. DUNSTON: A number of Sale Catalogues relating to properties chiefly in S. Wilts.
 - ,, The Rev. Canon E. H. Goddard: Topographical History of Warwickshire, Westmoreland and Wiltshire (Gentleman's Magazine Library).
 - "Historic Thorn-Trees of the British Isles" (Cornish).
 - " Mollusca of Dorset" (J. D. Mansell Pleydell).
 - "Book of Occasional Offices for use in the Diocese of Salisbury".
 - "Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury" (by himself).
 - "Account of the Churches of Shrewton, Maddington and Rolleston" (Canon Fletcher and Rev. A. Robins). Several Reports of Diocesan Societies, etc.
 - Mrs. Goddard: "English Plant-names from the 10th to the 15th Century" (Rev. J. Earle).
 - relative to Letters Patent of James I granting property to the Borough (of Devizes) being . . . a history of Chantry property in Devizes'', 1909.
 - ,, British Records Association: Manorial Records of Chirton, Lavington District, Market Lavington, West Lavington, Great Cheverell.
 - Letters and papers concerning Little Cheverell.

Deeds concerning Corsham Manor.

Presented by British Records Association: Acts of Parliament enclosing lands at Corsham, Biddestone, Slaughterford, and Bradford-on-Avon.

Deeds concerning Knook Manor, 1778; Heytesbury Farm, 1782; and others.

Will of R. Dicke, Bradford-on-Avon, 1627. Will of J. Dicke, Bradford-on-Avon, 1668.

Mr. W. A. Webb: Typed transcripts of the Registers of Bremhill, 1590—1812, with extracts from Churchwardens' Accounts, 1765—1840; and of the Registers of Melksham, 1794—1812.

Various notes and newspaper cuttings relating to Wiltshire.

The Society is most anxious to acquire any old deeds which may be rescued from undiscriminated material consigned to "salvage" or from other sources. Their bearing upon details of county history may prove to be most important.



27 JAN 1947



THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS (Continued).

STONEHENGE AND ITS BARROWS, by W. Long, Nos. 46–47 of the *Magazine* in separate wrapper 3s. 6d. This still remains one of the best and most reliable accounts of Stonehenge and its Earthworks.

WILTSHIRE—The TOPOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS OF JOHN AUBREY, F.R.S., A.D. 1659—1670. Corrected and enlarged by the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, M.A., F.S.A., 4to., Cloth, pp. 491, with 46 plates. Price £1 7s. 6d.

WILTSHIRE INQUISITIONES POST MORTEM, CHARLES I, 8vo., pp., vii. + 510 1901. With full index. In 8 parts, as issued.

Price 13s

DITTO. IN THE REIGNS OF HEN. III, ED. I, and ED. II. 8vo., pp. xv. 505. In parts as issued. Price 13s.

DITTO. THE REIGN OF ED. III. 8vo., pp. 402. In six parts as issued Price 13s.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE GREAT STONE MONUMENTS OF WILTSHIRE, STONEHENGE, AND AVEBURY, with other references, by W. Jerome Harrison, F.G.S., pp 169., with 4 illustrations. No. 89, Dec., 1901, of the *Magazine*. Price 5s. 6d. Contains particulars as to 947 books, papers, &c., by 732 authors.

THE TROPENELL CARTULARY. An important work in 2 vols., 8vo., pp 917, containing a great number of deeds connected with property in many Wiltshire Parishes of the 14th and 15th centuries. Only 150

copies were printed, of which a few are left. Price £1 2s.

THE CHURCH BELLS OF WILTSHIRE, THEIR INSCRIPTIONS AND HISTORY, BY H. B WALTERS, F.S.A. Published in III Parts. Price 16s. (N.B.—Separate Parts can no longer be sold.)

A CALENDAR OF THE FEET OF FINES FOR WILTSHIRE,

1195 TO 1272, BY E. A. FRY. 8vo., pp. 103. Price 6s.

ABSTRACTS OF THE FEET OF FINES RELATING TO WILTSHIRE FOR THE REIGNS OF ED. I AND ED. II. EDITED BY R. P. PUGH. DEVIZES, 1939, pp. 187. Free to Members of the Record Branch, £1 1s. to others.

The whole of the remaining copies of the following works by Capt. B. H. and Mrs. Cunnington having been given by them to the Society

are now on sale at the following prices:-

ALL CANNINGS CROSS (Excavations). By MRS. CUNNINGTON 4to., cloth, 53 Plates. 21s.

WOODHENGE (Excavations, 1927—28). By MRS. CUNNINGTON. Cloth, 4to. 21s.

RECORDS OF THE COUNTY OF WILTS, EXTRACTS FROM THE QUARTER SESSIONS GREAT ROLLS OF THE 17th CENTURY. By CAPT. B. H. CUNNINGTON, F.S.A., Scot. Cloth. 12/6.

DEVIZES BOROUGH ANNALS, EXTRACTS FROM THE CORPORATION RECORDS. By CAPT. B. H. CUNNINGTON, F.S.A., Scot. Cloth. Vol. I, 1555 to 1791, 21s. Vol. II, 1792 to 1835, 15s.

WILTSHIRE TOKENS.

The Society has a considerable number of 17th and 18th century Wiltshire Tokens to dispose of, either by sale or exchange for others not in the Society's collection.

Apply to Capt. B. H. Cunnington, F.S.A., Scot., Curator, Museum, Devizes.

The North Wilts Museum and Wiltshire Library at Devizes.

All Members of the Society are asked to give an ann subscription towards the upkeep of the Devizes Museum a Library. Both the Museum and the Library are concerned in first place with objects of interest from this County, and with Boc Pamphlets, MSS., Drawings, Maps, Prints and Photographs c nected with Wiltshire, and together they form one of the m important branches of the Society's Work. The Library is only institution of the kind in Wiltshire, so far as its collection all kinds of material for the history of the County is concerned.

Old Deeds, Maps, Plans, &c., connected with propertie Wilts are especially welcome.

Old photographs of any Wiltshire Houses, Churches, Cotta or other objects of interest, will be welcomed by the Librarian.

Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. R. D. OWEN, B Chambers, Devizes.

Wiltshire Bird Notes.

Observers in the County are invited to send their records L. G. PEIRSON at Marlborough College, Wilts, for inclusi in the *Magazine* under this heading.

The Society has a number of

Old Engraved Views of Buildings, &c., in Wiltshire, and Portraits of Persons connected with the County, to dispose of. Apply to C. W. Pugh, M.B.E., Librarian, Museum, Devizes.

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Vol. L.

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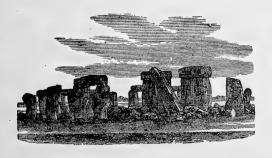
WILTSHIRE Archæological & Natural History MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY A.D. 1853.

EDITED BY
H. C. BRENTNALL, F.S.A.,
Granham West, Marlborough.

[The authors of the papers printed in this "Magazine" are alone responsible for all statements made therein.]



DEVIZES

Printed for the Society by C. H. Woodward, Exchange Buildings, Station Road.

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- A copious Index for the preceding eight volumes of the *Magazine* will be found at the end of Vols. viii., xvi., xxiv., and xxxii.

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- The Annual Subscription to the New Record Branch for Members of the Society is 10s. 6d.; for non-members £1 1s. This Branch is at present in abeyance.
- The Numbers of this Magazine will be delivered gratis, as issued, to Members who are not in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions, but in accordance with Byelaw No. 8 "The Financial Secretary shall give notice to Members in arrear, and the Society's publications will not be forwarded to Members whose Subscriptions shall remain unpaid after such notice."
- Articles and other communications intended for the Magazine, and correspondence relating to them, should be addressed to the Editor, Granham West, Marlborough.
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THE BRITISH AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF THE NORTH WILTSHIRE DOWNS, by the Rev. A. C. Smith, M.A. One Volume, Atlas 4to., 248 pp., 17 large Maps, and 110 Woodcuts, Extra Cloth. One copy offered to each Member of the Society at £1 ls. A few copies only.

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"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."-Ovid.

No. CLXXX.

JUNE, 1944.

Vol. L.

THE FAMILY OF SAVAGE OF CO. WILTS.

(With a Passing Note on the Dormant Earldom of Rivers.)

By L. G. H. HORTON-SMITH, F.S.A., Scot., M.A. and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law.

Note.—This Article will be found to comprise reference to no fewer than Forty-Six different families, namely those of:—Annatts, Baily, Bearewell, Bise, Blake, Blanchard, Bristow, Brookman, Burton, Clydesdale (alias Hidden), Dismore, Dove, Dowse, Franckeline, Giles, Hakins, Hanson, Hawkins, Head, Hidden (alias Cliddesdale), Hill, Hillman, Hodges, Kemm, Mackrell, Martyn, Melsom, New, Noyes (Noyse), Parker, Parr, Peache, Plaskett, Plomley (Plumbly), Pyper, Ragborn (Ragborne), Savage, Sherwood, Stevens, Tarrell, Tinsey, Wallace, Westall, Whitaker, Williams and Wright:—Also Cleathes and Johnson.

The present Article is one of exploration wherein the assistance of readers is besought. But, before I set out the facts as known to me, let me first give a Synopsis of the Article, followed by a list of the Wills, Codicils and Administrations to which reference will be made.

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Cod	. I 23/5/	1783	
,,	II 25/7/	1785	
,,	III 24/4/		791 326
,,	IV 29/7/	1788	020
,,	V 12/5/1		
,,	VI 13/12/		
	VII 12/12/1	1790	
Lœtitia née Savage : see below, s.n. " Martha née Savage : see below, s.n. "Head".	Parker.		
	" IIIDD	TON	
CLYDESDALE (
John, of Co. Berks (See further below, s.n. "Hidde alias Cliddesdale")	W 10/8/	1549	312
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HEA	D.		
Laurence, the younger, of Newbury, Co. Berks (hus-	XX7 1/0/	1 mm o	
. 9 /	$\frac{W}{\text{od.}} = \frac{1/6}{20/4}$		774 328
Martha (née Savage), of Newbury, Co. Berks, widow (widow of the foregoing)	W 27/3/	LEOF.	
	W 27/3/1 l. I 15/12/1		
	II 19/3/		328
	III 27/1/1		
HIDDEN alias (CLIDDESD	ALE.	
Anthony, of Great Hidden in			
the parish of Hungerford,		2/22	
Cod	, ,	$\frac{9/90}{90/1}$ } 29/10/18	591 312
(See further above, s.n. "Clyde dale <i>alias</i> Hidden")	S-		
NOY	ES.		
Frances Noyes, of Milton Lilborne,			
Co. Wilts, widow W	14/8/1	1686 20/10/16	320
PARI		, ,	
William, of Newbury, Co. Berks	LIJIK.		
(first husband of the above			
Lœtitia, née Savage) A		Grant 6/6/17	764 327
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			-

Now, to proceed; and I will deal firstly with a Visitation family of Savage and then with a family of the same name, which would appear to belong to the same Visitation family, though the links between the two are at present wanting. Let me take the Visitation family first.

THE VISITATION FAMILY.

In the Visitation of Wiltshire, 1565-1625 (Harleian MSS., 1443; Plut., Iviii D, folio 80), and also in the Visitation of Wiltshire 1623 (Harleian MSS., 1165, folio 13b)—both in the British Museum—there occurs a short Pedigree as follows :-

GENERATION I.

— Savage, of Burbage Savage, Co. Wilts, who married — née —, by whom he had issue three sons :--

GENERATION II.

- (1) —— Savage, of whom no more is stated.
- (2) Savage, of whom likewise no more is stated.
 (3) William Savage, who married née Peache and by her had issue :-

GENERATION III.

John Savage, of Knole, Co. Wilts, who married Joane née Hidden, daughter of Anthony Hidden, of Co. Berks.

Such Anthony Hidden appears to me to be the Anthony Hidden alias Cliddesdale, of Great Hidden in the parish of Hungerford, Co. Berks, gent. whose Will dated the 15th February in 32 O. Eliz., i.e., presumably 15/2/1589/90, with Codicil thereto of date 26/2/1590/1, was proved in the P.C.C. on 29/10/1591; such Joane née Hidden being his daughter called in his said will Jane and therein described as then under 23 and unmarried. If such identification be correct, her marriage with the said John Savage must have taken place subsequently to 15/2/1589/90. (The said Anthony Hidden, the testator of 15/2/1589/90, was clearly a son of John Clydesdale alias Hidden, in Co. Berks, whose Will, dated 10/8/1549, was duly proved in the P.C.C.)

By his said wife, the said John Savage is shown in the Visitation

Pedigree to have had issue:-

GENERATION IV.

(1) Anthony Savage, eldest son and heir, described therein as then "in partibus transmarinis", who, from what is stated of his brothers, would seem to have been born in 1590 or 1591.

(2) John Savage, second son, born circa 1592, being described in such

Pedigree as then "cet. 31 ao 1623."

He appears to me to be the "John Savage of Knole, farmer", who was living and appointed—as one of "my loveing friends"—jointoverseer of the Will of Edward Savage of Wolfehall, Co. Wilts, hereinafter referred to under generation IV A, page 314, and dated 3/11/1652.

He is, further, clearly the John Savage the elder, of Knowle, in the parish of Little Bedwyn, Co. Wilts, gentleman, whose Will, so describing himself, bore date 28/5/1656. In that Will he left legacies:—to (int. al.) "Alice my wife";—to "my sister Dorothy Bearewell",—and residue to "my sonnes John Savage and Edward Savage", whom he made joint-executors. Such Will was proved at London by such son Edward Savage on 30/6/1656 and was further there proved by such other son John Savage on 17/7/1656.

Seeing that in the Pedigree of 1623 he is not mentioned as married, it would seem that he must have married the said *Alice née*—either in or after that year.

She herself would appear to be the "Alice Savage" living (legatee of £5) in the hereinafter mentioned Will of Thomas Savage (clearly of Great Bedwyn, Co. Wilts), dated 8/12/1654 and proved at London in the P.C.C. on 16/5/1656; and, further, to be the "Allis Savadge of Wilton, being neare or above 80 by years of age, buried in yt good ould age" at Great Bedwyn on 5/12/1660, in which case she was some years older than her husband and was born in or about 1580.

I will recur to their issue presently, on the present page.

- (3) William Savage, third son, born circa 1594, being described in such Pedigree as then "cet. 29"
- (4) Arthur Savage, fourth son, born circa 1596, being described in such Pedigree as then "cet. 27".
- (5) Marian née Savage, described in such pedigree as then "Ux. Richi Whitaker", and therefore married to the latter in or before 1623.
- (6) Dorothy née Savage, described in such Pedigree as "Ux. George Hill", and therefore married to the latter in or before 1623. She would seem to me to have married again, later on, to —— Bearewell, for she seems to have been "my sister Dorothy Bearewell" so living and so described in the said Will of her brother John Savage dated 28/5/1656.
- (7) Elizabeth née Savage, described in such Pedigree as "Ux. Salathyell Parr, of London", and therefore married to the latter in or before 1623.

The Visitation Pedigree ends with this Generation IV;—but from what I have already written we can clearly implement it by the said issue of the said John and Alice Savage, namely:—

GENERATION V.

Issue of John and Alice Savage of Knowle, in the parish of Little Bedwyn, Co. Wilts, of Generation IV above, page 312:—

- (1) John Savage—not mentioned in such Pedigree of 1623 and presumably therefore born thereafter—who was living as aforesaid on the 28th May and 17th July, 1656.
- (2) Edward Savage—not mentioned in such Pedigree of 1623 and presumably therefore born thereafter—who was living as aforesaid on the 28th May and 30th June, 1656.

And there for the moment such Visitation Pedigree must rest.

ADDITIONAL AND LATER RECORDS.

It is at about the period of such Generations IV and V that my own records of the family of Savage, of Co. Wilts, commence. They are voluminous, but I will endeavour to condense them in what follows. They commence with three persons of the name, two of whom were a brother and sister, and the third of whom was probably their brother. Rightly or wrongly, I suppose them to have belonged to the Visitation family;—and, as all three of them would seem to correspond $-qu\dot{a}$ period—with Generation IV of the Visitation Pedigree, I will give to them, as an appropriate generation-number, Generation IV A. (Succeeding generations will likewise be given an A after their respective generation-number.)

GENERATION IV A.

(1) Edward Savage, of Wolfehall, Co. Wilts, whose Will, so describing himself, bore date 3/11/1652 and was proved at Westminster on

24/6/1653 by his relict and sole executrix, Anne Savage.

Of that Will he made "my loveinge wife Anne Savage my sole and whole executrix" and by that Will he left legacies to a number of persons named Savage, but, alas! he omitted to specify their respective relationships to himself, save in the case of his own sister. Thus, he left legacies:-"to my sister Christian Martyn, £40", and "to her son Roger Martyn, £5"; "to Edward Savage sonne to John Savage lately deceased "(i.e., deceased before 3/11/1652), "£20"; "to John Savage the sonne of the foresaid John, £10"; "to Alice Savage his daughter, £10"; "to Thomas Savage the sonne of Edward Savage, £30't; "to John Savage and Edward Savage his brothers, £10 a peece"; "to their three sisters, £10 to each"; "to Thomas Savage sonne to Thomas Savage once liveinge att Hungerford who is my servant, £25"; "to Robert Savage, £15". He, further, left legacies:—"to Ellen Dowse that liveth with me, £30"; "to my wife's sister Ellen Wrighte, £10"; and "to the poore of Greate Bedwin, £5". Lastly, he desired "my loveinge friends, vid[elicet] John Savage of Knole, farmer, and Gabriel Blanchard to be overseares" (overseers) "of this my last will and testament to each of whom I give 10s".

That the wife who survived him was Anne $n\acute{e}e$ — he thus makes quite clear. But I am disposed to think that he married twice; for he would appear to be both (1) the "Edward Safage" (sic) who at Great Bedwyn on 1/11/1630 married "Elen Franckeline" and also (2) the "Edward Savidg" (sic) "of Great Bedwin" who at the Parish Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Marlborough, Co. Wilts, on 14/5/1650, married "Anne Dowse", the latter being obviously a relative of his said legatee "Ellen Dowse that liveth with me" and a sister of his said legatee "Ellen Wrighte".

From his said Will, he would appear to have left no issue.

(2) Christian née Savage who married — Martyn and was living (a legatee of her said brother Edward Savage) 3/11/1652, having had issue a son Roger Martyn, also then living (a legatee).

(3) —— (Query Thomas) Savage, the father of the six children (five sons and a daughter) next hereinafter to be referred to.

That his Christian name is likely to have been Thomas and that he may have married twice is inferable from (a) the Will of his son Thomas Savage, clearly of Great Bedwyn, dated 8/12/1654, and hereinafter more particularly referred to, wherein the latter bequeathed "the yard lands lately in my mother's possession" (words seeming to indicate a then deceased mother) and (b) the following marriage at Great Bedwyn, namely, that of "Thomas Savage and Elizabeth Tinsey, both of this parish", on 26/6/1654.

Whether his Christian name was Thomas or not, and, if Thomas, whether such marriage of 26/6/1654 was his second or not, it was not by such second marriage that he had his issue. His issue now follows:—

GENERATION V A.

Issue of (Thomas?) and — Savage, of Generation IV A, above.

(1) John Savage, described as "lately deceased" in the said Will of 3/11/1652. He is mentioned again as "my brother", though without intimation as to whether he was still alive in the Will of his brother Thomas Savage dated 8/12/1654 and hereinafter more particularly referred to.

He married, probably in or before 1646, — née —, by whom he had issue, of whom presently, on page 319.

(2) Edward Savage, clearly of Great Bedwyn, Co. Wilts, described as "my brother" and appointed joint overseer in the said Will of his brother Thomas Savage dated 8/12/1654. He was buried at Great Bedwyn on 27/12/1670.

By his Will, dated 14/12/1670, wherein he described himself simply as "Edward Savage", he bequeathed: "to my daughter Joan, £120"; "to my daughter Francis (sic), £120"; "to my daughter Barbara, £120"; to my daughter Sara, £120"—all four being described as then under 21;—"to my son Isack, £150, £20 to bind him to a trade and £10 to sett him well out in cloaths, the other £120 to be paid to him when his time is out"; he being described as then under age; "to my son John and his wif, 12d. apeice"; "to my son-in-law Will Noyse and his wife, 12d. apeice; and to my daughter Mary, 12d."; "to my seaven grand children, 12d. apeice"; "to the pore of the parish of Great Bedwyn". He left the residue "to my welbeloved wife Barbara and to my son Edward making them executors joyntly".

Such Will was witnessed by "Robert Savag" (sic) and by "John Savage" and was proved by the two executors therein named in the Peculiar Court of the Lord Warden of Savernake Forest on 26/10/1671.

The Inventory with such Will was apprised by "Farmer Noyse, Robert Savag" (sic) "and John Ragborne" on 28/12/1670. Shewing a total of £900 12s. 2d., and including "hogs and pigs, 460 sheep, 15 horses and colts and harness, kine, 28 milch beast, 12 two year heifers and two yerlins, ploughs, cart, waggon, harrows and roulers, hay,

wheat, barly, oats, wheat uppon the ground", it was exhibited by such executors on 26/10/1671.

He married, at Great Bedwyn, on 22/4/1639, Barbara née Bise, who, at some time following his death, removed to Wootten Rivers, Co. Wilts, where she was residing at the date of her Will, and where she may have been buried (for her burial is not found at Great Bedwyn).

By her Will, dated 7/3/1688, i.e., 7/3/1688/9, wherein she described herself as "Barbara Savadge, of the parish of Wootten Rivers, Co. Wilts, widow", she left legacies: -- "unto my son Edward Savadge", 20s.; "unto my son John Savadge", 20s.; "unto William Noyes ye elder, of Milten", 20s.; "unto William Burton of ye same", 20s.; "unto my daughter Barbara Melsom", £60, "and also my diamond ring and silver spoon"; "unto the children of my son Thomas, viz., Edward, Thomas, and Mary", £12 "apiece"; "unto ye Poor of the parish of Wootten Rivers", 20s.; "unto Mr. Jer. Williams, Clerk, Minister of the said parish", 5s.; "unto my daughter Barbara aforesaid half my wearing apparel both woollen and linnen"; "unto my daughter-in-law Mary, my fine Holland Sheet"; "unto my son Isaac Savadge ", £40, " and my little bed with all things belonging thereunto"; "unto my daughter Frances Blake", £20, "the bed which I lie upon and all things belonging to it; half my wearing apparel, both woollen and linnen, my wedding ring and the silver box wherein it is". She left the residue "unto my son Isaac Savadge and my daughter Frances Blake aforesaid " and made them joint executors.

Such Will was proved by such joint executors in Arch. Wilts—"W (2) d"—in or about 1688/9.

Of the issue of such Edward and Barbara Savage presently on pages 319-321.

(3) Thomas Savage, clearly of Great Bedwyn, and there buried on 20/2/1654, i.e., 20/2/1654/5.

By his Will, dated 8/12/1654, wherein he described himself simply as "Thomas Savage", he left legacies:—"unto Alice Savage", £5; "unto my brother-in-law John Annatts his two children" "a peice"; "unto my brother Edward Savage his children", £3 "a piece"; "unto my brother Robert, the yard lands which was lately in my mother's possession with all that is upon the said yard lands to enjoy the said yard lands dureinge the terme of the lease by which it is held"; "unto the said Robert all the corne that is mine growing at Woolphall" (sic) "or Craston"; "unto my brother Robert my horses and carts, and ploughes with all the tackling thereunto belonging"; "unto my brother Robert's daughter Elizabeth", £5; "unto my brother Francis his sonne Francis", £5; "unto my brother John's daughter Alice", £10, "to be paid at the age of 21"; "unto Edward y sone of the said John", £20, "to be paid when he shall be" 21; "unto John the sonne of the said John", £30, "to be paid when he shall be" 21; "unto my wife Fortune all my household goods"; "unto my wife all that parcell of wood, lyeing in my barten, next to the widdow Cleathes"; "unto my brother Robert all those blockes and boards in my barten lying next to Alexander Johnson's"; "to the poore of "Great Bedwine, £10". He made "my wife Fortune and my brother Robert ioynt executors" as well as residuary legatees. He made "my brother Edward and George Plaskett overseers".

Such Will was proved by such joint executors at London in the P.C.C. on 16/5/1656; such executors being described in such probate as "Fortune Savage the relicte and Robert Savage the sonne" (sic: error

for brother), "ioint executors named in the said Will".

He married at Great Bedwin on 18/11/1646 Fortune née——. Curiously enough her maiden name is not given in the entry of the marriage in the Parish Register.

She survived him and jointly proved his said will on 16/5/1656, as

already stated.

There would seem to have been no issue of their marriage;—and, despite the phraseology of her said husband's probate of 16/5/1656 (namely, "Fortune Savage the relicte"), I cannot help thinking that she was already then married again. For, on 22/1/1655, i.e., 22/1/1655/6, we find at Great Bedwyn a marriage of "John Pyper and Fortune Savag" (sic) "both of this parish".

(4) Joan née Savage. She married at Great Bedwyn on 6/11/1627 John Annatts, who was living ("my brother-in-law") on 8/12/1654.

There was issue of such marriage two children (name and sex not given) both living, and each a legatee of £3, on 8/12/1654.

(5) Robert Savage, of Knowle, in the parish of Little Bedwyn, yeoman. He was living (legatee of £15) on 3/11/1652, and (legatee of, inter alia, "all the corn that is mine growing at Woolphall, or Craston", etc., and appointed joint executor of the Will of his brother Thomas Savage) 8/12/1654. He was also living (jointly proving such brother's Will) 16/5/1656.

He was buried at Great Bedwyn on 20/5/1696. There is an M.I. to him in the south transept, middle aisle, of Great Bedwyn Church—since partly covered by a pew—reading as follows:—"Here lyeth the

body of Robert Savage, of Knowle".

By his Will, dated 30/5/1695, wherein he described himself as above, he left legacies:—"unto my daughter Elianor now the wife of Alexander Dismore 1s., and to my grandchildren Alexander and Elianor sonne and daughter of the said Alexander 5/- apiece"; "unto my daughter Anne now wife of Richard Plomley 1/-, and to my grandchildren Robert and Elizabeth sonne and daughter of the said Richard 5/-apiece"; "unto my daughter Elizabeth now wife of Robert Hillman 1/-, and to my grandchildren Robert and Rawlins sonne" (query singular) "of the said Robert 5/- apiece"; "unto my loving wife Elianor Savage my coppyhold yard lands with all buildings and appurtenances thereunto belonging lying and being at Wilton in the pish of Great Bedwin for life"; "unto the said Elianor my wife" one half "of all my household goods in the farme house where I now dwell for

her use" for life, "also the use and benefitt of the new chamber over the mealehouse with free ingresse egresse and regresse to and from the same" for life.

Further: he devised and bequeathed "unto my sonne Edward all my freeland lying and being at Wilton aforesaid conteyneing one yarde lande together with all houses, edifices, buildings and other appurtenances thereunto belonging, to hold the same unto the said Edward my sonne and to his heires for ever"; adding that "it is my will that the said Ellianor" (sic) "my wife shall peaceably and quietly hold and enioy the thirde of the said yard lande, hereinbefore given to the said Edward Savage", for life.

He left also "unto tenne of the poore of Chisbury in the psh of Little Bedwin 10s. to be equally divided between them and to tenn of the poore of Wilton in the pish of Great Bedwin 1/- apiece".

The residue he left to "the said Edward my sonne", whom he made sole executor.

Such Will was proved by such executor at Great Bedwin in the Peculiar Court of the Lord Warden of Savernake Forest on 11/6/1696.

The Inventory was as follows:—"An inventory of ye goods and chattles of Rob Savage late of Knowle, deceased. Taken by Edw. Savage, Alex. Dismore and Jo. Savage", Total value £968.

He married at Great Bedwyn on 24/9/1652 " Elnor Hakins", i.e., Elnor née Hakins, who (as will be seen in a moment) was born in or about 1634.

She was living 30/5/1695 and, dying on 8/1/1700, was buried at Great Bedwyn (as "Ellinor Savage, widd.") on 11/1/1700. There is an M.I. to her in the south transept, middle aisle, of Great Bedwyn Church—since partly covered by the above-mentioned pew—reading as follows:

—" . . . [illegible] Savage who dep. this life Jan. y° 8, A.D. 1700, in y° 67th year of her age".

Of their issue presently, on pages 321-322.

(6) Francis Savage, mentioned as "my brother" (though without intimation as to whether living or dead) on 8/12/1654.

That he married and had issue is clear. He may conceivably be the Francis Savage "lately of Marlborough, co. Wilts, deceased", Administration of whose goods was granted in the P.C.C. on 2/4/1681 to "Anne Savage, widow, the relict". If so, he married *Anne née*——.

Of his said issue presently, on page 322.

GENERATION VI A.

Having now set forth with care four Wills in the preceding generation V A, I can deal with this generation VI A and its successors with far greater brevity; and from now on I shall generally abbreviate Great Bedwyn as G.B.

Generation VI A is as follows :-

Issue of John and — Savage of Generation V A, above, page 315:—

- (1) Edward Savage baptised at G.B. 24/1/1646/7 and living (legatec) 3/11/1652 and (under 21 and legatee) 8/12/1654.
- (2) John Savage, living (legatee) 3/11/1652 and under 21 and legatee) 8/12/1654. He seems clearly to be the "John Savidge" (sic: but signing the bond as "John Savage") "of the parish of Great Bedwin, Co. Wilts, yeoman", to whom—described as "the intimate Friend and Administrator of all and singular the goods, chattels and credits of Thomas Savidge" (sic) "late of the parish of Greate Bedwin in the County of Wilts intestate deceased"—Administration of the estate of such Thomas Savidge (or Savage), who was probably his uncle Edward's son of that name (below on the present page), was granted in the Peculiar Court of the Lord Warden of Savernake Forest on 16/1/1684/5.
- (3) Alice née Savage. She was living (legatee and unmarried) 3/11/1652 and (under 21 and legatee) 8/12/1654.

Issue of Edward and Barbara Savage of Great Bedwyn, Co. Wilts, of Generation VA, above pages 315-316:—

(1) Edward Savage, of Wolfhall, in the parish of G.B., Co. Wilts, yeoman; baptised at G.B. 9/2/1639. He was living (legatee) 3/11/1652 and (legatee) 8/11/1654. He was buried at Burbage, Co. Wilts (as "Edward Savage of Wolfhall") 15/3/1709, i.e., 15/3/1709/10.

By his Will, dated 22/12/1708, a holograph Will—describing himself as above but with the spelling Woolfall for Wolfhall—he left: "to my welbeloved wife £10 and also one bed with all ye furniture belonginge to itt and one truncke now beinge in the chamber over the bakehouse"; "to my son Edward Savage and his five cheldren, £10 apiece"; "to my son John son Edwa". (i.e., my son John's son Edward), "£20, and to his daughter Mary £10"; "to my son John Savage all my goods and cattells within doore and without, making him whole and sole executor".

Such Will was proved by such executor at Hungerford, Co. Berks, in the Court of the Dean of Sarum on 22/4/1710.

He married *Grace née* —, who was thus living on 22/12/1708 and is doubtless the "Grace Savage" so buried at Burbage aforesaid on 28/8/1720.

Of their issue presently, on pages 322—324.

(2) Thomas Savage, probably of Great Bedwyn, Co. Wilts. Baptised at G.B. on 29/2/1641, i.e, 29/2/1641/2, and living (legatee) 3/11/1652.

Curiously enough, he finds no mention in his father's said Will of 14/12/1760. He is, however, mentioned—though not necessarily as still living—in his mother's Will of 7/3/1788/9.

If he was then still living, he may well be the "Thomas Savidg" (sic) "late of the parish of Greate Bedwin, Co. Wilts, intestate, deceased", Administration of whose estate was granted in the Peculiar Court of the Lord Warden of Savernake Forest on 16/1/1684/5 to his "intimate

Friend '' (probably his uncle John's son) John Savage of Great Bedwyn, Co. Wilts, yeoman, already mentioned above on page 319).

He married, clearly, Mary née —— who was living ("my daughter-in-law Mary", legatee) 7/3/1688/9.

Of their issue presently, on pages 324-325.

(3) John Savage, apparently of Great Bedwyn, Co. Wilts. Baptised at G.B. 5/5/1644 and living (legatee) 3/11/1652, and living also 14/12/1670 and 7/3/1688/9.

He married before 14/12/1670 Frances née —, who was also living on that date.

Of their issue presently, on page 325.

- (4) Mary née Savage. Born probably before 1649. Baptism not found at G.B. Living (one of "their three sisters": legatee) 3/11/1652, and also (under 21) 14/12/1670. She probably died before 7/3/1688/9, the date of her mother's Will.
- (5) Sara née Savage. Born probably not earlier than 1649. Baptism not found at G.B. Living (one of "their three sisters": legatee) 3/11/1652, and also (under 21) 14/12/1670. She probably died before 7/3/1688/9, the date of her mother's Will.
- (6) Frances née Savage (The First). Baptised at G.B. 25/7/1651. Living (one of "their three sisters": legatee) 3/11/1652, and also (under 21) 14/12/1670. She probably died before 7/3/1688/9.

She married before 14/12/1670 William Noyes, who may have been the son of "Farmer Noyse" who, jointly with Robert Savage and John Ragborne, took the inventory of Edward Savage (the testator of 14/12/1670) on 28/12/1670, as already shewn above on page 315.

The mother of this William Noyes would seem to have been "Frances Noyes of ye parish of Milton Lilborne, Co. Wiltes, widdowe", whose Will—wherein she so described herself and wherein, amongst other legacies, she left a legacy "to my son William Noyes" (the only son mentioned therein)—was dated 14/8/1686 and was proved at Marlborough in Arch. Wilts by her residuary legatee and sole executor, "my loveinge grand-son Francis Noyes of Milton aforesaid", 20/10/1687. He is probably also the "William Noyes ye Elder of Milten", living (a legatee under the Will of Mrs. Barbara Savage, widow, already set forth above, on page 316) 7/3/1688/9.

If the said Frances Noyes, widow, be correctly identified as his mother, and if—as would appear to have been the case—he was her only son, it follows from her said Will that:—

There was issue of his said marriage with the said Frances $n\acute{e}e$ Savage two sons, Francis and William, and three daughters, Elizabeth, Mary and Frances; all five living 14/8/1686, and the said son Francis living also 20/10/1687.

(7) Barbara née Savage. Born 28/7/1654 (per Baptismal Register of G.B.) and living (under 21) 14/12/1670 and ("my daughter Barbara Melsom") 7/3/1688/9.

She married - Melsom.

(8) Frances née Savage (The Second). Born 29/3/1657 (per Baptismal Register of G.B.) and living (under 21) 14/12/1670 (unless this refers to her sister of the same Christian name). She was living ("my daughter Frances Blake") 7/3/1688/9 and (jointly with her brother Isaac Savage proving her mother's Will) circa 1688/9.

She married — Blake.

- (9) Isaac Savage. Baptised at G.B. 16/8/1659. Living (under age and obviously quite young) 14/12/1670; living also 7/3/1688/9 and (jointly proving his mother's Will) circa 1688/9.
- (10) Joan née Savage. Living ("my daughter Joan" and under 21) 14/12/1670. She is not mentioned in her mother's Will (7/3/1688/9) and is probably the "Jone Savage a child", so buried at G.B. 1/10/1672.

Issue of Robert and Elinor Savage of Knowle, in the parish of Little Bedwyn, Co. Wilts, of Gen. V A, above, pages 317—318:—

(1) Edward Savage, of Knowle, in the parish of Little Bedwyn, Co. Wilts. He was living (devisee and legatee of all his father's "freeland at Wilton" in the parish of G.B. and appointed joint executor) 30/5/1695 and also (proving his father's Will) 11/6/1696.

He died, unmarried, shortly before 22/7/1736, on which date *Administration* of his estate—he being described as above, with the addition of the words "batchelor, deceased"—was granted in the P.C.C. to "Elizabeth Hillman, widow, the natural and lawfull sister only next of kin".

- (2) Elizabeth née Savage (The First). Living (legatee) 8/12/1654. She was buried at G.B. in 1655 (precise date not recorded).
- (3) A child (name and sex not recorded), entry in the Baptismal Register of G.B.:—"An infant of Robert Savage and Elnor his wife born 19/1/1655 died unbaptised".
- (4) Elnor née Savage. Born 11/4/1657 per Baptismal Register of G.B. Living ("my daughter Elianor now the wife of Alexander Dismore" and as already having borne two children) 30/5/1695.

She married—probably before 1692—Alexander Dismore who was thus living 30/5/1695.

There was issue of such marriage, two children, Alexander and Elianor, both living 30/5/1695.

- (5) Barbara née Savage. Born 27/10/1659 per Baptismal Register of G.B.
- (6) Ann née Savage. Baptised at G.B. 4/5/1662. She married at G.B., by licence, on 31/5/1688, Richard Plomley (or, as spelt in the Parish Register, Plumbly). They were both living 30/5/1695.

There was issue of such marriage, two children, Robert and Elizabeth,

both living 30/5/1695.

(7) Elizabeth née Savage (The Second). She married at G.B., by licence, on 4/10/1688, Richard Hillman (so per the Register, but apparently an error therein for Robert Hillman, so named in his father-in-law's will 30/5/1695, above). She and her husband were both living 30/5/1695 and he predeceased her.

She was living, as his widow, on 22/7/1736, on which date she was granted Administration of the estate of her brother Edward—described as already stated—she herself being then described as "Elizabeth Hillman, widow, the natural and lawfull sister only next of kin" of the said deceased.

There was issue of her said marriage, two children, Robert and Rawlins, both living 30/5/1695.

Issue of Francis and (Anne?) Savage of Generation V A, above, page 318:—

- (1) Francis Savage. Living (legatee) 8/12/1654.
- (2) Barbara née Sarage. Buried at G.B. 19/9/1679.

GENERATION VII A.

Issue of Edward and Grace Savage of Wolfhall, in the parish of Great Bedwyn, Co. Wilts, of Generation VI A, above, page 319:—

(1) Thomas Savage. Born 12 (or query 20) /12/1673 per Baptismal Register of G.B. He probably died before the date of his father's Will, i.e., before 22/12/1708.

He may probably be the "Thomas Savage of Wolfhall", so buried at Burbage, Co. Wilts, on 15/11/1698.

(2) John Savage. Baptised at G.B. 30/5/1676. He was living 22/12/1708 and 22/4/1710. He would seem to be the "John Savage", so buried at Burbage aforesaid on 19/3/1721/2.

He married — née — . His marriage may probably have been that of John Savage and Frances Dove (query spelling of third letter) which took place at Burbage aforesaid on 31/1/1704, i.e., 31/1/1704/5. In such case she may well be the "Frances Savage of Burbage, widow: Will and Inventory 1727" in the Sarum Peculiars: Prebendal Court of Husborne and Burbage (the original Will being at Somerset House); which I fear I have never examined and cannot now examine durante bello.1

There was issue of his marriage, of whom presently, on page 325.

- (3) Frances née Savage. Baptised at G.B. 11/12/1677 and there buried 13/8/1682.
- (4) Barbara née Savage. Baptised at G.B. 2/12/1680 and there buried 30/5/1682.

¹ Likewise with the Wills of (1) "Edward Savage of Burbage" and (2) "John Savage of Burbage" proved in the same Court in 1738 and 1739 respectively. Possible identification of these two testators will be found below on page 325.

(5) Edward Savage, of Great Bedwyn and afterwards of Froxfield, Co. Wilts. Baptism not found, and his order among his brothers and sisters, therefore, not known. He was of G.B. on 27/9/1695, the date of his marriage hereinafter mentioned; and within a year of his marriage he and his wife moved to Froxfield. He was living—already with five children, all of them living—on 22/12/1708. He was buried at Froxfield on 4/12/1743.

A Passing Note on the Dormant Earldom of Rivers.

It is this Edward Savage, of Froxfield, who was considered by my late grand-uncle Laurence Richardson Baily, of Liverpool, M.P. (1815—1887), to have been the true and proper person to claim, and through whom his descendants in their turn were entitled to claim, the dormant Earldom of Rivers.

Such L. R. Baily, indeed, went further. He endeavoured to prove that his eldest brother John Baily, the eminent Chancery Silk (i.e., Q.C.), my late maternal grandfather (1805—1877), was the person so entitled. These two brothers were two of the five sons of Dr. John Baily (1772—1857), second son (whose elder brother Richard Baily, 1769—1809, left no surviving issue) of Richard Baily, of Newbury, and theretofore of Thatcham, Co. Berks (circ. 1744—1814) by Sarah née Head (1745—1823) his wife, a daughter of Laurence Head the younger of Newbury (1708/9—1774) by Martha née Savage (1717—1809) his wife—most of whom will be found mentioned hereinafter under Generation VIII A on pages 328 sq.—such Martha née Savage being the youngest of the children of this Edward Savage of Froxfield and Elizabeth née Hanson his hereinafter mentioned wife.

Whatever (if any) right to suchdormant Earldom of Rivers may have vested in this Edward Savage of Froxfield, it will be seen from what will hereinafter follow, that many of his descendants would have had a prior right to the late above-mentioned John Baily, Q.C.

I referred to this matter of the dormant Earldom—somewhat cursorily I fear—in *The Wilts, Berks and Hants County Paper*, under the heading "The Present and the Past: The Earldom of Rivers, and Other Things", on 20/5/1932. Writing there of my said grand-uncle's research, I wrote, perhaps, too facetiously:—"He spent, I remember, a deal of money, to prove his brother to be a Peer, whilst the brother—a Chancery Q.C. with seven children—prayed heartily for his continuous status as a Commoner! Death mercifully released them both, as is Death's wonted way".

In and by his Will dated 3/12/1720—wherein he described himself as "Edward Savage, of Froxfield, Co. Wilts, Gent."—he left bequests "unto my children", namely:—"Mary Savage"; "Elizabeth Savage"; "Edward Savage"; "Thomas Savage"; "John Savage"; "Sarah Savage"; "Letitia Savage"; "James Savage"; "Hannah

Savage"; "Charles Savage"; and "Martha Savage". He made a devise and bequest "unto my loving wife Elizabeth Savage", whom he appointed sole executrix.

Such Will was proved by such executrix at Marlborough, Co. Wilts,

in Arch. Wilts on 4/2/1743, i.e., 4/2/1743/4.

He married at Hungerford, Co. Berks, on 27/9/1695, *Elizabeth née Hanson* of Hungerford aforesaid, who (as will be seen in a moment) was born in or about 1673.

She was living as aforesaid on 3/12/1720 and 4/2/1743/4. She is probably the Mrs. Savage referred to in the following note occurring in the oldest Register Book of Froxfield aforesaid, namely:—"December 18, 1753; Rec^d of Mrs. Savage for breaking y° ground in y° church-yard 6/8". At some time after her said husband's death—and probably after the said 18/12/1753—she returned to live in her home-town of Hungerford. She died in 1764—apparently age 91: and, indeed, as she had a great-granddaughter living at the date of her Will, next to be referred to, she must have been of a goodly age—and she was buried at Froxfield aforesaid (as "Elizabeth Savage, widow") on 2/6/1764.

By her Will dated 23/5/1764—wherein she described herself as "Elizabeth Savage, of Hungerford, Co. Berks, widow"—she left bequests:—"unto my Gand-Daughter Anne Westall" for life, with gift over, "immediately after her decease, unto her daugher Jane". She left her residue "to my Sons and Daughters namely:—Edward Savage, Thomas Savage, Charles Savage, my Daughter Mary Mackrell, my Son-in-law Laurance" (sic) "Head, my Daughter Letecia" (also in this Will spelt "Letitia") "Parker"—all which last-mentioned six persons she appointed joint-executors.

Such Will was proved at London in the P.C.C. on 25/8/1764 by "Edward Savage and Thomas Savage the sons and Lawrence" (sic) "Head, three of the executors named in the said Will, to whom Administration was granted . . . power reserved of making the like grant to Charles Savage, also the son of the deceased Mary Mackrell, widow, and Lœtitia otherwise Leticia Parker, widow, the daughters of the deceased and the other executors when they or either of them shall apply for the same".

There was issue of such marriage, of whom presently, on pages 326-9.

(6) Grace née Savage. She was living ("my daughter Grace Kemm") on 22/12/1708.

She married — Kemm: and there was issue of such marriage, three children (sex and Christian names unrecorded) all living on 22/12/1708.

Issue of Thomas and Mary Savage of (probably) Great Bedwyn, Co. Wilts, of Generation VI A, above, pages 319-320:-

(1) Edward Savage. He was living 7/3/1688/9.

He probably married in or before 1697 Elizabeth née -, and from

the baptisms of their children they appear to have resided at Burbage, Co. Wilts.

There was issue of such marriage, of whom presently, on page 329.

- (2) Thomas Savage. He was living 7/3/1688/9.
- (3) Mary née Savage. She was living 7/3/1688/9.

Issue of John and Frances Savage of Great Bedwyn, of Generation VI A, above, page 320.

(1) John Savage. Baptised at G.B. 16/10/1671.

He married and may well be the John Savage who married at Burbage aforesaid on 8/8/1691 Elizabeth née Ragborn, a daughter perhaps of the John Ragborne already mentioned as one of the three persons who on 28/12/1670 took the inventory of the goods of Edward Savage of Generation V A, the testator of 14/12/1670. (See above, page 315.) From the baptisms of their children he and his wife appear to have resided at G.B. from 1706 to 1708. But it is not impossible that he may be the John Savage of Burbage whose Will—already referred to above in the note to page 322, but which, as there stated, I have not examined—was proved in 1739.

There was issue of his marriage, of whom presently, on page 329.

- (2) Elizabeth née Savage (The First). Baptised at G.B. 9/3/1673, i.e., 9/3/1673/4. She probably died as an infant before 9/3/1674/5.
 - (3) Elizabeth née Savage (The Second). Baptised at G.B. 9/3/1674/5.
 - (4) Thomas Savage. Baptised at G.B. 25/9/1676.
- (5) Robert Savage. Baptised at G.B. 6/5/1679. (Baptism also entered in the Register of Burbage aforesaid 13/5/1679.) He may possibly be the "Robert Savage (blacksmith)", so buried at Burbage on 31/3/1725.
- (6) Mary née Savage. Baptised at G.B. 8/1/1682/3. Baptism also entered in the Register of Burbage 20/1/1682/3.)
 - (7) Sarah née Savage. Baptised at G.B. 15/12/1685.
- (8) Barbara née Savage, Baptised at G.B. 25/6/1690. She married, at Burbage aforesaid, on 29/12/1715, Henry New.

GENERATION VIII A.

Issue of John and (Frances?) Savage of Generation VII A, above, page 322:—

- (1) Edward Savage. Baptised at G.B. 13/11/1706, and living 22/12/1708. It is not impossible that he may be the Edward Savage of Burbage whose Will—already referred to above in the note to page 322, but which, as there stated, I have not examined—was proved in 1738.
 - (2) Mary née Savage. Baptised at G.B. 7/9/1708.

Issue of Edward and Elizabeth Savage of Froxfield, Co. Wilts, of Generation VII A. above, pages 323-324:—

(1) Edward Savage (The First). Baptised at Froxfield, Co. Wilts—Vol. L.—NO. CLXXX.

hereinafter represented by the letter F. -25/9/1696. He apparently died before 19/2/1702/3.

(2) Mary née Savage. Baptised at F. 1/8/1698. She is not the "Mary Savage of Froxfield" who, there, on 27/10/1719, married ——Fillet; for she was living, unmarried, on 3/12/1720. She was living, a widow ("Mary Mackrell)", on 23/5/1764, 25/8/1764 and 27/1/1767.

She married, after 3/12/1720, John Mackrell who died before 23/5/1764. There was issue of such marriage, a son John, who was baptised at F. and who is clearly the person referred to above on page 324 as "the son of the deceased Mary Mackrell, widow", and as living on 25/8/1764; probably also a daughter Martha, buried at Newbury, Co. Berks, as "Martha Mackrell", 31/8/1755; and possibly also a daughter Elizabeth (if née Mackrell), wife of one John Savage, whom I am unable to identify.

- (3) Elizabeth née Savage. Baptism not found. She was living (unmarried) 3/12/1720 and was buried at F. on 3/10/1728.
- (4) Edward Savage (The Second), of Reading, Co. Berks, apothecary. Baptised at F. 19/2/1702/3. He was living 3/12/1720, 23/5/1764 and 25/8/1764. He died between 27/1/1767 and 28/4/1768.

In his Will, dated 27/1/1767, he named his brothers Thomas and Charles, his sisters Parker and Mackrell, his sister Martha and her husband Laurence Head. He also mentioned his (the testator's) son Edward and his (the testator's) daughters Mary and Jane, the former of these two daughters as then deceased. He also spoke of his (the testator's) sister-in-law Savage of Newbury; he spoke also of legacies to his (the testator's) children by their grandmother Stevens; and, further, he devised lands at Mortimer, Co. Berks, and in Co. Southampton.

Such Will was proved by his widow, Elizabeth Savage, on 28/4/1768. He married, by licence, at St. Mary's, Reading, 21/11/1726, Elizabeth née Stevens, who was living 27/1/1767 and (proving her said husband's Will) 28/4/1768. She was buried at St. Mary's, Reading, on 17/5/1779.

In her own Will, dated 9/3/1778, she mentioned her son Edward and her daughter Jane.

Such Will was proved on 21/5/1779.

There was issue of such marriage, of whom presently on page 330.

(5) Thomas Savage, of Clapham, Co. Surrey, gentleman and esquire. Baptised at F. 23/1/1704/5. He was living 3/12/1720, 23/5/1764, 25/8/1764 and 27/1/1767. He was buried in the Parish Church of Clapham aforesaid on 19/2/1791, he having expressed the desire in his Will hereinafter mentioned to be "interred in the vault under where the Old Church stood in Clapham as near as may be to the remains of my late wife".

His Will, dated 23/7/1782, was followed by Seven Codicils, dated respectively 23/5/1783, 25/7/1785, 24/4/1788, 29/7/1788, 12/5/1789, 13/12/1789 and 12/12/1790.

Such Will and Codicils together are most informative as to his many

relatives, but, taken together, they are too long to set out here. References to such dates hereinafter, however, must be taken to be

references to such Will and Codicils respectively.

Such Will and seven Codicils were all proved at London in the P.C.C. on 18/2/1791 (Official reference: "97 Bevor") by "Richard Baily, by mistake in the Will called Bailey the surviving executor named in the said Will"—already referred to above, on page 323, and again to be referred to below, on page 329—' and Richard Savage the nephew of the deceased and the executor named in the 4th Codicil".

He married Mary née —— who was buried at Clapham aforesaid, in the vault above mentioned, on 16/12/1753.

There was apparently no issue of such marriage.

(6) John Savage, of Newbury, Co. Berks. Baptised at F. 29/12/1707, He was living 3/12/1720. He was probably dead before 23/5/1764 and before 27/1/1767 and certainly before 23/7/1782.

He married, in or about 1739, Sheate née ——, who was living ("my sister-in-law Savage, of Newbury") on 27/1/1767. She died

between 29/6/1780 and 29/11/1780.

Her Will, dated 4/6/1780—describing herself as "Skeate Savage of Newbury, Co. Berks, widow"—together with Two Codicils thereto, dated respectively 13/6/1780 and 29/6/1780, was proved at London in the P.C.C. 29/11/1780 ("542 Collins"). Their effect will appear generally hereinafter.

There was issue of such marriage, of whom presently on pages 330—1.

(7) Sarah née Savage. Baptised at F. 18/1/1708/9. She was living (unmarried) 3/12/1720.

She may be the "Mrs." (i.e., Mistress, i.e., Miss) "Sarah Savage of Froxfield, Wilts", who—thus described in the Marriage Register—married at F. on 17/2/1744/5 "Mr. Francis Wallace, of Sarum, Wilts". She was probably dead before 23/5/1764.

(8) Lætitia née Savage. Baptised at F. 20/2/1710/11. She was living (unmarried) 3/12/1720. She was of F. at the date of her first marriage, hereinafter mentioned. She was living as a widow ("Lætitia Parker") 23/5/1764, 6/6/1764, 25/8/1764 and (still as "Parker") 27/1/1767. She was living (wife of Edward Hodges, of Newbury, Co. Berks) 23/7/1782. She died, as Lætitia Hodges, between 23/7/1782 and 12/12/1790.

She married, firstly, at F. on 8/12/1732, William Parker, of Newbury, Co. Berks, who was buried at Newbury 18/4/1764. Administration of his goods, etc., was granted to her, as his widow and relict, in the P.C.C. on 6/6/1764.

There was issue of such marriage, a daughter Letitia who married William Finnie, of Southampton, and was there residing as his widow on 23/7/1782 and 12/12/1790.

She married, secondly, between 27/1/1767 and 23/7/1782, Edward Hodges, of Newbury aforesaid, who was hving 23/7/1782 and who would seemed to have died before 12/12/1790.

- (9) James Savage. Baptised at F. 26/5/1712. He was living 3/12/1720 and apparently died before 23/5/1764.
- (10) Hannah née Savage. Baptism not found. She was living (unmarried) 3/12/1720 and apparently died before 23/5/1764.
- (11) Charles Savage, of Eckington, Co. Worcester, and formerly of Evesham in the same county, gentleman. Baptised at F. 10/11/1715. He was living 3/12/1720, 23/5/1764 and 27/1/1767. He was living ("of Evesham, Co. Worcester, apothecary") 23/7/1782. He was also living 29/7/1788. Between 23/7/1782 and 12/5/1789 he removed from Evesham to Eckington, where he was living on such last-mentioned date. He died on 24/5/1789 and was buried at Eckington aforesaid on 29/5/1789. M.I. to him there within the altar rails of the Church, on its south side, giving his age as (so far as it is legible) 70, but the second figure is imperfect. It should have been a 3, i.e., 73.

His Will, dated 20/3/1789—describing himself as "of Eckington, Co. Worcester, gentleman—was proved at London in the P.C.C. on 31/7/1789. So far as here material, its effect will be found generally hereinafter.

He married *Esther née*—, born (as will be seen in a moment) in or about 1736 or 1737. She was living 20/3/1789 and (jointly proving her said husband's Will) 31/7/1789. She died 17/4/1808, aged 71. She was presumably buried at Eckington. M.I. to her there on the same stone as the above-mentioned M.I. there to her said husband.

There was issue of such marriage, of whom presently, on page 331.

(12) Martha née Savage. Baptised at F. 13/7/1717. She was living (unmarried) 3/12/1720. She was of F. at the date of her marriage hereinafter mentioned, 9/2/1740/1. She was living 27/1/1767, 1/6/1772 and 6/5/1774. She was living ("Martha Head, widow of the late Lawrance" — sic — "Head of Newbury, Co. Berks") 23/7/1782. She died 19/4/1809, aged 91, and was buried in the vault of her hereinafter mentioned son-in-law, Benjamin Hawkins, in the Churchyard, Newbury. M.I. to her there.

Her Will, dated 27/3/1795—wherein she described herself as "Martha Head of Newbury, Co. Berks, widow"—together with *Three Codicils* thereto, dated respectively 15/12/1796, 19/3/1797 and 27/1/1804, was proved in the P.C.C. on 19/6/1809 ("459 Loveday"). So far as here

material, their effect will hereinafter appear.

She married at Froxfield on 9/2/1740/1 Laurence Head the younger, of Newbury, Co. Berks. He was Mayor of Newbury in 1747 and again in the latter part of 1750, and dying on 23/4/1774, he was there buried on 27/4/1774. His Will, dated 1/3/1772, with Codicil thereto, dated 20/4/1774, was proved at London in the P.C.C. on 6/5/1774.

He was of the Royalist family of Head, of Winterborne and of Newbury, Co. Berks, a main part of the history of which, from my pen, was published in *The Berks Archæological Journal*, vol. xlvii (1943) and republished in revised form as a pamphlet, at Reading: Poynder & Son; The Holy Brook Press, Gun Street, in October, 1943,

There was issue of such marriage, ten children, three sons and seven daughters, all baptised at Newbury from 4/9/1744 to 4/6/1759. Five of these, dying young, were buried at Newbury. The other five, were, in their order amongst the ten, as follows:—

(ii) Sarah, baptised 17/11/1745, who married at Newbury on 3/10/1768 Richard Baily, of Newbury, and formerly of Thatcham, Co. Berks, already mentioned above on pages 323 and 327, who was a banker at Newbury and was Mayor of Newbury in 1773. He died on 3/10/1814, aged 70, and was buried at Thatcham: and she herself, dying on 14/6/1823, was likewise there buried (M.I. to them both there).

These were the parents of (int. al.) the celebrated Astronomer Francis Baily (1774—1844, Hon. LL.D. Dublin and Hon. D C.L. Oxford, Fellow, Treasurer and Vice-President of the Royal Society and President of the Royal Astronomical Society, who was born and baptised at Newbury and buried at Thatcham. M.I. to him there. His

biography, from my pen, appeared in 1938.

The present-day representative of this family of Baily of Thatcham—a pedigree of which I registered at the College of Arms, s.v. "Norfolk", vol. xxxviii, page 121—is Professor Francis Gibson Baily, F.R.S.E., born in 1868, a great-grandson of the Astronomer's second elder brother Dr. John Baily who was baptised at Newbury in April, 1772, and, dying on 26/3/1857 in his 86th year, was likewise buried at Thatcham, where an M.I. commemorates both him and his wife.

- (v) Laurence, baptised 13/7/1750, who apparently died, unmarried, before 1/6/1772.
- (viii) Katharine, baptised 3/6/1757, who married Thomas Sherwood, of Brown's Lane, Spitalfields, dyer.
- (ix) Frances, baptised 9/5/1755, who married at Newbury on 30/5/1779 Robert Brookman, of Overton, Co. Hants, surgeon and sometime apothecary.
- (x) Ann, baptised 4/6/1759, who married at Newbury on 7/1/1791 Benjamin Hawkins of Newbury, grocer, already mentioned under his mother-in-law, Mrs. Martha Head (née Martha Savage).

Issue of Edward and Elizabeth Savage of Burbage, Co. Wilts, of Generation VII A, above, pages 324—325:—

- (1) Frances née Savage. Baptised at Burbage aforesaid 23/5/1698.
- (2) Edward Savage. Baptised at Burbage aforesaid 25/3/1700.
- (3) Mary née Savage. Baptised at Burbage aforesaid 4/1/1703/4.
- (4) Sarah née Savage. Baptised at Burbage aforesaid 18/4/1705.

Issue of John and (Elizabeth?) Savage of Great Bedwyn, Co. Wilts, of Generation VII A, above, page 325:—

- (1) Edward Savage. Baptised at G.B. 13/11/1706.
- (2) Mary née Savage. Baptised at G.B. 7/9/1708.

GENERATION IX A.

Issue of Edward and Elizabeth Savage of Reading, Co. Berks, of Generation VIII A, above, page 326:—

(1) William Savage. Baptised at St. Mary's, Reading, 9/3/1729/30. He was probably dead before 27/1/1767.

(2) Edward Savage, of Reading, Co. Berks, surgeon. Baptised at St. Mary's, Reading, 16/7/1733. He was living 27/1/1767, 9/3/1778, and (described as "of Reading, Berks, surgeon") 23/7/1782. He was also living 24/4/1788. He died before 29/7/1788. He was buried at St. Mary's, Reading, 6/7/1788.

His Will, dated 12/10/1787, together with Two Codicils thereto, dated respectively 8/11/1787 and 8/4/1788, was proved on 26/7/1788.

He married —— née ——, by whom he had issue of whom presently, on page 331.

- (3) Mary née Savage. Baptised at St. Mary's, Reading, 27/10/1737. She died before 27/1/1767.
- (4) Probably a *Thomas Savage*. Baptised at St. Mary's, Reading, 15/7/1741. He probably died before 27/1/1767.
- (5) Jane née Savage. Baptised at St. Mary's, Reading, 15/7/1741. She was living 27/1/1767, 9/3/1778 and (as "Jane Savage, of Reading": unmarried) 23/7/1782. She was living (married) 12/10/1787. She married Giles.
- (6) Probably an *Elizabeth née Savage*. Baptised at St. Mary's, Reading, 20/2/1746/7. She probably died before 27/1/1767.

Issue of John and Skeate Savage of Newbury, Co. Berks, of Generation VIII A, above, page 327:—

(1) Ann née Savage. Living (married : Westall) 23/5/1764 and (described as "wife of William Westall") 4/6/1780, 13/6/1780, 23/7/1782 and 23/5/1783. She was also living 12/12/1790.

She married, before 23/5/1764, William Westall, of Hungerford, Co. Berks, tanner, who was living 4/6/1780 and, apparently, 23/7/1782 and 23/5/1783. He died before 12/12/1790.

There was issue of such marriage, two daughters:—Jane who was living 23/5/1764 and (under 21 and unmarried) 19/3/1772, and who in or before 1780 married John Coleman and was living, his wife, in 1780 and died before 1789; and Elizabeth Savage (two *Christian* names), who was buried at Hungerford, Co. Berks, 22/3/1763.

(2) Frances ("Fanny") née Savage. She was living ("wife of Alexander Bristow") 4/6/1780 and 13/6/1780. She was also living 23/7/1782. She died between 23/7/1782 and 23/5/1783.

She married at Speen, Co. Berks, on 9/10/1759, Alexander Bristow, of London. He was living 4/6/1780 and 23/7/1782 and survived his said wife.

There was issue of such marriage two daughters, namely:—Catherine, living (unmarried but apparently of full age) 23/5/1783, and Elizabeth, living (unmarried and under 21) 23/5/1783.

He married, secondly, before 23/5/1783, —— $n\acute{e}$ ——, of whom 1 know no more.

(3) Katharine née Savage. She was living ("wife of James Turrell", sic for Tarrell) 4/6/1780, 13/6/1780, and 29/6/1780. She was living ("Catharine Terrill", sic for Tarrell) 23/7/1782.

She married at St. Nicholas, Newbury, on 15/10/1759, James Tarrell, then of the parish of "Burclere", Co. Southampton. He was living 4/6/1780.

Issue of Charles and Esther Savage of Eckington, and formerly of Evesham, Co. Worcester, of Generation VIII A, above, page 328:—

Richard Savage, of Evesham, Co. Worcester, apothecary. Clearly an only child. He was living 23/7/1782 and (" of Evesham in Worcestershire, apothecary") 29/7/1788. He was further living 20/3/1789 and (" of Evesham in the said County" of Worcester, "apothecary") 12/5/1789.

He was one of the executors and proved the Will and seven Codicils thereto of his uncle Thomas Savage, above referred to, on 18/2/1791.

He came in for his said uncle Thomas Savage's leasehold estate at Barford St. Martin's, Co. Wilts (under such Will, dated 23/7/1782, as altered by Codicil V thereto dated 12/5/1789); also, similarly, his said uncle Thomas Savage's leasehold estate in the parish of Wandsworth, Co. Surrey, and also, similarly, his said uncle's lease of his house at Clapham, Co. Surrey.

He also came in for one half of his said uncle Thomas Savage's freehold estate at Purser's Cross, Waltham (or Walham) Green, and North End in the parish of Fulham, Co. Middlesex (under such Will as altered by such Codicil V thereto).

He died after 18/2/1791.

He married — née — ...

There was issue of such marriage, of whom presently, on this page.

GENERATION X A.

Issue of Edward and —— Savage of Reading, Co. Berks, of Generation $IX\ A$, above, on page 330:—

- (1) Elizabeth née Savage (The First). She married Cooper.
- (2) Elizabeth née Savage (The Second). She married —— Lupton.

Issue of Richard and —— Savage of Evesham, Co. Worcester, of Generation IX A, above, on the present page.

Charles Savage. He was living (under 24) 20/3/1789. He was also living 12/5/1789.

THE RESULTANT QUESTIONS.

Having thus set forth the main facts, as presently known to me, I should greatly welcome the assistance of your readers in the solution of the following resultant questions:—

- (1) Who were the father and the mother of the six children (five sons and a daughter) hereinbefore called Generation V A and dealt with on pages 315—318?
- (2) Was such father a brother, as I have suggested, or, if not, some other and what relative of the Edward Savage of Wolfhall and his sister Christian *née* Savage (Christian Martyn) of what I have hereinbefore called Generation IV A, with which I have dealt on pages 314—315?
- (3) If such father of such six children was a brother of the said Edward Savage of Wolfhall and his said sister Christian, how are such three to be linked, if at all, with the Visitation family of Savage hereinbefore called Generations I—V and dealt with on pages 312—313?
- (4) If such father of such six children was not a brother of the said Edward Savage of Wolfhall and his said sister Christian, then:—(a) How is such father of such six children, and (b) How are the said Edward Savage of Wolfhall and his said sister Christian to be linked, if at all, with such Visitation family?

A solution of these questions or, indeed, of any of them, would more than amply reward me for long research and might even afford an interesting addition to the records of a County which gave me six of the happiest years of my life, when, from 1884 to 1890, I had the supreme privilege of being educated at Marlborough College, which celebrated last year the centenary of its foundation.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE BASIDIOMYCETES FOUND IN SOUTH-WEST WILTSHIRE, ESPECIALLY ROUND DONHEAD ST. MARY.

PART V1.

By T. F. G. W. Dunston, B.A., and Captain A. E. A. Dunston.

Owing to the absence of one of us on war service for most of the year, we did little collecting during 1943, but succeeded in finding a few species to be added to our previous lists. Some of these are uncommon, and one of special interest. The majority were determined by Mr. A. A. Pearson, F.L.S., who again has provided the field notes, while Dr. J. Ramsbottom, O.B.E., D.Sc., F.L.S. and Miss E. M. Wakefield, M.A., F.L.S. each determined one.

To all of these we tender our best thanks.

Lycoperdon giganteum (Batsch) Pers. (=L. bovista (Linn.), Fr. The Giant Puffball. By no means common, though sometimes appearing in large numbers. The best known of all the puffballs on account of its edible qualities. When fresh, but only when fresh, it can be cut in slices and fried with most appetising results. It is easily recognised by its large size and smooth white surface like a kid glove. Cord-like strands are often at the base.

In considerable quantity on the Donhead Hall Estate, Donhead St. Mary, and solitary specimens have been found elsewhere in Donhead St. Mary.

Geaster triplex, Jungh (=G. Michelianus, W. G. Sm.) This uncommon earth-star is usually characterised by the remains of the inside fleshy layer of the exoperidium, most of which peels off leaving a disc-like portion which forms a cup at the base of the endoperidium.

Deer Park, Donhead Hall, Donhead St. Mary, in a troop.

Lepiota naucina Fr. (=L. pudica (Bull.), Quél). Uncommon except in some years. It appeared in several places in 1943. All parts are white, but gills turn pink like the early stages of the field mushroom. This is not due to the spores, which are white in the mass. Unlike the mushroom, the gills remain pink instead of turning black when the spores mature. Psalliota cretacea, Fr., may be the same species, in which case the epithet cretacea would have priority since it appeared in the Systema Mycologicum, but in his description Fries says the gills from white turn "vero fusce".

The garden, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

L hæmatosperma (Bull.) Boud. (=L. echinata (Roth), Boud. This strange little Agaric is often met with, usually under hedges or in shrubberies. It might equally well be considered as a mushroom. The gills are dark red, and the spores in mass a reddish brown.

The garden, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary, in a troop.

¹For previous parts (Basidiomycetes) see W.A.M., vol. xlviii, pp. 321-347; vol. xlviii, pp. 471-487; vol. xlix, pp. 147-156; vol. l, pp. 1-12. (Other than Basidiomycetes) See xlix, pp. 267-273.

Psalliota rubella (Gillet). Rea. Rare in its typical form, when it is entirely covered with red fibrils. A more common form is the forma pallens (Lange), which, however, is so near to P. amethystina (Quél) that they can hardly be separated. The specimen under review was the common form.

Farnham Common Down, Wiltshire, in large quantities.

Armillaria robusta (A. & S.), Fr. This handsome agaric is really a Tricholoma with a ring, like several other species usually placed in the genus Armillaria. It belongs to the group which includes T. albobrunneum and other brown species.

Farnham Common Wood, Wiltshire, and the garden, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

Pholiota ægerita (Porta), Fr. (=P. cylindracea (Fr.), Gillet. =P. pudica (Bull.), Fr. This somewhat variable agaric is sometimes white, more often yellow and the pileus is frequently cracked. It has been given a host of names only a few of which are mentioned above, and it is doubtful which has priority. P. ægerita is the most familiar and probably the correct one.

Lower Barry Court, Donhead St. Mary.

Inocybe Godeyi (Gillet). Usually small and slender, all parts white, turning vermilion or orange red all over or more often in patches only.

Alec's Shade Wood, Donhead St. Mary.

Inocybe calamistrata, Fr. Easily recognised by the brown hairy cap and stem, the base of which is greenish blue.

Farnham Common, Wiltshire.

Leptonia chalybæa (Pers.), Fr. The blue Leptonias one meets with in the pastures are not always easy to determine. The common one is lampropus, which is very variable in colour and starts from a white gill. When the gills are pale blue we call it chalybæa with some hesitation. We must wait for an authoritative monograph before these species can be named with certainty. This may be produced by the French mycologist Romagnesi, who has been working on the nodulose pink-spored group for some years and bases his classification on the accurate delineation of the spores.

Farnham Common Wood, Wilts.

Boletus rubinus, W. G. Sm. We were glad to find this in the early days of September. It is a rare Boletus not yet recorded outside Britain. Normally it is small. The pores are a brilliant scarlet but may quickly lose their bright colour.

Originally it was collected by Worthington G. Smith on the 12th September, 1866, and described in the Journal of Botany, vol. 6, page 33. The coloured sketch he gives closely corresponds to our specimens. We were especially glad to confirm Smith's measurements of the spore, which are unusually small for a Boletus and quite unlike those of the Subtomentosi group to which it would appear to belong. A description based on our own species may be of interest:—

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Pileus 3 to 7cm. like dull leather (tan) with matt surface, often cracked showing pallid ochre flesh beneath cuticle. Margin regular or wavy.

Tubes subdecurrent, hyaline or dilute pink; pores carmine, becoming paler.

Stem stout, cylindrical, club-shaped or obconic, rich carmine above, sulphur-yellow below, in small specimens all carmine.

Flesh cream with flesh of lemon or chrome, often pink in pileus and the upper part of stem, bright sulphur below to base. These flesh reactions when exposed to the air may vary with age. When young it may be sulphur or chrome-yellow in stem and pileus.

Smell pleasant, but not distinctive. Taste mild.

Spores in mass: Light brown.

Spores elliptical $5\frac{1}{2}$ - $6\frac{1}{4}$ \times $4\frac{1}{4}$ - $4\frac{3}{4}\mu$. l-guttulate when freshly dropped. No cystidia in tubes seen.

Cuticle of pileus with brown hyphæ 4 to 8μ wide.

Habitat: in grass under oak. Donhead St. Mary, Donhead St. Andrew.

Polyporus varius, Fr. As the name implies this is a polymorphous species and many of its varieties or forms have been given different names, especially the small forms. The type can be fairly large. Normally the base of the stem is black, and the group with this feature is often put into a separate genus Melanopus.

Berry Wood, Donhead St. Mary.

Fomes fraxineus (Bull), Fr. An uncommon hoof-shaped parasite not confined to ash. It is whitish or greyish at first, then acquires a blackish crust. The stratified tubes have pores that are yellowish and pruinose.

On beech, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

Poria vaporaria (Pers.), Fr. Uncommon, but usually overlooked, because it has much the same appearance as thin forms of Irpex obliquus. This latter is the Poria vaporaria of many authors and was so determined in the British tradition until it was realised that the spores are quite different, those of Irpex obliquus (=Poria mucida Pers.) being ovate or sub-globose with a prominent guttule, while the spores of the true vaporaria are sausage-shaped and slightly curved, $4-6 \times 1-2\mu$.

Berry Wood, Donhead St. Mary.

Authorities:

A. & S.—J. B. de Albertini and Pers.—C. H. Persoon
LD. de Schweinitz Porta.—J. B. Porta
Boud.—E. Boudier Quél.—L. Quélet
Bull.—P. Bulliard Rea.—Carlton Rea
Cke.—M. C. Cooke Roth.—A. W. Roth
Fr.—E. M. Fries Schæff.—J. C. Schæffer
Gillet.—C. C. Gillet W. G. Sm.—Worthington G. Smith

Jungh.—F. W. Junghuhn

THE IMPACT OF WAR ON THE WILTSHIRE FLORA.

By J. D. GROSE.

It is not possible under present conditions to prepare an exhaustive list of the many localities in which war-time activities have caused changes in our flora. The following notes are intended to indicate rather the various directions in which these changes have occurred, with references to isolated examples which have come under my notice. There are doubtless comparable cases throughout Wiltshire. In some instances I have ventured to forecast later phases which may be expected. I am indebted to Mr. L. G. Peirson, of Marlborough College, for helpful suggestions.

Woodlands. It is difficult to assess just how much of the present clearance of woodlands may be due to the war. The extensive tree-felling taking place over the whole county may perhaps be considered as an acceleration of a normal process. Much of our woodland belongs to the type known as "coppice", i.e., woodland consisting of standard oaks spaced at intervals with an under-layer of hazel or ash which is cut periodically. After clearance of coppice, the hazel or ash would grow again from the stools, and if the standards had been felled they might be replaced with planted trees, or even develop naturally if seed-parents were available, thus eventually restoring the wood to its former condition. Of more serious consequence is the felling of larger timber in the mixed woods. This threatens to be a permanent loss unless there is a change of heart of the Forestry Commission, for we are told that reafforestation in the post-war period will be with alien conifers instead of native trees.

With the greater light intensity after clearance of woodland, numerous flowering plants multiply and flourish. Vicia sylvatica in Clout's Wood, Wroughton, was at one time plentiful, but as the shade under the trees became deeper, it gradually died away, and had not been seen for about ten years. Recent felling has permitted light to penetrate again, and the plant is now very abundant. Under similar conditions at Spye Park, there has been a great increase of foxgloves, making, with Rumex acetosella, bright patches of colour in the open places. The Columbine, a rare plant in Wiltshire for many years, has occurred in several cleared woods. These bare woodland sites are often quickly colonised by bracken, which, once thoroughly established, not only excludes most other plants, but makes natural regeneration of the wood almost impossible.

The dragging and cartage of timber often occasions much damage to the remaining bushes and herbs. Thus at Hindon, the apparent disappearance of *Pyrola media* may be due to this cause. At Hen's Wood, the deep cart ruts are filled with masses of *Juncus bufonius* and *Peplis portula*, both uncommon species in the Marlborough district. Because of the great disturbance of the soil by haulage the bare places in Hen's

Wood are supporting a curious mixture of woodland species and weeds of cultivation, the latter, perhaps, having been brought in on the wheels or tracks of vehicles.

Other places in which extensive felling is taking place are Castle Wood, Norridge Common, Collingbourne Woods and Longleat. I understand that there has been some clearance in Savernake Forest, but the reports in the London papers that it has been entirely cleared for the planting of potatoes are, to say the least, grossly exaggerated.

Clearance of Scrub and Heathland. In a letter to the local press a Wiltshire gentleman recently stated that the clearance of scrubland was his hobby! The claim emphasises the fact that this work is now no longer a haphazard process, but that new methods have evolved which, however satisfactory from the agriculturalist's point of view, are disastrous to our native flora. Shrubs and small trees are now torn out by the roots, enabling subsequent ploughing to be thorough. Much of our limited scrub is developed on lightly-grazed acid soil, and in the more open places and around the margins and paths exist a number of species, which, while widespread in Britain and common in many counties, are decidedly rare in Wiltshire. With the cessation of cultivation on these soils which may be expected when normal conditions return, the heath and scrub flora is likely to return gradually, largely by recolonisation from untouched corners and borders, and eventually there may be an almost complete reversion to the present state. A number of the rarer, more local plants, however, are probably lost to us entirely because seed-parents may not be available.

At Lydiard Plain several very rare Wiltshire species have been destroyed, amongst them *Genista anglica* and *Salix arenaria* (repens), the former not known elsewhere in North Wilts, and the latter only in one other locality. The clearance of Clench Common is another great loss, and several interesting plants have been eradicated at Stock Lane. Much ground has been reclaimed for cultivation on Malmesbury Common, although here, as far as I know, there were no very uncommon species.

Ploughing of Lowland Pastures and Fallows. In the last few years many acres of pasture land have been put under cultivation. Probably nearly all this ground has borne crops in past years, and there is no reason to doubt that it will revert substantially to its pre-war state in due course. The destruction of much of the white clover, a favourite flower of the bees, may adversely affect the quality of the honey produced. Flax, which has been grown extensively in Wiltshire from Anglo-Saxon days to perhaps a hundred years ago, is once again a frequent crop. Stray plants may now be seen along roadsides and on the borders of fields in many places. It will probably remain as a common casual for many years, even if the cultivation is abandoned. So far, I have not seen the Flax Dodder, but its occurrence may be expected. Strays from other unusual crops, such as Buckwheat and Rye, may sometimes be found.

Fallow fields usually contain numerous interesting plants, and here again, with the cessation of cultivation most of the species would normally reappear. One field at Sandy Lane which supported such rarities as *Hypochaeris glabra*, *Filago minima* and *Anthoxanthum puelii* is now under cultivation and these plants are gone, but I have little doubt that they will occur again in due course. A few fields were allowed to lie fallow in 1940 because of the suspected presence of unexploded bombs.

Cultivation of Downland. Vast areas of the more gentle slopes of the downs have come under the plough for the first time in many years. This should have little permanent effect on the downland flora for when these lower slopes are again uncultivated they will quickly be restocked with their original species from the untouched higher ground. Many of the rarer plants of the downs, particularly the orchids, thrive best on the steep slopes, and these have to a large extent been spared. One probable loss, however, is Cirsium tuberosum at North Down, Cherhill. This was scarce and it seems likely that it will not reappear. The hybrid, C. acaule x tuberosum, which grows on the higher ground, will probably survive.

Pasture. There appears to be little or no change in the vegetation of pasture land either of the lowlands or of the downs. It seems that the more intensive grazing on the limited land available may be offset to a large extent by the decreased size of the herds and flocks. Rabbits on the downs have had their numbers thinned considerably by increased shooting and trapping, and this may lead to better growth of the larger downland grasses and other plants in the vicinity of the burrows where the vegetation is usually nibbled close to the surface and many species cannot exist. Shortage of labour on some farms has necessitated the neglect of the periodic destruction of injurious pasture invaders. To this may be attributed the tremendous increase of Cirsium eriophorum in the fields at the foot of the escarpment between Bincknoll and Clyffe Pypard.

Weeds of Cultivation. Contradictory information has been given me by different observers on the prevalence or otherwise of colonists and casuals in arable land. Thus, one correspondent commented on the great increase of Lychnis githago, while another deplored its disappearance in fields where it had grown for many years. The explanation of such conflicting statements probably lies in failure to distinguish newly-cultivated ground from land which has borne crops regularly for a long time. Newly-cultivated ground often produces plants which have been absent from a district ever since the fields had been converted to pasture—a period perhaps of forty or fifty years. I can only conclude that seeds had lain dormant in the soil during the whole of this time. Centaurea cyanus, once a common cornfield weed, had become very rare, if not quite extinct, in Wiltshire, except as a casual on waste ground, but it has now reappeared in many places. Melampyrum arvense, not recorded for the county since 1895, has occurred at Aldbourne and near Silbury Hill. On the other hand, regularly cultivated fields seem to be remarkably free from their usual weeds. This is probably due to new and better methods of cultivation, and perhaps in part to the use of home-produced instead of foreign seed.

Garden Weeds. Lack of time and shortage of labour have occasioned neglect of many flower gardens and lawns. Ornamental flowers have been permitted to go to seed and have escaped beyond the bounds of the gardens. Lawns have been untended and such plants as Chrysanthemum leucanthemum and Plantago lanceolata have greatly increased on them. At Basset Down, the Bee Orchid and the Fly Orchid are growing on an uncut lawn, but this is an exceptional case!

Roadsides. The borders of our country roads have to a certain extent escaped the too thorough treatment they receive in peace time. This affects principally the later-flowering species, which now have a greater opportunity to set fruit and multiply. Tragopogon pratensis var. minor appears to be increasing under these more favourable conditions, and some of the taller grasses, notably Dactylis glomerata and Arrhenatherum elatius have also become more prevalent. Capt. Burges mentions (W.A.M., l, 189) how the construction of a new road near Bulford led to a remarkable growth of Adonis autumnalis.

Tank Tracks. Here and there on the downs are seen bare slopes and wide paths scored by the caterpillar-tracks of heavy armoured vehicles. Some damage has been caused to bushes of scrubby ground and to the young trees of small woods. The tracks themselves, when traffic ceases, soon become overgrown by a mixture of downland plants and weeds of arable ground. One very wide track near Sidbury Hill was covered with Plantago major for nearly a mile, almost to the exclusion of any other plant. Sometimes seeds or parts of plants are carried considerable distances, perhaps from much lower altitudes, and species flourish for a time far from their normal habitats. In the following list of the first colonists of a track on Warminster Down taken in Septemher, 1943, will be noticed three such strangers—Filipendula ulmaria, Achillea ptarmica and Festuca pratensis. The colony was also noteworthy for the abundance of Verbascum Thapsus.

Ranunculus repens	a	Crepis capillaris	S
Papaver rhoeas	s	Leontodon autumnalis	f
Sinapis arvensis	f	Taraxacum sp.	s
Cerastium vulgatum	S	Sonchus asper	С
Stellaria media	С	Verbascum thapsus	a
Medicago lupulina	С	Veronica persica	S
Trifolium sp.	f	Clinopodium vulgare	f
Filipendula ulmaria	f	Plantago lanceolata	f
Potentilla anserina	С	P. major	s
Daucus carota	f	Atriplex patula	f
Achillea ptarmica	S	Polygonum aequale	s

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this and subsequent lists: a—abundant; c—common; f—frequent; s—scarce.

Carduus nutans	a	Rumex crispus	C
Cirsium lanceolatum	c	Phleum pratense	C
C. arvense	s	Dactylis glomerata	s
Centaurea nigra	s	Festuca pratensis	s

Air Raid Shelters. The earlier types of shelters constructed in our towns were often covered with soil or sandbags. The material was sometimes brought from a distance and included seeds of species not usually seen in the new localities. Frequent plants were: Diplotaxis muralis, Trifolium arvense and Erigeron canadensis.

Airfields, Army Camps and Factories. The enclosure of large areas of pasture particularly on the downs, has caused a discontinuance of normal grazing. In such places, it is found that the coarser species of grasses as Bromus erectus and Arrhenatherum elatius increase, while the more lowly species tend to diminish. In places more immediately affected by building operations, the bare ground rapidly becomes colonised by such species as Reseda luteola, Capsella bursa-pastoris, Urtica dioica, etc. In both cases, reversion to pre-war conditions will quickly follow resumption of grazing. As far as is known, no species of particular rarity has been jeopardised by military activities.

Collection of Herbs. It is perhaps not generally known that herb collecting in Wiltshire has been continuously in progress since the 1914—1918 war. A very wide range of plants has been gathered, but the number of professional collectors is small, and our flora does not seem to have been much affected by their activities. During the present war, the collection of medicinal herbs has been organised by the Ministry of Supply with assistance by the Women's Institutes and the W.V.S. A long list of wanted species was circulated, but the actual collecting was confined to a few common things, among them dandelion roots, elder flowers, nettles and comfrey leaves. I understand that the quantities collected were extremely small, perhaps because of the lack of drying facilities. Later, rose-hips and horse chestnuts were required, and of these very large quantities were gathered. It can safely be said that the work has caused no great harm to our flora.

With the decreasing facilities for transport, picnic parties and trippers from the towns have become scarcer, particularly in the more remote districts. In consequence, our bluebell woods and primrose banks have been virtually unmolested. The street vendors, too, of fritillaries, snowdrops, daffodils and primrose roots have been much less active.

Railway Tracks. For a number of years before the war, railway tracks had been regularly sprayed with a preparation known as Atlacide (a dilute solution of sodium chlorate and calcium chloride) in order to kill the weeds. The process was most efficacious, and at the time of the outbreak of hostilities, it was rare to find a plant of any kind growing on the track. This practice has now been almost completely discontinued and these weeds have increased abundantly. Some of the most widespread are Diplotaxis muralis, Arabidopsis thaliana (Sisymbrium thalianum), Linaria vulgaris and L. minor. These and many

other plants will establish themselves on waste and cultivated ground near the railway which would have been beyond their reach under normal conditions.

In the winter of 1941—2 a short branch railway was constructed in North Wiltshire to serve a new factory. It passed through two old pastures, of which one was put partly under corn in 1943. The border of a wood is about fifty yards distant from the line. No stone ballast was brought in for the track, locomotive ashes of local origin being used instead. The greater part of the branch runs through a shallow cutting in the slightly sandy soil. The track has been very little used, and some of the plants between the rails have grown to the height of about a foot. The following census was taken in the autumn of 1943.

Ranunculus repens	f	Carduus crispus	f
Diplotaxis muralis	S	Cirsium lanceolatum	f
Capsella Bursa-pastoris	S	Crepis capillaris	f
Cerastium vulgatum	С	Leontodon Leysseri	f
Stellaria media	С	Taraxacum sp.	S
Arenaria serpyllifolia	S	Jasione montana	s
A. leptoclados	a	Myosotis arvensis	8.
Acer Pseudo-platanus (seedlings) s	Linaria vulgaris	s
Medicago lupulina	S	L. purpurea	S
Trifolium repens	f	L. minor	a
Potentilla reptans	s	Prunella vulgaris	S
Rosa sp. (seedlings)	s	Plantago major	f
Epilobium angustifolium	С	Polygonum aviculare	f
E. montanum	f	Rumex sp.	S
Heracleum Sphondylium	S	R. crispus	s
Filago minima	C	Urtica dioica	C
Achillea Millefolium	S	Corylus Avellana? (seedling)	S.
Chrysanthemum Leucanthemum	f	Phleum pratense	s
Matricaria inodora	S	Agrostis stolonifera	f
Tussilago Farfara	S	Dactylis glomerata	S.
Senecio squalidus	S	Poa annua	s
S. vulgaris	С.	Festuca rubra	f
S. viscosus	a .	Lolium perenne	S.
Arctium sp.	s		

Elements of cornfield, pasture and woodland communities, in addition to the colonists of railway tracks and waste ground, occur in this very mixed collection. It is difficult to account for the presence of Filago minima and Jasione montana, which species are not known to occur within about forty miles. It is probable, of course, that they were brought in on railway trucks, or even on the sleepers (which are not new), but there is a possibility that they are relicts of a bygone flora in this spot. It will be interesting to see if they will become permanently established. Linaria purpurea is not uncommon in some places as a weed of railway tracks, but I have never before seen it as such in Wilt-

shire. Diplotaxis muralis, Senecio squalidus and Linaria minor are all rapidly increasing weeds of similar habitats elsewhere in the county.

Home Guard Trenches. The banks of these widespread reminders of 1940 have now to a large extent become revegetated and the early colonists have disappeared. Many of the trenches have become partially filled with water, and in these numerous aquatic and riverside plants are flourishing. Of submerged species, Elodea canadensis, Potamogeton crispus and Callitriche spp. seem to be the most abundant. It is noteworthy that these submerged plants seem to grow much more vigorously in a newly-made habitat than they do in an old one. Of erectgrowing plants, Iris Pseudacorus, Sparganium ramosum and Typha latifolia are commonly seen, and the rushes, Juncus effusus, J. inflexus and J. articulatus are frequent. The range of all these species is considerably increased for they have occurred in districts in which they were formerly absent. Visiting birds are probably responsible for the introduction of these aquatic communities. Similar conditions are sometimes seen in bomb craters.

Drainage. Much attention has been devoted to land drainage since the beginning of the war, and many swampy areas have been rendered available for cultivation. In connection with this, extensive dredging operations are in progress in the Thames and the Wylye. There will probably be little permanent disturbance of the river and river-side vegetation, but it is regrettable that it has been found necessary to clear so many willows from the river-banks. The mud deposited on the banks of the Upper Thames in 1943 bore a profusion of Sinapis nugra, followed later by scarlet masses of Papaver Rhoeas.

A Static Water Supply. One very local circumstance which presents a number of unusual features merits, I think, detailed treatment.

In 1941 a quarter-mile stretch of the old Wilts and Berks Canal below Okus, Swindon, was cleared and converted into a static water supply for the Fire Service. The "spoil" from the canal-bed was tipped into the pasture adjoining the tow-path, forming a long bank perhaps two feet deep parallel with the canal. Growth of vegetation in the cleared canal was so vigorous that in May, 1942, dredging operations had to be undertaken. This section of the old canal had for long been very overgrown. It was still somewhat swampy in places, but there was very little surface water and a few willows had invaded. The habitat was in the process of transition from swamp to drier scrubby ground. Fortunately, I had listed the plants growing here in 1939, so comparison with the new community is possible.

A.—Overgrown canal, various dates in 1939.

B.—Cleared canal, various dates in 1942.

C.—Spoil from canal-bed, May, 1942.

D.—Spoil from canal-bed, July, 1942.

	ΑВ	C	D		A	В	C	D
Ranunculus repens		S	f	Sonchus asper		_	_	S
R. acer		s	S	Symphytum officinale	Ć	-	_	_

	Α	В	С	D		Α	В	С	D
R. sceleratus	S	f	a	С	Solanum Dulcamara	С	s	_	_
R. heterophyllus var.					Scrophularia aquatica	f	_	S	f
submersus	_	s	_	_	Veronica Anagallis	s	_	_	
R. Ficaria	S	_	f	_	V. Beccabunga		s	а	f
Caltha palustris	f	f	f	_	V. Chamaedrys	_	_	_	S
Nasturtium officinale		_	_	s	Mentha aquatica	С	f	S	S
Rorippa amphibia	_	s	S	S	Lycopus europaeus	f	_	_	_
R. islandica (Nasturtiun	n				Nepeta hederacea	_	_	S	S
palustre		_	f	_	Scutellaria galericulata	С	S	_	_
Cardamine flexuosa	_	_	f	_	Prunella vulgaris	_	_	-	S
Sismybrium officinale		_	С	С	Stachys sylvatica			_	S
Alliaria officinalis	_	_	S		Lamium album	_		S	S
Capsella Bursa-pastori	S	_	S	f	Plantago major	_		S	s
Lychnis Flos-cuculi	_		f	S	Atriplex hastata	S	_	_	s
L. dioica	_	_	_	S	Polygonum amphibium		С		_
Cerastium vulgatum	_	_	s	f	Rumex Hydrolapathum		S	а	С
Stellaria aquatica	f	_	_	_	R. obtusifolius	?f		?s	f
S. media	_	_	S		$R.\ Acetosa$		_	S	1
S. uliginosa	_	_	a	f	Urtica dioica			S	С
Geranium Robertianum	, _	_	s	_	Salix fragilis	f		f	C
Trifolium repens	v	-	_	f	S. viminalis	f	_	_	
Vicia Cracca	5	_	_	_	Elodea canadensis	_	a	_	-
Filipendula Ulmaria	Ç	s	S	f	Juncus effusus	f	a -		- f
Rubus sp.	Ļ		3	S	J. inflexus	C	_	S	C
Potentilla Anserina				S	J. articulatus	_	_	a _	-
Callitriche sp.		c	-	5	Sparganium ramosum		-	_	S
-	_		f		S. simplex	S	S	_	_
Epilobium hirsutum E. parviflorum	a f	S		s f	Lemna minor	_	S	_	_
-	1	Ö		_	L. trisulca	_	a	_	_
E. obscurum ?	f	c	S	f	Alisma Plantago-	_	а	_	_
Apium nodiflorum	f	f	С	_	7	f	£		c
Sium erectum		1			aquatica Sagittaria sagittifolia		f		f
Anthriscus sylvestris				S	0 0	_	S	_	_
Oenanthe crocata Anglica sylvestris	S		_	_	Potamogeton natans	_	С	-	_
21 10800000 0 900000000000000000000000000	° C	_	_		P. crispus	_	а	_	_
Galium palustre	_	S	f	f	Zannichellia palustris	_	a	-	_
G. Aparine		, - ,	f	f	Carex Pseudo-Cyperus		-		f
Valeriana sambucifolio		_	7	f	C. acutiformis	f	S	? f	f
	-	S	-	_	C. Otrubae	f	f	_	-
Bellis perennis	-	_	_	S	Phalaris arundinacea	a	S	a	C
Pulicaria dysenterica	f	S	-	_	Alopecurus pratensis	_	-	f	f
Bidens cernua		_	_	_	A. geniculatus	_		S	-
Matricaria inodora?	_	_	S	_	Agrostis sp.	_	_		S
M. matricarioides (M.					Deschampsia caespitose	<i>1</i> –	-	-	f
suaveolens)		-	-	S	Holcus lanatus	-	-	_	С
Artemisia vulgaris	-		f	f	Trisetum flavescens	_	_	-	f
Senecio aquaticus	I	-	7	-	Arrhenatherum elatius		_	_	С
S. Jacobaea	-	_		f	Dactylis glomerata	-	-	S	\$
							2	ľ	

	ABCD	A B	CD
S. squalidus	$ \frac{1}{2}$ f $-$	Poa pratensis – –	c s
S. vulgaris	f f	P. trivialis	- с
Calendula officinalis	s	P. annua	s -
Arctium sp.	s	Glyceria maxima (G.	
Carduus crispus	c	aquatica) a s	a -
Cirsium lanceolatum	s f	Bromus sterilis	– f
C. arvense	f c	Lolium perenne	- s
C. palustre	s	Agropyron repens	
Lapsana communis	s	(awned form)	- f
Crepis capillaris	'- c	Hordeum murinum	- f
C. taraxacifolia	s -	Equisetum palustre c f	СС
Hypochaeris radicata	c	Chara vulgaris - c	
Taraxacum sp.	f		

The list of species of the cleared canal in 1942 (B) probably illustrates very nearly the state of the vegetation about fifty years ago, that is, at a period when the navigation of the canal was ceasing. It includes a number of totally submerged aquatic species and others with floating leaves. One or two of these (e.g. Sagittaria) are not known elsewhere in the Swindon area now.

List C (early denizens of the canal spoil) includes two classes of vegetation. Firstly, there are marsh plants (e.g. Stellaria uliginosa) the seeds of which were dragged from the canal-bed, and are representatives of a flora which existed there about twenty-five years ago, at a time when the water had become shallow and discontinuous, and before the dominance of the coarser grasses. With these occur some of the plants of the later stage (A). The second class under C comprises the early colonists of waste ground.

List D (later denizens of the spoil) demonstrates how in the two months which elapsed between lists C and D the marsh-loving plants declined, both in quantity and luxuriance, while the plants of waste ground increased. During this period, also, the drying bank was invaded by some of the meadow grasses which in time will attain dominance. (In a comparison of lists C and D, allowance must be made for the different seasons.)

Notes on some of the Species.

Ranunculus sceleratus. C. The growth was remarkably fine, some of the plants reaching nearly three feet in height. D. The few remaining plants were only a few inches high.

Caltha palustris. C. The specimens produced only very small flowers, and the species had completely disappeared in D.

Stellaria uliginosa. C. A very rare plant in the Swindon district, and not known by the canal in A or B. The growth was very luxuriant. D. Still frequent, but much smaller in size.

Valeriana dioica. B. Uncommon in the district. I would have expected this species rather in list C than B.

Bidens cernua. A. This had declined considerably by 1939; in 1930 it was much more common.

Senecio squalidus. C. A common plant in the district. These specimens probably originated from the nearby railway bank.

Mentha aquatica. C. This form was extremely hairy, much more so than the specimens in A, B or D.

Salix fragilis. C. The leafy shoots were probably derived from branches or roots broken off in the dredging operations. They had died away in D.

Elodea canadensis. B. Very luxuriant and flowering profusely; flowering plants are only occasionally seen in Wilts. This must have been introduced by the agency of birds, as the $\stackrel{\circ}{+}$ is unknown in Britain and reproduction must be vegetative.

Sparganium simplex. B. Not previously noted within several miles of Swindon.

Sagittaria sagittifolia. B. Not known for many years in the district. Potamogeton crispus. B. Very abundant and vigorous. Dense beds apparently about two feet deep were formed.

Zannichellia palustris. B. After Potamogeton crispus the commonest of the submerged plants. It fruited abundantly.

Summary. It is likely that a very few years of normal conditions would restore our flora substantially to its pre-war state. Our greatest losses will be forest trees and a few local ericaceous species. The range of a few native plants and of many casuals and aliens has been increased.

WILTSHIRE PLANT NOTES-[5].

By J. D. Grose.

The following records, with two exceptions which are dated, were made in 1942 and 1943. War conditions have made the list shorter than earlier ones, and are also responsible for the marked increase in the notices of alien species. My correspondents, to whom my sincere thanks are due, are :--

> A.E.A.D. . Capt. A. E. A. Dunston, Donhead.

C.D.H. . . Mr. C. D. Heginbothom, Devizes.

D.M.F. . . Miss D. M. Frowde, Colerne.

E.N. . . Mr. E. Nelmes, Kew.

G.T. . . Dr. G. Taylor, British Museum.

J.A. . . . Miss J. Amor, Swindon. L.G.P. . . Mr. L. G. Peirson, Marlborough College.

M. le F.S. . Mrs. Shepherd, Lydiard Millicent.

R.A.G. . . Miss R. A. Goddard, Devizes.

W.L.F. . Rev. W. L. Freer, Evershot.

The sign † denotes that a plant is not native in the station given.

Ranunculus hederaceus L. 1, Near St. Mary's Priory, Maiden Bradley.

Aquilegia vulgaris L. 4, Thicket Copse, L.G.P. Boreham Wood, L.G.P. This is an old locality for the Columbine, but it had not been found there for several years. 6, Between Everleigh and Hog Down.

Berberis vulgaris L. 8, Over Street, Stapleford.

Papaver Rhoeas L. var. Pryorii Druce. 2, Spirthill. 7, Upavon Hill.

P. Rhoeas L. var. Hoffmannianum O. Kuntze. 1, Norridge Common. 2, Spirthill.

P. hybridum L. 2, Spirthill. 7, Upavon Hill.

† Argemone mexicana L. 2, Spirthill.

† Barbarea verna Asch. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S.

Avabis hirsuta (L.) Scop. 1 and 8, Cley Hill. 3, Near Eisey, E.N. and J.D.G.

Viola canina L. var. ericetorum Reichb. 6, Cow down, Tidworth. Sidbury Hill.

V. odorata L. var. subcarnea (Jord.) Parl. 3, Stanton Fitzwarren, Little Hinton.

Lychnis Githago (L.) Scop. 3, Blunsdon St. Andrew. Near Braydon Hall. 4, Bishopstone Downs. 5, Conholt Park, W.L.F. 7, Casterley Camp. 9, Between Hatch and Tisbury, A.E.A.D.

Cerastium arrense L. 6, North Tidworth.

Stellaria neglecta Weihe. 1, Upper Whitbourne.

Sagina procumbens L. var. Daviesii Druce. 4, Marlborough College, L.G.P. This is apparently a very rare form of the Procumbent Pearlwort. It is barren, and can only spread by vegetative means.

S. nodosa (L.) Fenzl. var. moniliformis Lange. 4, Hackpen Hill.

Spergularia campestris (All.) Asch. (S. rubra). 8, Gravel-pit, Crockerton. The Red Sandwort was recorded from this locality by Dr. F. H. Parsons in 1888, but since it is so uncommon a plant in Wilts, it seems worth while to confirm its present existence at Crockerton.

Hypericum humifusum L. 3, Near Braydon Hall. Waits Wood, Minety. Broome, Swindon.

- † Malva verticillata L. 2, Spirthill.
- † Linum bienne Mill. 4, Ramsbury, L.G.P.
- † Geranium nodosum L. 3, Basset Down House, I.G.P.
- † Impatiens glandulifera Royle. 2, Christian Malford, D.M.F. 3, Stratton, J.A.
- † *Melilotus albus* Medik. 1, Nursteed, Devizes, R.A.G. 3, Rodbourne, Swindon. 5, Wick Down, Collingbourne.
 - † M. officinalis Lam. (M. arvensis). 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S. Vicia Cracca L. White-flowered form. 1, Stert Valley, R.A.G. Lathyrus Nissolia L. 2, Christian Malford, D.M.F. and J.D.G.

† L. latifolius L. 7, Near Sharcott Mill, L.G.P.

Prunus instituta L. Yellow-fruited form. 2, Between Christian Malford and Thornend. The fruit is sweet, and excellent for dessert or cooking.

P. insititia x spinosa (var. fruticans). 3, Oaksey Wood.

† P. domestica L. 2, Little Town. 3, Broome, Swindon.

Potentilla procumbens Sibth. 2, Waits Wood, Minety. Clack Mount, Lyneham.

P. erecta x reptans. 3, Near Waits Wood, Minety. Woburn, Minety. Agrimonia odorata Mill. 3, Burderop Woods. These plants differ in several respects from those occurring in the Marlborough district, and may repay further study.

† Poterium polygamum Waldst. and Kit. 3, Minety Lower Moor.

Hippuris vulgaris L. 3, Near Castle Eaton, E.N. and J.D.G.

Epilobium hirsutum x parviflorum. 4, Ramsbury, L.G.P.

E. lanceolatum Seb. and Maur. 10, Bower Chalke. Not previously recorded for Wilts.

E. roseum Schreb. 3, Near Christ Church, Swindon. This is the first certain record for North Wilts. 9, Panters, Fovant.

Galium tricorne Stokes. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S.

Dipsacus pilosus L. 1, Belcombe Court, Bradford-on-Avon.

Erigeron acer L, 1, Bradford-on-Avon. Turleigh. Avoncliff. Bromham. 2, Compton Hill.

† Filago minima Pers. 3, Kingsdown.

Gnaphalium sylvaticum L. 4, Field near Thicket Copse.

Anthemis arvensis L. 1, Conkwell.

A. Cotula L. 2, Spirthill.

Matricaria Chamomilla L. 1, Norridge Common. 3, Inglesham. 8, Upton Scudamore.

Senecio viscosus L. 1, Trowbridge. 2, Broughton Gifford. 3, Kingsdown. This plant is increasing rapidly on railway tracks and banks.

S. sylvaticus L. 3, Near Woodward's Farm, Minety. 4, Near Barbury Castle. 8, East Castle, South Langford.

S. vulgaris L. var. radiatus Koch. 1, Biss Bottom. 2, Little Somerford. 3, Oaksey.

Cirsium eriophorum x lanceolatum. 2, Bincknoll. Haugh, Winsley. The Winsley plant, in particular, was an excellent intermediate between the parent species. From C. eriophorum the plant differed in having rather smaller less globose involucres with thinner "wool"; the phyllaries lacked the clavate tips; and the leaves had only shallow lobes. This hybrid has only been recorded once with certainty in Britain previously, but it is remarkable that it should be so rare in parts of Wiltshire where the two thistles grow together in such abundance. (For information on the finding of this hybrid in Essex, and of possible occurrences elsewhere, reference should be made to Journ. Bot., LXXII, 171.)

Hieracium Pilosella L. Form with two capitula. 2, Calne.

† Jasione montana L. 3, Kingsdown.

Monotropa Hypopitys L. 2, Bowood, C.D.H.

Vinca minor L. 5, Chute Forest, W.L.F. 9, Barker's Hill, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

Gentiana anglica Pugsl. 6, Sidbury Hill.

G. anglica Pugsl. A form with flesh-covered flowers. 4, Overton Down, abundantly in one spot.

† Anchusa sempervirens L. 4, Treacle Bolly, L.G.P. 7, Burbage, L.G.P.

Echium vulgare L. 1, Colerne, D.M.F. 2, Wootton Bassett, J.A. 4, Near Barton Hill, Marlborough, L.G.P. 9, Wingreen, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D. (1937).

Atropa Bella-donna L. 5, Haydown Hill, W.L.F. The Deadly Nightshade is abundant here on the margins of the small patches of downland scrub; the locality is probably the best for the plant in Wiltshire.

† Datura Stramonium L. 3, Swindon. 4, West Kennett, L.G.P. 9, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

Hyoscyamus niger L. 1, Box Mill, D.M.F. 4, Near Four-mile Clump, Barbury, L.G.P. 9, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

† Linaria purpurea (L.) Mill. 3, Kingsdown. 4, Bath Road, Marlborough, L.G.P.

L. repens (L.) Mill. 1, Railway track, Warminster. 2, Railway track, Christian Malford Halt, D.M.F. and J.D.G. 9, Wingreen Down, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D. The plant appears to be native in this last locality; other records for the county are all for railway tracks and similar places. Some years ago specimens were brought to Mr. C. D. Heginbothom from the downs near Donhead, but the finder was unable to localise the station and subsequent search was fruitless. As it was not possible to be sure that the down was in Wiltshire, particulars of the find were not published; it may be that the specimens were from Wingreen Down.

Scrophularia nodosa L. var. Bobartii Pryor. 4, Near Marlborough, L.G.P.

Euphrasia anglica Pugsl. 11, Near Blackslough (1940). Not previously recorded for South Wilts, but it may prove to be frequent.

Rhinanthus calcareus Wilm. 1, Thirteen Hundred Down. 2, Near Clyffe Hanging. 4, Ewin's Hill, Aldbourne. 7, Casterley Camp. 8, Arn Hill, Warminster.

Orobanche Hederae Duby. 3, Blunsdon Abbey ruins. Not previously recorded for North Wilts.

Mentha rotundifolia (L.) Mill. 4, Ramsbury.

x M. piperita L. 4, Aldbourne.

Salvia horminioides Pourr. 8, Upton Scudamore. Codford St. Peter. Nepeta Cataria L. 1, Long Dene, Castle Combe, D.M.F.

Scutellaria minor Huds. 8. Shear Water.

Stachys arvensis L. 1, Netherstreet. 3, Culkerton Down. Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S.

Chenopodium Bonus-Henricus L. 6, Near Snail Down, Tidworth.

- † C. murale L. 2, Spirthill. The one earlier record of the Nettle-leaved Goosefoot for North Wilts (Fl. Bath, 1834) was considered by T. B. Flower to be an error.
 - C. polyspermum L. 2, Thornhill.
 - † Fagopyrum sagittatum Gilib. 4, Casual, Granham Hill, L.G.P.
- † Euphorbia Cyparissias L. 4, Casual, Marlborough, L.G.P. 8, Abundant on a grassy railway bank, Corton, and spreading into an adjacent cornfield.
- † Salix fragilis (x alba) x pentandra & 7, Damp wood between Devizes and Horton. This is probably a planted tree since S. pentandra is not considered to be a native species in Wiltshire, and in any case, does not occur in the neighbourhood. I have not met with this combination before, and it is probably a rare one.
 - S. purpurea x viminalis \mathfrak{P} . 8, Boyton.
- S. atrocinerea x Caprea. 3, Near Broome Manor, Swindon. 7, Ram Alley.
- S. arenaria L. (S. repens var. argentea) &. 3, Woburn, Minety. It is gratifying to be able to record the occurrence of the Dwarf Willow

at Woburn since the only other known station in North Wilts, at Lydiard Plain, has been destroyed by cultivation.

S. arenaria x aurita ε . 3, Woburn, Minety. There is a large colony of this hybrid which in 1943 bore a single catkin.

Sparganium simplex Huds. 3, Lechlade. Okus, Swindon.

Alisma lanceolatum With. 2, Thornend. 3, Coate Water, L.G.P.

Baldellia ranunculoides (L.) Parl. (Alisma ranunculoides). 3, Near Sales Farm, Minety, C.D.H. This plant has not been recorded for Wiltshire since 1885 when it was found by Dr. Druce in the Thames and Severn Canal a few miles away. It seems to be extinct in the Horse and Jockey Bog, and the South Wilts notices are very doubtful.

Potamogeton trichoides Cham. and Schlecht. 3, Canal near Costow Farm, Wroughton, G.T.

Eleocharis acicularis (L.) Roem. and Schult. 4, Canal near Free Warren.

Scirpus setaceus L. 2, Field near Bincknoll Wood. 3, Near Woodward's Farm, Minety.

Carex pulicaris L. 3, Near Woodward's Farm, Minety.

† Setaria viridis (L.) Beauv. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S.

Agrostis canina L. var. fascicularis (Curt.) Sincl. 3, Woburn, Minety. Near Woodward's Farm, Minety.

Calamagrostis epigejos (L.) Roth. 1, Trowbridge.

Sieglingia decumbens (L.) Bernh. 3, Woburn, Minety. Near Woodward's Farm, Minety.

Catabrosa aquatica (L.) Beauv. 4, Between Axford and Ramsbury Park.

Poa nemoralis L. 3, Near Purton House. Blunsdon Abbey. 5, Chute, W.L.F. 8, Bradley Park.

P. compressa L. 1, Turleigh.

Festuca tenuifolia Sibth. 3, Between Hodson and Chiseldon.

F. tenuifolia Sibth. var. hirtula (Hack.) Howarth. 3, Woburn, Minety.

Vulpia bromoides (L.) S. F. Gray. 3, Minety Station. 4, Round Hill Down. 5, Widgerly Down, W.L.F. and J.D.G. Chute Forest, W.L.F. and J.D.G. 8, Bradley Park. 9, Fovant.

Cystopteris fragilis (L.) Bernh. 8, Heytesbury Station. Bank of Shear Water. The Brittle Bladder Fern is rare in Wilts.

† Azolla filiculoides Lam. 1, Bradford-on-Avon. Avoncliff. Devizes. This beautiful little floating "water-fern" is increasing rapidly in the Kennet and Avon Canal. In some stretches it is so abundant that swans have an obvious difficulty in forcing a passage.

THE DOOM-PAINTING OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, SALISBURY.

By Albert Hollaender, Ph.D.

Among the ecclesiastical English mural paintings of the late Middle Ages representing the Last Judgment, the Doom on the chancel arch at St. Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury, is certainly one of the largest, completest and—comparatively—best preserved, in spite of the fact that it bears the traces of an unhappy 19th century restoration. Though repeatedly put on record, it has, strangely enough, so far never been properly dealt with by the historian or archæologist, the reason for this omission probably being that its peculiar style and conception afford difficulties which cannot be overcome by mere iconographical interpretation. We may anticipate here the conclusion that the doom-painting of Sarum St. Thomas is not only a most remarkable work of art of the late 15th century, but also an historical document of pre-reformation days of first-rate importance and stands, in this particular respect, rather isolated. The following notes do not

ACKNOWLEDGMENT. The author is greatly indebted to Mr. Frank Stevens, O.B.E., J.P., F.S.A., Director of the Salisbury, South Wiltshire and Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, not merely for his ceaseless interest and encouraging helpfulness, but also for many a valuable hint and important information on the subject of this paper. His sincerest thanks are also due to Mr. Frederick H. Crossley, F.S.A., of Chester, for some useful advice; to Mr. A. W. Haggis, of Worcester College, Oxford, for the supply of photographs for Plates I and III; and to Messrs. B. T. Batsford, Ltd., of London, for providing an electro of the block to Plate II.—A. H.

The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. Stevens for his kindness in contributing the cost of the blocks illustrating this article.—H. C. B.

I note:—Henry Hatcher and Robert Benson, Salisbury, in Sir Richard Colt Hoare's History of Modern Wiltshire, vol. vi, London, 1843, 589 sq., and plate, a very "romantic" lithograph; C. E. Keyser, List of Buildings having Mural Decorations, London, 1883 (H.M. Stationery Office), 222; G. Scharf, Observations on a picture in Gloucester Cathedral and some other representations of the Last Judgment, Archæologia, xxxvi, 1855, 458 sqq; C. Haskins, The Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury, W.A.M., xxxvi, 1909, 1—12, and the same author's Notes on the Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury, Guide pamphlet, Salisbury, n.d., 5 sq.; Salisbury Museum, Explanatory card to exhibited photograph of the doom-painting (text by Frank Stevens, F.S.A., upon which passages of the descriptive part of this paper are based); Aymer Vallance, English Church Screens, London, 1936, 21, and Plate 48.

claim to solve all the problems connected with the mural painting, but it is hoped that an exact description and careful classification will help towards putting it in the right place, as a right link in the right chain, and that a new and independent record may lead, in post-war days, to a thorough and expert restoration, of which it is in urgent need.

The paramount importance of the representation of the Day of Doom in mediæval Christian belief and imagery has been often and sufficiently emphasized.2 To the mediæval mind the carved or painted Day of Doom meant just the same as the narrative and moralizing passages of the "Book of the Dead", with its very subtle graduation in the description of reward and punishment in the world to come, meant to the ancient Egyptians. It was by no means only the element of fear which the scene of the Last Judgment introduced into religion and worship; to the priest it offered a rather unique opportunity of giving a detailed and vivid pictorial guide book to the Hereafter, a "geography of the other world". It was meant to make clear the choice man has between Heaven and Hell-as was attempted by the priestly scribes of ancient Egypt in the later, cheaper and easily sold "Book of the Two Ways", partly based upon the "Book of the Dead ".3 The Judgment, in western late mediæval churches usually painted on the chancel arch, served the officiating or preaching priest as a colourful illustration, as a permanently exposed "lantern slide", visible to the whole congregation, to all worshippers attending service. The purpose of these doom-paintings was primarily didactic, as indeed it was of most of, though not all, the ecclesiastical wall-paintings. French cathedral style preferred the carved Judgment on the tympanum above the western main entrance, and its eventual transfer into the interior of the church, its projection on to the wall, is a long and complicated process, which came to a close in this country towards the middle of the 14th century. At the end of the Middle Ages doompaintings in English churches were very numerous. The late C. E, Keyser counted 109, a number which far exceeds even the number of painted crucifixions.4 Since the appearance of his notes, in 1883, which were entirely based on personal observation, many more have been brought to light, and many have, through-sometimes wilfulneglect, ignorance, indifference or bad restoration, perished, been defaced

² For the following cf. F. Kendon, Mural Paintings in English Churches during the Middle Ages. An introductory essay on the Folk Influence in religious art, London, 1923, 120sqq; G. G. Coulton, Art and the Reformation, Oxford, 1928, 255 sqq. The old German treatise on the subject by H. Jessen, Die Darstellung des Weltgerichtes bis auf Michelangelo, Berlin, 1883, is, though out of date in many details, still indispensable.

³ J. H. Breasted, A History of Egypt, from the Earliest times to the Persian Conquest, London, 1906, 174 sq. and 249 sq.

⁴ Kendon, op. cit., 229.

or obliterated.⁵ The fact that so many churches had doom-paintings is in itself evidence of the special importance attached to the subject throughout these centuries.

The iconographic elements remained more or less unchanged, the variation of the motif being left to the artist's versatility and imagination. Frank Kendon⁶ has provided us with a clear though somewhat generalizing scheme for an iconographical examination of a Doom picture in mediæval setting. The following short extract, with some comments, may be found useful. He writes: "Highest of all. and in the middle over the point of the arch, is Christ, severe, with the right side naked, the hands both raised and the feet displayed, to show the five wounds. He sits upon the arch of a rainbow, and between his feet rests a round reddish ball that stands for the Earth. There is nothing gentle or pleading about the figure—the showing of the wounds is an accusation; He is come to judge. Behind his shoulders are trumpet-bearing angels. His mother kneels to him on his right, and St. John the Evangelist on his left; they are to plead man's cause, and Mary uncovers and points to her bosom to remind him of her love and his humanity. Angels carrying the instruments of the Passionthe cross, the hammer and nails, the lance, the reed with its sponge stand on each side of the throne, and four apostles are sometimes seated on a bench to the right of Mary. Lower down in the picture many tombs are being pushed open by naked bodies answering the trumpets of the angels; these are men and women of varying con-

⁵ A large quantity listed by Vallance, op. cit., 20-26.

⁶ op. cit. 127sq.

⁷ The question whether the Blessed as well as the Damned would have to appear before the Divine Judge naked or clad was made the subject of theological disputes throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. Guilelmus Durandus, Bishop of Mende (Southern France), who died in 1296, a contemporary of Thomas Aquinas, leaves it, in his "Rationale Divinorum Officiorum", the classical work of symbolism, undecided, and his nearest rival, John Beleth, writes: ". . . It would seem that they (the Blessed) would be clothed, since angels are always wont to appear in clothes. . . . On the other hand, it would seem that they would be naked, for the reason that we shall be in the same shape as Adam was before his sin, and even in fairer shape. . . . " Yet, only one generation earlier than this, the question had been confidently answered quite differently by the so-called Honorius of Autun. In his dialogue called "Elucidarium", the disciple asks: "Tell me, what sort of bodies shall the Saints have . . . will they be clothed or naked?", to which the Master answers: "They shall be naked; yet shall they shine with all comeliness. . . . The salvation of the Blessed, and their gladness, shall be their vesture; for the Lord shall endue their bodies with the vesture of salvation, and their souls will be their garment of gladness. Honorius wrote about 1130. In

ditions of life, whose ranks are shown by the headdresses-mitres and tiaras and crowns-which they wear. Below Christ in Judgment stands St. Michael with a pair of balances weighing the souls. times an angel presents the soul for the test (souls are diminutive nude figures) and the devil as his own advocate stands by, black and menacing, often laying violent hands on the balances, and trying to drag the soul down, against all justice, or flourishing a parchment scroll or a how. Angels to the right of St. Michæl lead off those who have passed the ordeal to the towers and windowed walls of the New Jerusalem;8 but in French sculpture Heaven is represented by Abraham holding a napkin, out of which peep the diminutive heads of the Blessed .-Devils, hideously and emphatically grotesque, are driving the Doomed with pitchforks towards Hell; and in the company of the Doomed, as well as those of the Blessed, and almost always, various ranks are shown: in both, too, are ecclesiastical persons of importance.9 There are no children in the Dooms that I have seen. Although not much direct expression of delight is noticeable about Paradise. Hell is always very vivid and definite. Hell mouth is literally a mouth belching forth flames, and bearing in its gaping jaws a huge cauldron full of struggling bodies, which are being prodded down by exultant and grinning

1132 the new Cathedral of Autun, at whose theological school Honorius was master, was dedicated. The great west portal contains one of the earliest surviving Dooms in which the Blessed appear clothed, whereas the Damned are cast down in their naked deformity. Referring to this—very early—evidence, Dr. Coulton, op. cit., 257, concludes that at least mediæval sculpture could not have been dictated by church authority. Sometimes also the Damned appear in their garments, as in the windows of Bourges and in Herrad's "Hortus Deliciarum" (and in several specimens of the "Biblia Pauperum; ibidem, 278. See also the instances given by Dr. Sartell Prentice, The Voice of the Cathedral, London, 1937, 174, who, e.g., draws attention to the Doom tympanum at Bâle Minster, where the Dead hurry into their attire, fastening their shoes, pulling up their long stockings and putting on their garments. that they may appear in decent and respectful garb before the great At Notre Dame in Paris they are fully dressed, but the tympanum in its present form was carved long after the Middle Ages had passed!

8 The architectural structure of this new "Celestial Jerusalem", as depicted in these paintings, is, in its elements of style and artistic mastery, a criterion of the utmost significance, and closely connected with the later mediæval theory of the Cathedral, as evolved for instance by Villard d'Honnecourt. Cf. H. R. Hahnloser, Villard d'Honnecourt. Vienna, 1931, passim.

⁹ Ecclesiastical persons on the side of the Damned are, as will be shown later, of greater iconographical (and chronological) importance than on the side of the Blessed where they necessarily have to appear. demons, while others are driving more and more doomed souls to the torment. . . . $^{\prime\prime10}$

This scheme can, as will be seen, be applied to the Doom-painting of Sarum St. Thomas. There appear, however, quite an amount of striking variations which may as well be taken as a warning not to rely

precipitately on generalizing systems.

The history of our Doom-painting can be told in a few sentences. 11 Haskins has pointed out that the execution of the Doom-painting most probably formed part of the great work of rebuilding the old 13th century stone fabric, which began before 1450 and lasted till the end of the 15th century. It seems to have been continuous and in many a way connected with the activities of the Tailors' Guild to whom, in 1449, Henry VI had granted a charter giving them authority to found a guild chantry in St. Thomas's Church. 12 William Swayne, a rich wool-merchant and at that time Mayor, undertook to rebuild the South Chapel. He afterwards became the chief benefactor of the Tailors' fraternity and it may be assumed that several features of the further restoration and rebuilding of St. Thomas's were due to his and the Guild's initiative. At the time Swayne was erecting the South Chapel. members of the Godmanstone and other families rebuilt the north chancel aisle, the roof of which was provided by William Ludlow, Lord of Hill Deverell, whose tomb originally stood on the north side of the High Altar. This chapel afterwards became the chapel of the Mayor and his brethren, as the Guild of St. George. 13 The Nave aisles were added about 1460-1470 and during the last three decades of the century there followed the clerestory, the great west window and the superbly carved Tudor roof. It is most probable that the Doom-

¹⁰ The fact that Hell is always made more explicit than Heaven shows that these Doom-paintings may have been displayed largely as warnings. Kendon, op. cit., 125. To the whole cf. also Prentice, op. cit., 175 and 237 sq.

¹¹ The following is partly based on some notes and other information which Mr. Stevens has very kindly put at my disposal.

¹² W.A.M., xxxvi, 6; Guide Book, 3 sq.

¹³ To avoid any misunderstandings, it must be stated that the paintings on the north wall of the South (Swayne) Chapel (Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, fragments of a St. George in armour with the dragon, and a number of consecration crosses) have no relation to the Doom, they are considerably earlier and date from before 1450. The whole interior of the church appears to have had "polychrome" mural decoration. According to an entry in the Tropenell Cartulary ca. 1450, William Ludlow had the north aisle "new siled and painted". (The Tropenell Cartulary, ed. J. S. Davis, Devizes, 1908, i, 274 sq.) When the south porch was cleaned in 1905 paintings were found underneath several coats of whitewash, but were too dilapidated to be preserved. Haskins, W.A.M., xxxvi, 7.

painting was commissioned to cover the great wall space above the chancel arch, caused by the raising of the roof (Plate I). The painting was covered with whitewash in 1593.14 The churchwardens' accounts for this year show (sub 'Extra ordinarye expences') that a certain Gusset received 22 shillings for "washinge the ch(urch) with lyme". 15. Towards the end of the century the coat of arms, now over the south door, was placed over the chancel arch. 16 There it remained till 1819, when it was temporarily taken down, the whitewash removed and the painting, thus disclosed for the first time, recorded. A drawing, afterwards lithographed, was made by Miss Wickens, a Salisbury lady. 17 Shortly after the uncovering it was, however, re-coated with whitewash and remained "undiscovered" till 1876. In that year illuminated texts were put up over the chancel arch and also over the two aisle arches. The centre one was done by Mrs. E. T. Stevens and read "Holy Holy Holy Lord God Almighty". On that occasion the late Mr. E. T. Stevens, F.S.A., the father of the present Director of the Salisbury Museum, ascended the ladder and saw the whitewash coming off when tin-tacks were hammered in. At that time he had the idea of removing the whole of the whitewash, but he died in 1879, before anything could be done. Finally, in 1881, the coating was taken off and Messrs. Clayton & Bell of London were given the commission to restore the painting. Altogether, the restoration cannot be called a happy one, as the artist employed, sometimes operating directly on the original design (as can be observed by the fact that some details still recorded in 1819 are now missing as well as on some "adjusted" spots on the architectural background, the apostle row, etc.), has not quite refrained from "corrections". Moreover, the re-painting was done in oil colours which are, through atmospheric influences, bound to grow pale and eventually to come off in churches--one knows the change of colours on retables painted in oil or in oil tempera on canvas or wooden panels. Dirt and dust are notorious enemies of paintings and the high position of the Doom-painting offers no facilities for cleaning it at regular intervals. At present the left and right upper corners are already

¹⁴ The above quoted description of the painting in the Salisbury Museum (cf. note 1) gives a wrong date-1573.

¹⁵ H. J. F. Swayne, Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Edmund and St. Thomas, Sarum, Wilts. Record Society, Salisbury, 1896, 299. entry for the year ending Easter, 1560, records the "taking downe the Rode" with "the beam that the Rode stoode on, and making up the Ibidem, 280; see also Vallance, op. cit., 11.

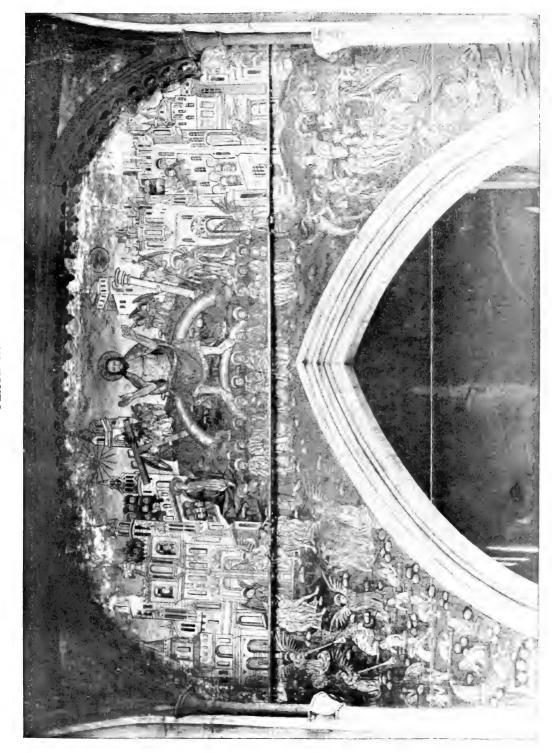
¹⁶ This coat of arms had been made as early as 1573. The churchwardens' accounts contain the following reference: " . . . Adam Marbell psynting' and gylting' of ye queen's armes and makinge ye X comaundements and other scripture at ye vper ende of ye quire £2 13s. 4d. . . . " Swayne, op. cit., 288.

¹⁷ Hatcher & Benson, op. cit., 590.



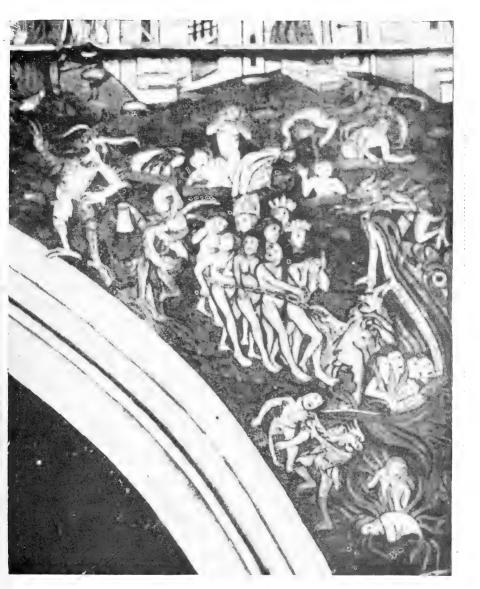


Chancel Arch with Doom-painting.
St. Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury, 1480—1500.
Copyright Photo: A. W. Haggis, Worcester College, Oxford.



The Doom-painting (enlarged).

Ford - Otherk by contexy of B. F. Bassood, Ed., Louise.



Detail from the Doom-painting, St. Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury. The Damned.

Photo: A. W. Haggis, Oxford.



seriously endangered. The general impression, however, is still magnificent, and it is to be hoped that a general restoration by a real and fully qualified expert will, after the war, help to preserve for future generations this unique work of English late mediæval art, which Aymer Vallance only a few years ago called "the most elaborate and imposing composition of its kind".18

We may now proceed to an exact description. The St. Thomas Doom belongs to a group of Judgment paintings which maintain the form of a cross. The origin and meaning of this peculiar shape, which in our case looks like an inverted T. will be discussed later.

BLESSED. DEAD RISING.
EARTH. DEAD RISING DOOMED. HELL

The upper central portion shows the towered, walled and spired heavenly City of Jerusalem, clearly divided into two different buildings (cf. Plates I and II), in which are dwelling the Good and Faithful who have already entered into the joy of their Lord, watching from windows. arches, and doorways the grand spectacle. We count all in all twentyseven mostly nimbed figures, seventeen on the north and ten on the south side, among them a bishop with a red mitre (south middle gallery). In the centre is the Son of Man, bearded and nimbed, in a widely opened red cloak, displaying the upper part of his body, both hands raised to show the wounds. He is sitting upon the throne of His glory formed by the rainbow, his bare feet resting upon a smaller concentric rainbow. At his feet there are sitting, on twelve single small thrones, the twelve apostles, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. They have, like the Saints, come to act with the Son of Man in His judicial functions, though probably this only means that they approve the justice of the sentence. 19 Behind the Lord are angels, three to the south and three to the north, two of them holding the implements of the Passion: the cross (without top shaft), the crown of thorns, the pillar, the spear, the sponge and the nails. To the left of the Lord's head is seen the Sun of Righteousness in meridian splendour, and to the right the Star in the East. To the right of the throne (north half) the Blessed Virgin is seen kneeling, in the attitude of adoration, to the left (south half) kneels St. John the Evangelist, bearded and nimbed,

¹⁸ op. cit., 21.

¹⁹ It seems plain from *Matth.*, xix, 28, that the apostles are to judge the world in a stricter sense, though it is hard to imagine what this sense can be. St. Thomas Aquinas conjectures (Suppl. lxxxix, 1) that the apostles and "perfect" men will notify the sentence to others. See W. E. Addis and Th. Arnold, A Catholic Dictionary, 8th edition revised and completed by T. B. Scannell, London, 1909, 533 sqq.

in a bordered cope similar to that of the Saviour, in the attitude of praising.²⁰ On both sides of the picture, pointing downwards to the spandrels, are angels sounding trumpets (two to the north and two to the south), summoning the Dead to Judgment. These are seen rising from their graves in a green gardenlike burial ground, in shrouds, and getting ready to appear before the Judge, men and women, among them a man with a mitre on his head. Above them are the Blessed among little springs of water, two nimbed angels in attendance taking two groups of the naked into the Kingdom of Heaven. One group entering the arched doorway is led by a pope, to be recognized by the tiara on his head. To the south are the infernal regions where flames issue from the ground. Here stands the Prince of Darkness having the head and the feet of a beast, his right foot slightly intersecting the chancel arch.²¹ A small group, chained together, including a bishop with mitre and two crowned figures (king and queen, or two kings?) is being dragged towards the flaming mouth of Hell, which is kept widely open by two horned devils, one of them standing upright in the mouthentrance, with his right hand pulling the chain, with his left elbow pressing a group of Doomed down the monstrous abvss, the other kneeling on the nose-tip of the monster's head. The figure next to the Prince of Darkness is the dishonest ale-wife with a jug in her raised right hand, embraced by a little devil and forcibly propelled towards the flaming cauldron. This figure, the only one which wears a costume at all, is, as will be seen later, of the utmost importance with regard to the date of the painting. Another interesting figure may be recognized a little down below: a miser with money bags. He has one in each hand, and the devil who has seized him has left black marks on the shoulders where he has touched him. A scroll in the corner, also slightly intersecting the arch, is inscribed: "Nulli est redemptio". There is some doubt as to the two figures shown within the supporting side canopies. To the north we see a pilgrim, bearded, in a dark cloak with a staff in his right and a book in his left hand, to the south a mitred archbishop in a Sarum-blue cope, in his left hand holding his pastoral staff, the right hand slightly raised, blessing. The description in Hatcher and Benson²² calls them King Henry II ("with the cockle shell'') and St. Thomas à Becket, the patron-saint of the church.

²¹ Another interesting detail given in the above quoted description "a crowned head on the knee of the 'Prince of the devils'", is no longer discernible.

²⁰ A detail mentioned in the description given in Hatcher and Benson, op. cit., 590, speaking of the "Queen of the South" (below the Virgin), "who, in the language of the Scripture, was to 'rise up against the men of this generation and condemn them '(Luke, xi, 31)" and depicted as "listening to the wisdom of Solomon who is before her". appears to be lost.

²² Op. cit., 590.

the archbishop's vestments point rather to St. Osmond, who was canonized in 1457, and the other figure, sometimes alluded to as St. James (St. Jago di Compostella), ²³ is probably a more or less idealized portrait of a pilgrim who caused the painting to be placed there in commemoration of his safe return from a pilgrimage. ²⁴

So far we have given an account of what is actually noticeable in the painting. It must, by the way, have originally extended further downwards. This is indicated by an intense spot of ochre below the south side figure of St. Osmond. Not much can be said about the colouring. As mentioned earlier in this report, it was coated with whitewash twice, and twice restored, the last restoration amounting to an almost complete overpainting with oil colours. If, however, the colouring of 1881 was done in approximate accordance with that found at the disclosure of the painting, the effect must have been very vivid and magnificently colourful. From what we still can see, there is no monotony throughout the painting, though the colours are fading. There is sufficient evidence that the master was in complete command of the art of stressing contrasts: the scene of "Celestial Jerusalem" filled with light equally distributed over all three sections, the two architectural ones flanking the procedure in the centre focussing in the figure of the Divine Judge with the row of apostles in their bright, almost gay-coloured vestments, irradiated by the heavenly light almost as in a Pentecost picture; the overshadowed burial ground with the naked bodies rising from their square graves; and the flaming red surging of the waves round the hellish cauldron.

An important iconographic detail is missing: St. Michael with the pair of balances weighing the souls. Whether it is an omission on the part of the artist or whether there was such a figure in the original painting is difficult to say. There are, however, quite a number of mediæval Doom-paintings in our country in which the archangel does not appear. To take a few items at random: the Doom above the chancel arch in the superbly decorated parish church at South Leigh, Oxfordshire, 25 a work iconographically related to the Salisbury Judgment, the famous earlier tympanum-shaped Doom panel at Wenhaston, Suffolk, 26 the boarded tympanum with painted Doom at Dauntsey, Wiltshire, the magnificent Guild Chapel Doom at Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire, 27 and the important Doom-painting at Oddington,

²³ Haskins, W.A.M., xxxvi, 8; Guide Book, 6.

²⁴ Mr. Frank Stevens thinks these two figures are probably purely symbolic.

²⁵ Vallance, op. cit., 22, and Plate 45.

²⁶ See C. E. Keyser in *Archæologia*, liv, 1, 119 (with coloured plate); T. Borenius and E. W. Tristram, *English Mediæval Painting*, Paris, 1927, 42, and Plate 85; Vallance, op. cit., 24, and Plate 46, who calls it the most perfect of all painted tympana in the country.

²⁷ Vallance, op. cit., 20, and Plates 47 and 49.

Gloucestershire, ²⁸ have no St. Michael. This shows that taking refuge in generalizing schemes and typological classification is often dangerous and should only with great caution be applied to the history of mediæval art.

The whole compositition shows a great mastery in the use of space. There is nowhere crowding with figures inevitably spoiled by bending. Each figure is clearly discernible, the blocky groups of figures being an iconographic necessity, fitting very well into the general scheme. figure-drawing is advanced and skilful. The naked bodies are not, as in earlier paintings of this kind, without sexual distinction—so to speak just neuter phantoms. They are real men and women, shown in natural movement and expression. Their faces are lively, displaying a variety of human emotions: joy and happiness, fear and horror, pain and relief. An unimpeachable dignity emanates from the upper central scene, the enthroned Majestas, the Judge Almighty, assisted by His apostolic jurors in hearing evidence and passing sentence, surrounded by the Holy and Blessed. The Saviour's face is a very elaborate study representing a distinctive step in the mediæval approach towards a sincere and realistic conception of Christ's likeness. It seems to prove that the master must have received important and lasting impulses from earlier works—works created outside the actual sphere of English artistic activities. As said before, special stress has been laid upon depicting Hell with all its horrors, but the demons are not clumsy and ridiculous beastly monsters as in many other Doom-paintings, e.g., that of Oddington or Chaldon, Surrey, 29 the latter, it must be admitted. dating from the late 12th (or early 13th) century and, as I think, iconographically related to the still somewhat enigmatical carved Doom of York, now in the crypt of York Minster. 30 The devils in the Salisbury Doom are vivacious and bizarre little demons, full of movement, doing their grim work with apparent rapidity and not without humour, their bearing and attitude nicely calculated, though not much use has been made of the iconographic element of "detailed" torture: there are no pitchforks, turnspits, wheel-barrows or other similar implements. Save for the chain, the Damned are just seized—and not even very brutally. though certainly not gently—and made short work of, being shovelled down the mouth of Hell. In some respect these devils remind us of the hellish demons as shown in what is most probably a contemporary work of art, the famous, unfortunately much mutilated painted glass

²⁸ W. Hobart Bird, The ancient Mural Paintings in the Churches of Gloucestershire, Gloucester, n.d., 24 sq., and Plate 8.

²⁹ Kendon, op. cit., 222, and Plate XI.

³⁰ I have to thank the Rev. Chancellor F. H. Harrison, M.A., F.S.A., of York Minster, for showing me this most remarkable specimen and giving me permission to examine it properly.

Doom at Fairford, Gloucestershire (window No. XV, west window),³¹ though that work goes incomparably more into details. There a proper and fully "staffed" workshop has been set up to deal with the Damned, with a variety of implements and appliances, nearly every devil having his own peculiarities and attributes,³² whereas the Salisbury Doom only shows a very limited number of demons, all together not more than six. The Oddington Doom introduces other "beings" into the scene, e.g., fox and dog, and has bonfires and gallows.³³ Still, the bizarre physiognomies and the agitated bodies of the devils in the Salisbury Doom may, in some way, be compared with similar appearances in the outstanding composition of Fairford, exhibiting influences, which cannot be traced back to earlier purely English prototypes. But before we deal with these influences, we have to attempt to date and locate the Salisbury Doom-painting and to show its relationship with some other Doom-paintings in this country.

The fact that the wall-painting contains an almost life-size figure of St. Osmond, who was not canonized before 1457, points at least clearly to the second half of the 15th century. We have also heard that the Doom was most probably executed to cover the great wall space above the chancel arch caused by the raising of the roof. This would lead us into the seventies or early eighties of the century. There is, however, another detail also which enables us to be even more precise: the only costumed figure in the painting, the dishonest ale-wife. This costume with bonnet and kerchief approximates in date to the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, or Henry VII. The "Miser" with his money-bags is a subject obviously taken from some "Dance of Death" or similar imagery, which did not come into fashion before the third quarter of the 15th century. Evidence of their being in use and circulation is provided by a late 18th century engraving, which records a lost wall-painting which was, till about 1790, on the wall of the Hungerford

³¹ Scharf, op. cit., 459; an early, not very accurate description by Thomas Hearne may be found in his edition of Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, Oxford, 1716, 277. The problems connected with the study of the Fairford windows and especially the great west window are exhaustively dealt with by J. B. Joyce, The Fairford Windows, London, 1872, Arundel Society), passim, and H. J. W. Westlake, A History of the Design in Painted Glass, London, 1889—1892, iii, 52 sqq., and Oscar G. Farmer, Fairford Church and its Stained Glass Windows, 5th edition, Bath, 1938, 69 sqq., and Plate VI, to my knowledge the only photographic reproduction so far published.

³² Farmer, op. cit., 71 sq.

³³ Bird, op. cit., 25.

³⁴ See above, page 355.

 $^{^{35}}$ The importance of this detail was very kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Stevens.

Chapel on the north side of the chancel of Salisbury Cathedral, and depicted "Dethe and the Galante" (Death and the Gentleman).36 This picture, of which the engraving gives but an inadequate idea, bears' further resemblance to our Doom-painting. Gough, in his "Sepulchral Monuments", describing the Hungerford Chapel, says: "On the wall was a curious, and tolerably well-preserved picture of a man, large as life, drest in the habit of the times, a short doublet, cord and bow round his waist, breeches, piked shoes, a high hat and feather, and a dagger in front, a staff in his left hand, his right hand held up in terror and affright at the sight of Death, who was approaching him in a shroud, and had a ridged coffin at his feet". 37 Both figures are standing on a flowery and gardenlike ground very similar to the burial ground in the St. Thomas Doom. There is, as far as we can see from the engraving, no real "coffin" at the feet of Death, it is just one of the sharply square shaped ridged graves as they appear in the green graveyard in the right half of the Doom representing the rising of the Dead. In both pictures we notice shrouds. These shrouds, seen on the skeleton in the Hungerford Chapel picture and on the bodies of the Rising and Saved, are perhaps an allusion to an early local order that all bodies should be buried in a woollen shroud and not in wax, in order to support the wool-industry—although an Act of Parliament regulating and standardizing the "Burial in Wool" was not actually Another important detail pointing to the last passed before 1660.38 third of the 15th century is the mitred bishop being sent to Hell. This is a Wycliffite tradition to which recourse was made in these late days of Lollardry. It is not the blessed bishop on the right of the Lord. leaving his tomb to be taken to eternal joy that is historically interesting—it is the bishop on the left in the very characteristic association with the damned king and queen, which attracts the attention of the historian. As early as the reign of Richard II many laymen had thought the existing power, property and privileges of the Church to be an evil, though a sacred evil. Now the Lollards in the days of

³⁶ This chapel was erected under the will of Robert Lord Hungerford, who died in 1459, and a chantry was founded in it by Margaret his wife, daughter and heiress of William Lord Botreaux. It was taken down at the same time as another chapel on the south side, erected by Bishop Beauchamp, when extensive alterations were made by Sir Thomas Wyatt, under Bishop Barrington, in 1790—91. The engraving is to be found in the queer and long-winded but still informative book by Edward Duke. Prolusiones Historicae, or Essays illustrative of the Hall of John Halle, citizen and merchant of Salisbury, in the veign of Henry VI and Edward IV, etc., i, Salisbury and London, 1837, facing page 105; see also William Dodsworth, A History of Salisbury Cathedral Church, Salisbury, 1814, 182 sq.

³⁷ As quoted by Duke, op. cit., 106.

³⁸ Information obtained from Mr. Stevens.

Henry VII (and also Henry VIII) asserted that ecclesiastical evils were not necessarily sacred. One knows that the triumph of this view was the downfall of the governing Church, which preceded by many decades the Elizabethan adjustment of doctrine and ritual.³⁹ The bishop being dragged down the abyss, chained together with his worldly masters, is obviously enough a strong reminder of what Wycliffe called the "Cæsarean clergy", those bishops and prelates wrapped up in their secular business and holding secular dominion, who were both unnecessary and injurious to the Church.⁴⁰ Now it will be understood why the Salisbury Doom was described on a previous page as of almost documentary character.

As regards the style, we have already pointed out that the Salisbury Doom stands rather isolated and independent. There are, however, some striking iconographical resemblances to a few other works devoted to the same suject. In the somewhat earlier Doom at South Leigh, Oxfordshire, uncovered in 1872, the Blessed, among them a pope with a tiara on his head, are seen rising from square shaped and ridged graves.41 The Doomed, among them three crowned persons and a mitred bishop, all more or less in a standing and upright position, are chained together, the chain being fastened to a tooth in the mouth of the hellish monster. They are guided by a little horned and blackish devil and received by two horned and winged (bat's wings) black devils, while another little devil emerges from the flames that issue from the mouth of Hell. The Damned, chained together, occur again in the boarded tympana of Wenhaston, Suffolk, and Dauntsey, Wiltshire, 42 but the master of the St. Thomas Doom does not appear to have received any particular impulse from either of them. Neither crowned nor mitred figures are to be noticed in these two paintings, on the side of the Damned, the Wenhaston Doom having the Crowned and Mitred exclusively allotted to the Blessed. Of paramount significance with regard to our Doom-painting is the superb Guild Chapel Doom at Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire, 43 painted on the wall above the chancel arch, which still bears traces of a Rood group. The painting was uncovered in the summer of 1804, and, after the restoration by Professor Dr. Ernest William Tristram in 1928, dated without objection to the reign of Henry VII.44 Here the "order" of the Judgment appears fully developed. On the right of the enthroned Majestas (north half) we find Celestial Jerusalem as architectural background in the shape of a rather compact palatial walled and towered three-

³⁹ G. M. Trevelyan, England in the Age of Wycliffe, 13th edition. London, 1943, 352.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, 100 sqq., and 165 sqq.

⁴¹ Vallance, op. cit., 22, Plate 45.

⁴² Ibidem, 24, Plates 46 and 47.

⁴³ See above, note 27.

⁴⁴ Vallance, op. cit., 20.

storey building, into which a group of Blessed (all naked) are welcomed by Abraham standing in front of an arched doorway. Christ in Majesty, sitting on the rainbow, his feet resting on the orb, is flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, both in the attitude of adoration. The graveyard to the north is a beautiful green garden with a variety of colourful flower-beds, little trees and bushes Dead are rising partly from square-shaped graves, partly from stone coffins sticking out of the ground. They include a mitred bishop and a pope with tiara (these two naked), a crowned king dressed in a cloak, a clothed woman with a shortish veil (kerchief), another woman preparing her headdress, which is similar to that of the dishonest ale-wife, two other clothed figures whose dress is no longer discernible, one figure taking off its shroud and three naked. To the south a group of Damned, chained together (here without king and bishop) is driven into the jaws of Hell, emerging from a fortified building, in which can be seen two other groups of Damned tortured by several demons and guarded by a horned devil who holds a pitchfork. To the left of St. John, a little below, a devil is seen swinging a big club; above, some Damned are being attended to by bizarre devils; below the mouth of the monster a devil has seized a naked man by his left leg. This painting, a work of an exceptionally high order, is the only one of the late mediæval English Doom-paintings we have seen which we are justified in claiming as really and closely related in its iconography to the Doom of Salisbury St. Thomas. It has, however, to be added that the Oddington Doom has a blocky group of Damned going to Hades, driven by a horned demon. A chain is faintly discernible, but no mitred or crowned persons are shown on this side, whereas on the side of the Saved one procession is headed by a pope, and above this another procession, including kings and queens, is received into Heaven. 45 In the south of Wiltshire there was only one other Doompainting which may, in the past, have shown some affinity to the Salisbury Judgment, but does not now exist. It was between two beams over the chancel arch at All Saints, Winterslow, uncovered in the course of alterations in 1851, and about thirty-five years ago thus recorded by C. E. Ponting⁴⁶: "Between the beams over the chancel arch on either side of the centre is an angel, blowing a trumpet; the centre would be occupied by the rood, probably of wood, and the angels have their backs towards it; on the south (left) are the Lost, one -a woman rising from the grave-is praying for mercy, and the rest which include a crowned man (!) are being driven to perdition by a Satan wearing a cap and having a zig-zag ornament across the body. He is enveloped in flames. On the north (right) only one figure is shown (the rest not having been uncovered) and this is the upper part of a man rising from the ground. When the painting

⁴⁵ See above, note 28.

⁴⁶ Notes on Churches, etc., W.A.M., xxxvi, 1909, 19, with Plate (after drawing by Colonel Luard); Vallance, op. cit., 22.

was hidden from view by whitewash, the surface was powdered by the sacred monogram of 16th century type, in red. This was doubtless intended (like the black-letter texts so frequently met with) to compensate for the loss of the picture and to appease those who would regret the absence of decoration. -. . ." It is impossible to draw any conclusions as to style, composition, iconography and colouring, from this description.

It may not be without interest to note that a very large later 15th century Last Judgment of a rather similar order and conception as that of St. Thomas, Salisbury, and containing not less than 87 figures was, in the early summer of 1937, discovered on the north wall of the nave of the Roman Catholic Parish Church at Bruck an der Mur, in the county of Styria, Austria, by the painter and restorer Professor J. Stierschneider. Unlike other mediæval Doom-paintings of the South German and Austrian schools, this painting stresses the momentum of the tortures awaiting the Lost going to Hell, who comprise several ranks, clearly distinguished by their respective dresses and attributes. The architectural background also displays a surprising resemblance to the Dooms of Salisbury and Stratford-on-Avon. The painting, which was in an excellent state of preservation, was dated by the commissioners of the former Austrian Ancient Monuments Office to the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century and said to be the work of a wandering artist who was decisively influenced by the Flemish or Dutch sphere and perhaps a contemporary of Hieronymus Bosch, from whose grim and macabre "humour" he may have received the most lasting impression.⁴⁷ That the Flemish-Dutch sphere had some effect on the unknown master of the Salisbury Doom will be shown in the next few paragraphs of this paper.

A few words should be added on the two supporting side figures, which are rather expressive and drawn in a masterly manner. It also seems that their colouring has suffered less from the late 19th century restoration than the main painting. They correspond, as regards style and draughtsmanship, to some panel-paintings in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, at Burlington House (previously at Baston House, Keston, Kent), representing a number of Saxon kings. As at Eton and Winchester, these compositions are accompanied by inscriptions below, and a remarkable power of delineating character is evinced by some of these figures—we find it again in the figures of the Pilgrim and St. Osmond, of the Salisbury Doom. They are more

⁴⁷ The wall painting, which I inspected soon after its discovery, has —to my knowledge—remained unrecorded (apart from unreliable press reports and some notes which were, up to March, 1938, kept in the files of the Central Council for the Preservation of Historic Monuments and Works of Art in the former Austrian Ministry for Public Education).

⁴⁸ Borenius and Tristram, op. cit., 47, and Plates 95 and 96. The panels are at present evacuated for safety.

portrait-like and less idealized than most of the figures in the painted screen panels of that period, though there are some outstanding specimens, e.g., the panel showing St. Joseph of Arimathea at Plymtree. Devonshire, or the splendid series of figures painted on the rood screen wainscot at Eye, Suffolk. 49 As to the London panels, it has been suggested that these pictures, which are to be dated about 1480, may originally have adorned a royal palace, e.g., Greenwich or Eltham. The custom of decorating rooms with fancy portraits of English kings was indeed a very old one in England, and it is by no means impossible that the Salisbury master has taken such panels as patterns for the execution of the side figures of his Doom-painting.

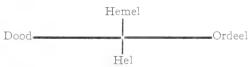
The average visitor to St. Thomas's Church, even the genuinely interested one, is perhaps too easily inclined to take a purely English origin of its magnificent Doom for granted. Not that we would attempt to doubt the English origin and authorship of this wall-painting. Only a very few, however, of the many thousands that annually visit this wonderful ancient church will care to search for the hidden roots from which an artistic achievement like the Salisbury Doom has grown. Here—as in the Doom of Stratford-on-Avon—the architectural background is not an English one. Its prototype is to be found in some works of the Flemish-Dutch sphere of the 15th century. it in the town views of the illuminations with which an unknown master closely connected with the brothers Van Eyck and their school adorned the famous prayerbook of the Duke of Berry (Torino, Library), 50 though it cannot be denied that the buildings there depicted are more compact and solid and not so open or so constantly pierced and broken by windows, doorways, galleries, arches, battlements, pinnacles and turrets, as are the buildings in the Salisbury Doom. We find it—and much more even than in those illuminations —in the fine little Passion panel by Hans Memling (with the portraits of Tommaso Portinari of Torino, who commissioned it, and his wife.) In this picture, dated about 1470, and executed at Bruges, everything is stage and scene—the sequence of events, the single phases of the Passion, all depicted in one and the same little picture, are merely accessory.51 Chronologically connected with the Torino Passion is another work of Hans Memling's, the triptych of St. Mary the Virgin, Danzig, executed at Bruges in 1471 or 1472 for Messer Jacopo Tani, a rich merchant of Florence who acted at that time for the Medici at

⁴⁹ Vallance, op. cit., 57 sqq., and Plates 188 and 206-208.

⁵⁰ For the following cf. W. H. J. Weale, Hubert and John Van Eyck. Their Lives and Work, London, 1908, 92 sqq. and 130 sqq.; Max Dworak, Das Rätsel der Brüder Van Eyck, Munich and Leipzig, 1925, passim; Max J. Friedländer, Die Altniederländische Malerei, i-vi, Berlin and Munich, 1921—1930, passim. Precise quotations to follow below.

⁵¹ Previous to the war, in the Pinacoteca at Torino. Friedländer, op. cit., vi, 1928, 15, 21, 123, and Plate XXVI.

Danzig as chargé d'affaires.⁵² On completion it was sent by sea to Florence, but was captured in 1473 by the Danzig mercenaries—there was war between Florence and the Hanseatic League-and publicly exhibited as booty in the main parish church of the city.53 The central retable of the triptych is the Last Judgment. Here we find in the lower part, immediately beneath St. Michæl with his pair of balances, the combined groups of the Saved and Doomed. arranged and disposed in a way very similar to the composition of the lower halves of the Salisbury Doom. Furthermore, an earlier work, dated 1452. the Last Judgment by Petrus Christus of Bruges, who was before 1442 an apprentice or assistant to John Van Eyck (he obtained the freedom of his guild on July 6 of that year) has as an important element the choruslike crowd of the Blessed, forming part of a triptych. It depicts only the reception of the Saved into Heaven and the overthrow of Lucifer. 54 Whether it is an enlarged version of the Last Judgment assigned to John Van Evck, formerly in the Hermitage at St, Petersburg, now in the Historical State Museum (Gallery Department) Leningrad, or not, we have to leave undecided as long as we have neither more documentary evidence nor the results of a modern re-examination by X-rays -its authenticity remains, for the present, doubtful. 55 But the scheme of the upper part, especially the row of apostles, is a remarkable step towards the conception shown in the St. Thomas wall-painting. Still more affinity in general is shown in a Last Judgment assigned to Hubert Van Eyck which shows not only the scheme of the Flanders Cross



(Dood, Death or Dead; Ordeel, Purgatory; Hemel, Heaven; Hel, Hell.)

which appears to be more or less maintained in the Salisbury and Stratford Dooms, but a very strong relationship with them in the distribution of the Blessed and Lost and in the emphasis laid upon torture and pain in the jaws of Hell.⁵⁶ Still more striking affinities

⁵² Ibidem, vi, 38, and Plate VII.

⁵³ Ibidem, vi, 39.

⁵⁴ Till 1939 in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Berlin, Friedländer, 22. cit., i, 1924, 142, 148, and Plate LV.

⁵⁵ Weale, op. cit., 149, 213, and Plate XXVIII; see also W. H. J. Weale and M. Brockwell, The Van Eycks and their Art, London, 1912, 153—156, and Plate facing 153. Dworak, op. cit., 211.

⁵⁶ Dr. Paul Strüber, Hubert Van Eyck und das Jüngste Gericht, Würzburg, 1914, 11 sq., and Plate. Strüber thinks he has found Hubert Van Eyck's monogram on the circular pommel of the sword which the Saviour has in his mouth, but Hubert's authorship is by no means certain. The painting itself was sold at an auction sale at Munich in 1914. Its present owner and whereabouts are not known.

are afforded by the parts of a Last Judgment by Dierick (Dirk) Bouts of Haarlem (active at Louvain between 1450 and 1475) a work of which we only possess two parts: the Way to Heaven (Lille Museum) and the Fall of the Doomed (Louvre, Paris).⁵⁷ These two panels formed most probably part of a triptych for the Town Hall at Louvain. The way to Heaven (at Lille) shows several groups of Blessed taken up by angels to the Kingdom of Joy; in the Fall of the Doomed (at Paris) the naked Lost are seen being thrown down into the torment of flames. dragged, pushed and hauled about by evil demons. On the north side, in a cave, they are going through Purgatory; from above Satan and many bat's-winged demons are bringing down a new batch of Doomed. Here it is all composition, colour and contrast, an overpowering symphony of reward and punishment, of heavenly joy and eternal torture, created by a highly inventive mind endowed with a rich and strong imagination, quite unlike the contemporary strictly schematic and almost austere German Doom-panel of the Judgment altar of St. Lawrence in Cologne by Master Stephan Lochner. 58 But here the iconographic elements are the same as in the Salisbury Doom, the main difference being, apart from all merely æsthetic considerations and any discussion of the artistic quality, that in the St. Thomas Doom scene and spectacle are simplified and re-cast in the form of popular tradition and legend.

This brings us to the final question: Who was the artist who left us this valuable decument of 15th century English church-craftsmanship? The problem of the Salisbury Doom is very similar to that of the Fairford windows.⁵⁹ The Fairford glass is, as we know to-day, essentially English work, it exhibits English rather than German or any foreign saints and other figures, and it indicates in the architecture of its canopies a pervading agreement with English Perpendicular rather than with any foreign work—in the case of two portions of the series its pictures are distinctly marked by English royal cognizances. In brief, the glass was made in England, under an English contract for a church actually belonging to King Henry VII, but in many a detail both Flemish and German hands were employed in its execution. There was evidently a school of glaziers, many of them Flemish, some English, enjoying the patronage of Henry VII, and employing draughtsmen, colourists and other artists of the very first quality, as the work which they were known to have executed proves. The chief of the Flemish glaziers employed in this country at the end of the 15th century was Barnard Flower who was responsible by contract for the King's College glass at Cambridge as well as some important portions

 $^{^{57}}$ Friedländer, op. cit., iii, 1925, 11 sq., 32 sq., and Plates XXXIX and XL.

⁵⁸ Till 1939 in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum at Cologne. See Alfred Stange, *Die Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, iii, Berlin, 1938, 98, and Plate 113.

⁵⁹ Read, op. cit., 235; Farmer, op. cit., 33 sq.

in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster. It seems now established that he, who was officially styled "the King's Glazier", also had a hand in the design of some sections of the Fairford glass. 60 Admittedly the Salisbury Doom-painting and the Last Judgment at Stratford-on-Avon, which comes nearest to it in style and conception, display, as we have tried to show, more Flemish influences in larger as well as in smaller details, from the architecture indicating the Regnum Caelorum down to the T-shaped cross among the implements of torture, which frequently occurs in Flemish (and some German) panel-paintings; but, after all, it was executed in this country, and the basic iconographic elements and the figures, taken singly, are English. The whole composition, however, reveals the open mind and skilled hand of an advanced artist who received his best and most valuable impressions and impulses abroad. This resemblance to a foreign style is not in itself surprising. There is evidence that Englishmen went abroad to work just as-and this may, perhaps, be more important—our schools were continually recruited from abroad. Salisbury was in those days an important centre of the wool trade and wool manufacture and was visited throughout the 15th century by many Flemings bringing their products-an influx attributable to the taking of Ghent by the French in 1382. was the final blow to the English trade in Flanders, for this town was the only Flemish market left to the English merchants; and St. Thomas was, as we have seen, the Church of the Tailors' Guild.

On the other hand, during the Wars of the Roses many English people took refuge in the Low Countries, among them Lord Ross, who fled to Flanders from Calais in 1459, afterwards returning to England. 61 next year the Earl of Wiltshire filled five large ships with soldiers, sailed secretly for Holland and sent back his soldiers to England. In 1461 the princes George and Richard of York were sent to Utrecht. wealthy citizens of London went on board a ship of Antwerp, intending to sail for that place, but fell into the hands of the French. wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York at Bruges in 1467/68 drew a large number of English people to Flanders to attend the festivities and the jousts held on that occasion. Sir John Paston was one of those sent by King Edward IV, and Caxton was among the Englishmen who were at Margaret's court in 1470 and was one of her favourites. 300 Flemings were amongst Edward's army of 1,200 with which he returned in 1471 from his short exile in Flanders to England. In 1472 several ambassadors from London to Brittany went to Bruges and travelled on horseback to Charles' lodging. In 1473 Charles sent ambassadors to Edward to prevail on him to make war on the French King, and when Edward went to Dover in 1474 in order to sail for Calais, he found there 500 boats of Holland and Zealand called "cuts". specially built for the transport of horses and provided for him by

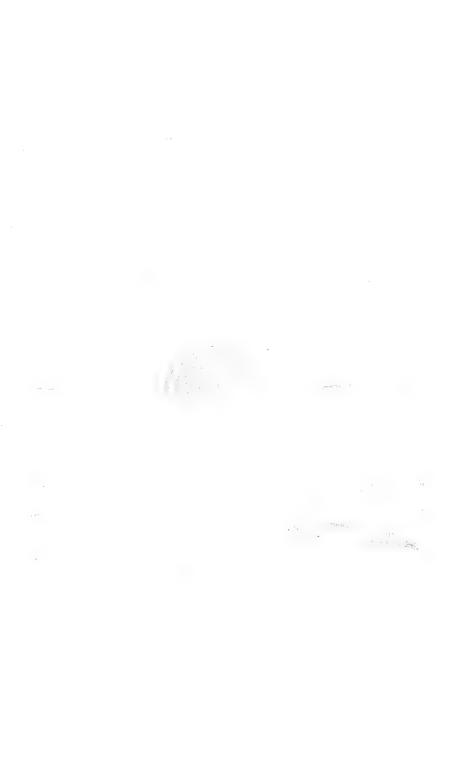
⁶⁰ Farmer, op. cit., 34

⁶¹ See J. F. Bense, Anglo-Dutch Relations from the Earliest Times to the Death of William III, Oxford and The Hague, 1925, 89 sqq.

Charles the Bold. During the protracted siege of Neuss by Charles the Bold in 1475, there were English troops present to the number of 3.000. Sir John Paston, of whose visits to Flanders we know from his letters, seems also to have been present at the siege. Among the many Englishmen who had gone to Flanders during the civil wars of the Roses was Bishop Morton, who was recalled from there by Henry VII at the fall of Richard III in 1485, was made Lord Chancellor of England and nine months later became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was the friend and patron of young Thomas More, who entered his household.62

From this very short and sketchy historical account of Anglo-Flemish relations throughout the second half of the 15th century it becomes evident that there was much opportunity for a young and zealous painter to visit the Low Countries. Our master may have been to Flanders on one-or several-of the above enumerated occasions, he may have been to the studios of the Van Eycks, Petrus Christus, Hans Memling and Dirk Bouts, and fascinated by their "schilderijen", become one of their many transitory adepts. Upon return home he may have been commissioned sometime between 1480 and 1500 to execute several mural paintings in greater parish churches, of which, as far as we know up to the present, only one, and probably his very best, has come down to us—only one, for a close examination of the Stratford Doom shows that in spite of many undeniable affinities the Salisbury master's authorship of this painting, even in part, is out of question.

Thus the Doom-painting of Sarum St. Thomas gains immeasurably in value and importance. For it is, in fact, not merely an interesting and fascinating monument of English pre-Reformation painting, it is rather a revealing document of a period of general unrest, a period in which the latest style of Gothic building occupied itself with the mechanism of structure, leaving the speaking of the faith to the stained glass and the wall-painting almost as completely as church-building does to-day.





Stone Coffin at Corsham in situ from above.

DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN COFFIN AT CORSHAM, OCTOBER, 1942.

By Colonel A. H. Burn, C.I.E., O.B.E., F.S.A.

On the 3rd October, 1942, a member of my R.E. staff at Corsham reported to me that some of his workmen had found a stone coffin "with a man in it"! On investigation I found the report true to the extent that a corner of what appeared to be a stone coffin had been fractured by a workman's pick, disclosing a human skull. As time did not permit of more detailed examination, I ordered the find to be filled in, postponing further investigation until the following Monday morning, 5th October.

At the renewed excavation Mr. A. Shaw Mellor of Box House, Box, kindly assisted me in unearthing and opening the coffin. As the site on which the coffin was found is on War Department property, it is regretted that for the present a more detailed report of the actual location of the coffin cannot be published. Its exact location has, however, been carefully marked on a plan of the site, and this has been forwarded to the Secretary, Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for future reference. The present surface of the ground under which the coffin lay, at a depth of approximately nine inches, consists of a layer of earth, 1' to 1½' in depth, overlying a thick stratum of "brash". The coffin, lying approximately east and west, had been cut from a solid piece of Bath stone (Oolite) and was covered by a lid in two pieces, each piece measuring two feet nine inches in length, and four and a half inches in thickness. One of these pieces, when found, was cracked. The exterior of the coffin was, generally speaking, rough, the interior, though, had been well and carefully smoothed.

The skeleton, in a good state of preservation, as found in the coffin, was lying extended on its back, orientated east and west. The left arm was flexed at the elbow, with the left hand underneath the head. In the opinion of medical and dental experts who have examined the remains, the skeleton is considered to be that of a young girl between sixteen and twenty years of age. Further details of the measurements of the coffin, which is tapered, are as follows:—

Length, exterior measurement 5' 6'',, interior ,, 5' 2''Breadth, exterior ,, (over lid) 1' 11'' at head. ,, interior ,, 1' 3'' at foot. Depth

With the exception of the skeleton, no other objects were found in the coffin.

OBJECTS FOUND IN THE LOCALITY OF THE COFFIN.

(1) Coin.

In July, 1941, a bronze coin of Julian II, 355-363 A.D., was found

in the garden soil of an officer's residence close to the site under report. The soil in question had originally been brought during the construction of a road, from surface soil at approximately thirty yards distance from the site of the coffin.

(2) Sherds.

A few sherds of Roman pottery were found in a rubbish pit disclosed in a recent drainage trench; also some sherds were found in recently dug post holes, situation about N.E. and S.E. from coffin site and at approximately thirty to sixty yards distance. The sherds consisted of:—

- (a) One fragment of plain, unburnished, brown ware, considerably burnt, with grooved handle $\frac{1}{10}''$ below the rim.
- (b) Fragment of rim of a mortarium of coarse red ware, grey core, interior surface gritted. Thick horizontal rim, 13" broad, slightly curved.
- (c) Small fragments of coarse black cooking pot ware and some rims of finer black ware.
- (d) A few pieces of animal bones, sheep and ox.
- (e) Two pieces of purple sandstone, probably fragments of roof or flooring tiles, of a similar character to those found in many neighbouring Roman sites.
- (f) One fragment Samian rim, undecorated.

Mrs. Cunnington has kindly examined the above sherds and is of the opinion that owing to their very fragmentary and, with the exception of the Samian rim, local nature, it is impossible to allocate any more definite date to them than that covering the period of the second to fourth centuries, A.D.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS :-

The field in which the coffin was discovered has been considerably trenched for drainage purposes, and also for post holes for fencing round new buildings. Up to the time of writing, however, with the exception of the finds mentioned above, no traces of wall foundations or other objects of interest have been found. As stated above, a thick layer of "brash" lies approximately one to one and a half feet below present surface of the ground. Any wall foundations therefore may have been only at a short depth below the surface, and, in the intervening centuries, may have been removed by men and the plough.

I am much indebted to Mrs. Cunnington and Mr. A. Shaw Mellor for their assistance and advice in compiling this report.

A NEW BRONZE AGE SITE AT HIGHWORTH.

By SIR T. NOEL ARKELL AND DR. W. J. ARKELL.

During 1932 my friend and neighbour, Mr. E. C. Elwell, of "The Quarry", Highworth, directed my attention to the high ground behind his house and near the cemetery, with the suggestion that it might have been the scene of ancient habitation, owing to its good site and the number of pieces of broken pottery turned up by the plough. I therefore collected a handful of sherds and sent them to my brother at Oxford. They were pronounced by Mr. D. B. Harden of the Ashmolean Museum to be all fairly modern except two pieces, which were believed to be Roman, or at least mediæval. That sounded interesting, and so I renewed my search over the field and this time detected several pieces of worked flint. Since flint is not a natural component of our local soil, I inferred that they must have been brought there from somewhere else and worked on the spot. My further searches were rewarded by the discovery of two arrowheads and a number of scrapers, flakes, cores and other material.

To have proved that Highworth was inhabited probably four or five thousand years ago is of no little interest—at least to some of us

who live there.

T. N. A.

THE FLINTS.

The collection forwarded to me by my brother comprises a small but representative series of flints which testify beyond doubt to the field having been a working site. There are two arrowheads, both nearly perfect, and they are of different types: one has two barbs and a tang; the other is asymmetrical, with one barb only. Of about a dozen flakes, three have been carefully retouched to form end-scrapers. One of these in particular, just one inch in length and of rounded-oblong form, shows very fine workmanship, comparable with that on the arrowheads. There are cores of varying shapes, one of them subcylindrical. Finally, two or three more or less rounded lumps of flint show much battering on one side and have been used as hammerstones. There is a considerable quantity of waste material.

One of the most interesting features of the find is six pieces of flint, including a good scraper, which show traces of burning. Mr. E. T. Leeds, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, who has kindly examined the collection, considers that these specimens prove the presence of a fire or fires and so probably of a habitation site. Mr. Leeds dates the whole, mainly by the arrowheads, to the Bronze Age.

The flints show three different patinas: white, blue-grey, and unpatinated or nearly black. The three grade into one another, but some of the pieces have been reworked since they acquired the white patina.

W. J. A.



Snym hisheres edideas the pleys, plons As 9d eram et eps 29d'm p me prion opa

hr ractet Jokes bettelltiopus gnoude das, de Thadendyche kmdatig illins cautecus yn obyt by dre ktehnaery khino din aj AAFE bin lucra dincad'A em' are ypuceet deus ame

A.D 1898. 22nd Richard IL

A WILTSHIRE ANCESTOR FOR HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

By S. M. Collins, F.S.A.

The Church of Mere has, as everyone knows, many fine things. Among its tombs are two monumental effigies engraved on plates of metal, "latten", the only two of this kind there. These are to be our concern now; and we will arouse them for a brief moment from their brassy slumber of more than half a millennium to bridge for us that gap in time. The older one lies on the floor in the south chapel (fig. I). Its inscription (which has been laid upside down) runs, with the abbreviations extended:—

Hic jacet Johannes Bettesthorne quondam dominus de Chadenwyche fundator istius cautarie (*for* can-) qui obijt vj die februarij Anno domini m°cccxcviij litera dominicalis E eius animae propicietur deus amen.

This is followed by the rhymed hexameter couplet :-

Tu qui transieris videas sta perlege plora

Es quod eram et eris quod sum pro me precor ora.

That is: Here lies John Bettesthorne sometime lord of Chadenwyche founder of this chantry who died the 6th day of February A.D. 1398 Sunday Letter E—To his soul God be kindly Amen.

Thou who shalt pass by mayst see; stay, read well and shed a tear. Thou art what I was and shalt be what I am. For me, I beg, say a prayer.

The inclusion of the Sunday Letter is a considerable rarity in these inscriptions. The date of the death can be calculated to have been a Thursday; and the year would be, according to our reckoning to-day, 1399. The brass is a large and fine example of its kind, and shows a man in the usual armour of that day, with bascinet, fringed camail and scallopped jupon, the engraver having been at pains to embellish the work with extra ornament.

It happens that particulars of John Bettesthorne's ancestry have been collected. The subjoined pedigree has been compiled from notes now in the possession of Capt. the Hon. Rupert Keppel, who kindly allows me to have them published here; they were due to the researches of Mr. R. J. Beevor among the Inquisitiones Post Mortem, Close Rolls and similar sources. It is the above-mentioned inscription that tells us how John de Bettesthorne was Lord of Chadenwych, and founded the chantry-chapel in which he lies. Though a land-owner in Wiltshire, and buried there, he was a Hampshire man by origin and name. Bettesthorne (i.e., Bieda's thorn tree) is now rather oddly spelt Bisterne (doubtless by attraction to Bitterne, near Southampton), and lies on the road from Christchurch-Twynham and Purewell to Ringwood and Salisbury, just beyond Tyrell's Ford. Bisterne Park is the seat of Col. J. D. Mills, D.L., J.P., member for the New Forest Division.

PEDIGREE.

Reynald de Bettesthorn; held jointly with Maud de Ives (his wife) and with Andrew de Ives lands at Totton, Eling, etc., and at Bisterne, Hants, by the service of one man armed with halberd for forty days, for Totton, and for fifteen days for Bisterne, and of fodder and bedding for the king's horse when at Ives or Minstead

2. Maud presumably widow of Hugh de Ives or Minstead, Hants; paid 35 marks for the wardship of Reynald de Bettesthorne's heir 1241; dead before 1248/9.

John I; in 1248 a minor given as son of Reynald and Maud, holding jointly with Andrew de Minstead in Testwood, Eling and Bisterne; so with William de Ives or Minstead in 1279—1280; in 1272 a settlement on John and his wife Margaret in Minstead, and in Totton.

Margaret.

Walter; occurs 1316; presumed son of John and Margaret; held in Minstead jointly with a Juliane probably widow of John de Ives, in 1323.

[? a dau. and h. of John de Mere.

Roger (II); presumed younger son of Walter; given in 1363 as having a son John; apparently dead by 1350, when John is given as heir of his mother Margaret.

Margaret; held Bisterne and Peasehill of William de Bettesthorne and John de Mere; West Tuderley, Winchester, of Richard de Bettesthorne; and Ashley, Ringwood, and in Dorset; died on Sunday the eve of St. Margaret, 19th July, 1349, 23 Ed. III; her son and heir was John.

John II; born by 1329, son and h. of Margaret and son of Roger; in 1372 a settlement on him as Lord of Bisterne, of the Minstead lands, by Joan and Margaret, daus. and cohs. of Richard de Bettesthorne; said to have died in 1380.

John III de Bettesthorne; of Bisterne, etc., Hants and Mere, Wilts, etc.; Sheriff of Hants 1378, party to a suit at law, 1392; said to be son of John who died 1380; died 1399; bur. at Mere, where he founded a chantry; brass, M.I.

Gouda (Goda)
—; had assignment of dower
20th March,
1399.

heir.

Elizabeth de Bettesthorne or Bisterne; married Sir John Berkeley of Beverstone.





Fig. II. Brass (most probably of Sir John Berkeley of Beverstone, 1426) in South Chapel, St. Michael's, Mere.

So this family of seven generations recorded lapsed into distaff and died out in the main line. It will be seen that two of the filiations are inferential, as is not uncommon in the pedigrees of the less well-known medieval families. Direct evidence for the paternity does not happen to be found. Most such pedigrees have dotted lines in their earlier generations; but the circumstance here leaves no reasonable doubt that the relations are as shown. It does not seem (despite Boutell's addition under fig. I) that any of the Bettesthornes were knighted.

The third John—he that is commemorated by our brass—died without male heir, and his only daughter Elizabeth carried the representation to Sir John Berkeley on her marriage to him about 1423. It is here that we come to the second brass at Mere (fig.II). It was acutely conjectured by Kite, in his work on the Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire, 1860, that the slightly later of the two brasses here was in all probability for Sir John Berkeley of Beverstone. It too lies in the south chapel, but farther to the east than Bisterne's, near the east wall; and it appears to have its lower part covered by an altar. Actually this part is missing, and with it a lady's effigy, who would, on Kite's surmise, have been the wife, Elizabeth Bisterne. The inscription also has been lost in the lapse of time, and there is nothing now to identify them by. The remaining piece of the figure is in the ordinary plain armour of plate of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The mail is no longer visible; the plate gorget has replaced the camail, the body armour is now seen in the absence of a jupon; shoulder-roundels are worn, and the sword is slung from a narrow oblique cross-belt, not, as with Bisterne, from a straight girdle. This brass also is large, and a good example of its class.

This Sir John Berkeley was the fourth son by his rife Catherine de Clevedon of that Thomas, the Third, de Berkeley, third Lord Berkeley of Berkeley Castle, co. Gloucester, who was called, by the family biographer Smyth of Nibley, "The Rich", and died in 1361. He had the castle and manor of Beverstone in Gloucestershire (near Tetbury on the border of Wiltshire), settled on him, and he too held lands in Wiltshire as well as in several other counties; also he was sheriff for Wilts. Like his father-in-law he founded a chantry at Mere as well as another at Bisterne; and died in 1426. His daughter by Elizabeth Bisterne, Eleanor, married the young Lord Poynings, Richard; and their daughter and heir, called Eleanor after her mother, carried the Bisterne blood, with the barony of Poynings (and those of Brien and FitzPayne) into the great house of Percy, by marrying the 9th Henry of that name, third Earl of Northumberland. It is by that route that our Wiltshireman is a prospective ancestor of an English royal dynasty.

The reach of John Bisterne's descendance is in this way naturally pretty considerable to-day. To indicate only a very few of the distinguished families that have derived from him: Percies, Dukes of Northumberland, Staffords (extinct), Howards, Dukes of Norfolk and many other branches, Spencer-Churchill (Duke of Marlborough, whence the present Prime Minister), Nevilles (Abergavenny), Manners

(Rutland), Fane (Westmorland), West (de la Warr), Stanley, Seymour, Stanhope, Capel, Thynne, Wyndham, Murray, Herbert, Osborne, Keppel (Earls of Albemarle), Giffard (Earls of Halsbury), and others; and all those many who come from them. It would be a lengthy task to compute even approximately the number of people who descend from modest, obscure John Bisterne of Mere. Many may gaze on his tomb in a year, who cannot know that they might claim him for ancestor.

But the most illustrious of his descendants to-day is the Queen Her line runs from Henry 3rd Earl of Northumberland by Edward Stafford 3rd Duke of Buckingham, through whom comes one of the many routes by which the Queen descends from her predecessor, Queen Philippa of Hainaut, to Thomas Howard 3rd Duke of Norfolk, and thence by Anne Carr to William Russell Duke of Bedford, William Cavendish 3rd Duke of Devonshire and William Cavendish-Bentinck 3rd Duke of Portland, from whose family the 14th Earl of Strathmore took his wife. Their daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, is her present Majesty Queen Elizabeth; she is 20th in descent from John Bisterne, and he, by the accepted notation, is her 1,649,773rd ancestor.

THE MANOR OF EAST WINTERSLOW.

By Captain Trevor Cox, M.P.

The history of this manor has been written by Colt Hoare (Modern Wilts, Alderbury, p. 47). Hoare's story was, however, incomplete and inaccurate. He also confuses the two manors of East and West Winterslow. For the first time it is now shown that there were two John de la Roches, father and son. Hoare also makes no mention of the interesting I.P.M. dated 1629, relating to the death of Katherine Mompesson. Thos. Mompesson (1587—1640) was the brother of Sir Giles Mompesson, M.P. and illegally detained the latter's estate in 1622 (C. & E. State Papers, 1619—23, p. 418). Sir Giles was a friend of Lord Bacon (see Spedding-Ellis letters). In 1620 he was convicted of various offences concerned with brewing monopolies. He was fined £10,000 and lost his seat in Parliament. Parliament also placed it on record that he was an "infamous person".

The Manor House, as Hoare described it, still retains many of its original characteristics, and is attached to the farm. The mediaeval kitchens remain almost untouched.

The house was partly rebuilt about 1620; probably by Thomas

Mompesson. The tithe barn dates from about 1400.

The Manor house has been continuously inhabited from 1199 to the present day; and the descent of the Manor, as shown below, is supported by documentary evidence for the whole of that period, excepting the years 1579—1629. As soon as the Elizabethan *I.P.M's*, are published the missing information will be available. The size of the Manor in the fourteenth century was about 220 acres, and remains so to-day.

The present owner is Captain Trevor Cox, M.P.

The descent of the Manor is shown below :-

CHRONOLOGY OF MANOR OF EAST WINTERSLOW.

- 1199. MATTHEW TURPIN held the Manor. He was succeeded by his son Matthew, who married Matilda (or Maud), daughter of Stephen de Brightmerston. (I.P.M., 7 Edw. I, No. 36.)
- 1327. NICHOLAS DE PERSHUTE, M.P., Co. Wilts, holder of Manor. He had married Matilda, widow of Matthew Turpin II. (I.P.M 1 Edw. III, File 1, No. 8.)
- 1331. STEPHEN TURPIN, son of Matthew II and Matilda, sold the Manor to Gilbert de Berewyk and his brother William. (I.P.M., 4 Edw. III, File 208, No. 8.)
- 1361. GILBERT DE BEREWYK, M.P., Co. Wilts, King's subescheator in Wilts and in 1331 Bailiff of Isabella, Queen of England (I.P.M., 5 Edw. III, File 30, No. 5), died and was succeeded by John de la Roche I, who had married Gilbert's daughter Agnes.
- 1375. JOHN DE LA ROCHE died and was succeeded by John de la Roche II, who had married Willelma, daughter of Sir Peter de la Mare. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 50 Edw. III, Part 2, p. 390.)

- 1404. SIR JOHN DE LA ROCHE II, M.P., Co. Wilts, died, leaving East Winterslow to his daughter Elizabeth, who had married Sir Walter Beauchamp. (Cal. Close Rolls, 22 Ric. II, Part 2, p. 500,)
- Before JOHN DE LA ROCHE II died between 1399 and 1405, and 1405. The may have had a son William.
- 1411. SIR WALTER DE BEAUCHAMP and his wife, Elizabeth (daughter of Willelma Roche) inherit. Willelma died 1447. (Cal. Close Rolls, 12 Henry IV, p. 138.) Walter was alive in 1426, and his estates were inherited by his son William.
- 1457. SIR WILLIAM BEAUCHAMP, Lord St. Amand, M.P., and the King's carver, held Winterslow as a part of his estate. (Pat. Rolls, 1457, Oct. 12th. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry VI, Vol. VI, p 420.) Elizabeth, late the wife of Sir William Beauchamp, held the manor (See Fine Rolls, 1457, November 13th.)

Between this date and 1475 the manor of Winterslow came into the possession of ROBERT BAYNTON of Farleston by whom it was forfeited c. 1475, presumably as a result of his activities in the Wars of the Roses. (Monumental Brasses of Wilts, p. 46.) (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edw IV., Henry VI, 1475, p. 584.) R. Baynton acquired the manor by descent. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467—77, p. 524.)

- 1475. Manor granted to SIR JOHN CHEYNE, K.G. (Cal. Pat Rolls, 1467—1477, pp. 533—4.)
- 1485. SIR JOHN CHEYNE forfeited the manor for rebellion, and it was granted to George Nevill. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476—1485, p. 371.)
- 1500. SIR REYNOLD BRAY and others granted by indenture for life or for a term of years a licence to demise the manor of Winterslow, late in the occupation of John Cheyne. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 15 Henry VII, Part 1, p. 188.) This and other manors were in the King's hands by reason of the minority of Anne, daughter and heir of Edward Trussell.
- 1504. Attainder of ROBERT BAYNTON reversed and, presumably, his property restored. This would include East Winterslow. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 19 Henry VII, Part 2, p. 372.)
- 1579. ANDREW BAYNTON, son of Sir Edward, who was the son of John, son of Robert (above) died. He left property to his daughter Ann, who married William Ainlie or Annesly. In 1574 (see Wilts Arch. Mag., Vol. xxxviii, 1913—4, pp. 472—4) Anne and her husband alienated by Royal Licence various manors to Sir Edward Bayntun (uncle of Anne). Presumably she kept East Winterslow.
- 1579 \uparrow I.P.M.'s between these years not yet translated from mediaeval 1629 \uparrow Latin and published.

- 1629. KATHERINE MOMPESSON (1612—1629), wife of Thos. Mompesson, died in possession of East Winterslow. She was a member of the Davy family of Harnam, Wilts (see Davy pedigree). (I.P.M., Charles I, p. 301, 1630.)
- 1640. THOS. MOMPESSON (1587—1640) left East Winterslow to his son (I.P.M., Charles I, p. 295, 1640) later—
- 1641. SIR THOS. MOMPESSON, M.P., Co. Wilts (1629—1701), who married Barbara Wagerer.
- 1701—SIR CHAS. MOMPESSON, M.P. for Sarum (1672—1714), married Elizabeth Longueville, and inherited the estate on his
- 1711. father's death. His wife inherited on his death and left Roche Court to—
- 1750. THOS. HAYTER, whose grandson inherited about—
- 1800- THOS. FRANCIS EGERTON. He died about 1854 and the
- 1854. estate descended to the Nelson family.
- 1913—LORD NELSON (born 1857) inherited from his father and sold 1920. the property in 1920.

THE ASSESSMENT OF WILTSHIRE IN 1083 AND 1086.

By R. Welldon Finn, M.A.

The following abbreviations have throughout been used:-

D.B.—Domesday Book.

I.G.—Inquisitio Geldi.

E.H.R.—English Historical Review.

D.B.B.—Maitland: Domesday Book and Beyond.

D.W.—Jones: Domesday for Wiltshire. PN.W.—The Place-Names of Wiltshire.

Som.—Eyton: Analysis of the Somerset Domesday.

Instead of the more usual a1, a2, b1, b2 references to D.B. folios and columns, for Wiltshire entries only a, b, c, d, have been used to conform with D.W.

Any serious study of the portion of Domesday Book relating to the county of Wiltshire must begin with an attempt to determine the hidage—the total assessment, if the term be preferred—of the shire at the time when the *Descriptio Angliae* was compiled. Unless at least some approximation to the truth can be determined, not only are we left with an omission which will affect nearly all the deductions derived from such a study, but also most of the fatally facile yet disturbingly dangerous statistics so dear to the investigator will be rendered, if not perhaps totally valueless, at least formidably misleading.

Now, while clarity is at first sight altogether lacking, we have numerous indications as to the assessment of the shire at different dates. That mysterious document the Tribal Hidage, the territorial or popular divisions of which have little to do with eleventh century shires, allots to the West Saxons 100,000 hides, which is much in excess of the presumed Domesday hidage of all the counties peopled at any time by West Saxons. The County Hidage gives Wiltshire 4,800 hides; 2 the Burghal Hidage 4,900 (Wilton 1,400, Tisbury 700, Malmesbury 1,500, Cricklade 1,300) but the military districts of Wessex did not, no doubt, coincide with the 11th century shires. Domesday Book, on a straightforward count, will not give us anything like these figures. Maitland made the total 4,050; but Maitland, on his own confession (D.B.B., p. 409) counted all hides-"even though we are told that they have 'never' gelded", and counted moreover a hide "even though we have a strong suspicion that the same hide is mentioned again on some other page". Maitland's "two men not un-

¹ It has been shown (E.H.R., vol. xxvii) that the arrangement of its figures is misleading, and that probably the total for all of England considered is really no more than 100,000 hides.

² There were forty Hundreds in 1083: this suggests an average number of hides for each of a "long hundred" of 120 hides.

skilled in Domesday " have at my request made independent estimates: the one returned 4,084% hides, the other 4,022%. Jones (D.W., p. xxxvii) gives 3,996, but Jones included the carucatae nunquam geldantes, which surely, despite the theories of Eyton, are land brought under cultivation subsequent to the original assessment, e.g., those in the Hundred of Westbury, which represent perhaps a clearing in the woods effected by the porcarii and their charges, perpetuated in the modern name Leigh, formerly Leage, and so unhidated at the time of King William's survey: his total of hides he took from the I.G. figures. These give us 3,9565 hides by addition of the stated figures for the individual Hundreds, or nearly four less if we use the detailed itemisations which do not always tally with the initial statements as to the total assessment of a Hundred. The danegeld payable by the county in 1130 implies the existence of 3,886½ hides; for 1156 the figure is ten more (perhaps accounted for, though there is no proof, by two boroughs paying the geld instead of an auxilium, for 1162 about 3,886. From these figures we may suspect the true total is in the neighbourhood of 4,000 hides.

First we may well make an uncritical estimate as to what D.B. itself has to tell us about the matter. Omitting only a *Pevesie* entry (fol. 67c) which in D.B. is deleted as being a duplicate of another entry, and working on the principle that when the record says that a manor gelded for so many hides and that of the same land one or more sub-tenants held some smaller number of hides it is to be assumed that the assessment of the sub-tenancies is not to be added to that of the manor, the D.B. information may thus be set out:

	STREET, STREET	A STATE OF THE STA	A 4	0.00	
	$4084\tfrac{7}{8}$	2 7	1)	74	,,
King's Servants, Thegns and Officers	360	33	,,	12	,,
Other Tenants-in-chief	$1063\frac{1}{8}$,,	,,	58	,,
Sheriff	$194\frac{3}{8}$,,	and	4	acres
Earls	$143\frac{3}{4}$,,			
Various ecclesiastical lands	$30\frac{1}{2}$,,			
Abbeys	1258	,,			
Bishops	581%	,,			
Terra Regis	$453\frac{3}{4}$	hides			

But Maitland's statements alone will cause us to try to find out if some of the hides mentioned in D.B. are here being counted more than once, and if so, which. We will begin then by looking for entries which wholly or in part duplicate each other, and some are easy to discover. On fol. 64d, under Cauna, we read of five hides held by Alured which Nigel claims; perhaps those attributed to Alured at Etesberie (73a) in Calne Hundred. On fol. 65b, in the account of Westberie, we read: De eadem terra hujus manerii habet . . . Willelmus Scudet 4 hidas et dimidium; on fol. 74c we find: Willelmus Scudet tenet Wesberie . . . et geldabat pro 4 hidis et dimidio. We should suspect the second entry duplicated the first, even if the I.G.

65b Nigravre.

had not told us that the Hundred of Westbury was assessed at forty hides, the assessment credited to the manor of Westbury at its first mention in D.B. Again, under *Chelche* (68a) we are told Richard Poingiant holds $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides of the King, though *Chelche* is Wilton Abbey's land; these $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides appear again under *Troi* (73b), which was Wilton land T.R.E. and is part of the *Chelche* estate. In the account of *Breme* (67b) there is a note that Edward holds two hides of the King, and Gilbert of him, and that William d'Eu holds one hide which T.R.E. was Alestan's. The first of these is duplicated by the *Ticoode* entry (69d), where Gilbert holds two hides of Edward the Sheriff (the *Breme* entry calls him simply "Edward"), the second by the *Digeric* entry (71d), where Warner holds of William d'Eu, and D.B. tells us a certain Abbot of Malmesbury granted one hide to Alestan. Certain other duplications may for convenience be tabulated:

Nigel medicus, 1 hide, with the manor church. 66a Poterne. Alward albus 3 hides. which were to revert the Bishop's manor after his predecessor's death. Ernulf de Hesding ,, holds $3\frac{1}{4}$ hides of the King. The Bishop claims them. 66d in Langeford Edward, 1 hide of the King, belonging to the thegnland of Glastonbury Abbey.

Hervey 1½ hides

67d Newetone. Richard Sturmid,

1 3/8 hides, which
the Abbess of
Wilton gave to
Aluric venator
T.R.E.

68c ———— 2 hides held by Amesbury Abbey, now held unjustly by Earl Mortain.

74c in Nigravra. Hervey 1½ hides, 73b in Nigravre. Nigel medicus 1 hide, belonging to Nigravre church.

73c in Poterne. Alward 3 hides, which T.R.E. gelded with the Bishop's manor, claimed by the Bishop.

69d ,, ,, Ernulfde Hesding holds 3½ hides, which paid geld with the manor of the Bishop T R.E. Bishop Osmund claims this land.

69d in Langeforde. Letard, of Edward, 1 hide which the thegns adjudge to Glastonbury.

74c in Iwis. Richard Sturmid, 1\frac{3}{6} hides (it is, however, probable that these 1\frac{3}{6} hides are complementary to Newetone's 13\frac{5}{6}.

68d Wintresleu. Earl Mortain has the Manor; the Abbess of Amesbury held 2 hides T.R.E. 69b in Todeworde. One virgate held by Edward the Sheriff, claimed by Croc.

70b Opetone. Ernulf de Hesding holds half a hide of William d'Eu's land. 74c Todewrde.

Croc holds the manor: Edward the Sheriff has one virgate belonging to it.

71d Opetone. Ernulf de Hesding holds half a hide unjustly of this manor of William d'Eu's.

Also to be noted is the case of *Stoche* (69c) and *Clive* (71c), where we read, first, that a hide and a virgate held by William de Pinchengi "lies in" this manor; secondly, that one of Ansfrid's 11 hides at *Stoche* is in *Tornelle*. Turn to the *Tornvele* entry (74c); William FitzAnsculf (who is the same man as William de Pinchengi) holds two hides "near" the hides attributed to *Tornvele*; one of them, says D.B., belongs to *Bradenestoche*, and the other to *Clive*. The D.B. figures, on a straightforward reading, seem to contain various discrepancies, but a complete dissection of the manors will produce correspondence.

But there are other parallels in the record of a slightly different type which also suggest duplication. The Bishop of Baieux holds Dechementone (66b), and it paid geld for two hides. On fol. 68b we read that Wilton Abbey used to hold two hides T.R.E., but the Bishop of Baieux unjustly took them away from the Church—and Wilton holds land in Dicehantone (68a). Amesbury Abbey holds Allentone (68a), and it is rated at 4 hides. There is another entry for Alentone (69a), which in a postscript mentions those 4 hides as having been unjustly taken from Amesbury by Harold Godwineson, and makes it clear that these are the hides of fol. 68a, and that Alentone is a vill of 8, not 12 hides. At fol. 66a, under Poterne, where a duplication has already been noted, two Englishmen hold 61 hides. Are these the 61 hides ascribed to Li'eltone (71d), geographically close to Poterne, which T.R.E were thegaland belonging to Salisbury's Bishop? Again, the Bishop of Coutances holds 5 hides of Glastonbury land at Gretelintone, worth £7 (66d). Might not this be the Bishop's manor of another Liteltone (66b). hard by Gretelintone, also rated at 5 hides and worth £7?

It is plain that D.B. contains duplicate entries. I believe there are many more than those I have quoted, and that some are hard to find by merely reading through the text and noting similarities. We have seen that manors twice described may appear under different names, and that clerical inaccuracy may cause slight disagreement as to detail. If Maitland counted all the above in his 4,050 hides, more than thirty, on the lowest estimate, could be deducted from his total with some reason.

D.B., moreover, contains entries which make the determination of the assessment of Wiltshire disconcertingly difficult. Of the ten hides ascribed to the manor of Eunestetone (66d), una ex his jacet in Hantescire; at Weleve (50a) we learn that de isto manerio abstulit Waleran unam virgatam et dimidiam et misit foras comitatum et misit

in Wiltesire. Gessic (69a) was not identified by Jones, save for a note that the name suggested equation with Gussage a long way over the Dorset border, nor is it in PN,W. Eyton (Som., p. 220 n.) shows that this manor of Earl Alberic's, apparently surveyed in Wiltshire and certainly entered in the Wiltshire section of the record. was Gussage St. Michael in Dorset, and proves it by collation with the I.G. for Dorset, in which are mentioned 87 hides of the Earl's for which geld was not paid, to account for which no manor can be found in the Dorset Domesday. Eyton, discussing an estate of Fulcred's, suggests that though the land which, according to the Dorset I.G., he has in demesne is there recorded under the Hundred of Gelingeham, it was really surveyed and entered under Wiltshire, where D.B. accords him a small estate geldantem in Mera (73b). Mere and Gillingham Hundreds adjoin and have close political connection. Apparently he overlooked the suggestive instances of Godric's land, who according to the I.G. has a virgate in demesne in both Gillingham and Mere Hundreds, and corresponding estates mentioned both in the Dorset section (84a) and under Wiltshire (74a). A single estate may have been twice recorded; in any case I suspect he was a Wilton tenant and that his Wiltshire holding is really already accounted for by the Wilton Abbey manor of Chenvel (68a), where there are 4½ hides in demesne in D.B. and the I.G. gives Wilton Abbey 41 in demesne in Mere Hundred. I am further inclined to suggest that at least one manor, apparently omitted from the Wiltshire section if we can trust the I.G. account of Wrde Hundred, may have been surveyed but not recorded in Berkshire.

In the Wiltshire section of the record, the formula for the different entries is as a rule "Someone holds such an estate . . . and it gelded for so many hides". But the formula is not invariable; we have, by way of example, "it defended itself" for so many hides (Bradelie, 71c; Blontesdone, 74b), which after all means exactly the same thing. But we find many instances where nothing whatever is said about the estate having gelded; all that is stated is how many hides there are or are held. We have, for instance:

66c. Ibi (Hanindone) sunt 15 hidae.

67c. Ipsa Ecclesia tenet in Dobreham unam hidam.

68a. ,, ,, habet dimidiam hidam terrae in Dicehantone.

69a. Derintone geldabat, T.R.E., pro una hida et dimidio . . . in ipsa villa est una hida.

72c. Idem Rogerius tenet i hidam dimidio virgatae minus de dominica firma de Cepeham.

Omitting the account of the Terra Regis, and the last three sections of the record, I count fifty such entries, totalling almost 100 hides. From fol. 65c the account of the Terra Regis lists various churches, to which apparently belong a small number of hides, or which are held with some fraction of a hide, but nothing is said about geld. Are we, in counting hides, to omit all the above on the grounds that they are, so to speak, areal hides, not hides of assessment; that, in fact, they do not pay geld, and are not to be reckoned in the shire's total of gelding hides?

It seems most unlikely on the surface of things that we should omit entries such as those referring to Hanindone or Bechenhalle (71b); some, it will be shown (e.g., Fifhide, 70c, or Staninges, 72a) are duplicates of other entries. Yet it is probable, even at this stage, that if we were to include all these entries we should be counting hides we are not meant to count. Earlier than fol. 65c on the Terra Regis we find in the accounts of many of the manors mention of the manor church and the number of hides belonging to it; these were included in the hidage given for the Terra Regis on p. 383. The church of the manor of Cosseham (65a) has 3 hides; nothing is said about geld. But the I.G. for Chippenham, in which Hundred Corsham lay, gives the church of Corsham 21 hides in demesne. Surely, therefore, its 3 hides were hides of assessment? The I.G. for Thornhill gives 42 hides of royal land: the King holds Aldeborne (65a) in this Hundred, which manor is assessed at 40 hides, and the church of the manor holds two; it looks, therefore, as if we are meant to add these two hides to the 40 mentioned above. But obviously we are not meant to add the 11 hides attributed to the manor church at Westberie (65b) to the 40 at which the royal manor is assessed: according to the I.G. the entire Hundred of Westbury contained only these 40 hides.

But the absence of what we might call the gelding formula is most marked on and after fol. 73b: the estates of the King's Sergeants. Thegns,³ and Officers. Four entries in the first section, forty in the second, thirteen in the third, make no mention of geld. mentions land in demesne—it is recorded only once among the estates where geld is mentioned—but eleven of our fifty-seven entries mention demesne teams. Twenty-one seem to be indicated in the I.G. as having some part of the land in dominio or of having retained geld. Some entries in these three sections have, as an interlineation, geldantem, Was this inserted because this estate paid geld, in contrast to those recorded but which were perhaps not assessed to the geld? And every one begins with what we shall call the "in" formula (tenet in Mere in Svaloclive, in Edendone, not tenet Mere) or is a postscript to an entry which begins with the same formula. All but five of the entries mentioned above between the Terra Regis, 65c, and 73b, moreover. begin with this "in" formula or some equivalent: the hides are "adjacent to" some vill or "are of the demesne farm" of a manor. It cannot be said that here we have entries the form of which arises from some method of expression peculiar to a small group of Hundreds. where the jurors or recorders might have felt the writing of geldabat tautological. Though 15 instances seem to come from Kinwardstone. 11 from Blackgrove, 9 from Alderbury; twenty-seven of our forty Hundreds provide such cases. Are we to take it that D.B. means exactly what it seems to say; that these estates—they may indeed be

³ It has been suggested, e.g., by Jones, D.W., p. lii, that some of King's Thegns' estates were quit of geld. One of Eyton's characteristically cryptic remarks argues a similar view. (Dorset, p. 5, note 1.)

manors—do not geld? If so, our D.B. gelding hides will come a long way below 4,000.

There seems to be evidence that some at least of these estates gelded, or at any rate were included in whatever schedule it was from which the I.G. was constructed. The I.G. gives the Hundred of Damerham 63 hides; 62 of these are furnished by the manors of Contone (10) and Dobreham (52) on 65a, 66c. The missing hide is surely that in Dobreham (67c) which Cranbourne Abbey holds, but D.B. says nothing about it ever gelding, any more than the I.G. suggests it was demesne land. Three entries where geld is not mentioned, again, between fols, 65c and 73b—Wintreburne (67c), Wintreburne (68c), Bechenhalle (71b) —mention land in these manors as being in dominio, and in each case the I.G. for their respective Hundreds—Dole, Selkley, and Blackgrove —mentions demesne land which corresponds with that of these manors in D.B. Five more mention demesne teams. We can hardly omit these manors from our count of hides. Teste the Liber Exoniensis (530b), the in Hiwi holding (72b) must be a manor, and probably has to be included.

Yet some, I fancy, are to be omitted. Most of those estates, the accounts of which begin with the "in" formula, are small, barring Chenete (70c); it may be that they were not separately assessed units, but portions of manors, more important manors, described elsewhere, and the hides at which they are rated are already reckoned. of Marlborough has a hide in Fifhide (70c) held by Ulmar. But places with this name have normally a five-hide rating; there, earlier on the same folio, is Fifhide's five-hide assessment: to count six hides towards our total would obviously be wrong. Again, according to the I.G. Downton Hundred was assessed at 97 hides, and so is the manor of Duntone (65c). Surely all other holdings in Downton must as regards assessment be comprised in Duntone's 97 hides? No doubt this is so; but not all D.B. entries, for the I.G. gives William of Faleise half a hide in dominio, and here in D.B. is his half hide, prefaced in Staninges (72a), with no other clue to the first than that it is apparently already accounted for in the assessment of Duntone4.

Some hides which we ought to count have been omitted from D.B. Though on the whole the $Terra\ Regis$ as there described coincides with the information about it provided by the I.G., there are cases where we cannot at first sight reconcile the two documents. The I.G. for Swanborough Hundred specifies 55 hides of royal land; Rusteselve, the only D.B. royal manor in this Hundred, gelded for 37 only The account of the Hundred of Highworth mentions 9 hides of royal land; we can find none in D.B. for this Hundred save 3 hides belonging to the church of $Wrde^5$. Colingeburne has 14 hides in the I.G., 20 in D.B.

⁴ Other features of this Hundred and its components are discussed on p. 393.

⁵D.B. says these did not geld T.R.E., but perhaps this really means that they were liable for geld but acquired occasional or even permanent exemption; perhaps they were quit as demesne land was quit in 1083.

There are 47 hides of royal land indicated in the account of Melksham Hundred; *Melchesham*, a royal manor, according to D.B., was rated at 84. Though I think these differences are in fact reconcilable—for example, what was royal land in 1083 may have been re-granted by 1086—it is too early at this point to discuss the reasons for the statement.

At least one other source of potential inaccuracy in counting D.B. hides may be mentioned. Four times we are told that manors gelded for so many hides cum appendicibus suis: Melchesham and Rusteselve (65a), Bradeford (67d), Sterte (70d). It seems reasonable to assume that the assessments of these appendages are not to be reckoned towards the total of the shire's hides, but before we can omit them, we must discover which entries are indicated.

Even within the limits of the Wiltshire Domesday the formulae about tenancy vary, but there are two main types: either the record begins. for example, with the form ipsa ecclesia tenet Langhelei, or with that of which Robertus filius Rolf tenet in Mordone is an example, though we have also Devintone geldabat, with no tenant mentioned, only implied by the heading. Now if manor and vill, or group of vills, are coincident. I think the first of these is the invariable formula, but where the vill was composed of several manors, we are more likely to get the "in" formula. In the majority of cases, where more than one manor is to be found in the vill, one of them is superior (in size, assessment, or prosperity) to the remaining components, though occasionally (e.g., Scarentone, 72d) the manors are equivalent in rating and value. could be seen from the original returns, and the clerk accordingly dictated, for the superior, tenet . . . Sutone (72b); for the lesser manor, tenet . . . in Sudtone (73b). But the method was not invariable; the clerk may have said tenet for the first manor of the vill appearing in the return, or for all manors other than minute ones, or perhaps for manors but not for estates which were themselves parts of manors. For example, we have episcopus tenet Stottune (65d) where manor and vill were coincident; then we have tenet Anestige (72a)assessed at 7 hides—but tenet in Anestige (73d)—assessed at 3 hides. Again we have tenet Svaloclive (67d, 41 hides), tenet Svaloclive (73c, 27 hides), tenet in Svaloclive (73c, 13 hides). A ten-hide vill of four manors seems to have these formulae: tenet Helprintone (73c, 4 hides, 1 virgate, 6 acres and 51 hides—different tenants), tenet in Helperitune (74a, one virgate), tenet in Helperintone (74b, a hide and six acres). 6a But most names (we cannot at this point say they were vills or manors) which appear once only, have the "in" formula; (e.g. 74b, in Iwis) we find this too where sub-holdings are indicated, e.g. 65b, Rex tenet Nigravre, but at 73b, 74c, the sub-tenancies have tenet in Nigravre. These sub-

⁶ This avoids confusion about cases such as *tenet Brocheneberge*, *tenet in Corstone* (67a), where the assessments of the latter holdings are included in Brokenborough's 50 hides. There are other cases.

^{6a} But we have also Tollard ($2\frac{1}{2}$ hides), Tollard (1 hide), and in Tollard ($5\frac{1}{2}$ hides)—see p. 399.

tenancies happen to be duplicate entries of sub-holdings listed in the main account of the vill (65b), but can we say therefore that all small holdings with the "in" formula must needs be duplicated elsewhere, even if such duplication is not at once apparent? Obviously not, for William Scudet's sub-holding at Westbury is mentioned in the main account of the manor (65b), but the duplicate account of this estate (74c) begins Willelmus Scudet tenet Wesberie, not in Wesberie. what we have to guard against is this; an entry beginning with the "in" formula is often, but not invariably, indicative of this; the place may be what is then or later a vill, a small vill, probably not a five-hide vill: it has a name of its own, but it is not a manor, and is part of some Therefore, any assessment or hidage given must not be included in the hidage of the Hundred under examination, for it is already reckoned in that of the manor to which it belongs. But there, is no indication in D.B. as to which entries in this form have so to be treated.

Another problem is that presented by what we might call the subentry, which takes two forms. The first presents small difficulty; an entry such as this (66c): Ipsa ecclesia tenet Wintreborne. geldabat pro 25 hidis. . . . De eadem terra tenet Gislebertus 3 hidas et dimidium must surely mean that Glastonbury holds Wintreborne. which is assessed at 25 hides, and that of these 25 hides Gilbert holds 3½ hides of the Abbot, not that the total assessment of the manor is 25 + 3½ hides. But then, in the account of an occasional manor (e.g. Chemele, 67a), we find this: De eadem terra tenet Tovi 2 hidas et unam virgatam terrae, et Willelmus 4 hidas, in Celeorde. The assessment of the manor can hardly be that of the original statement, before any mention of sub-tenancies, plus that of the sub-holdings. Then why the mention of in Celeorde? Because, I think, whether these hides lie physically in Celeorde or not, they geld at Celeorde, though they belong to the manor of Chemele, and, I fancy, Chemele and Celeorde need not be in the same Hundred, geographically or fiscally. We know that a manor may be transported for fiscal or political purposes to a Hundred different from that in which it originally lay; and, I suggest, it was possible to create a manor inside a manor and transport it if need be out of the Hundred in which it originally was assessed and in which it was geographically situated,8

⁷ I do not like talking of gelding hides being "physically" anywhere, but here it is inevitable.

 $^{^8}$ The curious case of the demesne land of Romsey Abbey may here be mentioned. In its manors of *Edendone* and *Aistone*—it holds only these— $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 hides are in demesne. Each of these manors is geographically in the Hundred of Wherwelsdown, but the I.G. account of that Hundred gives the Abbey only 11 hides in demesne. But it kas the missing $1\frac{1}{2}$ in demesne in the neighbouring Hundred of Heytesbury, according to the I.G.: it may be suspected that *Edendone* gelded partly in Wherwelsdown and partly in Heytesbury. Dorset provides this

The above may cause us to stop and enquire if the assessment of the shire in 1086 can be determined with any reasonable degree of accuracy. Some estates already mentioned have appeared more than once in the arguments as to which kinds of entry should or should not be included in the total count. But he would be a bold man who at this point would without qualification say exactly how many hides might be deducted for duplication of entries, for land really in another county, because it is not land liable for geld, or because the estate is really part of some manor whose assessment has already been counted, or who would say that D.B. has no omissions, and that we have no hides to add to our total as obtained only from D.B. Yet I think we can get very near the truth: we shall indeed get two results, but the difference between them will not be large.

For every examination of the material available I have made leads me to consider that despite the arithmetical imperfections and inconsistencies, the I.G. figures are in the main trustworthy; and, moreover, that a very high degree of reliance can be placed on the statements of D.B. I am indeed going to argue that, save for some few obvious inaccuracies, certain omissions, and occasional inconsistencies, the hidage accorded by the I.G. to the various Hundreds, and therefore to the shire as a whole, is correct, and is confirmed by the figures which D.B. provides. It is suggested, indeed, that while 4,800 hides were at some time or times reduced to 4,000, the total assessment of the county in 1086 was very near to 4,000 hides: the difference between this and the I.G. figure is explicable by reason of certain common factors; the deliberate freeing of certain estates from liability to geld; the virtual loss of assessed estates from the total because of their insignificance and because for this reason they were ignored, or their division between numerous heirs into still smaller estates; arithmetical imperfections, and ordinary error.

Now Eyton, to whose detailed and laborious analyses we are bound to pay the most serious attention, decided that both for Dorset and Somerset the D.B. total assessment of each shire was in excess of that given by the I.G. figures. We need not trouble to take into account his quasi-hides and ingeldable carucates, but will concentrate on his presumption as a result of his investigations that the I.G. information does not represent the total number of hides at which in 1086 a county was assessed. It is of course unfortunate that we have nowhere preserved (unless it is to be found in the I.G.) the total assessment of a shire at the time of the descriptio, but one thing is certain, that we

detail: in the I.G. account of Goderonestona Hundred we have pro vii virgatis Turstini filii Rolfi quae jacent in alio Hundreto habet Rex Gildum; in that for Witchirca Hundred, Turstinus filius Rolfi (adquietavit in alio hundreto) vii virgatas terrae quas habet in hoc Hundreto. The D.B. manors are Adelingtone (3 hides) and Stoches (1 and \$\frac{1}{2}\$ hides), 80b. There is a case also in Gloucestershire (Wenric, 165b).

cannot obtain it from D.B. alone. Moreover, there are indications that the commissioners (unless they recorded this information elsewhere and no copy of it now exists) did not find that the I.G. or records from which it was compiled omitted hides which were liable to pay geld. Twice in the I.G.for Wiltshire 9 we are told that hides were "found" which for some unspecified period had somehow managed to evade their fiscal responsibilities. Had the commissioners found similar but different instances, surely they would somewhere have noted them in D.B.? Detailed examination of the Wiltshire material, and collation of D.B. with the I.G., shows that in a high proportion of the Hundreds there is no apparent difference between the total assessment of the manors as given in D.B. and that indicated by the I.G. Accordingly, when such differences would seem to appear—an excess in D.B. over the I.G. figures—it is right to consider whether certain estates mentioned in D.B. are not in some way being duplicated, so that if the assessments of all such entries are included, we shall count certain hides twice. I have not examined minutely all Eyton's reconstructions of the Domesday Hundreds for Dorset and Somerset, but where I have done so, I should at times argue that when he found a total of D.B. assessments in excess of the hidage of the Hundred as given in the I.G., he could often well have reduced or removed his excess by suggesting, with good reason therefor, that some estates were being twice reckoned. 9a No attempt is going to be made to force D.B. and the I.G. to coincide at the expense of truth or probability: therefore I repeat we shall produce, ultimately, two results: the one, that of the I.G.; the other very slightly in excess

To begin with, we have two cases where Hundred and manor were apparently co-extensive. According to the I.G., the Hundred of Ramsbury was assessed at 90 hides, of which 30 were in demesne. According to D.B. (66a), Ramesberie gelded T.R.E. for 90 hides, and 30 are in demesne. D.B. mentions no other manors which are within the Hundred. For the Hundred of Cannings and manor of Cainingham (66a), the two main details are similarly in agreement: a rating of 70 hides, with 10 in demesne.

Two similar cases we have already noticed in passing. The Hundred of Westbury was rated, according to the I.G., at 40 hides. In D.B., the manor of *Westberie* (65b) is also assessed at 40 hides, and some of the information about its sub-divisions is repeated, no doubt because the authorities did not wish William Scudet to have a chance of escaping his liability to pay geld. The manorial structure in 1083 is not consistent with that of 1086, but that does not upset the argument; in many manors, between 1083 and 1086, demesne land increases or decreases.

⁹ Warminster (fol. 1b); Heytesbury (1b).

 $^{^{9}a}$ He has also once mis-read D.B. and sometimes placed an estate in the wrong Hundred.

1083 (1 G. fols. 3, 9, 16)	William Scudet. in	- ² ½	The Ki Willian Manor	D.B. fols. 65b, ing, in dominio a Scudet Church villanorum	$Hides.$ 17 $4\frac{1}{2}$ 12
	geld has been paid Terra villanorum, for which the king has not had his gold	2	10770		
		40			40

Secondly, we touched on the Hundred of Downton. The I.G. gives the Hundred 97 hides; the manor of Duntone (65c) is rated at 97 hides also; both the I.G. and D.B. give the Bishop of Winchester 30 hides in dominio. But the I.G. mentions also 12 hides as in dominio which we do not find in the D.B. account of Duntone. Waleran has half a hide: he is mentioned as a sub-tenant at Duntone. William of Faleise has half a hide; he is not the William also mentioned as a sub-tenant at Duntone, for this is William de Braiose. But William of Faleise has a half hide in Staninges (72a), which is Standlynch in Downton Hundred, and this must be the manor meant. But we cannot add this half hide to the total hidage of the Hundred, for Duntone supplies all the 97 hides required. The Ragenild of the I.G. who holds the final half hide in dominio cannot be the Ragenild Canut who holds always of Milo Crispin and in the north of the county, and whose D.B. estates can all easily be accounted for. But there is an Engenold, for which "Ragenild" is a quite possible scriptural variant, who holds (incidentally of Waleran) in Bereford (72a), probably the same man as the Engenulf who holds of Waleran at Watedene and Alwarberie, for Bolle held all three estates T.R.E. There is another holding recorded in D.B. in Staninges (73d) and three more in Bereford (72d, 74c, 74d), but while the first would seem to have been included in Downton Hundred. the in Bereford entries are Barford St. Martin in Cadworth, in which the I.G. shows at least the last to have been, for it is that in which John, hostiarius, has half a hide in dominio in the I.G. for Cadworth Hundred. PN, W., would include Wideton (74a) in Downton but the grounds of identification are somewhat slight; from the derivation, it may well be a lost name anywhere by river marshes.

Display in tabular form will make the hundredal structure and collation of the I.G. with D.B. clearer; Downton is followed by reconstructions of certain Domesday Hundreds where the manors are few and correspondence exact. Here, arithmetical imperfection in the I.G. will be noticed only where necessary. In its account of Downton, for example, MS.B. of the I.G. (fol. 9) has an extra hide in the total of gelding hides, obviously an error; $63\frac{1}{2}$ hides (all MSS.) should have paid £19 1s. 0d. in geld, not £19 1s. 3d., and the 9d. which was retained for one virgate of Waleran's land does not correct the arithmetic. The geld of a virgate in 1083, incidentally, was 1s. 6d., not 9d.

HUNDRED OF DOWNTON: (I.G. fols. 2b, 9, 15b): 97 hides.

D.B.	Manor	Assess-	Tenant	Tenant-in-	Under-tenants		Dem	esne	Dome-day
folio	Manor	ment	T.R.E.	chief 1086	1086	Sub- tenancy	I.G.	D.B	Holding
								(
		hides	Bishop of	Bishop of		hides		hide	hides
65c	Duntone	97	Winchester	Winchester			30	30	'
					William de				
					Braiose	14			
22	,,		-	"	Dialose				
,,	,,			,,	Waleran	- 5			
**	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,								
,,	,,			,,	Ralph	5			
	,				A	9.1			
,,	* *** 1			٠,,	Ansgot	$3\frac{1}{2}$			
									I G. 2 hide
									waste on
					The King				account c
,,	,,			,,	in his forest	4			the King
					Manor				forest
					Church	4			
,,	,,			,,	Charen	•			
					Engenold				
				,	(Ragenild,				
					I.G.) of				
72a			Bolle		Waleran venator	1/2	1 2	-	in Berefor
12a			Done		venator	2	2		III Defetor
					Waleran				in
j,			Colo		venator	1	1/2		Staning
	ļ				Alward, of				
					William of Faleise, of				diament of the same of the sam
			Leuing		the King	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 2		
,,			Leaning		the Iting	2	2		?*
					Alwi				1
73d			52		Turberson	$\frac{1}{2}$	-		,,
	-								1
					? terra villanorum	29			
1					villanorum	29			
	Domesday			!	1				
	Total	97							
		- •							
	I.G. Total	97					$31\frac{1}{2}$		I.G. Tol
	Į J								

We cannot, of course, be sure that the above exactly reproduces the structure displayed by the return from which D.B. was compiled; for instance, Waleran's land in Bereford and in Staninges may be part of his five hides mentioned on fol. 65c, with a corresponding increase in the terra villanorum.

HUNDRED OF DAMERHAM: (I.G. fols. 2 and 2b, 8b, 15): 63 hides.

D.B. folio	Manor	Assess- ment	Tenant T.R.E.	Tenant-in- chief 1086	Under-tenants	Assess- ment of Sub-	Demesne		Modern Name
					1000	tenancy	I.G.	D.B.	
	^	hides			[I.G. geld retained	hides	hides	hides	
65a	Contone	10	Earl Harold	The King	from 8 hides by villani regis]		$_2$		Compton Chamber- lain
					[I.G. geld retained from 18				
				Glaston-	hides]				
	_		Glaston-	bury	? terra	27			
66c	Dobreham	52	bury	Abbey	villanorum	less 8	16	16	Damerham
						aç.			
					Serlo (? de		Geld		
,,	3.9			,,	Burci)	5	not		
							paid		
					Wife of				
					Hugo (? fitz				
,,	,,			, ,,	Grip)	3			
					1,				
,,	,,			,,,	Roger	1 +			
				Cran-		8 ac.			
	in		Cran-	bourne					Hyde Farm
67c	Dobreham	1	bourne	Abbey					Damerham
	Domesday Total	63							
	I.G. Total	63			*		18		I.G. total

The I.G. states that £4 3s. 8d. of geld has been paid from 14 hides less four acres; 14 hides should have paid £4 4s., so apparently each acre should pay one penny. This figure of 14 hides less 4 acres will not combine neatly with Roger's one hide and eight acres, but we may sus pect an error, and the existence of an 8 + 4 = 12 acre geld-virgate.

In the I.G., MS. A as usual omits the royal manor and gives Glaston-bury 34 hides in demesne, not 16, with 18 failing to pay geld (B, C.). It also says that Serlo retained the geld of $4\frac{1}{4}$, not 5, hides; but the details it gives add up to $\frac{3}{4}$ hide short of its own total of 53 hides. The characteristic differences of the three I.G. MSS. require an article to themselves: it may however here be said that MS. A is probably the Salisbury copy (B and C belonging to Winchester and Westminster)?; if so, Salisbury would hear first of geld being paid, so Serlo

⁷ Mr. G. M. Young and I arrived at this conclusion independently from a study of the three MSS. On further consideration, I think they are not independent copies, but that B is a working draft of C.

may have discharged some of his liability by the time A was compiled or annotated, but no correction of the MS. as to the amount of geld received or due seems to have been made. The difference between MSS. A and B, C suggests that those responsible for A considered that Glastonbury—the Abbot in 1083 was relegated to a cell in Caen Abbey—had 34 hides in demesne exempt from geld, those who produced B and C that only 16 (as in D.B.) were in demesne and that the rest were liable for geld. Between 1083 and 1086 two hides of royal land seem to have gone out of demesne, but it is unimportant if ten or eight royal hides are liable for geld, for the owner gets the money anyway, no doubt.

HUNDRED OF STAPLE: (I.G. fols. 1, 7b, 13b): 52 hides.

D.B. folio	Manor	Assess- ment	Tenant T.R.E.	Tenant-in-chief 1086	Demesue I.G. D.B.		Modern Name	Hides Gelding 1083	Hides fail- ing to pay geld 1083
		hides	I.G. Earl Harold D.B. God-		hides hides				
65 b	Lidiarde	10	ric (? of Earl William)	The King	5	$5\frac{3}{4}$	Lydiard Millicent		5
67b	Piritone	35	Malmes- bury	Malmesbury Abbey	$21\frac{1}{2}$	$21\frac{1}{2}$	Purton	$13\frac{1}{2}$	· _
7 3c	Colecot	5		Odo of Winchester	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	Colcote	1/2	
74 d	Celewrde	2	Edric	Warin, arbalistarius	17/8		Chelworth	18	_
	D.B. Total	52				313			
	I.G. Total	52			$32\frac{7}{8}$			141	. 5

MS. A omits the King's land as usual, and is wrong in giving 14 hides as paying geld, since £4 4s. 9d. would be paid by $14\frac{1}{8}$ hides, the hidage given in MSS. B and C, whose arithmetic is correct. It seems as if *Lidiarde* may have been given by King Edward to Earl William some time after the exile of the House of Godwine; perhaps before that Godric held it of Earl Harold. The D.B. entry for *Colecot* suggests that even T.R.E. a lord's holding *in dominio* might be quit of geld; the meaning is surely that the manor was assessed at five hides but that $4\frac{1}{2}$ paid no geld: perhaps the principle of exemption from tax of demesne land applied even in the Confessor's day.

HUNDRED OF CRICKLADE: (I.G. fols. 1, 7b, 13b): 49 hides.

D.B.	Manor	Assess-	Tenant	Tenant-in-	Den	iesne	Modern
folio	Manor	ment	T.R.E.	chief, 1086	I.G.	D.B.	Name
67c	Essitone	hides 20	Cranbourne	Cranbourne Abbey	hides 10	hides 10	Ashton Keynes
68c	Latone & Aisy	9	2 thegns for two manors	Reinbald, presbyter	5	3	Latton & Eisy
73 a	Scherne- cote	5	Alward	Hunfridus, camerarius	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Sharncote
68d	Poltone	5	Siward	Earl Roger	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	Poulton
66 b	Sumre- forde	10	Alured	Bishop of Lisieux		5	Somerford Keynes
	Domesday Total	49		ا.		24	
	I.G. Total	49			5()	;	

HUNDRED OF THORNHILL (for reconstruction, see p. 398).

The details of MS. A (which omits royal land) total $128\frac{1}{4}$ hides and not 128 as it states; its figures for demesne land agree with its own total, but it includes in this land which in MS. C has failed to pay its geld. It gives Glastonbury $13\frac{1}{4}$ hides in demesne, where B has 13 and C $9\frac{1}{2}$ with the geld of $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides retained. It is probable that its figures are correct, for B and C, which give the hidage of the Hundred as 170, can produce only $169\frac{3}{4}$ hides by addition of their details. $63\frac{3}{4}$ hides, common to all MSS. as the total on which geld was paid, should have paid £19 2s. 6d., not £19 2s. 4d., or one penny less (MS. C). The difference between the totals of MS. B and C and addition of their itemisation, half a hide, is paralleled by the difference between the demesne land attributed to Glastonbury in D.B. $(13\frac{1}{2}$ hides) and in the I.G. MS. B (13 hides). In MS. A the land which according to MS. C has failed to pay its geld was terra villanorum ea die qua rex Edwardus fuit vivus et mortuus.

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HUNDRED OF THORNHILL: (I.G. fol. 2b, 9, 15b): 170 hides; by addition 1704.

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D.B. folio	Manor	Assess- ment	Tenant T.R.E.	Tenant-in- chief, 1086	Sub-Tenant 1086	Sub- Tenancy	1	D.B.	Modern Name	
65a	Aldeborne	hides 40	I.G. Harold D. B Ghida			hides	hides 15 [27 non- geld- ing]	hides	Aldbourne	
"	[manor church]	2			The priest				,,	
65d	Wemberge	19	Bishop of Winchester	Bishop of Winchester	Richer	1	9	9	Wan- borough	
,, 66c	Badeberie	20	Glaston- buryAbbey	Glaston- buryAbbey			$9\frac{1}{2}$ [$3\frac{1}{2}$ non-	$13\frac{1}{2}$,, Badbury	
67a	Chiseldene	40	Winchester Abbey	Winchester Abbey			geld-ing] 14 [3 non-geld-ing]	17	Chiseldor	
,,	Ledentone	78	Shaftes- buryAbbey	Shaftes- buryAbbey		And the second s	18 [6 non- geld- ing]	24	Liddingto	
71b	Draicot	10	Levenot	Milo Crispin Stephen,	Rainald (Canut)			5	Draycot Foliot	
73 c	in Ardescote	11	Odo	carpen- tarius			1		Earlscou	
	Domesday Total	1701			Total :	De- mesne Non-	$66\frac{1}{2}$	$86\frac{1}{2}$		
	I.G. Total	$170\frac{1}{4}$				geld- ing	39½			

Hundred of Stanford or Chalk: I.G. fols. 2b, 9, 15:105 hides.

D.B. folio	Manor	Assess- ment	Tenant T.R.F.	Tenant-in- chief, 1086	Sub-Tenant 1086	Den I.G.	D.B.	Mod e rn Name
68a	Chelche	hides 77	Wilton Abbey	Wilton Abbey	Girard 3 hides		hides 10	Chalk Gurston?
68a)	2.7		,, Aileva 2	,,	Richard Poingiant 7½ hides, of			Trow
73 b)	Troi		hides	,,	the King	$5\frac{3}{4}$	5	Alvediston
69 d	Tollard	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Rozo	Edward the Sheriff	Aiulf		2 <u>1</u>	Tollard Royal
73 a	in Tollard	$5\frac{1}{2}$	5 thegns	Aiulf "		$3\frac{3}{4}$	4	,, , ,
71 d	22 22	1	Toli	William d'Eu				22 33
72 c	Eblesborne	14	Alward & Fitheus for two manors	Robert Fitz Girold	Robert		10	Ebbesborne
70c	Fifhide in Fifhide	5	Carlo	Marl- borough	Ulmar 1 hide		3	Fifield Bavant
	Domesday total	105					$34\frac{1}{8}$	
	I.G .total	105				$19\frac{1}{2}$		

A slight discrepancy will be found between fols. 684, 73b about the number of Richard Poingiant's teams.

HUNDRED OF DUNWORTH: I.G. fols. 2b. 9. 15b: 121 hides.

		DKED (or DUNWORI	п. 1.6. 1015.	20, 0, 100	. 1211		
D.B.	Manor	Assess-	Tenant	Tenant-in-	Sub-Tenant	Demesne		Modern
folio	Manor	ment	T.R.F.	chief, 1086	1086	I.G.	D,B.	Name
67 c	Tisseberie	hides 20	Shaftesbury Abbey	Shaftesbury Abbey	Turstin 3	hides	hides 5	Tisbury
,,	,,		,,,	,,	hides Gunfrid 3 hides			
,,	, i		"	. ,,,	Alberic 2 hides Edward the Sheriff	17		
,,	Duneheve	40	**	**	Turstin 6		12	Donhead
,,	,,		> 7))	A thegn I hide)		
65c	Fontel	10	Bishop of Winchester	Bishop of Winchester		5	5	Fonthill Episcopi
72 d	"	. 5	Euing	Berenger Gifard		I	1	Fonthill Giffard
73 d	in Anestige	3	Bricnod and Alwin	Aldred		$2rac{1}{2}$		Anstey
72 a	Anestige	7	Aluric and Ulward	Waleran venator			$5\frac{1}{4}$	"
70 b	Tefonte	$6\frac{1}{2}$		Alured of Marl- borough		$4\frac{1}{2}$	4	Teffont
67 d	Chilmerc	20	Wilton Abbey	Wilton Abbey		8	8	Chilmark
,,	in Werdore	1	Britmar	, ,				Wardour
,,	Svaloclive	$4\frac{1}{4}$	Wilton Abbey	,,				Swallowcliff
73c	in Svaloclive	1 3/8		Brictric				,,
٠,	,, ,,	$2\frac{7}{8}$		Alward		<u>.</u>		3.9
	Domesday total I.G. total	121 121				38	401	

Note how the two Anestige manors combine into a 10-hide vill, and the Svaloclive and Tefonte entries into a fifteen-hide block.

Here, then, are one quarter of Wiltshire's Hundreds, and in each the record of Domesday Book invariably squares with the information provided by the *Inquisitio Geldi*, save as regards the amount of land *in dominio*, which (though sometimes it remains unaltered) might quite well change between 1083 and 1086. But it must not be thought that all the reconstructions of the Domesday Hundreds can equally easily be achieved. Much of my leisure during the last seventeen years has been devoted to their reconstruction and to the preparation of a commentary upon Domesday and more or less contemporary records for Wiltshire: the problems presented, the methods by which reconstruction may be obtained, cannot be set forth within the limits of a single article. A summary, however, may not be without interest.

I think it cannot be doubted that at some time the rating of Wiltshire was a neat 4,000 hides, and I have noticed here and there figures suggesting that an average reduction of one-sixth has at some time taken place, which tallies with the County Hidage's figure. On the other hand, I am by no means sure that even originally hides invariably in multiples of five or ten were cast on the individual Hundreds and vills. It may have been so in other parts of England—those shires artificially created as Wessex influence spread northwards and eastwards, for example—but I suspect the hidation of the south-western counties was more realistic than artificial. The question of the general reduction of assessment is a large and interesting one, and all that can here be said about it is that almost certainly not all estates at some time or times enjoyed a reduction, and that those that did were not consistently re-rated. The evidence of the Pipe Rolls suggests that Wiltshire received no general post-Conquest reduction.

My reconstructions of all her forty Domesday Hundreds suggest to me that the number of hides at which she was assessed in 1086 is the same as that indicated by the I.G. The doubtful cases would seem to be Chippenham, Kingsbridge, and Startley, but only such detailed reconstructions can enable the question to be examined adequately Lack of space has even for the simpler Hundreds here illustrated prevented the inclusion of all the information available and the conclusions which may be deducted: it is hoped, however, that enough has been said to suggest that the concealed correspondence between D.B. and the I.G., if perhaps not perfect, is in general most marked. As I indicated earlier, even obvious discrepancies between D.B. and the I.G., e.g., Colingeburne and Melchesham, resolve themselves when the problem is studied as a whole, and Eyton's reconstructions of the Dorset Hundreds-though not a few times I find myself at variance with his workings-suggest that any difference between the two should not be a large one.

WILTSHIRE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES.

[This list is in no way exhaustive. The Editor appeals to all who are in a position to do so to render the record under this heading as complete as possible.]

Country and Town. A Summary of the Scott and and Uthwatt Reports by G. M. Young. A Penguin Special, 1943.

In this most useful little book the proposals of the two committees are explained. With its aid the ordinary citizen, whether he be a townsman or a countryman or believes that he rises (as few really do) above that elementary distinction, may by-pass the preliminaries and duller technicalities and discover what each committee recommends and why it does so. If the task is still not easy, the fault is not Mr. Young's.

The Scott Report is the presentation of a compromise between the claims of agriculture, manufacture and enjoyment to what remains of our dwindling landscapes. The committee came to its task not a moment too soon. Much is already lost, much is in grave danger and much has been overrun for a period of uncertain duration by the ruthless necessities of war. How soon and how far may we expect to see the committee's recommendations adopted?

The Uthwatt Report concerns itself with the practical consideration of ways and means of reconciling the liberties of the land-owner with the over-riding rights of the nation. It deals with details of finance and legislation which are likely to hold the attention of the reader most securely where his private interests are involved. Nevertheless it is the essential complement to the Scott Report, and, whether or not it offers an acceptable solution to a most difficult problem, at least it leaves the reader in no doubt as to what that problem is.

In his introduction Mr. Young makes a rapid survey of England from the Saxon Settlement to Post-war Planning. He sets out the three uses of the land: food-production, manufactures, housing. He is silent about the recreational value of its amenities, though his references to "blobs" (which Cobbett called "wens") carry their own implications. He seems to rely on the wisdom and aesthetic judgment of local authorities to produce—eventually—"dainty and comfortable houses, splendid piazzas, town halls surpassing Flanders and river embankments like those of some old French city". It is true that he warns us against letting our imaginations get out of hand. Some details of the picture seem more accordant with the English landscape than others, but even towards these our local authorities have so far not progressed beyond the "council house". It's a far cry to Filkins.

When he comes to the Uthwatt Report Mr. Young finds himself in disagreement with at least one of the committee's proposals. The subject is indeed a thorny one, and the difficulties which the Report

frankly realises are in some danger of proving insoluble by any process deserving the name of consent.¹ Be that as it may, the scrupulous exactitude of this exposition and the skilful uses made of illustrative instances will command the grateful acknowledgments of the reader.

H. C. B.

Marlborough College, 1843—1943. A Brief Survey to commemorate the Centenary. Cambridge. Printed privately at the University Press, 1943. Edited by H. C. Brentnall and E. G. H. Kempson. 8vo., pp. 92.

"The First Hundred Years" by F. M. Heywood, and "The Early Years" by H. C. Brentnall, describe the origin of the school. house of the Hertfords had been turned into an inn when the property passed to the Northumberland family. The inn flourished for a time until the extension of the G.W.R. beyond Swindon drove the coaches off the road. In 1838 the Rev. Charles Plater started the idea of founding a school at which the sons of the clergy and others might receive a first-class education at a low cost. On August 23rd, 1843. the 200 original Marlburians arrived. Till 1848, when the first Chapel was dedicated, the boys attended St. Peter's Church. There were no organised games. Walking, poaching, rateatching and occasional raids on poultry-vards varied by fighting seem to have been the chief amusements for hours of leisure. It was a rough and vigorous life; public floggings were a regular feature, for Wilkinson, the first Master, was a conscientious disciplinarian. Within five years the numbers had risen to 500. a larger total than in any school except Eton. This encouraged the Governors to put up a number of new buildings, the ugliness of which time and sentiment have only in part mellowed.

Between October and December of 1851 there was more or less constant and violent war between the boys and the school authorities. This was the famous rebellion, during which one side smashed windows and furniture, set fire to rooms and assaulted officials, whilst the othes side flogged and expelled with desperate diligence. It finished Wilkinson, who resigned early in 1852 and retired to a country living (Market Lavington). Rugby and the Arnold tradition came to the rescue with G. E. L. Cotton as Master. He found only 400 boys and the school sank to its lowest pitch in 1855 when there were only 340. But by 1857 the crisis was past. Cotton left to be Bishop of Calcutta in 1858. His personality and his comrades' enthusiasm had saved the situation.

He was succeeded by another Rugby housemaster, G. G. Bradley, who began by raising a fund to build a sanatorium and ably continued the work begun by his predecessor. He left to become Master of University College, Oxford, in 1870. W. F. Farrar, who had been one

¹ As, however, the Government has since refused to adopt the Uthwatt Report, consent, at least to its specific proposals, becomes unnecessary. But the difficulties still remain.

of Cotton's staff, came from Harrow to succeed him and wrote the "Life of Christ' whilst he was Master. G. C. Bell, Headmaster of Christ's Hospital, succeeded Farrar. New buildings were erected and the present Chapel consecrated in 1886. Bell retired in 1903 to become Rector of St. Michael's, Cornhill, and Frank Fletcher came from Rugby as Master. The College buildings spread to the north side of the Bath Road and the archway over the road linked College and the new Field House in 1911. In that year St. J. B. Wynne Willson, the Master of Haileybury, succeeded Fletcher on his departure for Charterhouse, resigning in 1916 to become Dean of Bristol. Cyril Norwood came from Bristol Grammar School to be Master. In his nine years' rule the numbers rose to 740, and the reputation of the school continued to increase. He left to take charge of Harrow.

His successor was G. C. Turner, the first Old Marlburian to occupy the post and previously a house-master. Many improvements in buildings and equipment testify to the school's prosperity under his control. In 1939 Turner was induced by the Colonial Office to become the first Principal of Makerere College, Uganda, the new East African University. His successor, the author of this article, and a former Fellow of Trinity Hall, says nothing of his own tenure of the Mastership, nor could he be expected to. He records only that the last four years of the College's century saw the City of London School in joint occupation of its premises.

In his article on "The Early Years", H. C. Brentnall deals at some length with the opening of the College and the nature of its clientèle. Of the 200 first arrivals "158 were sons of clergymen. Brothers entered in pairs, in threes, and in one case there were four: cousins abounded, 92 boys shared 38 surnames". He also describes the abortive plan for the amalgamation of the College with the Grammar School in 1853. Life, he says, for many an early Marlburian was, to put it mildly, far from happy. "The wonder remains that within 20 years of its precarious infancy Marlborough College had taken its place among the half-dozen schools which had hitherto stood head and shoulders above the rest. With that achievement the 'early years' may well be considered closed".

"The Middle Years" by L. E. Upcott follow. Then comes "The Song of the Inn" by H. A. V. Ransom, and "Genius Loci" by Sir Frank Fletcher. Sir Cyril Norwood deals with "Marlborough Education", and the Rt. Hon. R. A. Butter (an Old Marlburian) contributes an appropriate article on "Looking Forward". "A Day at Marlborough" (in 1926) by J. P. T. Bury, "Old Marlburians" by G. C. Turner, "Some Once Familiar Figures" by G. Chilton, and "Athletics" by A. E. C. Cornwall complete the series.

The 92 pages of this supplement to the history of Marlborough College do great credit to its authors and editors. If there is a fault, it is that the Natural History Society has not received the mention it deserves as the foremost society of the kind in the county of Wilts.

E. H. GODDARD.

Bradford-on-Avon. Country Life for Jan. 7th, 1944, contains an appreciation of "this little treasure town, the loveliest in all the West Country". It is written and illustrated by Edward Walker. The author, once across the Avon, is reminded of "some of the smaller mountain towns of Central Italy and Southern Spain. . . Little imagination is needed to see in semi-ruinous breweries and abandoned mills with gaunt stone facades and rows of tiny windows set high in the walls, the monasteries and convents of Perugia or San Francesco at Assisi". He might have added, though it would scarcely have supported his comparison, that at least one Italian architect left his mark upon the town.

"Many of the houses are Renaissance palaces in miniature clutching the terraced hillside as do those which adhere precariously to the crags at Ronda. There are cypresses as well as stone-pines and cedars, balustered parapet walls, sculptured urns and steeply perilous alleyways. On the crest of the hill there is a tall campanile—somebody's 'folly'—to complete the illusion and make it real. Only the background of tawny sierras is wanting'".

With such a prepossession it is not to be expected that the author finds much amiss with Bradford. Even the ribbon-development "does not show very much in the general prospect because of the lie of the land. . . . A Guardi of the present day might accomplish much here in Bradford ". And since no Guardi was forthcoming the author has himself given us some pleasant drawings instead of the customarv photographs: "The Bridge Chapel and Westbury House", "The Approach to the Town " (faithful even to the pumping point and the cement drums), "Druce's" and "Druce's Hill", "Entrance to Almshouses", "The Bullpit", two aspects of St. Lawrence's Church and "The Great Tithe Barn". He tells in outline the story of the town and its woollen trade and repeats the familiar details of Canon Iones's discovery of the Saxon St. Lawrence's. Only the "Bullpit", better known, perhaps, though less romantically, as the Shambles, finds no place in the letter-press. H. C. B.

Wilton House. Two articles by Miss Edith Olivier in *Country Life* for Jan. 21st and 28th, 1944, deal attractively with Wilton House and the history of its architecture over the last 400 years. Both articles are lavishly illustrated with views of the interior and exterior, the family portraits, the Palladian Bridge and other features of Wilton Park.

Combechester. A Novel by Alfred Alleyne. First published in 1939 by the Argonaut Press. Cheap edition published by C. H. Woodward, Devizes, 1943; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$, pp. 386. 2s. 6d.

The author is now organist at St. John's, Devizes. A queer story of doings at a cathedral town, said to have been well reviewed.

Hitler's Whistle. By A. G. Street. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1943, 12s. 6d; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. 297, 15 illustrations.

Excellent photographs of the new devices of war-time farming in. S. Wilts, old-fashioned and new-style. The Wilts dialect conversations are of course excellent. Ed. H. G.

Night Thoughts of a Country Landlady. Presented by Edith Olivier. Illustrated by Rex Whistler. Batsford. 12s. 6d.

What follows is extracted from the *Times Literary Supplement*, April 15th, 1944:—"In her preface Miss Olivier describes the circumstances by which there came into her possession the Journal of her friend, Miss Emma Nightingale, "one of those cultivated and 'county' old ladies to be met with in most villages". The second world war "drove her to fill her house with strange guests; it also drove her to fill her diary with strange thoughts".

In the week preceding the opening of war, Miss Nightingale visited Derbyshire and gives entrancing glimpses of three of its great houses. The same elusive touch, which escapes the banal so gracefully, does almost but not quite as much for the perhaps too-familiar picture of "evacuees". Miss Nightingale has surely a unique gift for seeing the poor foibles of humankind as amiable eccentricities. Her women lodgers are accorded the same measure of romantic appreciation as she bestows on the galaxy of male talent temporarily under her roof, and she manages to discourse delightfully even on the mundane accomplishment of dressmaking or a minor flair for cocktail shaking.

Shopping-bags, queues, poultry-keeping—these form more of the stuff of war which passes through Miss Nightingale's experience. She listens to the horrific experiences of wartime visitors—the Sadlers Wells ballet company which escaped from Holland, a girl ambulance driver from France, a wireless operator from a torpedoed merchant ship. She brings her Journal to a lovely close with the account of the discovery of a new planet, and with the statement of her own belief in the peace

and comfort of Nature.

These tender musings are depicted by Mr. Rex Whistler, who adds to his usual mannered grace a lively humour reminiscent of English book illustration in the first part of the last century".

The Incredible Earl of Suffolk. Condensed from The Saturday Evening Post, by William D. Bayles.

The following account of a remarkable character is abbreviated from the "The Reader's Digest" for May, 1943. The connection of this branch of the Howards with Wiltshire was closer in the last century than in the present; but the property round Charlton Park in the north of the county is still in the possession of the family. E. H. G.

"One morning a year ago the Court Circular carried this brief notice, The Kinghas been graciously pleased to award the George Cross to

Charles Henry George Howard, Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire (deceased) for conspicuous bravery in connection with bomb disposal'. 'Wild Jack' Howard, 20th Earl of Suffolk and 13th Earl of Berkshire was a strange throwback to the buccaneering days of Drake and Raleigh. There was a dashing Elizabethan air about his sublime disregard for established custom, his sweeping bow when he entered a room, his interest in everything new, and his ability to roll forth horrendous, mouth-filling oaths with a smoothness that purged them of all vulgarity. When a visiting Frenchman once scoffed at fiery English mustard. Suffolk calmly ate the contents of an entire jar.

His entry into the London war picture was in the true Suffolk tradition—unplanned but spectacular. It occurred on June 21st, 1940, the day the German terms of surrender were read in Compiègne, when he carried two battered suitcases into the lobby of the British Ministry of Supply. He was dirty and his eyes, bloodshot from loss of sleep, were embedded in a fortnight's growth of beard. In his soiled flannel trousers, tattered trench coat and broad-brimmed black hat, he looked like some Corsican bandit.

They handed him an application form to fill in. After the words Reason for requested interview, he wrote 'Diamonds', and on the line for Full name he scrawled 'Suffolk'. 'It's your name that's wanted, not your address', the doorkeeper said sharply. But the tall visitor's coat had fallen open, revealing armpit holsters from which jutted two large pistols. After some urgent telephoning Suffolk was conducted to the Minister of Supply. 'I've a few diamonds here', he said abruptly, 'what shall I do with them?' The Minister wanted to know where he got them. Suffolk waved his cigarette in the general direction of France. 'There's a lot more outside in a taxicab', he added

After the startled Minister had composed himself, and the diamonds had been sent off to a bank vault escorted by a company of Scots Guards, Suffolk carefully fitted a cigarette into a long black holder. 'Now', said he, 'take me to the First Lord of the Admiralty. I must arrange for a destroyer to pick up some more stuff I left hidden on the French coast'.

The First Lord reacted negatively to the wild appearance of his visitor and his still wilder story. He stated bluntly that he couldn't send destroyers on wild goose chases and indicated clearly his desire to end the interview. 'The stuff will be at this spot', Suffolk said imperturbably, opening out a large map, 'have your ship flash a signal light when it arrives'. The map contained more detail of the French coast around Bordeaux than any that had been seen at the Admiralty. Before Suffolk left the First Lord's office, a destroyer commander was on his way. Three days later one of the most valuable cargoes of the war arrived at an English port. It had been found at the exact spot indicated by Suffolk, guarded by a single man.

Birth gave Suffolk wealth, a great name and a fabulous heritage. Since 1603 the Earls of Suffolk had led reckless, exciting lives. They were pirates of the Spanish Main and explorers in unknown continents.

The father of the first Earl was beheaded by Queen Elizabeth. Younger brothers of the Earls carried the cavalier tradition of the Howards to Virginia and the Carolines. It is not without reason that Queen Victoria referred to the family as 'Those mad Howards'. Earl married a daughter of the Chicago wheat baron of the '90's. Levi Ziegler Leiter, and when he died fighting in Mesopotamia in 1917 the

earldom passed to his 11-year-old son.

Eugenists could have foretold that a mixture of Howard blood and Leiter blood would produce a genetic volcano, and it did. At the age of 17 he went to sea as Jack Howard, deckhand, on a sailing ship, ultimately landing in Australia and becoming part-owner of a sheep ranch. To the rugged Aussie farm folk he was 'Wild Jack Howard. that crazy Englishman', but they liked him because he was their kind of man. They never discovered his true identity. Once when a London newspaper editor sent a reporter from Sydney to get a story on him. Suffolk accompanied the journalist for an entire day, helping him in his search for the earl and finally telling him, 'You came on a bad day, because on Saturdays his lordship's always dead drunk and you can never find him till he sobers up'.

After six years Suffolk returned to England to manage his 10,000 acre estate, and in 1934 he married Mimi Crawford, a music-hall dancer. Then another side of his complex character became manifest. decided to become a scientist and entered Edinburgh University, applying himself to the study of chemistry and pharmacology with the same diligence that he had formerly devoted to shooting, swearing and gambling. In 1937, at 31, he graduated from Edinburgh with high honours and joined the Nuffield Laboratory at Oxford as a research chemist. His interest was chiefly in high explosives and poisons.

In October, 1939, he was sent to Paris as a liaison officer between the British Ministry of Supply and the French Ministry of Armaments. There he was responsible for more actual collaboration between British and French research laboratories than had beeu accomplished by a generation of diplomatic official exchanges. His reports were fascinating potpourris of scientific data, political and personal gossip and profanity.

In the spring of 1940 Suffolk was attacked in a pro-fascist newspaper and advised to get out of France. The French Police urged him to accept an official bodyguard. Instead he bought the two largest pistols he could find and strapped them prominently on his chest. also hired his own bodyguard, a gorilla-like ex-sailor with a fearsome reputation as a knife specialist. Their arrivals and departures were a theatrical routine. The Gorilla would step into the street or café first. When he saw that the coast was clear, he would shout "Okay, Monsieur Jacques, allons!", and Suffolk would appear.

The debacle came in Paris with devastating suddenness. Calling on the Ministry of Armaments one morning to obtain designs for certain machine tools, Suffolk found it evacuating in complete turmoil. came away with nothing except a visiting card of the Minister, Paul Dautry, on which were scribbled a few words recommending the Earl of Suffolk. Suffolk knew that large stocks of diamonds had arrived in Paris from Antwerp, Brussels, and Amsterdam. When he discovered that the bankers in whose vaults they were stored had every intention of leaving them there, he made up his mind to take them to England for safe keeping. With only Dautry's card as authority—occasionally backed up with his pistols—Suffolk toured the city in his large open car, collecting bags of diamonds. He also assembled machine specifications and models; valuable research data that would have been of immense value to the Germans, and a considerable quantity of rare chemicals that had been evacuated to Paris from famous research laboratories.

His final round-up was of the eminent French scientists with whom he had been working. He sent them off to Bordeaux, assuring them that he had arranged passage to England for all of them. As a matter of fact he had arranged nothing at all. Then, his loot in the back of the motor car, Suffolk himself set out for Bordeaux and beside him on the front seat rode his blonde English secretary, while behind, perched high on a fabulous fortune in rare gems, the Gorilla kept watch for German scouting parties and strafing aircraft. All roads south were choked with refugees. It was frequently necessary for Suffolk to walk in front of the car, clearing the way by waving his pistols and shouting whilst his secretary drove.

Bombs quickly became an obession with Suffolk. Despite his flamboyant manner, he was not reckless. He took every known precaution to protect himself and his assistants. How he survived the failures, members of the Directorate of Scientific Reseach were never able to explain. His co-workers never quite knew what to make of their leader. One cold afternoon as they were driving through the bleak countryside he suddenly asked 'Lads, how would you like a cup of hot tea and some scones'. 'You bet!' they yelled derisively. stopped the van, whipped out a pistol and fired two shots into the air, almost immediately a car came over the ridge, stopped, and the chauffeur and a butler laid out an elaborate English high tea. His companions never learned that they were within a few hundred yards of Suffolk's estate, but after that they were ready to believe he could do anything. Suffolk would celebrate the successful completion of a task with the same intensity that characterized his work. Loading his group into the van, he would head for Kempin's Restaurant just off Piccadilly Circus, where a table was always laid for him—the time of day didn't matter, nor did clothes. Fashionable guests were invariably shocked at the unwashed crew that suddenly poured in on them until someone whispered the magic words 'It's the Earl of Suffolk'. . .

Suffolk's organisation had been working hard, and he had planned to take them for a fortnight's rest to his estate, which he had turned into a hospital and convalescent home for soldiers. They spent their last working afternoon clearing up some odds and ends. One of these was a large rejected bomb that had lain around for many months. Someone had painted the words 'Old Faithful' on its side, and it was

regarded as a permanent fixture. Suffolk decided to dismantle 'Old Faithful'. No one paid any attention. Windows a quarter of a mile away were shattered, and people in the adjoining town felt the ground shock. Eight members of Suffolk's organisation were killed. Experts officially pronounced one human sliver the final earthly remains of the Earl of Suffolk. It was placed in a little wooden casket six by six by eight inches in size and buried in the old chapelyard, at the Suffolk ancestral home. Thus at the age of 36 did "Wild Jack", 20th Earl of Suffolk and 13th Earl of Berkshire, join the eternal fellowship of the illustrious House of Howard. To its escutcheon he had added the highest honour England can pay her civilian heroes, the George Cross."

MOONRAKE MEDLEY.

SECOND SERIES.

White-livered Women. That this condition should be peculiar to the male sex has struck some readers (themselves male) as unfair. Mr. A D. Passmore, however, is prepared to assure them that white-livered women are not unknown, and it would appear that they are more virulent than any leuchepatic man so far reported. He gives, but does not vouch for, a story from North Wilts of such a woman believed to be the innocent occasion of the death of three husbands, at which point the intervention of friends put an end to the series. He relates from his own observation the case of a man who suffered ill-effects from an apparently similar cause, though the result was not fatal. Naturally no explanation was offered of the diagnosis, nor is this a medical journal. We are only concerned to record the evident prevalence of the belief.

Mr. Passmore also describes his experience of a **Hoosit-hunt**, a ceremony distinguished in the first series of this *Medley* from the "Skimmington-riding" of henpecked husbands.

"When I was a school-boy about 1895 or a bit before, a North Wilts vicar, a married man, gave offence to his parishioners by his repeated and finally flagrant infidelities. Hearing a whisper of what was intended, we went to the Vicarage one evening and waited A crowd of youths had met in the quarries quite near, where there was a large rubbish dump. From this they armed themselves with cans, buckets, baths and so forth and, having formed up in fours headed by a few horns, trumpets and bugles, marched to the vicar's house beating Hades from every possible noise-making object in reach. Halting, they howled ribald remarks, and after several turns "to and agen" they dispersed. This continued for three nights. The whole thing was witnessed by large crowds of people and an amused police-force, but no damage was done except to the vicar, who was removed by the bishop. As a mere boy hanging to the coat of an elder, I did not hear any name attached to the show, so I cannot say anything on that point".

Lunar Influences. "At Yatesbury, in the year 1920, a Mrs. Shurgold, whose age might have been about 70, said to me, 'So you've killed a pig at the Rectory; and you did it at the right time, for you killed it in the waxing moon. The almanacs do say as the bacon do take the salt better when the moon be waxing'. Some years later, when the matter had almost faded from my memory, I was turning the pages of R. M. Lawrence's book, The Magic of the Horseshoe, and with some astonishment came upon these words on page 10: 'An early English almanac advised farmers to kill hogs when the moon was waxing, as thus the bacon would prove the better in boiling'. What almanacs Mrs. Shurgold was referring to cannot now be known. In any case she could not read. The belief must be traditional in the countryside'.

H. L. GUILLEBAUD.

The Moonrakers. Mr. Cunnington has been kind enough to put together these stories. They probably do not include all the tales told of this village—the moonraker story itself is missing, doubtless because it is well-known—but they form the basis for such a collection.

"Men's works have faults since Adam first offended, And much in these may want to be amended".

The following Bishops Cannings stories were told to me by my father many years ago. I regret not being able to give them in the pure Wiltshire dialect that he loved so much.

Cannings Steeple. When the church was built, the builders made not only a fine pointed spire, but placed a much smaller one by its side over the steps leading up to the tower. When remonstrated with for making such a ridiculously small spire they replied, "Oh, that don't matter, he'll soon grow as tall as the big un". After a few weeks it was seen that the little spire had not grown, so the villagers carried up baskets full of manure, which was placed round it. In course of time the manure sank down and the top of the spire showed through. "What did we tell ye?" remarked the builders, "there he be, growing up finely, and will soon be as tall as t'other".

Eclipse of the Moon. One Thursday afternoon a carter on coming home from Devizes Market asked his master if he might have the use of the waggon and horse to take his family into Devizes that evening, as he had heard that an eclipse of the moon was to be seen in the Market Place at 8 o'clock that night. Consent was readily given, and at half-past seven the carter with his wife, family and friends started off to see the eclipse, and in order to get a better view they had placed a rick ladder on the waggon as well.

A Mad Dog. The gardener at the Vicarage having seen a strange dog bite the handle of his wheelbarrow, promptly got a saw and cut the handle off for fear that he might get hydrophobia.

Alarm of Fire. Early one dark winter's morning some labourers going to work saw a bright red light behind farmer Coomb's ricks and thinking that the ricks were on fire, one of them hurried off into Devizes to call out the fire brigade with their engine. When the firemen arrived, they saw that the sun was well above the ricks, so returned home after remarking, "Just like you Cannings folks!"

The Gas Fire. A Cannings farmer came into Devizes on market-day and saw a gas fire burning in Burt's, the ironmonger's, shop. So he went in and, after much bargaining, bought it and put it up on his waggon and took it back to Cannings. Here he placed it in the hall and, calling his son, said, "I saw this fire burning in 'Vize. It will warm our house up well. You just turn on the tap, and I will strike a match and light it". This was done, but no fire appeared. "Turn

the tap the other way, my boy", said his father, but still no fire. "Here, you come and put the match, and I will see to the tap", said his father, yet still no fire. At that moment the Vicar looked in and asked what they were trying to do, to which the farmer replied: "I saw this fire burning well in Burt's shop this morning, but now it wont light at all". "You silly man", said the Vicar, "of course it wont light, there is no gas in Cannings". Whether the farmer returned the gas fire to Burt's the next Thursday is not recorded, but the story of the gas fire lived for many a year in the village.

The Broken Barrel. To repair a barrel is difficult and requires skill, though it may be only putting a new stave. A Cannings man who did this sort of work had to repair a barrel where the iron hoops had rusted away. After providing himself with new hoops and placing the staves in their proper places he found difficulty in getting the head to remain up whilst he hammered the hoops down. At last a bright idea struck him. He called his young son and placing him inside the barrel, told him to hold up the head "whilst I do hammer down the whoops". All went well, and the job was finished, when the boy, placing his mouth to the bung-hole, exclaimed "How be oi to get out, feather?" "Oh, drattle the kid", remarked the man, "I suppose I must knock in t'other end".

The Ticktoad. A shepherd coming home to dinner one day saw on the downs above Cannings a large watch. He had never seen a watch before and being afraid of the thing, thinking it was something dangerous as he could hear it ticking very loudly, he hurried to the village and told the sexton "there were a great ugly beast up on the downs, and would he come up and see it ". The sexton was a fat heavy man and said he could not walk so far but persuaded a couple of the villagers to wheel him up in a wheelbarrow. Two of them had their spades in their hands, and putting these in the wheelbarrow with the sexton, they made their way up to the spot, guided by the shepherd. approaching the site they stopped and listened to the loud ticking of the watch. The sexton then said, "Mates, just wheel I round him", which "Now wheel I round him again", and this was done a third time, when the sexton said, "Mates, chuck I out", and crawling up nearer to the "beast" and listening for a minute he exclaimed, "Mates, it be a dangerous ticktoad, so smash him up". Whereupon the men with the spades smashed the watch and dug a hole and buried the pieces.

- David and His Dog. I heard this Cannings story quite recently from a man 84 years of age.

"Farmer Sloper of Cannings had his suspicions that his shepherd David was in the habit of catching a hare now and again on the downs when looking after the sheep with his dog Ben. Sloper had heard reports that David had been seen coming home at night with his pockets bulging, and he had himself seen what looked suspiciously like hare's

fur on David's jacket on more than one occasion. So one autumn afternoon he strolled up to the downs and saw David sitting on a tump with his dog Ben beside him. Sitting down alongside, Sloper talked with David about the sheep. After a while some of the sheep began to wander from the flock, so David said "Ben", and waved his hand in a circular movement, when Ben got up and trotted off to the straying sheep and drove them back. Sloper, on seeing this, remarked what a good dog Ben was, to which David replied that there was not a better sheep dog in the county. "Is he any good at catching a hare?" asked Sloper; "I don't know", said David, "I've never seen him catch one". "Let's see if we can put one up, and if so, you send him after it", said Sloper. So getting up they walked across the downs, and very soon a fine young hare jumped up from its form. "Go after him!" shouted David, "go after him!" but Ben merely looked up into David's face and seemed to wink. Another hare was started, but the same shouting "Go after him, Ben!" produced no results, so Sloper went off home feeling quite satisfied that Ben was no good at catching a hare.

When Sloper had gone out of sight and hearing, David turned to the dog and said, "Ah, Ben, thee bist as artful an old devil as I be. Had I called out 'Go to heel, Ben!' you would have been after them hares like a streak of light and would have caught them both. You are the best sheep dog in the county".

Confused Identity. "When I were walking whoam to Cannings t'other night across the vields, ther come on a bit of a vog, but 'twer not so bad that I coudn't zee my way, and when crossing the second vield I seed our Jim coming t'ords I. But on getting a bit nearer he didn't zeem to me to be quite like our Jim, and when we met, why, dang me, 'twernt neither of us'!

G.M.T. Only a few years ago a Cannings man took his watch to a Devizes watchmaker to be cleaned. On calling for it the following Thursday, the watchmaker, on handing it over, said "It is all right now, and I have set it to Greenwich time". "I doant want no Grinich toime", he replied, "I wants Cannings toime".

A Witch Story (not Cannings). Some years ago I employed a man who was engaged to a young woman living at Potterne, and he made it a habit to walk there and see her most evenings when his work was done, and they used to go for a stroll together. He told me that whenever they went out her mother changed herself into a greyhound and followed them. As a proof of this, he said that on one occasion, when the rain was falling and he and his girl were walking homewards, the greyhound dashed in front of them and leaping the garden gate vanished out of sight. After saying "good-bye", he walked with his girl up to the house and on looking through the window saw the mother standing in a shallow bath washing mud from her legs. He also assured me that the woman never had to get up at tea-time to fetch anything from the dresser or shelf, but merely beckoned to them, and they flew into her

hands. She had a book full of sorcery and witchcraft, which she kept in a tin box buried in her garden, but he had never been able to get hold of it.

"HE told I to"—a ghost story (?) that is true. Some years ago there stood—and may be there now—a pretty thatched cottage just off the road leading to C A garden full of flowers lay in front with a shallow well at the side. Behind the cottage were some fields that each spring were preserved for haymaking. A farm labourer and his wife and family lived in the cottage, and all of them helped at haymaking time as well as when harvest was on.

One summer's day, when haymaking was in full swing, the labourer, who was on the top of the rick, suddenly, in view of all his fellowworkers, jumped to the ground and in doing so broke his legs. He was taken to the hospital, and later on, when he had recovered, he was asked, "What ever made you jump from the top of that rick?" He replied, "HE told I to", but refused to say anything more about it.

Soon afterwards, when he had quite recovered from his accident, he and his family left the cottage and went to live in another village in Wiltshire. The cottage remained empty for some months but was later occupied by a man and his wife, who, I understand, had retired from work but had just sufficient means to live quietly. One afternoon the wife was horrified to find that her husband had jumped out of the bedroom window and was lying unconscious on the ground. He was taken to hospital and, when sufficiently recovered, was asked what had made him do such a foolish thing as to jump out of the window. To which he replied, "HE told me to". When able to leave the hospital he gave up the cottage and went to live some miles away. Again the cottage was vacant for some months until it was taken by a woman with a daughter about twenty years old. Here I come into this strange story.

One afternoon I was asked, being a Justice of the Peace, to go to the cottage to certify the daughter as a case that should be sent to the Mental Hospital. On arrival I found the young woman sitting in a chair by the fire, but for a long time could not get her to speak. Her mother said that her daughter had drunk a pint of paraffin and then jumped into the well, which, as stated before, was a shallow one. went and had a look at this well and found it only about ten feet deep with not more than about two feet of water at the bottom. The mother saw her daughter jump into the well and raised an alarm. Neighbours came to her assistance, and the girl was safely brought to the surface, though of course she was wet through. Medical aid was obtained, and in a few days the doctor recommended that she should be sent to the Asylum. This was how I got mixed up in the matter and learned the details of this remarkable story. After I had talked to the girl for a little while, doing my best to get her to speak, I asked her "Why did you do such a foolish thing as to jump into the well?" and at last she said, "HE told me to". The mother then told me that she had previously heard about how a man had been told by someone to jump

out of the bedroom window some years ago. This led me to make enquiries, and when I had finished I had gathered indisputable evidence that in the two cases mentioned above "HE" had told the victims to do the silly and dangerous acts as recorded, and as for the third case, I had heard it from the girl herself.

I should add that, though every effort was made to see if the three occupants of the cottage had any connection with one another or even knew each other, not a single thing came to light to support this possibility, as they were perfect strangers to one another. Neither did I ever find out who HE was.

B. H. C.

saw her daughter jump into the will came to her saintance and the dri though of course should want in a in a few days the doctor not arms ded

Asylum. This was how I get missed up an election of this remarkable story. After 1 in describe of this remarkable story. After 1 in graphite while, doing my best to get ner to spaus, you do such a fablish thing as to jump into the mil ? " you do such a fablic thing in the another then cold me raid, " ET told me to". The another then cold me previous and had been told by some

NOTES.

European Archæology. The following is extracted from a circular issued by Miss Kenyon. "The Institute of Archæology has been asked to organise an informal and unofficial Conference on the Problems and Prospects of European Archæology, and it has been decided to hold it on Saturday, August 19th, starting at 2.30 p.m., and on Sunday, August 20th, starting at 11 a.m. The Conference will be open to all interested in the subject. The admission fee will be 6/- for the whole course, or 2/6 for the Saturday sessions and 4/- for the Sunday sessions.

The Programme of the Conference will be issued in due course. Those interested are asked to notify the Secretary, Institute of Archæology, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.

[The Editor regrets that an unavoidable delay in the publication of the *Magazine* reduces this invitation to a mere record].

A Matter of Etiquette. Mr. E. R. L. Gough, of Marlborough College, draws attention to the following passage from *Letters of a Grandmother*, 1732—5, Ed.: Gladys Scott Thomson (Jonathan Cape, 1943).

1735, June 24:

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough to her grand-daughter Diana Duchess of Bedford :

"I never in my life heard so strange a thing as happened at an opera not long before the King left England. Mr. Seymour, who is member of parliament for Marlborough, at a great distance from His Majesty. was in some box over the stage, or somewhere high, and His Majesty observed that there was a man in a hat, at which he was very much offended; and after speaking of it with some warmth he sent my Lord C-- up to him, and he told Mr. Seymour as civilly as he could, that His Majesty would have him pull off his hat. Mr. Seymour answered that he was ill, and could not do it for fear of catching cold. Several very curious messages followed, but all in vain; for Mr. Seymour said that he had paid for his place and he would not prejudice his health. And a great deal passed that is not to be written; but Mr. Seymour stood to his point, . . . I forgot to give an account in this great struggle concerning the hat, His Majesty ordered the guard to go up and take it away; but his servants in the box prevailed with him not to do it, saying he was an ill-bred country gentleman but was of a great family and had many friends and it would make a noise which was better not to do. Mr. Seymour agreed with those that carried the King's message that he had chosen to sit in a place that he thought would give no offence, on account of his ill-health, that he should have thought it very wrong to have done anything of that sort in the King's 418 Notes.

palaces, but there were no kings at operas or playhouses where everybody might sit as they pleased. . . ."

Editor's note: The scene at the opera had probably taken place at Rich's new theatre in Covent Garden.

Buried in Woollen. The following quotation from Ditchfield's *English Village* will recall the purpose of an enactment which, if still on the Statute Book, has long become a dead letter.

In 1679 an Act was passed requiring that the dead should be buried in woollen, the purpose being to lessen "the importation of linen from beyond the seas, and the encouragement of the woollen and paper manufacturers of the kingdom". A penalty of £5 was inflicted for a violation of this Act; and as frequently people preferred to be buried in linen a record of the fine appears, e.g., at Gayton, Northamptonshire, where we find in the register:—

"1708. Mrs. Dorothy Bellingham was buryed April 5 in Linnen, and the forfeiture of the Act payd fifty shillings to ye informer and fifty shilling to ye poor of ye parish".

I have recently come across the document printed below recording an early instance of compliance with this Act in our own county.

Joan Losso of the Parish of Buttermear in the County of Wilts maketh Oath that Joan Stoats of the Parish of Ham in the County of Wilts lately deceased, was not put in, wrapt or wound up, or Buryed in any Shirt, Shift, Sheet or Shroud, made or mingled with Flax, Hemp, Silk, Hair, Gold or Silver, other than what is made of sheep's wooll only; Nor in any Coffin lined or faced with any Cloth, Stuff, or any other thing whatsoever made or mingled with Flax, Hemp, Silk, Hair, Gold or Silver, or any other Material, according to the late Act of Parliament for Burying in Woollen but Sheeps Wooll only. Dated this second day of August in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. Anno Dom 1688.

Sealed and Subscribed by us who were present and Witnesses to the Swearing of the above Affidavit.

Henry Jackson

Martha Johnson her X mark

I Daniel Storkwood Clerk in the County of Berks do hereby certifie that the day and year above said, the said Joan Losso came before me and made such Affidavit, as is above Specified, according to a late Act of Parliament, Intituled An Act for Burying in Woollen. Witness my hand the Day and Year above written.

Daniel Storkwood.

Note.—The form of which the above is a copy is a printed one, with the skull and cross bones sketched at top, and a skeleton and shroud in the left-hand margin. The words underlined are written in the blank spaces left therefor.

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National Trust Estates continue to multiply. This extract from the *Daily Telegraph* of September 28th, 1943, gives the particulars of a further example in this county.

Major Thomas Clarence Edward Goff, a great-grandson of William IV, has presented his home, The Court, Holt, Trowbridge, Wilts, to the National Trust, with an endowment for its upkeep.

He and his wife. Lady Capilia Coff a daughter of the fir

He and his wife, Lady Cecilie Goff, a daughter of the first Earl of Ancaster, will continue to live at The Court . . .

The Court is a late 15th or early 16th century house with a Renaissance façade, presumably dating from the late 17th century. With the house Major Goff has handed over furnishings, pictures and notebooks and other property which belonged to William IV.

"Church" Barrows. A parallel case to "Gunschurch" Barrow in Hill Deverill, recorded on p. 293 of this volume, is to be found in Wanborough. "Popplechurch", once excavated by Mr. A. D. Passmore, lies in an open field in the S.W. corner of the parish near the Aldbourne and Baydon boundaries. Until the issue of the fifth edition of the one-inch Ordnance map it was merely marked "tumulus", but it now bears its own name. Little or nothing of its remains, however. If we may use the analogy of Poppleton as interpreted by Ekwall, Popplechurch represents pobel-cyric, the "pebble-barrow". But the Poppletons are in the West Riding and analogies in place-names are dangerous, never more so than in the case of a traditional name like Popplechurch unrecorded in early documents. "Popple", however, is used in this sense in the dialects of S.W. England. H. C. B.

The Sarum Illuminator. Miss Vera M. Dallas, Acting Hon. Secretary, the Royal Archæological Institute informs me that according to investigations she has kindly made, MS. V listed and described in my paper in this *Magazine*, L, p. 231, is *safe* and with its owner, Baron Robert von Hirsch, Engelgasse 5, Bâle, Switzerland.

ALBERT HOLLAENDER.

Melksham Spa. Mr. B. H. Cunnington sends the following cutting from *The Courier* of August 11th, 1813. It records in some detail the properties of the water on which the promoters of the scheme based their shortlived hopes.

"A strongly saline aperient and chalybeate Spa has been discovered at Melksham, Wilts; which has been analysed and brought forward by Dr. Gibbs of Bath. It contains nearly seventy grains of saline ingredients in a pint, which are chiefly the muriates of Soda and Magnesia. The infusion of Galls strikes a purple in the water when fresh at the spring. In doses similar to the Cheltenham and Leamington waters, it acts on the bowels gently, safely, but decidedly; and it is found that this aperient effect is not attended with the debility which usually results from other cathartics. It has produced the happiest effects in many bilious and scorbutic habits, and many cases have occurred of a

perfect cure from such complaints. It produces no heaviness on the stomach, and it in no way whatever disagrees with the constitution. Without being disagreeable to the taste, it acts on the bowels in even less quantities than other waters of the same description ".

Diary of George Sloper. A baker of Devizes, 1753 to 1810. Through the kindness of Mr. Marler K. Sloper of Delldene, Devizes, our Society has received on "permanent loan" an exceedingly interesting diary dated as above. Mr. George Sloper was a son of Samuel Sloper, who about 1713 bought the house that stands at the corner of Sheep Street and Hare and Hounds Street (formerly known as Kilberry's Row). This house now (1944) is a recreation room for H.M. Forces but was formerly a laundry and before that a builder's yard. There Samuel Sloper started a baking business in 1713 that was carried on by his son George until 1810.

George was born in July, 1730, and died in 1821. He was Mayor of Devizes three times and became "father of the Corporation". His heir, a nephew, George Elgar Sloper, lived at Etchilhampton at one time, and later came to live at Verecroft, Devizes. His uncle, the writer of this diary, rose to become one of the leading inhabitants and property owners in the town. The diary primarily concerns the baking of bread, but at the same time Sloper filled up the vacant spaces with hundreds of references to local events, both private and public. A few examples are as follows:—

"Sunday afternoon about 6 o'clock June 30th 1751 there were five young persons drowned in Drew's Pond of whom were Robert Merritt and his wife and — Tyler her sister". (There is a monumental obelisk in St. John's Churchyard 15ft. high that marks the site of their grave).

At the bottom of the page is

FRIENDSHIP

May you be blessed with all that Heaven can send Good health, Long life, Good Conscience and a Friend.

Under date 1771 is "Rowland Hill, a noted Methodist, preached on the Green on Sunday May 8th, which was the beginning of the Methodists in the town".

- "New brick wall built down Morris's Lane".
- "The Bridewell new fronted with brick".
- "I being Surveyor, made a good waggon road from my house to near Chapel Corner" (i.e. nearly the whole length of Sheep Street).
 - "Old Richard Green killed at bull-baiting June 24th 1771".
 - "Bought a new silver tanker £9—10 of Mr. Burrough".
- "June 7th Put into Nick Mill pond (at Stert) 20 brace of Tench and 4 brace of carp from Wroughton's Folly".
- 1773. "This spring and summer Edward Eyles the Governor pulled down the great house in the Green and built a new one (Southbroom House)".

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"Elizabeth Mullins put to Bridewell for killing her child but was

acquitted at Assizes".

"Dec. 16th The Americans at Boston in New England emptied 3 ships containing 342 chests of tea into the sea. This may be looked upon as the beginning of hostilities and in consequence of the American War".

WILTSHIRE CLOCK AND WATCHMAKERS.

In W.A.M., vol. xlviii, page 314, is the name of William Crook, Devizes. In the "Sloper Diary", under date 1788, is the following:—

"Crook ye Watchmaker Hanged himself Tuesday morn July 25, brought in by ye jury, self murder, and he was buried up at Gallows Ditch near Geo: Scott". (Note.—Gallows Ditch is in Hillworth. Devizes, and formed the end of the outer ditch of the old town,)

The foregoing are but a few of the many hundreds of local and historical events recorded in the 200 pages of this diary, but space will not permit of further extracts. A much fuller account is published in Vol. 2 of "Devizes Municipal Records, 1553—1832", copies of which can be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, the Museum, Devizes.

B. H. C.

WILTSHIRE OBITUARIES.

The Rt. Hon. Edward Murray Colston, Second Baron Roundway, of Roundway Park. Devizes, died at Roundway Park, March 29th, 1944. The Right Hon, Edward Murray Colston, second Baron Roundway, of Devizes, Wiltshire, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, was born on December 31st, 1880, only son of the first baron, whom he succeeded in 1925. He was educated at Eton. In 1900 he entered the Grenadier Guards, fought with the second battalion during the South African War, in the course of which he was wounded, and gained the Queen's Medal with three clasps. Making the Army his profession, he continued in it during the years of peace; he reached the rank of captain in 1908, and was made an M.V.O., and he received his majority in 1915. In the 1914-18 war he served with distinction, fighting throughout the retreat from Mons, on the Marne, and on the Aisne before being wounded and invalided home. The award to him of the D.S.O. was gazetted in 1916. Next he was sent to Egypt with the rank of temporary lieutenant-colonel to establish a school of technical instruction for the army stationed there, termed the Imperial School of Instruction. He was given a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy in 1917, and the same year was appointed to command the 233rd Infantry Brigade under Allenby with the rank of temporary brigadier-general. His services during the last war were mentioned in dispatches six times and in addition to his British honours he was also awarded the Order of the Nile and the Order of the White Eagle of Serbia.

After the last war he reached the substantive rank of lieutenant-colonel, Grenadier Guards, in 1920, commanding the second battalion, and that of colonel in 1924. He was appointed to the command of the 131st Surrey (Territorial) Infantry Brigade in 1927, serving as such until 1931. The next year he retired with the honorary rank of brigadier-general and became an Exon of the Yeoman of the Guard. During the present war he had been zone commander of the Wiltshire Home Guard. In 1904 he married Blanche Gladys, only daughter of the late Mr. G. Duddell, of Queen's Park, Brighton, and Hong-kong. The only child of the marriage, a daughter, died in 1924 at the age of 14. The barony, which was created in 1916, becomes extinct.

From The Times, March 30th, 1944. Notice in Wilts Gazette for March 29th, 1944.

Edmond Mainley Awdry, died April 28th, 1944, at the Paddocks, Chippenham, aged 90. Eldest son of Peter Awdry, of Chippenham, and five times Mayor of that town, a record that has been equalled by his son, Col. E. P. Awdry. He was for 50 years a member of the Beaufort Hunt.

Obit. notice in the Sunday Times, April 30th, 1944.

Col. Reginald Salter Weston, born August 10th, 1867, son of W. Weston, of Abbey Wood, Kent. Educated at Marlborough and Sandhurst. Entered the army 1888. Promoted captain 1897, and major 1903, after serving several years as adjutant. Later commanded the Manchester Regiment, retiring in 1919, when he came to live at Steeple Ashton. He served on the N.W. Frontier, India, in 1897-8, receiving the medal with clasp, and in the last war, being twice wounded and mentioned in despatches. He was made a C.M.G. in 1915, and was also awarded the D.S.O. He was I.P. for Wilts and became chairman of the Bench, a position from which he retired last year. He was for some years a member of the Wilts Standing Joint Committee, from which he retired last year, when he received in recognition of his services a silver salver from his colleagues. He was also President of the local branch of the British Legion, and had served on the County Quarter Sessions Appeal Committee. A churchman and conservative, he served as churchwarden for some time. Buried at Steeple Ashton.

Obit. notice, Wilts Gazette, January 13th, 1944.

Vivian Henry Courthope Bosanquet, of Beechingstoke Manor, died December 25th, 1943. Buried at Dingestow. Born 1872, second son of Samuel Courthope Bosanquet of Dingestow Court, Monmouth. Educated at Eton and Trinity Coll., Cambridge, being in the rifle team of both colleges. Entered the Consular Service 1900, and became vice-consul at Odessa. In 1907-8 he served at Serres, Macedonia, and from 1908 to 1910 in Rio de Janeiro. Except for these two years all his service was in Europe. His appointment as consul at Riga laid the foundation for his thorough knowledge of the Baltic area which was later to prove valuable. He was subsequently sent to Petrograd. returning to Riga in 1917 and again in Petrograd in the same year. In 1918 he was an official at the British Embassy when it was raided by Communists; but he escaped to Stockholm, where in the English Church a service of thanksgiving was held for the escape of English refugees from Russia. He served also at Nicolaief and Moscow and obtained a thorough inside knowledge of Russia. After the armistice he was sent to the Baltic States as political adviser to the Admiral Commanding the Fleet and was political representative at Reval. He served four years at Nantes. From 1931 he was consul-general at Frankfort-on-Main, where he became a lay reader at the English Church. He was the first Englishman to receive the Freedom of the University of Frankfort.

When he retired in 1932 he bought Beechingstoke Manor and settled down there, identifying himself as a devout churchman with the religious life of the district, and as a lay reader taking services in many of the neighbouring churches. He was secretary for the Wilts Archdeaconry for the Diocesan Association for Moral and Spiritual Welfare. Missions too had a great appeal for him. He was a member of the Home Council of the C.M.S., and also of the Council of Jerusalem and the East Mission, at one time helping regularly at the office in London.

He also spent much time helping refugees from the countries in which he had served.

Long obit. notice in Wilts Gazette, December 30th, 1943.

people and places that appeared in *Punch* and elsewhere.

Leonard Raven-Hill was born in Bath in 1867. He studied in London and then went to Paris His sketches were exhibited at the Salon there and at the Royal Academy, London. He joined Punch in 1895 and was junior cartoonist from 1910 to 1935, when owing to ill-health he retired. The greater part of his life was spent in Wiltshire in the neighbourhood of Devizes, and he was tenant of Battle House, Bromham. He joined the 2nd Battalion of the Wilts Volunteers, and his book "Our Battalion", published in 1902, contains several life-like sketches of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of that regiment. On his retirement he went to live with his daughter at Ryde in the Isle of Wight and died March 31st, 1942, in his 75th year. Though not a Wiltshireman by birth, he became one by adoption and made Wiltshire history by his excellent sketches of Wiltshire

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

- Purchased: "The Lewes Cartulary" (portion relating to Wiltshire, Devon and Dorset). Sussex Record Society, 1943.
- Presented by Mr. A. D. Passmore: Reprint of note from Antiquaries'

 Journal, January, 1943, on a flint implement in a horn
 handle found at Liddington.
 - "MR. F. W. C. MERRITT: "Report of the Committee of Management of the Kennett and Avon Canal for the year ending May, 1826.

B. H. C.

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No. CLXXXI.

DECEMBER, 1944.

Vol. L.

THE

WILTSHIRE

Archæological & Natural History

MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY A.D. 1853.

EDITED BY H. C. BRENTNALL, F.S.A., Granham West, Marlborough.

[The authors of the papers printed in this "Magazine" are alone responsible for all statements made therein.]



DEVIZES

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No. CLXXXI.

DECEMBER, 1944.

Vol. L.

NOTES ON THE DECANAL AND OTHER HOUSES IN THE CLOSE OF SARUM.

By C. R. EVERETT, F.S.G.

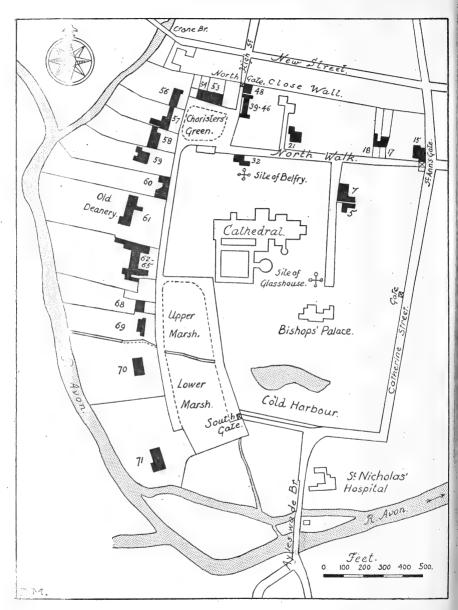
Before the removal of the See from Old to New Sarum the planning of the new Canons' Close would have received careful consideration. The site of the Cathedral, with its Litten, naturally came first; afterwards, that of the Lord Bishop's Palace. When these had been decided upon, plots of ground were allotted for the canonical residences. These were, to quote from an Ordinance made at Old Sarum about the year 1213¹, to be "fair houses of stone, near the wall of the Close or the river that compassed the Close, and two stone walls to enclose the ground assigned to them", the intention apparently being that they should be erected on all four sides of the rough rectangle constituting the Close; actually the majority were built on its north and west. Official residences for the Lord Dean, the Precentor, the Chancellor and the Treasurer, the Quatuor Personæ, or four principal members of the Cathedral Body, were not, as in the case of the Lord Bishop, provided.

THE OLD DEANERY.

This omission, in as far as it affected the Dean, was rectified in 1297 when Robert de Wykehampton, then Bishop of the Diocese, gave, as a free gift from himself, the house he had occupied as Dean. As he was appointed in 1258 to this dignity it can be regarded as the official residence since that year. The Bishop's Deed of Gift was dated at Ramsbury, 28th October, 1277: here is a transcript:—

Robert de Wykehampton by the Divine mercy Bishop of Sarum . . . The honours and benefits which we have received whilst Dean of the Church of Sarum : all which good things we received whilst we had the charge of the said Deanery : for a long while we lived as a son hanging on his mother's breast. We consider it worthy of reward that we should make some recompense to the same Deanery for benefits received, because those who are Dean for the time being are especially restricted to make their continued residence in the Church by Statute

¹ Sarum Charters.



Houses in Sarum Close referred to in this article.

and have not hitherto had houses, or any dwelling-place, appropriated to the Deanery which they were able to inhabit. Desiring to anticipate this disadvantage and to honour the Decanate itself in the matter, we assign, grant and give for ever those our houses in the Close of Samum which we were accustomed to inhabit when Dean. We give the said houses in perpetuity to the same Deanery and Deans for the time being for ever. In witness of which business we have caused the present letter to be confirmed with the impression of our Seal.¹

It may be of interest to note here that in 1286 Walter Scamel, who succeeded the above Robert de Wykehampton as Dean, bequeathed to the Dean and Chapter the house he had occupied as Treasurer of the Cathedral: it was, however, not set apart as a permanent residence for that dignitary. There are only two other instances in the long history of the Close of houses being assigned as residences to the holders of particular offices. In 1440 one on the west side of the Clase was set apart for the Succentor. The late Mr. John Harding2 in describing this house says it belonged to the thirteenth century and was of great interest and some importance : its demolition early in the second half of the last century to facilitate the extension of the Training College is, from an antiguarian point of view, much to be deplored. The second assignment occurred in 1443, when a former canonical residence of early construction, situated on the north side of the highway leading to St. Ann's Gate, nearly opposite the Common Hall of the Commonality of Vicars Choral, was assigned as a residence for the Sub-Dean, John Pedewell, and his successors for ever. It continued to be so occupied until 1840, when, under the Cathedral Act passed in that year, the future holders of this office were deprived of the inconsiderable emolument attached to it, together with the house in question.

The mansion presented by Bishop Robert de Wykehampton for the use of the Deans of Sarum is situated on the west side of the Close, where it commands a clear view of the Cathedral, their special charge, wherein their authority is unchallenged and supreme; all who participate in the conduct of its services or are engaged in its administration being subject to it. This subservience is expressed by those courteous interchanges familiar to worshippers in the Cathedral. It is a melancholy reflection that future Deans of Sarum are unlikely for economic reasons ever again to make this house their residence; in the circumstances, it is both desirable and fitting to recall and record the little that is traceable of its history and associations extending over six centuries and more.

The original mansion was built in the simple form customary in the thirteenth century: only the foundations have survived and a few pieces of old building incorporated in the present structure. The

¹ Lib. Evid., C. 491.

² W.A.M., vol. xxix.

house consisted of a hall, the common living and sleeping place of the household: at one end was the dais, the part reserved for the use of the owner and his inmates, and at the other the buttery. In the story above at a later date was the solar, or bed-sitting room, occupied by the owner of the house, and approached by an exterior stair. The house was no doubt enclosed by a court in which were the kitchen, bakery, brewhouse, store-places and domestic offices. In the course of time the gradual improvement in economic conditions raised the standard of living and brought better housing conditions; it was, however, not until the fifteenth century that the desire for increased accommodation led to the enlargement of the canonical residences in the Close. A good idea of the extent of the additions made is obtainable from the surveys, known as "Views", made on the termination of occupancy through death or removal to fix the extent of the dilapidations, their nature and the probable cost of renovation. These "Views" were made by members of the Chapter appointed for the purpose, who had the expert assistance of the workmen in its employ. Their joint reports are, in many instances, copied into the Chapter Act Books: they give useful information as to methods of construction, the material used, and the quantity at different periods. No such "Views" of the Deanery have been traced, if indeed any were taken, so no information as to its accommodation is derivable from this source. In 1440 however a survey¹ was made of the implements, or fittings, there, in which the hall, principal chamber, an upper chamber, with others leading from it, and a room at the end of the hall are mentioned; also the domestic offices, such as the buttery, kitchen, pantry and larder. In 1586 a similar survey was made.² To give some conception of the size of the premises at that time, with the nature of the fittings, it is reproduced below:-

IMPLEMENTS IN Mr. DEAN'S HOUSE. 14th SEPTEMBER, 1586.

In the hall, a skryne and ii portals: iii table bordes: ii borded benches: a syde cubbord and ii formes.

A rayle with turned posts in the gate house. Given by Mr. Dean.

In the little p'ler, ii new portalls of wanskott with dores and latches. Given by Mr. Dean for implements. iii pieces of wanskott with benches and wanskott over the hedd.

In the seller, i olde byn and a thing for chipping. A bord to folde clothes on. Given by Mr. Dean with a shelfe. A lock and keye to the dore.

In the buttery, an olde skryne: ii plankes upon stockes: iii horses for beere, and a locke and keye for the dore.

In the entry towards the kytchyn, a great planke upon tressells. Mr. Dean's gyft.

¹ Act Book, Hutchins.

² Act Book, Blacker, 130.

In the kytchyn, iii plankes upon stockes: a new doble coope: a cubbord in the wall, Mr. Dean's gyft. Syde shelves, Mr. Dean's gyft. A locke and a keye to the larder dore.

In the larder, bord round about. The gyft of Mr. Dean. Lockes

and keyes to most of the dores.

In the pantry, a mouldinge table: a kneadinge trowe: a shelf and a locke and a key. The gyfte of Mr. Dean.

In the great chamber, a portal.

In the chamber on the weste ende of the great chamber, a portal and a locke and keye. Given Mr. Dean.

Shelves in the studdy and a locke and a keye. Mr. Dean's gyft.

In the king's chamber, a grene portall.

All Mr. Dean's gyft savynge the tables in the hall and the portall in the grene chamber.

The survey of ecclesiastical property throughout the country ordered by Parliament and taken between 1649 and 1653 with the object of ascertaining its present and prospective value includes the lands and houses in the Canons' Close. The Commissioners appointed for the purpose carried out their instructions, it must be admitted, with care and exactitude, as their description of the premises attached to the Deanery shows: here is a transcript:—

THE MANSION HOUSE OF DOCTOR BAYLEY, THE LATE DEAN OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SARUM.

The said house is severed from the common passage by a handsome stone wall with a fair gate therein, within which before the entrance into the house are two little green courts severed the one from the other by a stone wall.

The house consists of one large hall, 3 kitchens, a bakehouse, 3 cellars, 6 other small rooms for several offices, a large dining room, in length 60 foot and in breadth 24 foot, wainscotted, some 10 foot high, having a wainscot portall at its entrance, one other lesser dining room, wainscotted, 8 chambers, 2 of them wainscotted, 6 other meane rooms, and 2 garrets.

Without the dwelling house is a stable and a coachhouse. And belonging and adjoining to the said house 2 gardens and an orchard, together with the two courts at the entrance contains 3 acres.

This description of the premises enables the extent of the additions made in the Tudor-Stuart period to be realised. No particulars of subsequent reconstructions, which must have taken place in the next hundred years, are available. In 1757 Thomas Greene, the newly-appointed Dean, was given permission at a Chapter meeting held on the 8th of October in that year¹ to pull down the two rooms, above and below, at the west end of the great dining room, and the wall at the west end of the house towards the garden, and to apply the old

¹ Act Book (1797-1870).

materials, or the money arising from the sale of the same, to building and making such erections on the west side of the hall as shall be described and set out in a plan hereafter to be given. In the early part of the following century, with the concurrence of the Chapter, further demolitions took place. At its meeting held on the 2nd April, 1810.1 leave was given to Dean Talbot to take down the part of the building which extended towards the east in the front court, joining Mr. Hayter's house, containing forty feet in length and eighteen in breadth.

The last mentioned house was a canonical residence erected in the thirteenth century, being in 1297 charged, with three other houses, with the cost of keeping the obit of Symon de Mycham, Dean, 1288-1297. After the Reformation it was in lay occupation. During the Civil War it was in that of Anthony Ashley Cooper, in 1672 created Earl of Shaftesbury, who records in his diary, under date 18th December, 1646, that he rented from Mr. Hyde his house in the Close next to the Deanery. In 1845 it was demolished, its site being converted into a garden and added to the Deanery premises. These now cover an area of over three acres and, like those of most of the other houses on the west side of the Close, extend from the highway, which they front, to the river Avon. A canonical residence, known for an indefinite period as the North Canonry, lies on its north side: its history is as long as that of the Deanery, and goes back to the thirteenth century. On the south side of the Deanery grounds was the Succentor's house, now, as already noted, pulled down.

A list of the Deans of Sarum who have, since 1297, been entitled, by virtue of Bishop Robet de Wykehampton's gift, to occupy the mansion is given in the Diocesan Kalendar. Another list, with the names of all the holders of the office, with other particulars, will be found in the late Canon William Henry Jones's Fasti Ecclesiæ Sarisberiensis, a valuable compendium of the history of the Diocese, to which the writer of these notes gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness. He would further like to express here his deep appreciation of the assistance which he has received from the muniments of the Dean and Chapter in the compilation of these notes.

Within a Cathedral Close harmony and good will should prevail, and. passion should not raise its head. Yet it is on record that on Saturday, 5th February, 1591-2, the life of the then Dean was seriously threatened. Dr. Bridges was in his library, preparing his sermon for Sunday, when John Farrant, the cathedral organist and master of the choristers, entered the deanery intending to murder him. A piquant account of this episode and the events which led up to it, is given by Mrs. D. H. Robertson in her work, Sarum Close. It is compiled largely from the evidence of witnesses, as given before the Chapter two days later and

¹ Act Book (1741-1796).

carefully recorded in a mixture of Latin and English in one of the Chapter's Act Books. 1

During the Parliamentary régime the Deanery was at one time leased by the committee for Wilts to William Stevens, Recorder of the city, Dr. Bayley, its rightful occupier, being expelled from it. It was also used as a store-place. In May, 1646, this committee ordered the garrison at Longford Castle to be slighted and the goods remaining there belonging to the State to be removed to the Dean's house in Sarum. Its modern use is recorded below (p. 433).

THE PRESENT DEANERY.

The mansion now occupied by the Dean of Sarum, the Very Reverend Henry Charles Robins, M.A., is pleasantly situated in the Bishop's Walk on the east side of the Close. While the house only dates from the middle of the seventeenth century, its site has a claim to antiquity, an early canonical residence having been erected on a portion of it. It was described in the Chapter's Records first as "Langebergh and Strode", and, later, as "Symonsburgh Place", being so named after Canons who occupied it. A fuller account will be found below under this heading (p. 440). A part of this ancient building is incorporated in the Diocesan Registry, which adjoins the Deanery on its south side.

A number of other houses in the Close were, in accordance with old custom, called after their owners or occupiers, or alternatively derived their names from some architectural feature, some point of topography, or just from the fancy of an owner. These names have in comparatively modern times been mostly superseded by a system of enumeration which, while it may have its advantages, deprives them of a certain individuality, indefinite but none the less real. Many of the houses in the Close, formerly distinguished by name, being now recognisable under a number, the present opportunity is taken to place on record those that can be traced and, incidentally, to recall a few of the associations attached to them. They are taken in alphabetical order, the number given after each in parenthesis is that by which the house is identified to-day. They are indicated on the plan of the Close (p. 426), kindly prepared by Mr. Duncan H. Montgomerie, F.S.A., for that purpose.

ARUNDELS. (No. 59.)

This house was originally a canonical residence, having at one time a courtyard approached through a gateway. Since the Reformation it has been leased to laymen, one of whom, Sir Richard Mompesson (son of William Mompesson, of Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire), to a large extent rebuilt the mansion early in the reign of Charles I, subsequently sub-letting it to Sir Gyles Wroughton for twenty pounds yearly, a considerable rental at that period. In 1759 it was granted by the

¹ Act Book, Penruddock, 38.

Dean and Chapter to the Hon. John Everard Arundel, afterwards remaining in the tenure of the Arundel family for the next fifty years: to this association it owes its name. In 1839 it was granted to Mr. F. N. Bracher, of Queens' College, Cambridge, who removed his school from Penn Hill, Yeovil, Somerset, and carried it on for a few years in the Close.

AULA LE STAGE. (No. 21.)

An early canonical house and one of the largest and most important. As its name indicates the original structure was carried a stage higher, another storey being added. A full description of the mansion, with many interesting particulars of its history and occupiers, has been published.¹

Braybrooke. (No. 57.)

An early canonical residence, so named after William Braybrooke, a residentiary Canon, who died in 1329. In 1563 the Dean and Chapter assigned the mansion to be used as a grammar-school and place of residence for John Bolde, its master, who a few years later was admitted a canon residentiary. The original house has to a large extent been demolished, but the cellarage, with its old timber supports, has survived. During the last fifty years the premises, now known as the Cathedral School and controlled, as hitherto, by the Dean and Chapter, have been further enlarged. In 1714 it was rebuilt, additional accommodation being provided for boarders.

THE CHORISTERS' PLACE. (No. 5.)

An early canonical house. About 1344 it was set aside for the use of the Cathedral choristers and as a residence for their teacher. It continued to be utilised for this purpose for some three hundred years. In mid-eighteenth century the house was rebuilt and modernised, although it still retains portions of the original structure. It is now the residence of the Cathedral organist.

COLE ABBEY als COPT HALL. (No. 15.)

The site of an early canonical house; in 1399 it was rebuilt and subsequently on several occasions reconstructed and extended. Since the Reformation it has been granted by the Dean and Chapter to laymen, in particular to representatives of the Harris family of Orcheston St. George, Wilts, whose long tenure of the mansion dated from the first part of the seventeenth century. The first member of the family to reside there was James Harris, who married Gertrude, one of Bishop Townsend's fifteen children: their grandson, another James Harris, was, in 1788, created Baron Malmesbury. From that time the mansion has been known as "Malmesbury House". The original mansion and, it may be, its successor, was known by the distinctive name of

¹ W.A.M., xlix, 288.

"Copped Hall (a variant of "copt" or "cupped", indicating a small house, or hall, with a gabled or pointed roof) als Cole Abbey" (spelt variously coll, cowle or coel, meaning a hood, cap or cover; actually a roof), supposed to be a corruption of "ceald-herberga", indicating a shelter or lodging. The place-names, "Colde Herbergh", "Cold Abbey" and "Cold Harbour" are, as is generally recognised, variants. The word "ceald-herberga" may well describe an exposed and comfortless dwelling, possibly, roughly repaired and used as a shelter for travellers. Further, it has been suggested that a retreat of this kind, from its consisting of bare walls, might well be called "Coldharbour", as a mere shelter against the inclemency of the weather. But, the real point of interest that arises, is that within a short distance of the mansion is a close of pasture which, since the thirteenth century, and probably earlier, has been known as "Cold Harbour". This place-name being similar to "Cold Abbey", the alternative name of the canonical house, it has been suggested that the two sites have some association in common, dating from early times.

THE (OLD) DEANERY. (No. 61.)

The early canonical house described at the beginning of this article is now used by the Training College for schoolmistresses as an annex to their own premises, which it adjoins.

Hemyngsby. (No. 56.)

An early canonical house of which the chapel and hall, with its oaken roof, have survived. In 1334 Alexander Hemyngsby, Canon, after whom it is named, died, charging it with the expense of keeping his obit. Several other canons of note occupied the mansion at one time and another: they included Nicholas Upton (Precentor), herald and writer on war, who died in 1457; he is reputed to have partially rebuilt the house. He was succeeded by William Fidion, Canon, said to be identical with the Greek scholar, Pheidion, who, after the fall of Constantinople in 1432, settled in the Close: his name can be seen carved in relief on a stone cornice: he died there 24th January, 1473. A subsequent resident was Edward Powell, Canon, whose arms are displayed, with an inscription, in painted glass in two of the windows. He was advocate for Queen Katherine in the divorce proceedings and was hanged, drawn and quartered at Smithfield for denying the King's supremacy, 30th April, 1540. He was one of the six sons of Howell Powell, of Talyllyn, co. Brecon: his brother, Hugh Powell, was Principal Diocesan Registrar until 1584 when he resigned the office: his will was proved in the P.C.C. in 1587.

The mansion has, at different periods, in common with the other canonical residences, undergone reconstruction. In 1649 the Parliamentary Survey gives particulars of its accommodation. In 1727 the Dean and Chapter acquiesced in the great parlour, the room called the "Chapell", the next room to it, the study, the lobby and all the chambers over them being taken down, and sanctioned the building of

two parlours, a passage, and two chambers upon floor, leaving a space under them for cellars and other offices. Since 1848 the mansion has ceased to be used as a residentiary house and is in lay occupation.

THE HUNGERFORD CHANTRY HOUSE. (No. 54.)

The history of this house dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, when it was in the possession of Constantine de Middeval: he died in 1294, charging the tenement with the expense of keeping his obit. In the first part of the next century it was set apart as a dwelling-place for the Cathedral choristers, who, however, only remained there for a short period. After the death, in 1459, of Lord Robert Hungerford, a Chantry in his memory was founded in the Cathedral and the tenement was assigned to the two priests who served it. In 1549 the Chantry was dissolved and the house granted by the Crown to Lawrence Hyde, gentleman. Subsequently, it changed hands on several occasions, remaining in private possession until recently, when it once again became the property of the Dean and Chapter.

LADY WELL. (No. 32.)

This residence owes its name to "Our Lady's Well", which is on the premises, although now unused. In the early days of the Close the water from it had an outlet in the ditch which encircled the churchyard on its north, east and south sides, ultimately flowing into the river at Harnham Bridge.

Leadenhall. (No. 70.)

The original canonical house erected on this site was designed and built by Elias de Derham, the architect of the Cathedral, and completed in 1232. Its roof was constructed of lead, to which its name is due. In 1717 the mansion was almost entirely rebuilt on a site northward of the original hall; only a portion of one of its old walls now stands.

THE MATRONS' COLLEGE. (Nos. 39-46.)

The College was founded in 1682 by Bishop Seth Ward for the support of widows of ministers in the dioceses of Exeter and Salisbury: the building, beautiful in proportion and decoration, is in the style of Wren, and the design may have been his. The premises include the site of the house once occupied by the chaplain serving the Chantry of Roger Clown, Canon, who died in 1378. At the Dissolution it was confiscated and in 1549 granted by the Crown to the Lawrence Hyde mentioned earlier in these notes. Eventually the property came by purchase into the possession of Bishop Seth Ward, who incorporated it in the college premises. The latter also included several tenements belonging to the Dean and Chapter and the Commonalty of Vicars

¹ Act Book (1696—1741).

Choral. Since the institution was established changes have been made in its constitution and the endowment has been added to.

Mompesson House. [No. 53.)

This fine house is a masterpiece of its kind. Situated on the north side of Chorister's Green it was erected by Sir Thomas Mompesson in the second part of the seventeenth century. It is named after its builder, and occupies the sites of four ancient tenements, the buildings of which were demolished for the purpose. The house is now in lay occupation.

Myles's Place. (No. 68.)

This was the site of an early canonical house which, after the Dissolution, when the number of residentiary canons was reduced, was allowed to fall into decay and subsequently demolished. The last canon to occupy the mansion was Thomas Myles who, in 1549, was collated to the Prebend of Combe and Harnham, of which in 1554 he was deprived. Afterwards the piece of ground on which it stood was named after him. It continued to be so known until 1718, when it was granted by the Dean and Chapter to William Swanton, a resident in the Close, to build a house on.— Accordingly, it is to him that the Close owes this beautiful and well-proportioned mansion which stands on the west side of the Close to the south of Sherborne Place. It is an admirable example of the domestic architecture of the period.

THE NORTH CANONRY. (No. 60.)

A thirteenth century canonical house, with pillared crypt: other portions date from the next century. Its great gateway, which forms part of the present structure, is mentioned in the Parliamentary Survey made in 1649. In 1738 the mansion underwent considerable changes. It is described at that time as a very large, ancient pile of buildings, in many parts, through great length of time, become almost ruinous and ready to fall. The parts it was intended to take down are described as useless, unnecessary and burdensome to maintain. The present mansion is of ample dimensions, and must have been at one time one of the largest canonical houses in the Close. It has ceased however to be so used, though it remains the property of the Dean and Chapter.

The Porter's Lodge. (No. 48.)

The office of Porter or Janitor, of the Close, which, like all other appointments in the Cathedral and Close, was disposed of by the Dean and Chapter, appears to have been sought after not only by members of the lower classes, especially in pre-Reformation times, but by occupiers of good social positions, either for themselves to farm at a profit or on the behalf of a dependent for whom it was desired to make provision. The emoluments attached to the office consisted of a salary of twenty shillings a year, with a gown valued at ten shillings,

and perquisites, which include the profits of the fair at Whitsuntide. Many of the appointments made to the office are recorded in the Dean and Chapter's Act Books. Of these a few, typical of others, are noted here. The earliest is in 1339 when, at the instance of the Earl of Arundel, a certain William Bever was appointed Janitor. During the next fifty years the holders of the office included John de Cranton (1343), John Moulton (1386), John Apelton (deceased in 1407), and Nicholas Kirkeley his successor. In 1448 the "Bedallship", as the office is then described, was confirmed to Thomas Kirkeham, Esquire, for the term of his life in recognition of the good service which he had done for the Chapter.2 In the following year the influence of the King, Henry VII, was invoked on the occasion of a possible vacancy. In the subsequent sequence of events it is recorded that at a meeting held on the 1st December of that year³ a letter, dated the City of London 16th November, 1448, was read from the King to the effect that he had heard that the office of Porter was vacant, or likely to be soon, and requesting that the same be given to "Arnold Asteby, Maister of our Queristers within our College Royal of Our Lady of Eton, who has done good service in reforming the same our Queristers, as he daily doth". The Dean and Chapter in their reply say that the office is not vacant and that "by their Statutes, which they have sworne to keep", they were forbidden to grant any place which was not void. Both these letters are copied into the Act Book in English. The next appointment noted is that of Stephen Preston, described as "avenor" (oat provider). At a meeting of the Chapter held in the Treasurer's house on Sunday, 10th January, 1461-24 a certain royal letter was read for the granting to him (the king) the reversion of the office of Porter of the Canons' Close. The Lord Dean adjourned the meeting until the afternoon, for the composing a suitable answer at leisure. At this meeting, held in the Chapel of St. Lawrence in the south transept of the Cathedral, it was decided that such a grant or gift could not by any means be made, "for that and because that it had been ordained by their predecessors, and inviolably observed in later times, that no temporal and perpetual office of any officer in the Church of Sarum belonging to the Dean and Chapter should be conferred or promised before the vacating of it, at the instance of anyone, lest anyone should appear to be desiring untowardly the death of any person to whose office he hoped to succeed. The Dean and Canons are closely bound to observe the aforesaid by the bond of their oath". Then, however, the Dean and Canons, with the exception of the Chancellor, agreed to be favourably disposed towards the said Stephen Preston, should a vacancy occur. But the Chancellor declared that he would not on any account be willing to provide his good will in the matter, either to

¹ Act Book, Henyngsby, 116.

² Act Book, Pountney, 93.

³ Act Book, Bergh, 20.

⁴ Act Book, Newton, 39.

the said Stephen or to any one else, before a vacancy of the said office occurred. There is a note to the effect that when the said Stephen Preston was admitted it was to be understood that it was done just for the once, and that the Dean and Chapter did not intend to recede from the Chapter Acts. The next occasion on which the appointment of a porter was discussed was at a Chapter meeting held 26th August, 1466,1 when, at the special desire of the Most Illustrious Prince, Edward IV. then within the Palace of the Bishop of Salisbury personally residing. they granted unanimously that Philip Reynolds, one of the clerks of the Chapel of the said Prince, next and immediately after the resignation or the decease of Robert Dyer, Porter of the Close, should enjoy this office on condition that he was willing to administer in that office This notwithstanding that the Dean and Chapter, out of respect of the said Prince, have granted the next vacancy of the said office to one Stephen Preston, who now, as is asserted, "has renounced and now has rejected his right in the said matter, for that considering that provision has been made for him of a better and richer office by the said Prince". These royal requests placed the Chapter in an embarrassing position: their difficulties and perplexities are reflected in the report of their deliberations recorded in the Act Book and fully copied here.

The above John Dyer had been appointed to the office of Porter of the Close in 1445. On the 24th April in that year he gave an undertaking to be faithful in all things to the Church of Sarum, the Dean and Chapter of the said Church and to the several Canons of the same: he further pledged himself to carry out the duties and responsibilities of the office of Porter of the Close. He died on the 5th November. 1468, and was buried in the churchyard before the small north door of the Cathedral, since removed. His will, made two days earlier, in which he is described as "gatekeeper of the Close", was proved in the Treasurer's Court on the 8th of the same month, so no time was lost in the settlement of his affairs. Equal expedition was show in the filling of the office of Porter. At a meeting of the Chapter held on the 13th idem² the aforesaid Philip Reynolds, to whom the appointment had already been made in reversion, was granted the same in succession to the said Robert Dyer, deceased. In 1474 he resigned the position and Tames Bayneham was appointed to fill the vacancy.3

The foregoing references to the Portership are all those of interest during the period stated. While the salary attached to the office remained unchanged for centuries, it is likely that the perquisites increased in value. In the middle of the sixteenth century the office was still being granted at times in reversion. Apparently, successive Chapters took the view that in changed conditions and altered circumstances a too rigid interpretation of the statutes in respect thereto was uncalled for.

¹ Act Book, Newton, 85.

² Act Book, Mahon, 143.

³ Act Book, Mahon, 159.

The Porter's "loghe" was situated on the east side of the north gate of the Close, the room over it being included in the premises. It may not be generally known that the prison house of the Close formed part thereof. In the fabric accounts for the year 1582-3 occur the following entries:—

Paid to Lytell, the carpenter, the 18th October, 1582, for tow days' work for his man in making the postes by the Close gate and making

a doure in the prison in the porter's loghe, at xiid. a day, ijs.

Paid a labourer for making the holes for the postes, iiiid.; nealles for the dore, xd.

Paid for tow staples for the chenes for the postes by the Close gate, vid.

Paid for a stoote locke for the dore for the prison hows by the porterer's loghe, xiiijd.

SHERBORNE PLACE. (Nos. 62—65.)

The picturesque range of buildings, largely dating from Elizabethan times, fronting the west end of the Cathedral, now the Training College for schoolmistresses, incorporates the former prebendal mansion of Sherborne Monastery, suppressed at the Reformation. Since that time it has been in the tenure of laymen, including Hugh Powell and Thomas Sadler, who successively held the office of Principal Diocesan Registrar, and, in turn, at great cost to themselves reconstructed and added considerably to the house. In the early part of the seventeenth century King James I, and the Queen and the Prince of Wales, were the guests here of Thomas Sadler, who subsequently was knighted. Later the royal visits were commemorated by the mansion becoming commonly called the "King's House". A full description of the premises, with particulars of its occupiers and many associations, has been published.

THE SOUTH CANONRY. (No. 71.)

This spacious house, recently designated the "South Canonry", owes many of its present features to Canon Edward Russell Bernard, Chancellor of the Cathedral (1894—1917), who occupied it between 1889 and 1910. It was largely rebuilt after the restoration, replacing the original house which, during the Civil War, was much damaged by adherents of the Parliamentary party. At that time it was in the possession of Humphrey Henchman, Precentor of the Cathedral, to whom it had been assigned some years previously. At the Restoration he was appointed Bishop of the Diocese, and of London three years later, being succeeded in the Precentorship, as also at the "South Canonry", by Thomas Hyde, who died shortly afterwards. It is unlikely that what remained of the house was in a habitable condition, as at a Chapter meeting held 28th August, 1665, Thomas Hill, Preben-

¹ W.A.M., vol. xlvii, 579.

² Act Book, Greenhill & Butler. (1660-1675.)

dary of Bitton, was elected a residentiary canon on condition that he would "buyld a sufficient house fit for a canon resident to reside in in the place of the residentiary house lately ruined in the time of the late Warre and Rebellion". This undertaking he carried out at a cost of two hundred pounds, the Dean and Chapter contributing a further sum.

A great deal could be written about this house and some of its distinguished occupants. The first canon actually identified as residing there was Ralph de Hecham, Chancellor of the Cathedral (1241—1274). In 1313 the executors of William de Berges sold the house to Henry de la Wyle, also Chancellor (1313—1329) under the description of "the house situate in the south corner of the western part of the Canons' Close", for one hundred and twenty pounds: he died in 1329, bequeathing the mansion to the Dean and Chapter, charged with the keeping of his obit. He also left a number of MSS. to the Cathedral library. Among subsequent occupiers of the house was Nicholas Wyckham. Archdeacon of Wilts (1388—1406). He was a kinsman and one of the executors of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester. A later resident was Henry Seward, Succentor (1609), who died in 1640. has been suggested, without confirmatory evidence, that the coat of arms on the ceiling of the dining room, viz., three boars' heads descendant ppr, belonged to a branch of the Seward family. possibility is that they are the arms of William Barton, Succentor (1502—1509), Prebend-Bishop under the title of "Episcopus Saloniensis", who, in that event, must have occupied the house at one time. if only for a short period. In any case, the precise attribution of these arms needs to be determined.

The "views" taken of the mansion in the years 1402, 1470, 1585 and 1586, which have been preserved, contain evidence of its size and importance. In addition, the Parliamentary Survey made in 1649 gives many particulars of interest. This record is of special value in view of what befell the house a few years later.

At the Reformation several of the canonical residences were granted -apparently for the first and only time-by indenture. These included the "South Canonry" which, by indenture dated 2nd September, 1547, was granted to Richard Arche, Treasurer of the Cathedral (1551-1555), under the description of "the mansion-place bylded by Henry de le Wyle" in the west corner of the Close, then in his occupation. On the same occasion he was granted a meadow or pasture ground next adjoining to the backside of the kitchen and garden of the said mansionplace on the north side, and stretching down to the orchard of the late College of the Valle on the east part, and compassed about with the river called the Avon on the south and west parts, which is also divided into two parts by a brooke coming out of the river that runeth from Fisherton Bridge down to Harnham. To have and to hold for the term of his natural life and the two months next ensuing after his decease, paying rent fourteen shillings and nine pence for the said house and twenty six shillings and eight pence for the said meadow.

The meadow or pasture ground thus described was the largest and most valuable of the several parcels of land in the Close known as "Options", being so styled because chosen by the canons resident in order of seniority. As early as the fourteenth century it was known as "Chancellor's Mead", being contiguous to the mansion occupied by several canons who held that dignity. At a Chapter meeting held 21st June, 1387, John Norton, Chancellor, explained that he accepted the meadow because he happened to be the senior canon in residence, adding that the said meadow had been subject to option from ancient times. Two years later it is definitely described as "being next to the Close and near the house then held by Mr. John Norton".2 Thus it is clear that the southern boundary of the Close did not then (if it ever did) extend to the river, although the land between its two branches was also the property of the Dean and Chapter. While the meadow is divided by the channel into two parts it is still regarded as one entity, and, as such, is demised. When and in what circumstances the channel was cut is obscure, but undoubtedly it was made to facilitate the passage of flood-water. Ayleswade Bridge, constructed by Bishop Bingham in 1244, is supposed to have been rebuilt and extended some two hundred and fifty years afterwards, when it was renamed "Harnham Bridge". If so it is remarkable that, as far as is known, there is no definite information available anywhere on the subject. The cutting of the channel may well have been part of this operation; the allusion to it in the deed tending to suggest that it had taken place comparatively recently.

THE SUB-DEANERY. (No. 17.)

An early canonical house charged with the cost of keeping three obits. At a meeting of the Chapter held 8th January, 1442-3³ the mansion was assigned as a place of habitation to Sir John Pedewell, Sub-Dean, to remain for ever to the successive Sub-Deans, "in which place Canons used to dwell". Under the Cathedral Act of 1840 the office of Sub-Dean was deprived, as mentioned earlier, of its residentiary house as well as of the insignificant emoluments attached to it. In 1853 the former was assigned as a house of residence for the Vicar of St. Thomas, Salisbury, for the time being, but the arrangement was discontinued after a few years: it is now in private occupation.

Symondsburgh Place. (No. 7.)

An early canonical house named after John Symondesburgh, Treasurer of the Cathedral, who occupied it, dying in 1454. It was subsequently allowed to fall into ruin, not being required for residential purposes. The present mansion, erected in the middle of the seventeenth century, has lately been assigned as the official residence of the Dean.

¹ Act Book, Coman, 60.

² Act Book, Dunham, 47.

³ Act Book, Hutchins, 59.

The original mansion erected on the site of the present Deanery, was one of three canonical residences, all fronting the approach to the Bishop's Palace known as the "Bishop's Walk". It occupied the central position: the house on its south side being, in 1340, set apart for the Cathedral choristers, who remained there for the next three hundred years. Many of the canons who occupied it in early times have been traced, the first being Robert Strode, who, dying about 1284, charged it with the cost of keeping his obit. Another canon, John de Langbergh, deceased in 1332, did the same. The names of several of their successors between 1381 and 1542 have been ascertained from the Communar's Rolls, wherein the payment by them of the rent, 40s., is entered. The earliest information concerning the house is derived from a "View" taken in 1454, after the death of John Symonsburgh, Treasurer of the Cathedral, to find out the reparations needed and their cost. Here is the report, made partly in English and partly in Latin, recorded in one of the Chapter's Act Books.1

View taken of the houses and places lately inhabited by Mr. John Symondesburgh of good memory by William Ingram, John Cranborne, Richard Trovy and Richard Whitby, canons, the 7th January, 1454—5. They were assisted by William Stey, the mason; Roger, the tyler; and John Zeman, the carpenter; the chief of the workmen of the Cathedral. All chosen and sworn to give a faithful and true estimate of the defects and necessary repairs required. They report:—

In the first place there is a defect in the west window because it has an open ruin in the wall and a moderate default in the glass. And the said defect and all defaults attached to the office of mason were estimated at xliis. iiijd, which William Stey, the mason, offered himself to do, he providing all the necessary materials.

In the penon of the long chamber over the p'ler on the east, in the gronsellyng, studyng and bredyng: daubyng and lavys: on the south side towards the kitchen of the queresters are defects estimated at xxvis. ixd.

The south part of the kitchen suffers default, estimated at xxd. The pargetting and rowcasting on the south side of the chamber above the parler, with their appurtenances, estimated at xxs.

The tyler estimates the defects of all places which need tyling, together with sand and lime, at xis.

The penon of the hye house towards the queresters' place suffers default and threatens to fall down. It is estimated by William Stey, the mason, at xis., and he offers to do the repairs, providing all suitable materials, for that amount.

All the defects of the walls and other buildings on the side of the garden of the queresters, estimated at xxs.: the defects of the inner stable walls, estimated at xxs.

¹ Act Books, Bergh, 121. VOL. L.—NO. CLXXXI.

In the studio over the porch of the church (ecclesia) are various defects.

Between the wall of the seller and the chapel there is a wall which suffers defects in the crest.

The estimated cost of the reparations, xxixli iiiis. iiiid.

After the death of John Symonsburgh the mansion was assigned to several canons in turn, the last being Thomas Hawkins, the Precentor. who died in 1479. Its subsequent history is obscure for a time: apparently, not being required for residence, it was allowed to fall into decay, becoming uninhabitable. Eventually, the premises were found to have been granted by the Dean and Chapter to several of the residentiary canons occupants in turn of the mansion known as "Aula le Stage ", now No. 21 the Close. At a meeting of the Chapter held 15th April, 15211, Richard Dudley, the Precentor, was assigned the "Stage Hall", as also the house, stable and close called "Symsborrowe" Place in the Bishop's Walk. His successors there were made similar grants. the practice continuing into the following century, when a change was made. At a meeting of the Chapter held 31st January, 1636-7.2 Giles Thornborough, the Sub-Dean, then in possession of the mansion. gave up to the use of the fabric all the end of his stable, called anciently "Symonsbury" house, from the great door, viz., all betwixt ye great door and the chorister's house, and then it was by mutual consent set apart for the use of the fabric, with free ingress, regress and egress at the great gate, and the use of the backside for a sawpit and to lav timber, and at ye fabric's cost the under room on the left hand of the gatehouse of his canonical residence (Aula le Stage) going forth towards Mr. Westfield's to be fitted for a stable.

The Cathedral workshop had earlier been in the churchyard. The Dean and Chapter in a grant, dated 25th March, 1584, to Edward Hyde, clerk of the works, of a tenement there expressly reserved the the long room nearest the Cathedral Church for the use of the works of the said Cathedral. In the Parliamentary Survey of the Close made in 1649 it is described as:—

All that house or tenement called Simsbery Place, being a workshop for the use of the fabric, setting, lying and being within ye Close upon the east side of a highway leading to the late Bishop's Palace and having the house of Mr. Giles Tomkings on ye south, a ground or orchard belonging to William Barfoote on the east, and the stable now in the tenure of Doctor Hurst on the north, being one longe house of five bays of buildings.

In the redistribution of the premises made in 1636—7 the Sub-Dean retained, as did also Doctor Matthew Nicholas, his successor at Aula

¹ Shuter's Memorials.

² Shuter's Memorials.

le Stage, the close at Symonsburgh Place formerly granted to, and subsequently held by, other canons occupying the mansion, while other portions of the premises were leased to the holders of adjoining tenements. On the eve of the Restoration the workshop and sawpit were removed to the close adjoining the old choristers' house on its south side, the present mansion being erected on their site. made clear in a grant by the Dean and Chapter, dated 26th September. 1660, to Francis Sambrooke of the Close, for forty years in consideration of his having at his own proper cost lately erected and built from the ground the new messuage, tenement or dwelling house mentioned. and laid out in building the same and securing the garden thereunto adjoining, four hundred pounds or thereabouts. This grant included the old piece of building adjoining thereunto and lying on the south thereof, described as part of the land and buildings called Symonsburgh Place, now incorporated in the premises of the Diocesan Registry; also the stable, etc., on the north side of the mansion.

The above Francis Sambrooke died on the 8th January, 1660—1, aged 77: there are memorial inscriptions in the Cathedral to members of the Sambrooke family. In 1674 and 1689 the premises were regranted to Elizabeth Sambrook, his widow, and in 1700 and 1722 to another Francis Sambrooke, their son, of the Middle Temple, and to Lucy Sambrooke, his relict and executrix, respectively. During their tenure of the house it was sub-let successively to Thomas Lambert, Esq., and to George Wyndham, Esq., the last named occupying it until 1746, when he died.

In 1729 the house—then in the occupation of George Wyndham—having been in the possession of the Sambrook family for nearly seventy years, was granted to Thomas Hackett, described as of the Close, but two years later of Alton St. Pancras, Dorset. He was granted on the same occasion the stable or plot of ground (then in his own occupation or that of William Harris, his undertenant) bounded by the garden in the occupation of the said George Wyndham on the east and south, the highway leading to the Palace on the west, and, a garden on the north. He was further granted the east part or parcel of the garden lying near Symonsburgh Palace, then also in his occupation. This last piece of ground is described as having been lately bounded and severed from the west part thereof (in the tenure of the said George Wyndham) by a new brick wall running from north to south, and hath, from the east part thereof, a hedge or pale parting it from the ground now in other occupation.

After the death of Thomas Hackett the house was granted successively to members of the Wyndham and Wapshare families, subsequently continuing in private occupation until 1920, when it was assigned as a residence for the Dean for the time being. It is worthy of note that for six centuries before that date the Deans of Sarum had only occupied one house, the old Deanery. Moreover, during all that period their residence there has, officially, been continuous, except when broken by the Parliamentary régime and the Protectorate which followed.

THE COMMON HALL OF THE VICARS CHORAL. (No. 18.)

Originally an early canonical house, portions of which have survived. In 1319—1320 bequeathed by William de Chadeleshunt, Canon, to the Dean and Chapter, subject to the cost of keeping his obit: they continued to assign it as a canonical residence. Early in the fifteenth century it was set aside for the purpose of a Common Hall for the Commonalty of Vicars Choral. This has lately been dissolved, and now only its hall remains to constitute a link with the past and to perpetuate its ancient memories.

Walton's, otherwise Eyre's, Canonical House. (No. 69.)

The present mansion is built on the site of an earlier canonical residence with an uneventful record, few of its occupants having been traced or items of interest in its history. In 1697 it was granted to Isaac Walton, Canon, son of Isaac Walton, author of the Compleat Angler. In 1718 the house came into the possession of Francis Eyre, Canon, who rebuilt it; in consequence it became known as "Eyre's Canonry". His armorial shield, impaling Hyde, is carved in stone above the front entrance. The house is now in lay occupation.

THE WARDROPP. (No. 58.)

This charming low-gabled building is situated on the west side of the Close, next to Braybrooke House. It dates from the fifteenth century; possibly, portions are older. In pre-Reformation times it was the property of the Bishop, who, notwithstanding its distance from the Palace, is reputed to have used it as a wardrobe or storehouse. It was also used for residentiary purposes, as, in a letter dated Ramesbury Manor, 8th October, 1424, Bishop John Chandler notified the Dean and Chapter that he had granted his houses in the Close of Salisbury, between the house which Mr. Robert Brown inhabits on the one side and the house which at present Mr. John Luke now inhabits on the other side, to Mr. Alexander Sparrow, Archdeacon of Sarum (1426-1432) and Berks (1432-1433). Both Mr. Robert Brown and the Archdeacon were residentiary canons. In 1568 Bishop Jewell exchanged the "Wardropp" with the Dean and Chapter for the Glass House which, being situated inconveniently near the Palace, he wished to demolish. This exchange was carried through without delay: in the following year its new owners granted it to William Blackler, their Chapter clerk, under the description of "all their houses, edifices and buildings which sometime was the great hall of the mansion house. messuage or tenement commonly called the Wardropp, and the two porches, the one on the east side and the other on the west, with the buildings on the said two porches. Also all houses, buildings, etc., lying between the said great hall and the wall of the mansion house wherein John Hooper, Esquire, now inhabiteth". These particulars give some indication of the size of the house at that date.

¹ Act Book, Harding.

The Glass House, or Glazier's Shop, was the place where much of the glass required for the Cathedral and the houses in the Close was made and stored. There are numerous entries in the Fabric Accounts recording material of one kind and another taken there; these cease in 1571, so it was probably demolished about that year. The building had also been used for other purposes. While the Chapter House was the customary meeting place of the residentiary canons they occasionally met at one or other of the canonical houses; also, it is surprising to find, at the Glass House, where it is recorded they met on the 20th October, 1469¹; also on the 11th November, 1551, when the meeting took place "in a certain high chamber within the building called le Glasse House".²

¹ Act Book, Machon, p. 32.

² Act Book, Holt & Blackler, p. 30.

SOME WILTSHIRE CASES IN STAR CHAMBER.

By G. M. Young, C.B.

One of the most interesting documents for the later years of Queen Elizabeth and the early years of James is Hawarde's Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata 1593—1609. It is also one of the least known, having been privately printed in a limited edition of 250 copies only, from the MS. belonging to Mr. Alfred Morrison, of Fonthill. My attention was called to it by Miss Edith Olivier, and I have been examining it lately to see what gleams of light it may throw on the history of Wiltshire.

Star Chamber, in its best days, was the most popular court of law in England. For one thing, it was the cheapest. For another, it could not be browbeaten or overawed, as Assizes sometimes were, by local magnates. In Elizabeth's time, moreover, it was scrupulously careful not to encroach on the province of the Common Law. It was a court of supplementary jurisdiction to deal with cases for which the law had made no provision, or where the ordinary courts lacked power to enforce their decisions: principally riots, forgery and slander. What brought it into the unpopularity which has made Star Chamber a by-word for tyranny was, first, that it ceased to observe its own limitations, and set the lawyers against it by intruding on the jurisdiction of the Court of Common Law: and, second, that it interfered in matters of religion. The Stuart Parliaments, largely dominated by lawyers, and with a strong Puritan leaven from the beginning, by natual consequence grew more and more hostile to Star Chamber and its provincial equivalents, the Council of the North and the Council of Wales, all of which were abolished in the first months of the Long Parliament in 1641. George Prothero put the case for and against Star Chamber excellently when he wrote: "It was admirably calculated to be the support of order against anarchy, or of despotism against individual and national liberty". In Tudor days, order was the one thing needful: anything was better than having the Wars of the Roses over again. With the accession of James, the danger of a disputed succession passed away, the need for a court of extraordinary jurisdiction was no longer felt, Star Chamber had served its purpose, and any institution which goes on after it has ceased to be useful is pretty certain to be felt, first as a nuisance, and then as a grievance. The services which Star Chamber had rendered to the nation, in doing even justice between rich and poor, keeping the magnates in their places and the justices of the peace, in times of dearth or danger, up to their duty, were forgotten. Like Magna Carta, Star Chamber became a myth. I wonder how many people are aware that the doings of the Timber Control Board to-day are expressly contrary to the Great Charter? "The Attorney-General delivered that by Magna Carta they cannot take any subject's wood or timber growing, without he do agree". And Lord Chancellor Ellesmere pronounced that this was good law. "The King cannot be more dishonoured than, under shadow of his prerogative, his subjects to be

oppressed and burdened. For his greatest care in the world, next to the service of Almighty God, is the welfare and prosperous liberty of his subjects, and no greater grief unto him than to have them oppressed and burdened". So the two officials who had taken Mr. Backhouse's saplings "for poules", were fined £20 and sent to prison, and their servants to stand in the pillory. No wonder Star Chamber was popular!

1. A soldier or sailor, discharged the service, would provide himself with a certificate from his commanding officer. With this in his pocket, he would travel safely about the country; without it, he might be arrested as a rogue and vagabond. There seems to have been a fairly lively trade in forged certificates or pass-ports, and in June, 1596, Enster, a beneficed clergyman, and Eyles, clerk to a justice of the peace, appeared in Star Chamber and confessed, Enster to six, and Eyles to seventy-three such forgeries.

Sentence: to be pilloried at assizes, "whopte in Wiltshire", fined £5 and imprisoned. Archbishop Whitgift undertook to see that Enster should be degraded and lose his benefice. Which of our parishes had

enjoyed his ministrations?

2. The same month and year, June, 1596, Star Chamber had before them an incident in the feud between Danvers and Long, which had led to the murder of Henry Long, at Corsham, in 1594 (W.A.M., I, 305).

The story was on this wise. Sir John Danvers (Aubrey's Old Sir John) died in 1594, leaving a widow, Lady Danvers. On the Dauntsey estate there had been a waste, or common, of 100 or 120 acres,

voidable, unprofitable and overgrown with brambles and

briars and not worth twelve pence an acre.

The tenants asked Sir John to enclose it and give them better common elsewhere. This he agreed to, and in 1579 set to work to grub and enclose the waste, with ditches, pales and quickset hedges, so enriching it that it became worth 13 shillings an acre. The tenants in exchange got their common in other lands and the profit of a certain wood.

When Sir John died, it seems to have occurred to them that they might as well have both. They collected a common purse and applied to Sir Walter Long, who referred them to Counsel, Stumpe to wit, of Malmesbury and the Inner Temple. Stumpe pointed out that, as it takes three to make a riot, they were all right so long as they went two and two, with bills and spades but no weapons, and dug down the pales and hedges, peaceably and without force. This they did, in fourteen shifts of two each. At Assizes Long boasted that "You shall see the hedges plucked down as fast as ever they were set up," and he rode across country, "there being no highway", to encourage the good work,

Well done, Masters! This is the way. If you do not prevaile, I will give you as much land out of my park. Hold together, for there was never multitude held together, and failed of their purpose.

So said Edmund Long too.

The Privy Council, advised of these proceedings, directed the Justices to enquire. They reported that there was a "great and dangerous riot". Privy Council instructed Coke, Attorney-General, to prefer a bill in Star Chamber. Meanwhile, the tenants addressed the Queen in a petition which she handed on to Lord Keeper Egerton. Star Chamber found that there had been a riot, and that Sir Walter Long was the originator.

Sentence: Walter Long, imprisonment and £100 fine. Salman, Borse, Hawarden, Sewell (the principal tenants, it would appear) £100 fine and imprisonment; the other tenants 100 marks and imprisonment.

The sentences sound worse than they probably were. A deliquent usually had opportunities of making interest with the officials at Westminster, and, on humble submission and promise of amendment, would compound for part of his fine—and a few presents to clerks and counsel.

Lord Keeper Egerton (whom I strongly suspect to be the original of Polonius in Hamlet) wanted to make an example of the petitioners for telling such shocking lies. "It is a sin against Almighty God to instil any untruths into Her Majesty's sacred ears, who delights only in truth, and her whole care is that truth, equity and justice should be with equal hand ministered to all her subjects, and therefore it is our part to punish these offences and to keep all causes from Her Sacred Majesty that may harbour disquiet thoughts in her divine breast".

- 3. October 1596. The feud continues. One of Sir Walter Long's servants had killed a man. The Coroner, Mathews, who was evidently a creature of the Long family, being steward of their manors, held the inquest, without viewing the body and five weeks after the funeral. Also, the jury was irregularly summoned, from Hundreds "where Sir Walter commands and is a Justice", though Mathews as Under Sheriff and Collector of Subsidies must have known his Hundreds well, and the jury ought to have been summoned from the Hundred where the murder was done or where the body lay. This packed jury found that Long's man killed the other in self-defence, se defendendo, which, "the blow being behind the ear, was most absurd". The slayer was indicted at Assizes, and the jury, it would appear, asked the Judge if they were bound to follow the Coroner's verdict. "No", said Anderson, C.J., "follow your evidence". "For which he was greatly commended". Sentence: Mathews to be removed from all his offices, imprisoned, fined £500, disbarred, expelled from Thavie's Inn, marched through Westminster Hall with a paper showing his offence, and pilloried there and at Assizes.
- 4. April 1597. The general rule of law was that corn should be brought to market by the grower and there sold. The middleman, or badger, who bought it off the grower and sold it for his own account, was an unpopular character always. But he was a necessary evil, and as such was allowed to operate under licence from the Justices. Panter got a licence in Somerset to badger in Wiltshire with the consent of

the Justices there. But he started business without their permission, and what was worse, sold his corn as soon as the bell rang, instead of waiting the proper two hours (this was to give the local growers the pick of the custom). Whereupon, Thirne, J.P. (for which, and his care for the poor this dear year, he was greatly commended) told the Constable to seize Panter's stock and sell it at 8d. less than he had given for it. Panter then arrested the Constable, imprisoned him for seven weeks, and recovered £8 damages. Somehow or other the affair came before Star Chamber who decided, "for example of this time particularly", to deal severely with Panter.

Sentence: to stand in the pillory with an empty sack in his hand,

£5 to the Queen, £10 to the Constable and all his costs.

Panter was agent to one Harman, and some of the Lords of Council wanted to have the principal before them. But the Statute of Livery was sufficient to involve them both in a forfeit of £5 a month.

5. October, 1597. This would appear to be a Wiltshire case, though the particulars are obscure. Laurence Johnes, parson of a church, and Alice his wife, with others, had a quarrel with Thomas Hose. Hose put himself under the protection of the law, and Johnes was bound over, by the Judge at Assize, to be of good behaviour. Instead of which, the Reverend Johnes rioted on a Sunday before Divine service and wounded several persons. The same on Monday. Hose now applied to the Justices of the Peace, who again bound the turbulent priest to be of good abearing. All to no avail. Johnes then arrested Hose and brought him to Salisbury where he devised divers actions for great sums against him.

What it was all about does not appear.

Sentence: fine of 500 marks, imprisonment "without return in haste or enlargement", the Archbishop to see that Johnes was unfrocked: pillory at the next assize. Alice, £40 fine and imprisonment.

6. June, 1599. Ludlowe, a gentleman of good account and substance, for converting arable land into pasture, for the destruction of houses of husbandry, and building cottages, to the depopulation of the countryside.

Offences committed before the passing of the Act and so pardoned by the Statute. Building of cottages a matter for Assizes, not Star Chamber.

This was a standing trouble, all through the Tudor period and later. The high price of wool made it profitable to throw farms together for sheep-walks, pull down the farmhouses, and run up a few cottages, with no land attached, for the shepherds. The dispossessed population went to swell the number of rogues and vagabonds, and the market towns, deprived of their customers, decayed. How far the process went in Wiltshire, and how far the efforts of the Government, acting through the Justices of the Peace, were successful in stopping it and in maintaining what we should now call a balanced agriculture, is a subject well deserving the attention of local, and indeed parochial, historians.

7. May, 1606. Thomas Gawen. of Norrington, was a Roman Catholic. The Queen granted his land to Fortescue, who leased it to Kennell. On August 7th, 1603, the widow Gawen and two servants, while the parish was at church, entered the house and barred the doors. On Monday more supporters of the Gawen family assembled and took possession. Tooman, the tithingman, with his white rod in hand, gave official countenance to these proceedings. So did Sir Edmund Ludlow, who refused to see any riot, but bound everybody over to keep the peace, and arrested one of the Gawen party by mistake. On Mrs. Gawen pointing out his error, he arrested one of the Kennell household instead, and then proceeded to thrash Kennell and threaten him with gaol. For some days, the Gawenites kept possession of the house and amused themselves by shooting at the Kennellites with bows and guns.

The widow Gawen pleaded that as the house was part of her jointure, she was entitled to recover possession. But it was proved that on the King's accession she had gone about saying that times were changed for Catholics: the Bloody Queen was dead under whom the Lord Chief Justice did rule the roost, and Sir John Fortescue and the blood-sucker Walter Raleigh. And Sir Edmund Ludlow had backed her through thick and thin against Kennell, who was the lawful occupier.

Sentence: Widow Gawen fined £500; Ludlow, £300 and removed from the bench; Tooman, £100: removed: bound over. The other rioters £40 or £20 apiece; and three women £10; all to be imprisoned. If they cannot find the money, Mrs. Gawen to pay.

Some of the Lords thought that the vile words used against the Queen (now with God, but her name and fame shall ever live most glorious and comfortable to all honest hearts) deserved a severer punishment.

8. This was not the end, and the sequel reveals something of the grossness and brutality underlying the brilliancy of the Elizabethan age. When Gawen died, in August, 1603, Mr. Willoughbie the parson (of what parish?) refused to bury him, as having died excommunicate. So did Mr. Tynes of another parish. So the Gawenites broke into the church by night, buried him in the chancel, locked the doors, and next day rang the bells in two parishes all day long. An excited neighbourhood headed by the parson and constable, rallied to the scene and got into the church by a "little privy door". The result was a wild brawl, in which the Gawenites were driven out, and widow Gawen put in the stocks.

But was it Gawen who was buried? He had been seen riding through Blandford the day before his supposed death, and the rumour ran round that he was in hiding or fled to France. If he was dead, perhaps Mrs. Gawen had murdered him? The measures taken to settle these doubts were sufficiently unpleasant. The body was exhumed: the coroner's jury found it was a natural death; but the parish officers refused to re-bury the corpse, which lay several days in the church. In the end Kennell allowed it to be buried in the churchyard, but "north

and south; as he was an overthwart neighbour while he lived so he shall be buried overthwartly, and if you mislike it, I will have him

dragged at a horse's tail and laid upon the downs ".

Kennell, for his inhuman usage, and malicious words, of the late Gawen—£100 fine and imprisonment. Cooms, who would appear to have been Kennell's man, £40 for contempt, and the pillory. The others dismissed from the case, and the two parsons commended for their correct behaviour.

9. January, 1607. Henry Ludlow in trouble. Joel Kinge, servant to Sir Edward Ludlow, and a very mean and base fellow, had secretly married Miss Ludlow. In December, 1602, Kinge, riding to Reading, was assaulted in Bishop's Road—half hanged, nearly strangled, pins pushed down his throat. On recovering, he wrote a description of his assailants, John Young, a minister, and three of Ludlow's men, besides Henry Ludlow's horse. It was proved that they were in the neighbourhood at the time of the assault. What followed is not quite clear, but Star Chamber held that the whole proceedings were "very Scythian and barbarous", especially to be condemned in a clergyman. The judges evidently thought that Sir Edward was at the bottom of it all, and would have been glad to convict him too.

Young fined £1,000 and handed over to the Archbishop to be unfrocked. Henry fined £500, two of his men £100, the third £50.

This case well illustrates the utility of Star Chamber as a court of supplementary jurisdiction. The unfortunate Kinge had tried to proceed against Ludlow in Wiltshire, but "the indictment could not be found, so that it seems Mr. Ludlow's strength is great in the county" (that is, no jury could be trusted to find against him; we have seen the same trouble in North Wilts with the Long family). So Star Chamber gave Kinge £100 damages. One begins to understand why the Ludlows became such strong opponents of the Royal prerogative

Bishop's Road is interesting. It is probably the stretch of Roman Road south of Figsbury, known to Aubrey as St. Thomas Becket's Path, which Kinge would naturally follow if he was riding from Salis-

bury to Andover on his way to Reading.

10. In a subsequent case Lord Chancellor Ellesmere explained very clearly the scope of Star Chamber jurisdiction. It would not meddle with peaceable entry upon injunction or otherwise. But if one party used force, forgery or fraud, then Star Chamber would intervene. In this case, Longe had riotously entered a house and kept the plaintiff, a widow of 80, locked up for three weeks and eaten her provision. Fine £100, and £50 damages to the old lady. Whether this was one of the Wiltshire Longs does not appear.

WARDOUR CASTLE.

By LT.-Col. H. F. CHETTLE, C.M.G., O.B.E.

Three notable houses of the Arundells, of widely different pretensions, are sheltered in Wardour Woods. The old Castle, built at the end of the fourteenth century and twice besieged in the Civil Wars, survives as a ruin. Beside it is Wardour House, built in the seventeenth century, used as the family residence when the old Castle was no longer habitable, and left by the family when the new Castle was built. Three-quarters of a mile to the west, across the "Fish Pond", is the new Castle, dating from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The three buildings lie at the south-west end of Wardour parish (now both ecclesiastically and for civil purposes part of Tisbury); half the old Castle, with the woods south and east of it, is in Donhead St. Andrew.

From Domesday to the reign of Richard II, the manor of Wardour was held of the Abbey of Wilton for the fourth part of a Knight's fee (Roxburghe Club; Survey of the lands of William first Earl of Pembroke 112). It passed from one obscure family to another, residing longest in that of St. Martin (J. P. Yeatman: History of the House of Arundell 267). The St. Martins were followed by John, fourth Lord Lovel of Titchmarsh, whose son John, fifth Lord Lovel, on the 27th February, 1393, obtained licence to crenellate his manor house of Wardour and make a castle of it (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1391-6, 261); and in the next few years the old Castle, in all its essential features, was built. It was, perhaps, designed by William Wynford, one of the King's masons (John H. Harvey in Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 1941, 44). It was a hexagonal house, built round an open interior court, but with two square towers at the corners of the main north-east front. The hall and solar, the kitchen, and the chapel were on the first floor, the hall and kitchen rising through the second; less important rooms occupied the ground floor and the second floor, and, in parts of the Castle, a third storey as well. The hall had its gallery and its dais, and two fine outer windows high above the main northeast door; the other windows faced inwards to the court; and the outer faces were pierced only by embrasured slits. It stands on the slope of a natural hill, and a bailey wall, entered by a gate almost due north of the building, surrounded the castle and about 4½ acres of open space.

The fifth Lord Lovel died at his new home at Wardour in 1408, and his son John, the sixth baron, in 1414. The sixth baron's son William, seventh Lord Lovel and Lord Holand, died in 1455, seised of Wardour Castle, and his son John, eighth Lord Lovel and Lord Holand, in 1465. The eighth baron was a Lancastrian, and his lands were forfeited after Edward IV's accession; his son Francis, the "Lovel our dog" of Richard III's reign, did not recover Wardour.

The manor and lordship of Wardour were granted by Edward IV to

William Neville Earl of Kent in 1462, and on Kent's death to George Duke of Clarence, in 1463 and 1474 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1461—67, 225 and 226; 1467—77, 457). Meanwhile the custody of the castle and of the park belonging to it had been given for life to John Touchet, sixth Lord Audley, in 1461 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461—67, 8 and 87), and the grant was repeated in 1478, twelve days after Clarence's execution (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1476—85, 68). Audley died in 1490¹.

Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, in some way obtained the property (his eldest brother had married the heiress of the Lovels), and in 1486 he granted a lease of the castle and manor to Sir John Cheyne, later Lord Cheyne (Notes by the 12th Lord Arundell of Wardour on the Family History, 86). Cheyne died in 1496, and in 1499 Ormond sold the manor, castle and park for £500 to Robert, first Lord Willoughby de Broke, son of Sir John Willoughby and Anne Cheyne his wife (Notes by Lord Arundell, 87; G.E.C., Complete Peerage VIII 145). Lord Willoughby died in 1502, leaving a son Robert, the second baron, who died in 1522; and Robert left only granddaughters, one of whom, Elizabeth, married Sir Fulke Greville.

The Grevilles took possession, but in 1537 another claimant appeared in the person of Sir Antony Willoughby. In the same year Sir Antony leased the property for forty years to Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter (who was, however, executed in 1539) (Letters and Papers Hen. VIII, XIII, ii, 454; Notes by Lord Arnndell, 88; Wiltshire Notes and Queries, vol. iii, 85). In 1541 Fulke and Elizabeth leased it for fortyone years to William Grimston, who apparently transferred the lease to Matthew Colthurst (Letters and Papers, xxi, i, 946). But by deeds of 1538 and 1544 the property was finally settled on Fulke and his heirs (Yeatman, 269; Notes by Lord Arundell, 88); and in 1547 Fulke sold it for £600 to the second son of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, who had profited by the suppression of Shaftesbury Abbey (G. Oliver, Catholic Religion in the Western Counties, 75). The new owner, Sir Thomas Arundell, founded the existing house of Arundell of Wardour, and it has been noted that his grandson was a descendant also of the Lovels and the Willoughbys.

Sir Thomas Arundell (I) of Wardour, a commissioner for the suppression of religious houses, was beheaded on Tower Hill in February, 1552, for alleged conspiracy against the Duke of Northumberland. He was attainted, and the Wardour property escheated to William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, who had obtained the monastic lands of Wilton from the Crown (Roxburghe Club, 112); it remained the property of the Pembrokes for eighteen years. In 1570 Sir Matthew Arundell, Sir Thomas's son, took it in exchange for the Manor of Fovant (Sir R. C. Hoare: Modern Wiltshire, iii, 177; Notes by Lord Arundell, 90—91).

¹ Audley and Lord Scales, captured by Warwick and Clarence in 1470, were sent in custody to Wardour pending execution, but they escaped (*Chronicles of the White Rose*, 28).

It had been leased in 1551 for 21 years, at £30 fs. 8d. a year, to Matthew Colthurst, and the lease was now held by Lawrence Hyde, who married Colthurst's widow; Hyde's son, Sir Nicholas, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was born in the castle (Notes by Lord Arundell, 90; Roxburghe Club, 112—13; Gough's Camden's Britannia, i, 150; Wiltshire Magazine, xviii, 19—20).

Sir Matthew Arundell, restored in blood in 1554, had waited sixteen years to recover Wardour, and when the lease fell in he carried out a thorough renovation (Hoare, iii, 177; Oliver, 76). He substituted Tudor three-light windows for the outer slits; he made a new door at the foot of the main staircase in the courtvard; and he remodelled the main north-east doorway, placing a bust of Our Lord over the Arundell coat of arms and a commemorative Latin inscription below them, and dating the whole 1578. The house, as he rebuilt it, had (according to the inventory of its contents made in 1605 and now at Wardour) its great chamber and withdrawing chamber, its great parlour and withdrawing parlours, the hall, the chapel, the gallery, the "pyde horse" and apostles' chambers, the little chamber by the conduit and "the Chamber beneath the Cundytt where the Evydence Boxes stand ", the porter's lodge, and thirty-two other rooms, large or small. The stables under the bailey wall, and the tunnel or drain from the east tower ending in impressive underground chambers close to the stables, were probably built by Sir Matthew. He contested the claims of Cranborne Chase over Wardour (H.M.C.: Cecil, iv. 168). Queen Elizabeth, alleging that Sir Thomas had owed £1,900 to the Crown, "extended" (a process in the nature of foreclosure) the castle and park (Yeatman, 274); it is not known when the extent was paid off.

Sir Matthew died in December, 1598, in debt (H.M.C.: Cecil, 508-9). His son Thomas (II) was made a Count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1595, for his valour in fighting against the Turks. Much to his father's distress, Queen Elizabeth took offence at his foreign title, and in 1597 and 1598 he was definitely in disgrace (H.M.C : Cecil, vii, viii); but in 1605 he was created Lord Arundell of Wardour. He was a Catholic, and founded the Jesuit Mission which remained at Wardour until 1934 (Dodd: Church History, iii, 167; H.M.C., 10th Rep., iv, 184 sqq.; Oliver, 173-4, 193-6); and he seems to have been treated as the head of the English Catholics (Notes by Lord Arundell 48-49). The castle was searched for arms and armour (which were found and removed) in 1625 (Acts of the Privy Council 1625-26, 229; Cal. State Papers Dom. 1625 - 26, 99 and 170; H. Foley: Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, iii, 520-22). Lord Arundell, with his wife and some of his servants, was repeatedly prosecuted for recusancy in 1627-28, but shielded by the King (H.M.C.: Var. Coll., i, 96-97; Rutland, iv, 222). He fell deep into debt, having to support many children and grandchildren, and about 1637 he addressed an appeal to the King to take over the castle at almost any terms (Cal. State Papers Dom. 1637-38, 55; 1638-39, 268). But he died at Wardour, aged 78. in 1639, with the castle-fortunately for the fame of the Arundells

-still on his hands, and his son Thomas (III), the second baron, succeeded him.

The second baron fought on the Royalist side in the Civil War, and died of wounds at Oxford on the 19th May, 1643. Meanwhile, on the 2nd May, Sir Edward Hungerford and the Parliamentary forces of Wiltshire had invested Wardour Castle, and they were joined by Colonel William Strode (of Barrington) with part of the Somerset forces. They had "two small pieces", which did little damage; and the castle held out, with 25 men against 1,300, until the 8th May. Lord Arundell's widow, born Lady Blanche Somerset, inspired the small garrison and the maids who loaded the muskets to this moral rather than physical achievement. But on the 8th Colonel Edmund Ludlow arrived with reinforcements for the besiegers, and two mines were sprung. One, in an outer vault communicating with the cellars (probably outside the south wall of the south-east tower), left the castle itself unharmed; the other, below one of the garderobes, did great damage. Hungerford threatened to blow a third mine under the other garderobe and then to storm the castle, and gave Lady Arundell and her exhausted garrison an hour's grace. She surrendered on terms. (E. Ludlow: Memoirs (edn. 1894) i, 51; Mercurius Rusticus, 47 sqq.) It was agreed that she should have safe conduct to Bath, and that she and the ladies with her should have "all things fitting" for their quality; that the garrison should have their lives; and that the contents of the castle should be held at the disposal of Parliament (J. Britton: Beauties of Wiltshire, i. 261-2).

The news that Wardour had surrendered reached the House of Commons on the 11th May, and after consideration it was decided to garrison the castle rather than "slight" it (Commons' Journals, iii, 79). Ludlow was left in charge. He was at once threatened by the Earl of Marlborough from Lord Cottington's house at Fonthill, but Hungerford's cavalry drove Marlborough's men out of Fonthill. He sank a well, "broke down the vaults about the castle", and took in provisions, and according to Mercurius Rusticus he damaged the furniture and the park to the amount of £100,000. A fortnight after he had settled in the new Lord Arundell, Henry (I), third baron, arrived at Fonthill and began the second siege of Wardour.

Ludlow described his defence of Wardour in detail. He held out for over ten months, partly because the investment of the castle was long delayed, and partly because of the opportune discovery of £1,200 worth of treasure in it. He was bombarded (by Hopton's guns brought from Weymouth and, perhaps, posted on Castle Ditches, south-east of Tisbury), and mined, and at last, on the 18th March, 1644, he was forced to surrender with 75 men (C.S.P. Dom., 1644, 11; Somerset Record Society, xviii, 63, 65; C. H. Firth in Ludlow, i, 454-6). Lord Arundell recovered his castle, with its west walls ruined and the interior badly shaken, but he obtained fair terms for Ludlow (Firth, loc. cit.). His children were kept prisoners until July, 1644 (Commons' Journals, iii, 131, 488, 553, 573). His estates were sequestrated in

1645; he asked leave to compound in April, 1646, and in July, 1647, they were discharged. They were again sequestrated, with liberty to compound, under the Act of the 22nd November, 1652 (Index Society, ii, 40a, 61a), and Ludlow in turn interceded for him at this crisis with the "Treason Trustees". In July, 1653, the "fallow deer and red deer" parks at Wardour, and in April, 1654, the rest of the property, were discharged and granted to Humphrey Weld and others, his trustees. He was restored to possession by Act of Parliament on the Restoration, but it had cost him £35,000. (Cal. Citee for Compounding, 1222—5; Cal. Citee for Advance of Money, 615; Ludlow, i, 455—6, ii, 155; Foley, iii, 533n; Oliver, 82; R.C. Families in England, iii, 155). He became Henrietta Maria's Master of the Horse.

Henry I had the reputation of a very "judicious and sober" Catholic (M. V. Hay: The Jesuits and the Popish Plot, 104; H.M.C., 13th Rep., vi., 124), but it did not save him from imprisonment in the Tower from 1678 to 1685 on Oates's and Dugdale's accusations. (Oates said (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1678, 622) that he had seen a patent of the General of the Jesuits at Rome appointing Lord Arundell Lord Chancellor of England, and Lord Arundell's letter of acceptance.) (See also H.M.C.; Ormonde N.S., iv., 222, 469, 475, 490.) He was made Lord Privy Seal by King James II; he obtained a dispensation from the penal laws in 1687 (H.M.C., 12th Rep., vi., 301); and on James's abdication he retired to Breamore, near Salisbury, where he "passed his life in the most hospitable manner" (Britton, i, 285). He died in 1694. He left Wardour Castle unrestored, and built a small house against the south side of the bailey wall: here his younger son Henry lived until his death in 1721 (Foley, v, 823 n.; Notes by Lord Arundell, 94). This house, considerably altered in later years, and the ruins of the Elizabethan stables, are still immediately adjoining the bailey wall.

Henry I, third baron, was succeeded in 1694 by his son Thomas (IV), who died at Breamore in 1712. The fourth baron, kept out of public life by his creed, had other interests. He kept one of the earliest packs of foxhounds (Notes by Lord Arundell, 67 sqq.) He was allowed by the Privy Council to keep horses without having them seized (R.C. Families, iii, 243). Between 1704 and 1712 relics of two saints were found at Wardour by Fr. Fairfax, S.J.; they had been sent as a present by Pope Alexander VII (1655—67), but the letters sent with them had been lost, and the saints could be described only as SS. Primus and Secundus. They were buried under the "chapel altar" (Foley, v, 822—23), probably in what are now the sheds adjoining Wardour Hall.

Henry II, the fifth baron, succeeded his father Thomas IV, and died at Wardour in 1726. He and two other residents in Wardour House refused to take the oath to King George in 1715, and his estate was then returned at £1,186 8s. a year (Wiltshire Magazine, xvi, 338). His son, Henry III, sixth baron, died at Richmond in 1746; he had formal gardens at the old castle (Buck's view, dated in 1732; Dr. Richard Pococke: Travels through England, ii, 46 (1754), Camden Society 1889).

Henry III was succeeded by his son Henry IV, seventh baron, who died at Wardour in 1756, and he by his son Henry V, the eighth baron.

Henry V was attracted (according to the family tradition) by a scheme of restoring the old castle, but he decided to build a great new house on a fresh site. He began it in 1768, and moved in in October, 1775 (Foley, v, 824). The house, built of local stone, was designed by James Paine, who worked for other prominent Catholics. The right wing contains the chapel, designed internally by the Venetian architect Quarenghi and opened on the 1st November, 1776 (Hoare, iii, 169-179; Foley, v, 824). The ambitious builder, who furnished the house with similar magnificence (Britton, 265—279), was forced to leave a certain remote staircase in the state in which the contractor's men had used it, and he so impoverished the estate that his successor had to sell other property to clear off the mortgages (Oliver, 87—88). Like other mansions of its age, it "rose with a slight air of injured pride from a simple expanse of unmown turf" (Ralph Dutton: The English Garden, 88).

Two surveys preserved at Wardour illustrate the history of the old castle under Henry V. The first, dated 1753, shows a bowling-green on the upper side of the "Castle & Pleasure Garden". On the plateau above is the "Corps de Guard". Against the south bailey wall are the "House, Stew court, &c."; a little further south are the "Laundry, Breakfast Parlour-house, &c."; and on the north and west sides are the "Stables, Granary and Dogkennel". In the second, dated in 1773, the breakfast parlour-house has become the "banqueting-house". There are formal gardens within the bailey wall, and north-east of the new castle ("Wardour Hall"), and on the plateau ("Hill Garden", with a cottage). There are three terraces behind the old castle, where now only one remains; and the stone bridge leading to Hill Garden is shown. There are also Near and Far Deer Parks. To-day, Hill Garden Cottage embodies the remains of the cottage on the plateau, and a mulberry tree stands near it in arable land.

Henry V left the name of a good neighbour. He was safe in Wiltshire during the Gordon Riots (H.M.C. 15th Report, viii, 236); and he allowed any stranger to see the house (The Topographer (1791), iv., 236). He died at Wardour in 1808, and was buried at the chapel. His cousin James Everard (I) Arundell, the 9th baron, died in 1817, and was succeeded in turn by his sons James Everard II, who died in 1845, and Henry Benedict. James Everard II employed Josiah Lane, of Tisbury, to build the grottoes behind the old castle, and he laid out the plantations which rise behind them; he formed the American garden; and he built Gothic cottages (Gardeners' Magazine, October, 1836). All this was in direct rivalry with Fonthill Abbey. He also vindicated the park from Lord Rivers's claim that it formed part of Cranborne Chase (A. G. Bradley: Round about Wiltshire, 371). Henry Benedict, dying in 1862, was succeeded by his son John Francis, the 12th baron.

Captain the Hon. J. F. Arundell, son of the 15th baron, conveyed the guardianship of the old castie in 1936 to H.M. Office of Works; to his help and interest, most generously and readily given, this paper is materially indebted. He succeeded to the title in March, 1939, and a few months later he joined his battalion on active service. He was wounded and captured at Dunkirk; repatriated last autumn, he died in Chester Military Hospital, and his body was brought home and buried under the High Altar in the Chapel. He gave to his country the straightforward sense of duty and the fine enthusiasm which he had meant to devote to his inheritance.

NOTES ON THE COURT BOOKS OF THE MANORS OF LACOCK, CHARLTON, LIDDINGTON WITH COTE, AND NETHERMORE (CHIEFLY 1583 TO 1603).

By F. H. HINTON.

There are preserved in Lacock Abbey the Court Books and Rolls of Lacock Manor of the last part of the 16th century (from 1583), the first half of the 17th century, and nearly the whole of the 18th.

The present Lady of Lacock Manor, Miss Talbot, M.B.E., has allowed me access to these documents. During the past two years I have made a close study of the volume of the records of the manorial courts of Lacock, Charlton, Liddington, and Nethermore of the years 1583 to 1604, and have more or less cursorily examined some of the later records. It was my intention to make a complete examination of all the documents before attempting to write on them, but the quantity of matter to be dealt with would be so great that at my age I feel it wiser to deal with a shorter period than to attempt more than I may be spared to complete.

The period covered by the volume I have studied is, however, probably the best to show the earlier functions and practices of manor courts, for the decay of lords' courts in general set in soon after.

Though I do not presume to think that my contribution will add materially to what is already known of manor courts generally, yet, as such courts showed considerable diversity as between manor and manor, it is well that where opportunity arises records should be examined.

That the records of the four manors named were preserved together and sometimes, as in the period under consideration, in the same volume is due to the fact that the manors were all held by Sharingtons and, later, Talbots, and the courts were presided over by the same seneschal. During those twenty years the Lady of the Manor of Lacock was Lady Ann Sharington, widow of Sir Henry Sharington. The other three manors were held by her daughter Oliffe. The records give evidence that during 1583—5 Oliffe (or Olive) whose first marriage was with John Talbot of Salwarp, co. Worcs., was a widow, for, though during those two years her name does not occur, there is frequent reference to "the Lady". In 1585 she married Sir Robert Stapleton, for in that year the Homage of Charlton "presented" an extrahura or stray—"a white lamb worth 1s. 4d. in the custody of the lords of this manor", and from 1586 the title of each court record includes "Cur Manij Robi Stapleton milits et Dne Oliff uxis eius".

Like the Manor of Lacock, that of Cote, part of Liddington Manor, had been one of the estates of the Abbey of Lacock before its dissolution (see W. H. Bowles's Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey, p. 324). In March, 1598, the Homage of Liddington presented that a certain tenement "in Cote within the manor of Lyddington by virtue of a certain copy bearing date June 3rd, 23 Henry VIIJ was granted by the Abbess Elizabeth Zouche——".

The Charlton of these records is Charlton St. Peter, five miles from Pewsey and adjoining the parish of Upavon. This manor does not appear in Bowles's account of the estates held by the Abbesses of Lacock. When and how it was obtained by the Lady Oliva or one of her ancestors I have not yet discovered.

The manor of Nethermore is in one or two passages in the volume spoken of as part of the manor of Standley (Stanley) and as being in the parish of Bromham. Nethermore lies about a mile east of the village of Lacock. Each record of its court is entitled, "Nethermore. The Court of the Manor of Sir Robert Stapleton and his wife Dame Oliffe".

LORDS' COURTS IN GENERAL.

Courts were held in manors and parishes all over England, usually twice a year, about Easter and Michaelmas. They were known by various names-Lord's Court, Court Leet, Court Baron, Manor Court, View of Frankpledge (a term to be explained later), Lawday, etc.; but each of these names was derived from only one of the several functions of such courts. If there should be an abnormal amount of urgent business to be transacted concerning such matters as the granting or surrender of leases, the homagers or tenants only might be specially summoned to attend at any time in the year, and at that court such matters only would be dealt with; and such a specially summoned court was purely a Manor Court and the record of it would be entitled as such, e.g., "Lacock:-Court of the Manor of Dame Ann Sharington-". But twice in each year at both Lacock and Charlton and apparently less often at Nethermore was held a court called "View of Frankpledge and Court of the manor-". In the case of Liddington (with Cote) the courts were manor courts only, dealing entirely with matters between lord and tenant and tenant and tenant, and only homagers and tenants attended.

VIEW OF FRANKPLEDGE. (Visus Franci Plegii)

For many centuries before the time under consideration, probably from Saxon days, the King's Peace was maintained not by any police force but by a system based on mutual responsibility between individual and individual. The population was divided into Tithings or Decennas, theoretically comprising ten families each. Every male person of twelve years of age and over was obliged to be enrolled in his tithing, sworn to be faithful and loyal to the King, "pledged into the assize of the King"; in the Lacock, Charlton, and Nethermore court records are frequent entries similar to "Notton. The Decenna presents Edward Crewe and David West to be sworn into the Assize of the Queen". Each one so sworn was henceforth not only responsible for his own conduct but, as far as lay in his power, he was expected to assist in preserving order in the little community.

At the head of each decenna was a Decennar or Tithingman. Origin ally the Decennar had to report on the conduct of his tithing to the Sheriff at each of the latter's tourns or visitations, but the View of Frankpledge had in most instances been assumed by the various Lords' Courts. S. & B. Webb in "The Manor and the Borough" state
"The View of Frankpledge was, as the lawyers held, not a private incident to a manor but a public jurisdiction, a Franchise assumed to have been obtained by Royal Grant to the Lord of the Manor, with a view to spare his tenants the trouble of attending the Sheriff's Turn. Such a grant can seldom be traced—but in manors on which a Court Leet had actually been held time out of mind the grant was presumed". As all fines imposed at a Lord's Court, acting in any of its functions, View of Frankpledge, Homage Court, or Court Leet, appertained to the lord the granting of the right to hold View of Frankpledge was of pecuniary advantage to him.

"A measure which was enacted by Athelstan was enlarged by a law of Edgar, who required that every man should have a surety ——. A law of Canute re-enacts this direction in close juxtaposition with another police order, namely that every man who wishes to be entitled to any free rights shall be in a hundred and in a tithing ".

(Stubbs' Constitutional History of England.) In a sense he would thus become a "freeman" of his tithing.

THE DECENNAR OR TITHINGMAN.

Notton, a hamlet or township of Lacock, was a tithing having its Decennar or Tithingman, while the "town" or "vill" of Lacock had as its chief officers the Constables. Charlton, not a "vill" and probably little more than a hamlet, constituted a tithing and had its Decennar but no Constable. Constables and Decennars had as their chief function that of maintaining the King's Peace. At Liddington (with Cote) the maintenance of the King's Peace did not come within the cognizance of the court of Sir Robert and Lady Oliva Stapleton, and there is no reference in the records to decenna, Decennar, or Constable; as already stated that court dealt only with matters concerning the lord and his tenants as such.

The office of Decennar was, like nearly all manorial and parochial offices, an unpaid one, though for refusing to serve or for failure to execute the office satisfactorily he might be mulcted in a fine, e.g., in March, 1599, "Notton: Robert Colborne, decennar there, with all his decenna withdrew from the Court without the permission of the Court and refused to make his presentment according to form and his sworn office in Contempt of Court and in malice. Therefore he is in misericordia fined 3s. 4d. ".

At one of the two courts held annually the retiring Decennar "presented" or nominated his successor who was then sworn into office for the ensuing year. In no instance have I found there was an election; but it is probable that occupiers of certain premises were in turn liable to be nominated, especially as on several occasions the nominee was allowed, because of age, health, sex, or social rank, to have a deputy sworn to execute his duties, e.g., in 1595 at Charlton "Presented to the office of Decennar Jacob Amer for and vice Margery Cheyney", and in 1599 Henry Costard served as deputy for "Richard Thornhull, gentleman".

The Decennar and all his decenna were theoretically bound to present themselves at the half-yearly courts, but in the majority of manors in England it had become usual for the Decennar only to appear. This was not so in the Lacock and Charlton courts; invariably in the records one reads, "The Decennar with all his decenna being sworn come and present (i.e., report)——". On some occasions absentees were reported and fined; thus in 1591 the Notton Decennar presented "that Edward Chamberlayne and Robert Gale, jun," owe suit at this Court and have made default"; they were each fined 6d. in misericordia.

In Lacock parish there were two decennas, Notton and Lackham, which were within the cognizance of "the Meeting of the Inhabitants", but at the Lacock Lord's Court Lackham did not appear for, though in the parish of Lacock, it was a separate manor held in those days by the Baynard family. The Lackham court records cannot now be found.

In the case of Charlton the manor and decenna were coincident.

At each session of a court the Decennar made his report, usually a very brief one, often merely "omnia bene" or, as in some cases "oia ben'".

He and his decenna might be admonished, even fined, for any default such as neglecting to provide the statutory labour for the repair of the roads, or allowing the archery butts to be out of repair.

The Lord's Court, Its Constitution, Functions, Officers, Etc.

When the session was only that of the Court of the Manor, the agenda of which included only matters concerning tenements, tenants, leases, etc., only the Homage or tenants were summoned to appear before the Seneschal. Such was the case sometimes, though comparatively seldom, in Lacock but always in the Liddington (with Cote) manor. When however twice in the year the Lord's court sat as View of Frankpledge and Court of the Manor there would be present the Seneschal, representing the Lord, the Decennar, the Jury, and the Homage. All those who "owed suit" to the court were expected to attend, and these suitors included all the inhabitants whether tenants of the manor or not. There would also be present officers whose duties will be described.

The Seneschal, usually a lawyer, presided at the court.

The term "jury" is in these records rarely used, the name given being "The Twelve for the Queen" ("xij pro Regna"), though in no instance have I found the number as few as twelve; there were usually from 16 to 18. As "pro Regna" would suggest, they dealt only with matters affecting the community as a whole and not those concerning tenants of the manor as such.

Whereas now the Jury is a body which tries actions, weighing evidence brought before it, the Jury of the Lord's Court acted as informers, accusers, and, presumably with the assistance of the Seneschal, as judges and fixed the amount of the fine imposed, if any. They gave their information and accusations in the form of presentments, some examples of which are given later. The Jury had also the power of making by-laws or ordinances binding on all within the franchise, e.g., in Lacock, 1590, "Ordinatum est" that all those having space at the market ("Comoditat' nundina") shall each of them immediately after the market is finished cleanse the street there; another ordinance directed that if any one shall see any person bearing hedge wood into the 'vill', he shall inform the Constables, and, if not able to give assurance that it was honestly obtained, the person shall be punished by the Constables "according to their discretion".

A fact worth noting is that the "XII for the Queen" very frequently indeed made presentments impeaching some of its members; thus at Lacock in 1596 the "Twelve", numbering 16, presented ten persons for "playing an unlawful game, viz. bowles contrary to the form of the Statute", and the statutory fine of 6s. 8d. was imposed on each. Of the ten thus amerced six were of the "Twelve" making the presentment. (The total of the fines, £3 6s. 8d., would have in 1596 a purchasing power equal at least to that of 40 in 1944, and would be a substantial addition to "Summa Cur huius"—the sum of this court—which, like all fines and court fees, appertained to the lord. I do not know the date nor the terms of the Statute infringed. The game was presumably similar to that played eight years earlier by Drake while the Spanish Armada was approaching, and the infringement probably lay in the fact that it was played not on Plymouth Hoe but on some Lacock licensed premises. The accused were apparently farmers and leading tradesmen and the fines had no great deterrent effect, for some of the party were similarly accused on subsequent occasions).

The Lacock presentments, of which there are hundreds recorded in the 1583—1604 volume, throw so much light on the conditions and habits of that time that in commenting on them one is tempted to write at too great length; they would provide more than sufficient matter for a separate essay; but a few typical examples are here given:—

- "Jasper Cook, inn-keeper, keeps in his house unlawful games viz. Cards and Tables". (Fined £2).
- "Agnes Heydon is a habitual breaker of hedges". (Constables to place her in the stocks). Hedge-breaking to obtain fuel was a frequent offence in Lacock.
- "R. Rocke, vicar, has two subtenants who are not parishioners". He is ordered to move them or deposit security to exonerate the inhabitants of Lacock from maintaining them or their issue. The two were probably employees.

"Jas. C. is an eaves-dropper and listener under windows in his vicinity". Constables are ordered to punish him in the stocks according to their discretion before the Feast of Pentecost.

"Edward Gryce, Robert Gryce, John Matthews and Thos. Matthews are night walkers". (Constables ordered to punish them in the stocks at their discretion)

"Philip Maggott's wife has thrown filth into the brook to the common annoyance of the vicinity". She is ordered to desist under penalty of being placed in the stocks.

Proper sanitary arrangements were entirely lacking, not only in villages but in towns and cities. Filth and waste matter of all kinds were placed in the street before the house, while liquid matter was thrown into the street gutter; Lacock householders were frequently presented for not removing their mixens and for allowing their part of the "common watercourse", i.e. the gutter, to become blocked.

"Robert Colborne allows the water from his Dye vats to run down into the common watercourse during the daytime which is a common nuisance". Ordered not to do so until late in the evening.

"The Decennar, Decenna, and the Inhabitants of Lacock have not repaired the Butts". Fined 20/-.

"There is no cucking-stool nor stocks through the default of the Lady (of the Manor)".

"The Constables have not executed their office in that they have not searched out those without proper Artillery" i.e., bows and arrows.

"There is a footpath over the land of Richd, Crowche near his mill and he should according to ancient custom place a bridge there". Ordered to do so before the Feast of All Saints next.

"Richd. Buckle places his wheat and straw in such a place as to be dangerous to the vill in case of fire".

"The inhabitants of Lacock are in default in not wearing their hats. Therefore the Decennar and the inhabitants are ordered to present at the next court the names of those who wear caps on Sundays and Feast Days, according to the terms of the Statute".

"Richard Sylvester, tapster, at 10 o'clock at night has in his house youths and maidens for revelry and drinking ('trepidend' et bibend')".

To quote from S. & B. Webb's "The Manor and the Borough", "It was in such a court as Butler tells us in "Hudibras" that the villagers would

• — impeach a broken hedge And pigs unringed; at Vis Franc Pledge, Discover thieves, bawds, recusants

Tell who did play at games unlawful And who filled pots of ale but half full'

Shakespeare makes Christopher Sly in his 'very idle words'

Rail upon the hostess of the house

And say you would present her at the Leet

Because she brought stone jugs and no seal'd quarts '.

(Taming of the Shrew') ":

Instances of all the offences referred to in these quotations I have found in the Lacock or the Charlton records except recusancy.

The Suitors of the Court.

Those who owed suit to the court included all those who had been sworn into the assize of the King (or Queen) i.e. the frankpledges. "The strict theory of the law seems to have required that all the frankpledges should attend the view; but as a matter of fact it was usual for none but the chief pledges to attend". ("History of English Law", Sir F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland).

In Lacock and in Charlton all frankpledges were expected to attend, and frequently absentees were presented for their default by the Decennar or by "The Twelve" and fines were imposed. Thus all frank-

pledges were suitors whether tenants of the manor or not.

(Later we shall consider that function of the court of treating matters concerning the tenements, tenants, etc., of the manor. Such matters lay outside the cognizance of "The Twelve"; those participating in that part of the court's business was called "The Homage").

Free Suitors.

"The 'free suitors' or freehold tenants of the manor, holding of the Lord, in fee simple, land liable to escheat to him, were assumed to constitute the homage". ("The Manor and the Borough", S. & B. Webb).

Neither in Lacock, Nethermore, Charlton, nor in Liddington did these "Liberi Sectatores" constitute the Homage. In the record of each session of the court appears first the essoins or excuses for absence of any suitors; then follows the name of any liber sectator present (if any), and "The Twelve" included among their presentments the default of all free suitors absent. From these entries I have found

(a) that in Lacock from 1583 to 1603 there were never at any one time more than six free suitors; they were Lord Windsor, a Baynard, a Baynton, Floyer (later a Smyth), a Hungerford, and Richd. Adams;

(b) that none but Adams was ever present;

(c) that as it was "The Twelve" which presented their defaults they were regarded as suitors of the court in its function of View of Frankpledge as well as of Court Baron.

When Adams was present he appears to have had no precedence in the Court, e.g., he was never foreman of the homage.

Neither the contemporaries of free suitors, they themselves, nor even the lords of the respective manors were always fully aware which particular holdings qualified them as free suitors. The tenement would be one held in socage, i.e., by some fixed service (in some cases a service fixed in early feudal times) with or without a merely nominal rent. Whatever the fixed service had been originally, by the 16th century it had lapsed.

I have collected all the recorded obits. of Free Suitors of Charlton Lacock, and Liddington; they are as follows:—

Charlton:—the obit of "Lib. Sect. John Thornborough, Armiger, who held of the lords (space left blank for the insertion of particulars of the tenement) "for what service is not known". The Homage was directed to make inquiries and to report at the next session, but it was not until two years later that "Dic" qd tenuit in libo socago pr sect" Cur" xxxvs iiijd reddit pr Ann' unde sol relev (de) 35s. 4d.". (They say that he held in free socage by suit to the Court paying 35s. 4d. rent a year of which payment of 35s. 4d, there had been relief.)

Charlton, 44 Elizabeth (1602):—The obit of John Long, liber sectator, who had held freehold five virgates of land "by what service is not known by the Jury, the Homage is directed to inquire and report by what service the said John Long held the premises".

It was at the same time presented also that "Sir Walter Long of Draycott is possessed of the premises but how or by what title is not known". The findings of the Homage in these matters do not appear in this volume of records, but are probably to be found in the next.

Liddington, 25 Elizabeth (1583):—The obit of Edward Sharington, cousin of the Lady of the Manor, was presented, "q' de Dna nup' tenuit libe p'svis' militar' sect' Cur j firma et divs al' tr cu pt voc' Medborne "(who from the Lady formerly held by knight service (? and by) suit to the Court one farm and divers other lands with appurtenances (? a part) called Medbourne). From this it is evident that the property was a knight's fee or part of a fee.

Lacock 35 Eliz. (1593):—The Twelve presented the obit of Sir Edward Baynton "who of the Lady held freehold" (space left blank for particulars of the tenement) "whence falls to the Lady —— (space left blank). In this case again it was not known in respect of what tenement the deceased had been liber sectator nor for what service nor what heriot or relief was due.

Lacock 40 Eliz. (1598):—The obit of Richard Adams "who freely in Socage held a tenement —— by paying per annum 12d. —— whence falls to the Lady as Relief 12d. and John Adams is his son and by primogeniture his heir 34 years of age".

The Bailiff was ordered to summon him to the next session of the court to do his fealty and suit.

Acknowledgment by "liber sectators" of their suitorship was enforced by the court; thus at every session the absence of any one of them was presented; in every instance he was fined though only a nominal sum (6d.); in every instance the fine was duly paid as shown by a marginal note. Sometimes on the death of a liber sectator the Bailiff was directed to summon the heir to appear at the next session. The reason for this insistence was probably that land held in socage was

liable to escheat; if the free-suitorship was allowed to lapse, there could never be an escheat. The attitude of the court (and of the lord) and that of the freeholder towards suitorship are respectively shown in a record found among later rolls, for about 1637 Martin Dyer of Lacock bought a parcel of land called Averys, near Rey Bridge, once held of the lord of Lacock Manor by the Baynards of Lackham, and in respect of which each successive Baynard owed service and 5s. a year. James Montagu, successor of the Baynards, on being summoned as liber sectator to appear, affirmed in the court that Sir Edward Baynard had alienated the land to his nephew who had sold it to Martin Dyer. Martin was summoned to the court to "do fealty". At the next session he was present and on the jury but declined to acknowledge that he was liber sectator, and was therefore fined 1s. On a later occasion he appeared and swore fealty. Presumably had he persisted in his refusal it would have proved the grounds of an escheat.

THE AGENDA OF THE COURT.

The record of each session of the Lacock and Charlton courts, when not merely a session of the Homage court, shows in the following order 1. Title, "Visus Franci Plegii cu Curia Manorii -- ". 2. 3. Free Suitors present (if any). 4. Civil Cases. 5. The names of those serving on "The Twelve". 6. Presentments by the Decennar. 7 (in Lacock records). Presentments by the Bailiff and Constables. 8. Presentments by "The Twelve pro Regna". 9. Presentments by the Homage and the granting and surrender of leases, etc. Such order of business shows that the various functions of the court were still regarded as separate and distinct by the Seneschal here; though in most manors records show that the items of business were indiscriminately intermingled (see footnote to p. 13 of "The Manor and the Borough"), yet Lacock by its agenda continued as late as the 16th and 17th centuries to recognise as distinct the courts' functions as (a) a Civil Court, (b) View of Frankpledge, (c) a Homage Court, and in some instances the title of the record of the session is "Curia Leglis cu Visu Franci Pleg' cu cur Baron' ", Court of Law, with View of Frankpledge, and Court Baron.

THE LORD'S COURT IN ITS FUNCTION AS A CIVIL COURT.

Civil cases were dealt with by the Lord's Court functioning as a Court of Law, and the Lord or his representative, the Seneschal, had powers practically identical with those of Justices of the Peace in session.

The right to exercise such a function was given to a Lord's court by royal warrant, though probably in some cases the right had been assumed. No doubt it was expected that by such a function of the Lord's court, the Sheriff's courts would be relieved and suitors would be saved time, travel, and expense. It should be noted that the right was sometimes given to manor courts absolute, i.e. Lords' courts holding no View of Frankpledge. This was the case in the Liddington Manor Court.

Lords' courts were Courts of Record, but, I venture to say, only in respect of civil cases, between individual and individual, and not in respect of presentments by the jury of which examples have already been given. A person involved in a presentment was not summoned to appear; it was assumed that all residents would be present: but in a civil case, e.g., "A quer' vs B in plito-" (A complaining against B on a plea--), the parties, or at least the defendant, was summoned as is shown by the marginal note "Sum". The defendant was thus able to prepare his defence. Civil cases included cases of debt (involving sums less than (2), trespass, damage, unlawful detention of goods, contempt of court, but not felonies. Judgement was given by the Seneschal, "The Twelve" not participating; in fact the records show that the swearing in of "The Twelve" took place after the civil cases had been dealt with. Again, while the jury presentments dealt only with disturbances of the Queen's Peace and common nuisances within the franchise, the civil cases sometimes involved one party outside the franchise; thus in 1643 (outside the 1583-1603 period) three plaintiffs, all minors, sued a person for plumbing work done by their late father at Sherborne, Dorset, and were represented by an attorney, John Lucas.

While presentments of "The Twelve" were as a rule entered in the volume before the session and often in pleasing script, the depositions in civil cases were written by the Seneschal as the case proceeded, and consequently are in places illegible, and, to add to the reader's difficulty, the writer freely used conventional legal phrases of which he gave the first two or three words with an added "etc.".

There are several entries found similar to, "et Def' in ppr' psona plit nl debet pr legem" (= "and defendant in his own person", i.e., not by attorney, "pleads that he owes nothing and asks for (his) law", or again, a defendant acknowledges part of a debt "et pr resid' pon se supr' legem" (and for the remainder places himself upon his law), and in the margin of the page, "prfec' leg' cu Robto Colborne and Stepho Yerburie". (He has done his law with R.C. and S.Y.)

In lawyers' Latin, "lex" was sometimes a term for "ordeal". Might "doing one's law" or placing one's self on the law have been a relic of Ordeal by Compurgation in which the oath of a party in a suit was supported by the oaths of compurgators, who were not witnesses as to the facts in dispute but rather guarantors of the good faith of the party sworn?

Among the civil cases at Lyddington in 1583 was one in which Thos. Smart sued Thos. Cole for damage done to the amount of 3s. 4d. by chasing his pig. Cole "plit n cul' pr pria", an elliptical and abbreviated rendering of "placitat non culpatus per patriam" = "he pleads not guilty (and asks to be tried) by the country". Being tried "by the country" signifies "by one's peers" (instead of by the seneschal). In this particular case six persons were appointed and sworn in as arbitrators; they decided in favour of the complainant and assessed

the damage at 3s. 4d. In another suit seven years later the same complainant accused Agnes Cole of unlawfully taking and detaining a gander valued at 2s., and asked that an inquisition be made "per patriam". The four arbitrators decided in favour of the defendant.

It is noteworthy that a court fee was imposed on the losing party in a civil case but never in the case of a presentment by "The Twelve".

OFFICERS OF THE MANOR.

The Constables of Lacock.

While the Decennar was the principal officer of Charlton, the officers of highest rank in Lacock were the two annually appointed Constables. Once a year "The Twelve" nominated for the office four persons of whom the Seneschal selected two to be sworn to execute the duties. Usually they were prominent tradesmen, farmers, etc., and often had served or subsequently served as churchwardens. It is remarkable that, though the Constables were appointed by the Lord's Court and made their presentments to that court and were responsible to it as well as to the Constable of the Hundred, their annual accounts of income and expenditure were presented not to the court but to what we now call the vestry—"the meeting of the inhabitants".

The Constables were unpaid, and refusal to accept the office or neglect of duty while in office was punishable by substantial fines. In 1647 Rober Colborne was one of the two selected by the Seneschal; he pleaded that he had divers business elsewhere and asked that a deputy be appointed; "The Twelve" threatened a fine of £5 if Robert refused to take office; he agreed to be sworn in.

It was to the court in its function as View of Frankpledge the Constables made their presentments, and as far as the records show they took no part in matters concerning the manor property or the tenants as such.

The Constables were responsible for maintaining in proper condition sufficient arms and equipment for the quota of men assigned to the parish for the fyrd or militia. There is preserved elsewhere an inventory of the Lacock armoury in 1584:—"ii long bowes ii shife of arrowes; v gyrdels with their hangyns", etc. The Constables in 1598 equipped a man for the Irish expedition at a cost to the parish, not to the manor, of £3 3s. 4d.

In 1585 they presented that four persons named had for the space of 12 months omitted to practice archery "according to the terms of the Statute"; each was mulcted in the statutory fine of 6s. 8d. The Statute referred to was enacted circa 1524 in the reign of Henry VIII and ordered all men under sixty years of age to practise archery.

The Constables reported assaults, e.g., "Richard Venn about the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord made assault on Richard Husday with his staff of no value "et extravit sanguinem". (From many similar presentments it is evident that an assault was technically a breach of the Queen's Peace only if blood was drawn. If the instru-

ment used in the attack was of value, e.g., a dagger, it was forfeited to the Lord.)

It was the Constables who personally or by deputy punished wrong-doers in the stocks.

Besides having to appear at the Lacock Court they had to attend the Hundred Court, sometimes, if not always, held at Chippenham.

From 1595 until 1599 there are recorded neither elections of Constables nor any of their presentments, although, as stated above, the Constables, Reves and Goldney, equipped a soldier in 1598.

The Bailiff.

In each of the manors of Lacock, Charlton, and Liddington there was an officer, called in Lacock the Bailiff and in the other two manors the Messor (Messarius). Unlike the constables, they in Lacock and Charlton dealt with matters concerning the property of the Lord as well as those concerning the Queen's Peace. (In Liddington for a reason already given the Messor dealt only with the former matters.) John Holman was the Lacock Bailiff during twenty-odd years and was later succeeded by his son.

In Lacock the Bailiff made presentments to the court; the most frequent are those in respect of "breaking the assize"; on opening my set of transcripts at random I find that in 1594 he presented for selling at excessive prices and for breaking the assize two bakers (pistores), two fishmongers (piscatores1), four butchers, one innkeeper, and five tapsters: "breaking the assize" was breaking the ordinances concerning the sale of goods especially food stuffs, e.g., prices, weights and measures used and especially the sale of ale at more than a penny a quart or in jugs instead of in sealed (stamped) measures. Of the 14 culprits in 1594. just given, nine were again presented for the same offence at the next session. Invariably fined "in misericordia" only 3d., they were not deterred. While as a rule the Constables or "The Twelve" presented innkeepers for providing cards, &c., it was usually the bailiff who presented those who availed themselves of the means thus provided and played the unlawful games; when in civil cases a distraint was ordered it was he who attached the goods; he gave public notice of a session of the court and he announced the finding of animals astray. When by death of a tenant or by forfeiture property reverted to the lord (or lady) and he was ordered by the Homage to take it over into the hands of the Lady, the formula always used concludes with "et pfic inde supra compm suum respondere "(?" and to give an account of"

¹ Not fishermen. There is evidence that fishing rights at Lacock were jealously guarded. They were partly responsible, later in the 17th century, for a lawsuit between the Lords of Lacock and Lackam (a Talbot and a Montagu). The fish sold were probably not fresh water fish, and the offence presented was that of selling them in an unwhole-some condition.

or to answer for the profit (proceeds) thence on his reckoning"). The same formula is used when the messors of Charlton and Liddington are ordered to wind up such business.

Afferators.

For every session of each of the three manors two persons, called Afferators, were appointed to assess the fines imposed. Very frequently indeed a person was ordered to remove a nuisance or to abstain from certain conductunder a penalty of a stated sum, e.g., 6s. 8d. If at the next court he was found still in default in the matter, he was not as a rule mulcted in that amount, but, the Twelve having found him guilty, the Afferators assessed the fine "in misericordia" at perhaps 6d. (It may be here noted that "in misericordia" appears in many instances to be used without any meaning of "mercy" and to be almost equivalent to "as a court fee"; very frequently others than poor folk were fined "in mia" (the abbreviation invariably used and occurring hundreds of times in the volume).

Other Officers.

There were in Lacock an Aletaster, a Leather Searcher, and a Leather Sealer. Apparently, once elected by the Twelve, each held office until death or other cause rendered a new appointment necessary.

There is mentioned another official though apparently one not of the court. In 1585 two chandlers of Lacock were presented for buying their tallow by one measure or weight and selling their candles by another 1½ ozs. less. One of the two chandlers protested that the use of the smaller weight was legitimate. The Twelve decided to obtain the opinion "clerici marcati". This is the only reference I have found in these or other Lacock records to a clerk of the market, though tolls and profits of the market held on St. Thomas' Day were due to the Lord of the Manor (see Bowles' Annals p. 334).

Some of the perquisites of the Lord of the Manor.

What, in the civil cases tried, might be termed court fees and all fines imposed by the Twelve were received by the Lord of the Manor. At the end of the record of a session is sometimes given the amount for the session, "Summa huius curiæ", but this often included heriots and money received on the granting of leases, etc.,—matters with which the Homage and not the Twelve were concerned.

Fines were sometimes considerable; a farmer might forfeit £3 for not supplying a team and cart on six days' statutory labour in the repair of the roads, and at a single session, for playing unlawful games, staveball, bowls, shovelboard, etc., a dozen or more might be fined 6s. 8d. each. In considering these amounts it is necessary to compare their purchasing power with that of to-day.

A stray animal (an "extrahura") would be impounded by the Bailiff and by him reported to the court which would through him announce that if not claimed within a year and a day it would become the pro-

perty of the Lord. There are many entries recording strays.

Cases of felony lay outside the jurisdiction of the court but, a criminal having been convicted of theft by the Justices, the stolen goods (? or part of them) became the property of the Lord of the Manor. The Lacock Twelve in 1588 reported that W.K. had been found guilty (probably at the Quarter Sessions) of stealing six ewes and six lambs and that four of the ewes and four of the lambs are delivered to "the Lady of this Franchise" as the goods of a convicted felon ("ut bon' felon' attinct'"). In 1601 at Charlton John W., a farm labourer, fled before the "Hue and Crie" and at the time of his flight had on him "while in that franchise" goods and chattels as follows:—1 jerkin, 1 doublet, 1 pair Venetian hose, 2 pairs stockings, 1 pair ocrear (gaiters), to the value of 3s. which are forfeited. A marginal note to this is "bon' ad val' iijs delivat ad usu Dnor'" (goods to the value of 3s. delivered to the use of the Lord and Lady).

In some manors a sum was paid to the lord by the residents of the franchise; this common fine was known by various names e.g., head-silver, head-pence, cert money, etc. At every session of the Charlton court "the Decennar with all his decenna presented the cert money" 6s. 8d.

THE HOMAGE

Though in Lacock and Charlton the View of Frankpledge and the Homage Court were held at each and the same half-yearly session, their functions were quite distinct. If for some reason at any time other than the date of the half-yearly court it was urgently necessary to transact business concerning the property of the manor, the homagers alone were summoned and formed the "Court of the Manor". The Charlton records show less distinction between View of Frankpledge and Homage Court, probably because the suitors of the court were practically all tenants and therefore homagers.

The duties of the assembled homagers included those of serving as witnesses to such transactions as the granting or surrendering of leases; reporting the obits of tenants; maintaining the customs of the manor; preserving the limits and boundaries of tenements; apportioning yearly the parts of the common arable fields where, as in Liddington, there were such fields; presenting those who, having no common rights, pastured their cattle on the common; reporting cases of tenants' neglect to keep their tenements in repair; defining the customary dues of tenants to Lord and Lord to tenants; etc.

Page after page is sometimes filled with records of the granting of leases. The following is a translation from the Latin of one such record:—

"To this court came Joan Hulbert, widow, holding of the Lady one tenement with all land, pasture and other appurtenances of the said tenement formerly in the tenure of Nicholas Hulbert deceased and now in the tenure of the said Joan situate and lying within the Decenna of Notton, and surrendered the whole estate title and interest of and in all and singular of the above said premises . . . whence falls to the Lady as heriot one bull of the value of £3. And upon this came the said Joan and took anew the said tenement with all lands appertaining . . . to have and to hold to the said Joan Hulbert and Robert Hulbert her son for the term of her life and the life of her son Robert alternately or for the life of the one longer living according to the custom of the manor by paying the annual Rent of 14s. 4d. with all other customs And for such estate and admission to the premises the said Robert gives to the Lady as fine 5s. And so the said Joan was admitted as tenant and did fealty ".

(From another source I find that this Notton tenement is a block now converted into four cottages on the east side of the Chippenham—Lacock road and that until the 19th century it was called Hulbert's Hall.)

One of the duties of the Homage was to preserve the peculiar customs of the manor whether as regards their own rights or those of the Lord. Thus, while in Lacock and in Liddington leases were usually granted for the term of the life of the lessee and the lives of two or more others, in Charlton the custom was otherwise, and in 1597 the Charlton Homage presented, probably in response to a former order to "inquire and certify" as to the custom of the manor, that "Our custom concerning our tenure is for the man his life and his wife to hold (during) her widow estate".

In Liddington in 1589, a leaseholder having died, his executor removed and took away a fence and six posts of a shed; the homage ordered that he pay 22s., the value of the material taken, and presented that any tenant may place a fence or build or remove any "hovel built on posts", i.e., a shed, during his life, but that an executor may not remove any structures left by the tenant.

In each of the three manors there was the customary right to the year of executorship after the death of the lessee and the Homage carefully guarded this right. In 1600 it was recorded that Barbara Johnson, the tenant of a piece of land called Yeomans in Lacock, had died, and that the land was now in the hands of the Lady, but "The Homage state that by the custom of the Manor the said premises pertain to the executors of the said Barbara until the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary".

Mary Cooke, a widow, who was lessee of a Lacock inn, apparently that now called "The George", died in 1601, and her daughter was admitted as tenant, but her act of fealty was postponed "because she is under age being about 9 or 10 years of age". The Homage was directed to inquire and to report as to guardianship in such a case. Evidently the Lady was endeavouring to obtain the wardship for the period of the girl's minority. At the next session the presentment of the Homage was recorded in English:—"We fynde by our Custom of eny rememvol. L.—NO. CLXXXI.

brance from age to age for three skore years that the lord or ladie hath noe righte to the gardeship of the Childe neither to the Disposinge of the tenement, but those to whome the parents hath putt in trust. Presented under their hands ut in scrit plene liquet et appar'".

Very frequent disputes between tenants as to the bounds of their respective holdings are recorded. At Charlton on one occasion the Homage was directed to "make view of and upon" tenements involved in no less than ten such disputes. When disputes were in respect of tenements adjoining another manor, the Homage was directed to meet the tenants of that manor; thus in 1595 the Charlton Homage was ordered to meet the tenants of Upavon and make view of and on a part in Charlton called "Uphaven Meade to consider the metes (bounds) between the lands of this manor and those of Uphaven". (Both the Bristol Avon at Lacock and the Salisbury Avon are always referred to as either Haven or Hafon.) Similar disputes are recorded in respect of bounds between tenements of Lacock and Lackham manors.

Lacock, Charlton, and Liddington, besides having common pastures used by the tenants, had each of them a Common Field or Fields apportioned each year for cultivation during spring and summer; after the harvest the Common Fields were thrown open for the pigs and cattle of tenants. Especially in Liddington, where the area of the common arable land was extensive, the agenda of the session of the Homagers was largely concerned with the enforcement of regulations regarding the maintenance of ditches, mounds (balks), and merestones: with the fixing of the dates when the fields should be breached or thrown open; with the settling of disputes between user and user, etc. Every year each Homager was ordered to attend on the field, or send his representative, for the allocation of the land. It is evident that the allocations were often such as to be by no means convenient to every holder, for, especially in the Liddington records, page after page is filled with entries concerning licences granted to various persons to exchange mutually their holdings in the Common Fields. There was a special difficulty in Lacock, for the Common Field, Normead, was held in part by the Lackham Manor; time after time the Lacock Homage was directed to assemble at Normead together with the Lackham tenants to settle disputes concerning bounds and apparently the meeting had not taken place, perhaps because the Lacock Court, which could direct its Homage to assemble, had no authority over the Lack ham tenants.

The common-pasture rights were jealously guarded by the Homage. In Lacock, Bewley Common was at this period shared with a neighbouring manor, and references to it are comparatively few. Liddington had more extensive common pasture and the control of it occupied much of the time of the session of the Homage on some occasions. Each year there were appointed three or four supervisors to ensure that the commons were rightly used, to see that sheep pastured on the

common during the day were not at night folded elsewhere, that only those with common rights used the pasture, etc. The supervisors were selected from among the tenants and were unpaid. In the records are scores of presentments concerning the use and abuse of the Common, e.g., "The Homage presents that William Warman of Liddington keeps on the Common a young ox over and above those he ought to keep contrary to the ancient ordinance". (And it was William Warman who, as foreman of the Homage on that occasion, "in nomine totius homagii" made the presentment). Among the many ordinances recorded is found one to the effect that no tenant may pasture on the Common more than one ox for each virgate of land held by him.

Some Services Due From Tenants To The Lord.

In 1586 the Charlton Homage placed on record the custom of the Manor regarding the services due from individual tenants to the Lord. This list fills three closely-written pages of imperial 8vo. paper inserted into the volume and is very interesting. It is in English, and the Charlton scribe made use of some words which were somewhat archaic even in his day, e.g., "To eare" (= to plough); "sithe" (the A.S. form of "scythe"): "One jorney at wheat seed" (= one day's labour wheat sowing; cf. "journeyman").

The services of some fourteen customary tenants are given. Space will not permit the whole of this interesting matter to be given here; the following is a transcript of the first part and includes the services due from one of the tenants—

"Customes for ye manoure of Charleton for ye workes Dewe to ye Lord.

"Imprimis, Richard Thornhull gent One Jorney at Summerfallow with his plough.

Item. One jorney at wheat seed for two bushels wheat.

Item. At Brodham for making of heye iiij persons untill ye heye be sufficiently made.

Item. At Broadmeade iiij persons untill ye heye be sufficiently made.

Item. To carry two Lodes (with 3 horses) of y^e same heye.

Item. Two reapers for one daye.

Item. 3 hennes and one cocke at Saint Martins Home" (cf. "Harvest Home").

Among items in other lists of services are, "To eare and sowe i bushel of wheat"; "Sithe moneye to be gathered amongst the tennaunts and to be paid to y^e ferm of Uphaven y^e Sunday after Midsumm Daye iiijs iijd". One wonders what was represented by the "scythe money" and why it was due to the Bailiff at Upavon.

There are also given "The Customes Dewe to the tennaunts from the

Fermer " (presumably the Bailiff of the Manor Farm):—

"Imprimis. At Brodmead to the tennaunts 2 gallons of Ale, iiij penniworth of Bread and 2 lbs of Cheese at ye reaping of ye same heye. At ye bringing in of ye same heye into ye barne Brede cheese and Drinke as shall suffise.

At Brodham one gallon of Ale iiijd in brede and in cheese 2 lb. Item. At repinge Breakfast Dinner and (? Noon) meate.

Item. At Summervallowe breakfast to be brought to ploughing. There dinner at the Ferme.

Those yt bringe in cocks and hennes must have there Suppr at ye Ferme".

At the end of the list of customs there is a memorandum:—
"This presentment is geven by yo Twelve of this Cort."

That the Twelve for the Queen should make a presentment on matters which concerned the Homagers only is probably to be explained by the fact that in the small Charlton community the suitors of the Court as a View of Frankpledge were almost identical with the tenants of the manor.

Just as The Twelve for the Queen presented matters concerning the maintenance of the Queen's Peace within the jurisdiction of the court and issued ordinances, so the Homage at almost every session reported defaults of tenants and even of the Lord of the Manor himself, issued ordinances and settled matters in dispute between tenant and tenant.

The number and the great variety of presentments and orders, literally many hundreds in the 1583—1603 volume, make it difficult to select types of such entries. Some refer to tenants failing to maintain their tenements in repair; persons stealing fuel from hedges and woods of the estate; tenants felling timber on their holdings without permission; the allocation of an oak, elm, ash, or crabtree to a tenant wherewith to repair his house, barn, or mill; sub-letting tenements without permission; allowing a fireplace to be so out of repair as to be dangerous to property; abuse of common lands. Such a list, though very far from being exhaustive, may serve to illustrate matters which were within the cognizance of the Homage.

The Homage, like the "Twelve", enforced their orders by imposing fines and in extreme cases by forfeiture of tenements.

I have often been tempted to record matters of great though only topical interest but have restrained myself, as my chief aim in writing these notes has been to show the nature and constitution of the Lords' Courts and the distinct functions in which each served, so clearly shown in the records of these three manors. My more cursory perusal of later records shows me that the decay of the courts, already begun in many other manors, began here in the 17th century, and these later records show less distinction between the maintenance of the King's peace and that of the customs of the manor.

Addendum:—Since writing the foregoing article I have, by the courtesy of R. H. Foley, Esq, been allowed to examine a document which gives additional interest to the contents of the 1583—1603 Court Records. The document consists of five foolscap pages and is endorsed "Reasonings on the Effect of the Deed of Partition of the late Sir

Henry Sherrington's Estate between Mildmay and Stapleton, daughters of Sir Henry Sherrington".

(One of Sir Henry's daughters, Grace, married Sir Anthony Mildmay, and the other, Olive, married (1) Sir John Talbot, and (2) Sir

Robert Stapleton).

The document bears no date or signature, but there is internal evidence that it was drawn up by an owner of Lackham, probably a Montagu. Since the partition is referred to in the document as having been made "more than 100 years past" and an annual payment to Sir Henry Sherrington as being "one hundred and fifty years past," the probable date of the document is early in the 18th century:

The first paragraphs state that "divers Lands, tenements, Hereditaments, Late Sir Henry Sherrington's were divided between Mildmay and Stapleton, ye two daughters of the said Sir Henry Sherrington by arbitrament of the Duke of Shrewsbury and Lord Knollys", that the property so divided included the Hundred Court of Chippenham and the Lacock Court Leet and that the former was by the arbitration settled on Mildmay and the latter on Stapleton.

The document gives in great detail anomalies, arising from the arbitration, in the relation between Lackham Tithing on the one part and Lacock Parish and Lacock Court Leet on the other part, and propounds a series of queries some of which point to a desire to have a Court Leet for Lackham. Some of the anomalies given are:—

- (a) that Lackham owes suit not to Lacock Court Leet but to Chippenham Hundred Court; and it is the Hundred Court which appoints the Tithingman of Lackham. Yet the Lacock Constables, appointed by Lacock Court Leet, have jurisdiction over the whole of Lacock Parish including the tithing of Lackham; it is the Lacock Constables, and not the Constables of the Chippenham Hundred, who raise a rate to meet their expenses; who make the return of men in Lackham, as part of Lacock parish, liable to serve on juries; and who pay the 'vagrant money' of the whole parish.
- (b) that in Lackham is no cattle pound nor blind house or prison; yet when Lackham cattle are impounded or a Lackham man is detained in custody, it is the Lacock pound and the Lacock blind house which are respectively used and not those of the Chippenham Hundred.
- (c) Bewley Commons are partly of Lacock Manor and partly of Lackham Manor. Yet when an enclosure of any part of the Commons is allowed (for the purpose of erecting a cottage) it is to the Lord of Lacock Manor that rent is paid; and no trees on the Commons may be shrouded or felled by any person, even by the Lord of Lackham Manor himself, without the consent of the Lacock Lord.
- (d) Although by the arbitration most of the cottages in Lacock "town" appertain to Lacock Manor, yet there are a few even

there which appertain to Lackham, and it is possible that the occupier of one of these cottages might be chosen (by the Chippenham Hundred Court) to be the Lackham Tithingman, in which case the town would have in it two Constables and a Tithingman.

Following each of such statements is a query, e.g.,

"If Lackham be severed from Lacock Leet, whether it be to subject it to the Hundred Leet or to be made a Manor Absolute, will it not disannul the aforesaid Arbitrament?".

"Whether Lackham do not pay towards the Constables' rates?"

"If all lands deemed to be of Lackham tything were exempted from the Liberty of the Court and Leet of Lacock and Lackham should then hold a Court Leet as well as a Court Baron, would the whole franchise of Bewley Common or the whole franchise of the common field called Northmead or the franchise of Wick Farm, etc., belong to the Lord of the Manor of Lacock?"

"Whether it is not easier for the Lord of the Manor of Lacock to preserve the whole Leet of Lacock than it will be for him and his heirs to preserve the remainder of it when Lackham is exempted

from it?"

WILTSHIRE BIRD NOTES.

By L. G. PEIRSON.

These few notes, mainly a list of unusual occurrences, refer to the period November, 1943—October, 1944, and, unless otherwise stated, to the Marlborough district. I am glad to be able to include a number of records from other parts of the county and would welcome more. Particularly useful were a set of observations from Flying-Officer D. H. Rankin, who was stationed at Yatesbury from August 12th, 1943, to May 22nd, 1944; these are acknowledged by the symbol (R).

The winter of 1943—1944 was very mild, and I have no records of cold weather rarities.

A flock of up to twenty Hawfinches was seen at Compton Bassett in April and May and may have been there during the winter (R).

Two Lesser Redpolls were seen at East Kennett in March (R).

Cirl Buntings were seen in one locality near Marlborough for certain and possibly in two others; they may be establishing themselves in the district.

A male Pied Flycatcher was seen at Cherhill in May (R).

Up to the end of October, 1943, I should have said that the Goldcrest was distinctly uncommon in the Marlborough district. In November I began to receive reports of their being seen with such frequency that it looked as if some sort of an invasion had taken place, and they have, in the opinion of several observers, maintained the increase in numbers.

On the downs above West Lavington in mid-September I found myself surrounded by a party of migrating Wheatears. They may well

have been of the Greenland race.

The Whinchat is sufficiently uncommon for it to be worth while recording a pair seen at Cherhill in May (R).

A Short-eared Owl visited Totterdown in December and January.

A Hobby flew over Yatesbury in September (R).

I have several records of Buzzards. One was reported to have spent the first three weeks of May near Ogbourne St George; another was seen on several occasions by two independent observers in West Woods, and Brigadier R. H. Willan several times saw a pair near Teffont in the summer of 1943 and a single bird twice in February, 1944.

It seems that at least six nests were occupied at the Savernake Forest Heronry in March, and eighteen at that in Bowood Park in May (R).

A pair of Garganey were seen on the Kennet near Ramsbury in May.

A pair of Shoveller were seen on Wilton Water on several occasions in May and appeared to be thinking of nesting.

Greenshank were seen on migration at Wilton Water in May and September.

A Black-tailed Godwit was watched for some time by Miss E. Parsons at Coate at the end of August. This seems to be the first record for the county.

It was reported to me that between thirty and forty Woodcock were

shot near Ogbourne St. George in late March.

A Puffin was picked up alive on the bank of the Kennet in Marlborough on August 1st.

A Landrail was heard near Marlborough in May, and three were seen in late August.

Brigadier H. C. Ponsonby tells me of Quail near Tisbury in June.

Mr. Frank Stevens contributes the following interesting botanical note:—

"In June, 1944, Lady Radnor picked and preserved a specimen of *Adonis autumnalis* (The Pheasant's Eye) from a field of oats on New Court Farm, Downton. It was in full flower on June 17th.

In 1937 the same flower was recorded on Ashley Hill (2 miles east of Salisbury) in a cabbage field, August, September. (W.A.M., xlviii, p. 82.) ".

THE TUBEROUS THISTLE.

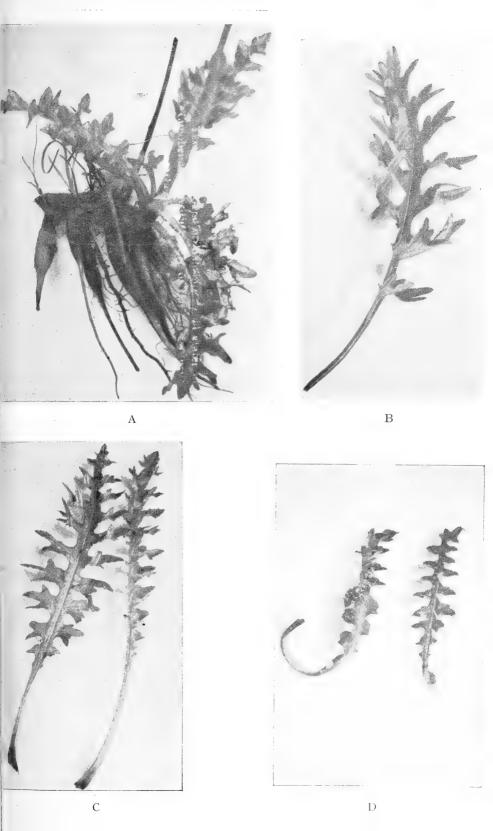
By CANON R. QUIRK.

The article by J. D. Grose in W.A.M., June, 1942, is the last word on this rare species, *Circium tuberosum* (L.) All. The following note does little more than supplement what he has written.

- (1) Height. In well-grown specimens this is considerable. The following are the measurements of seven such specimens:— $22\frac{1}{2}$ ", $22\frac{1}{2}$ ", 24", $26\frac{1}{2}$ ", 27", $27\frac{3}{4}$ ", 34".
- (2) Pubescence. Arachnoid pubescence is present on stem as well as leaves. The hairs of C. acaule are quite different: they are confined to the ribs, whereas in C. tuberosum a fine, cottony web spreads irregularly over the leaf surface, though growing most strongly on the ribs. A good lens shows the hairs of C acaule to be prominent, waxy white, and translucent; and in this species the end-prickles of the lobes are more spinous.
- (3) Leaf. The leaves of C. tuberosum are markedly different from those of C. acaule: they are deeply lobed, and the lobes stand up at a sharp angle from the mid-rib of the leaf. In C. acaule they are almost flat.
- (4) Tubers. The shortly creeping stem of C. tuberosum produces narrow, tapering tubers, seven in the one plant examined: they are some 3'' long, and 3/5'' thick at their thickest.
- (5) Branching. Most plants are unbranched: the stronger plants may have one or two branches, sometimes three. Where there is a single branch, the leader continues erect and the pedicel of the branch rises at a sharp angle to the stem, its flower-head often over-topping the leader.
- (6) Hybrids. This species crosses freely with C. acaule, the hybrids showing intermediate characters in pubescence, height, leaf-outline, and shape of involucre.
- (7) This cross represents the mating of a true down-land species (*C. acaule*) with one of which the height and attenuation indicate that, before it took to the downs, it had to compete with ranker vegetation.

Description of the figures on the plate opposite;

- A. C. tuberosum; root system.
- B. C. tuberosum; a basal leaf.
- C. C. tuberosum × acaule; two leaves from the same plant showing different development, the lobes of the right hand leaf being smaller than those on the left.
 - D. C. acaule; two leaves from different plants.





MOONRAKE MEDLEY.

THIRD SERIES.

Contributions suitable for inclusion under this heading will be welcomed. Many members of the Society must be aware of items of local interest which deserve to be recorded before they are forgotten.

Cannings Vindicated. The stories told in the last Medley tended in the main to represent the inhabitants of this village, or these villages, as lacking in common sense. Though no protest has reached the Editor from that long-suffering community, the question arises why so unenviable a characteristic should be associated with this particular part of the county. Bœotians, it may be remembered, endured similar aspersions from their fellow Greeks, and the men of Gotham in Northamptonshire, to come nearer home, have been equally notorious. Of the Cannings slander Mr. G. M. Young once offered an explanation in the columns of the Wiltshire Gazette which he permits me to summarize here with some additions.

Place-names in -ings, he points out, are tribal names largely confined to the south and east of England and belong to an early phase of Saxon settlement. Cannings is the only Wiltshire example. The name at one time covered a much larger area than it does now, save as the name of an almost forgotten Hundred. It suggests a typical tribal settlement, and Mr. Young infers from the nature of the grave goods found in a barrow on Roundway Down that the "Caningas" were Anglians from the Midlands.

Such an intrusion of foreigners into the heart of West Saxondom can hardly have been effected without friction, even though they settled in what seems to have been a marshland between All (i.e., Old) Cannings and Bishop's Cannings. The region of "Cannings Marsh" was known as late as the Middle Ages, and the geology of the district, it may be noted, where a thinnish covering of greensand overlies the gault clays and marls, is sufficiently indicative of its condition before the land was drained. Perhaps, though the suggestion is not Mr. Young's, their occupation of an ague-ridden area, a Wiltshire Bœotia, contributed to the contempt with which their Saxon neighbours regarded Cannings people. To that contempt may be attributed the readiness to invent stories of their folly. That the practice has not ceased to exercise the ingenuity of local wits is shown by the modern setting of some of the stories Mr. Cunnington has collected.

Mr. Young adds a possible explanation of the original moonraking which endues it with a sudden significance. He quotes Gregory of Tours as authority for a heathen German custom of sacrificing a cheese to a well and suggests that the Anglian settlers may have brought such a custom with them, a custom unhonoured by West Saxon observance. It was left to some neighbouring community to represent the ceremony as a fishing for a cheese in a pond, and eventually to borrow (from some such source as "The Three Jolly Huntsmen"?) the crowning confusion of the cheese and the moon. The outwitting of

the excise man is obviously, as Mr. Young maintains, a later version of the story designed to rehabilitate the much-enduring "Caningas". We may hope that they thought of it themselves.

More recently Mr. Young has suggested a derivation of the name Caningas which may be welcomed both for its plausibility and for its break with the convention that the first syllable of a place-name not otherwise explicable is probably a personal name. We may instance the peculiar propensity of men called Cada to settle in woodland areas and of the Badas to become the eponymous occupants or owners of Iron Age hill-forts. The Canas would seem to have shown a similar devotion to watery abodes, for they are called in aid to explain Canvey Island, and Canewdon in Essex, Canwick in Lincolnshire, Canford in Dorset, and Canegem in Flanders, all low-lying sites contiguous to water in the present or the past. Moreover, three of these names, Canvey, Canewdon and Canegem are referable, like our own villages, to Caningas, as their early forms show. 1 Mr. Young would assume, not a man's name, Cana, but "a word meaning 'boat' which, though not recorded in Anglo-Saxon, appears in High German as Kahn and in Icelandic as kæna; it was even adopted in Old French as cane". Our local Caningas would therefore be "the Boatmen or Punters: not an unnatural nickname for people living in a fen".

Southbroom Pond. This is the pond traditionally associated with the Moonrakers' activities. It may seem rather distant from the headquarters of the Cannings until we remember their earlier extension. Southbroom is described in a document of the year 1302 as lying, not near Devizes, though that late foundation was already in existence, but juxta Kanynges Epi², evidently still the more important landmark. The pond, however, bears an earlier and more interesting name which seems to have escaped the editors of PN,W. It is, or was, known as Crammer Pond. An explanation of this name, current in Devizes, derives it from the German Krämer, shop-keepers, or stall-holders, presumably in the Fair which is held beside it on Devizes Green. That explanation seems highly improbable. The word must be a contracted form of Cranemere as Larmer Pond in Cranborne Chase represents Lavermere or Rush Pond³ and Tummer in Fosbury, a possible Tun-mere or Farm Pond.

There are several Cranmeres and Cranmores in England which have become place-names, and a Cranmer in Norfolk. To other compounds

¹ Derivations from Ekwall, Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, and the Place-Name Society's volume on Essex. Canning Town, however, perpetuates the name of a manufacturing firm.

² PN,W p. 243.

 $^{^3}W.A.M.$, xlvi, 13. PN,W takes account of our ancient ponds only rarely. It records, but does not explain Tummer.

the crane is an equally frequent contributor. It is remarkable that the heron figures so rarely in early compounds. The actual word is a late importation from the French, but the Saxons knew the bird as the hragra and Ekwall's Dictionary of Place-Names finds only one instance of its occurrence—in Rawreth, Essex. Ekwall, however, insists that cran and hragra were always kept apart in early records, and no confusion between them is to be assumed in Saxon place-names. We know that the crane was a common bird in this country formerly, but so was the heron. When, then, did our ancestors begin to confuse them, as in many dialects including that of Somerset, they still do? A like confusion has not been noted in Wiltshire, if we may trust the negative evidence of the Dialect Dictionary. Crammer Pond must therefore be assumed to record the presence of cranes, and to contribute, perhaps, a little more evidence for the former existence of marshland in the vicinity.

The Manton Barrow Legend. So many legends have gained local currency since Mr. and Mrs. Cunnington revealed the contents of this barrow that it seemed desirable to examine their authenticity. Most of them may be attributed to the interest aroused by the discovery of gold ornaments among the grave-furniture. An appeal to Mr. Cunnington has elicited the following account of the only legend known to him in this connection.

"This interesting and rich barrow was opened in 1906, and a full account of the excavation with illustrations is given in the Wilts Arch. Magazine, vol. 35. The late Dr. Beddoe was of the opinion the skeleton was that of a female of considerable age, and this is borne out by the following story told me by the late Dr. J. B. Maurice, of Marlborough.

A short distance from the barrow there stood a small cottage in which resided the widow of one of the Doctor's employees. The house had a kitchen and sittingroom with two bedrooms above. After the barrow had been excavated, the skeleton was re-buried, the mound made up and planted with trees. One day when going his rounds the Doctor looked in on his tenant and asked her how she was going on. She replied that "she was all right, but every night since that man from Devizes came and disturbed the 'old creature' she did come out of the mound and walk round the house and squinny into the window. I do hear her most nights and want you to give me summat to keep her away". After much questioning, the Doctor ascertained that the 'old creature', when it was dark, used to come and walk round the cottage and look in at the window much to the consternation and annoyance of his tenant. After promising to do what he could to help her, he said, "I will send you a bottle of medicine, and you must drink a wineglass full of it when it is dark, then go upstairs without a light and get into bed. You will find that after a few nights the "old creature" will stop coming, as she will think you have left the place". According to these instructions the widow carried out the Doctor's orders, and when he called again about three weeks later, she remarked:

"It's all right now, Doctor, I did as you told me, I took the medicine when it got dark, and went upstairs without a light and got into bed. The 'old creature' came round the cottage as usual for a few nights but, not seeing me, gave it up, thinking, no doubt, that she had scared me away, and I have not heard her for over a week". (As far as I know, the "old creature" has not been heard of since).

Another amusing incident concerning the barrow appeared in a London newspaper about the same time. It seems that a reporter visited the barrow, presumably to get some news for his paper, and picked up a bone—whether human or not, I do not know. He took this back to London and in a house at Kensington held a séance over the bone. The medium, in a trance, said he saw a beautiful Saxon damsel with flaxen hair deliberately slain on the site of the barrow and buried there with all the beautiful ornaments, and made a very ghastly story out of it. This however does not agree with Dr. Beddoe's report nor with the contents of this Bronze Age Barrow, but it made a sensational news item for the paper. Many more or less incorrect stories of the "old creature" got into circulation, but the account given me by the late Dr Maurice, as above, is the right version."—B. H. C.

Wesley's Stone, Wilton, North Wilts. In the Marlborough Borough Guide (re-issue of 1928) by the present Editor of the Wiltshire Magazine will be found the only reference to Wilton, formerly within the parish of Great Bedwyn.

"Wilton is a mere hamlet lying beside the Roman Road. . . . There is a tradition that John Wesley once preached from a stone in the village".

Mr. A. E. Cubison, the present owner of the property in which this stone lies, has placed it on a concrete foundation for preservation and has kindly furnished an extract from the last lease of the property by the Ailesbury Estate before it was sold to him.

Extract from Lease of 5th November, 1928. The Marquess of Ailesbury to N. W. Wise:—

"12. NOT to remove cut injure or damage the large block of stone in front of the said messuage from which Wesley is said to have preached on one of his itineraries but will keep such stone in its present position and protect and safeguard it from injury".

No mention of this event appears in Waylen's *History of Marlborough*, but it is probable that John Wesley preached at Wilton when he visited Marlborough and the neighbourhood. Waylen records:—"1745, June 10th, and 1747, June 23rd. On these two occasions John Wesley preached here (i.e., at Marlborough); on the latter day, he says, he was much interrupted by a swearer in a room below; whereupon Mr. Robert Swindells, his companion, went down, and putting a tract entitled "Swear not at all" into the man's hand, succeeded in quieting him. Not so fortunate was Mr. Wesley at Devizes. There he was treated with great disrespect; and his brother Charles was, in 1747, subjected to a most shameful persecution, which lasted part of two

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days. The parish engines were pumped into the house where he preached; bulldogs were set at him in the street; and some of the principal persons in the town so far degraded themselves as to encourage and abet the rioters by distributing beer amongst them ".

E. R. POLE.

Auction of Turnpike Tolls. In view of Mrs. Fernie's gift to the Museum, recorded elsewhere in this *Magazine*, the following account of the sale of a turnpike toll by auction as conducted in the 18th century may be of interest.

On December 24th, 1792, the Trustees of the "Blue Vein" Turnpike Toll in the parish of Box met at the "Red Lion Inn", Lacock, and the Tolls of that Gate were sold by what was known as "Auction by the minute glass", i.e., a sandglass like an egg-boiler that took only sixty seconds to pass its contents from one bulb to the other.

The auctioneer proceeded on these lines. When he received his first bid, he placed the minute glass before him on the rostrum, and as the sand ran through, the prospective bidders watched it closely. If, before it had exhausted itself, another bid was made, the glass was turned over and the operation repeated until no further bid was received during the fall of the sand. It will be realised with what keenness that last passage of the sand was watched, above all by the maker of the latest recorded bid. The lucky bidder had to keep the Tollgate and house in good order and repair, and the lot included the tolls, fines, and forfeitures for evading tolls, with the free use of the tollhouse and gate for collecting the tolls. The agreement lasted for one year, and the price paid for the "Blue Vein" lot, as above, was £500. It was bought by Isaac Nichols of South Wraxall.—B. H. C.

NOTICES.

RECORDS BRANCH.

As most members of the Society are aware, the Records Branch was founded in 1937 and began publication before the war. The first volume was produced in 1939, the second was in course of preparation when war broke out and in spite of difficulties was produced in 1940. It was then decided to suspend publication, but it was always fully intended that the Branch should renew its activities as soon as the war was over. Members of the Branch were notified of this and were informed that no subscriptions would be called for until that time. Without being unduly optimistic, it is now apparent that plans can reasonably be made for the resumption of activities in the not too distant future, and the opportunity is accordingly taken to remind members of the Society, including those who are at present not members of the Branch, that there is a great deal of work waiting to

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be done, and to express a hope not only that former members will be ready to renew subscriptions, but that other members of the Society will consider supporting the work which is being planned. And it should here be mentioned with gratitude that 28 members of the Branch have most generously continued to pay their subscriptions despite the absence of any publication for the last four years.

The volumes produced were: (1) Abstracts of Feet of Fines relating to Wiltshire for the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, edited by R. B. Pugh. (2) Accounts of the Parliamentary Garrisons of Great Chalfield and Malmesbury 1645-6, edited by J. H. P. Pafford. The second of these contained material of a type not known to have been published

before in respect of any part of England.

The terms of subscription are 10s. 6d. per year for members of the

Society and £1 Is. for others.

Projects are already on foot for publishing one or two other volumes. For example, an entry book of the Justices of the Peace for Wiltshire covering the period 1563 to 1595 is being edited, and a collection of deeds relating to Amesbury is being abstracted. When material for the next volume is nearing completion further notices will be issued. In the meantime those interested in becoming members of the Branch are urged to send in their names to the Hon. Treasurer and Assistant Secretary, Mr. A. H. Macdonald, Halfacre, Marlborough. It will be very useful to have such a list of prospective members, although there will of course be no question of asking for subscriptions just yet. Correspondence on more general matters, e.g., editorial policy, should be addressed to the Hon Secretary and Editor, Mr. R. B. Pugh, 11, Lawn Road Flats, London, N.W.3.

CHURCHYARD MONUMENTS.

Mr. Frederick Burgess, A.R.C.A., of 1, St. Stephen's Cottages, Broadliam Green, Oxted. Surrey, has sent the following appeal for cooperation in a task which should commend itself to many members of our Society.

"I have been writing a series of articles on English Sepulchral Monuments in the *Monumental Journal* for the last three years, dealing chiefly with churchyard memorials, and have just concluded the section on pre-Reformation stones with a total of 230 drawings up-to-date. The series when finished will deal with the history of gravestones from the earliest time to the present day, and it is intended to publish a book based on such articles, which will be the first to deal exhaustively with the subject.

Unfortunately, post-Reformation gravestones have been comparatively neglected. I have specialised in research into the monuments of the 17th and 18th centuries, and have been making records of their carving, ornaments, and lettering for over 10 years, having now a collection of nearly 4,000 drawings and photographs.

I should be very grateful if you would draw the attention of your members to this work, and ask their co-operation in sending me notes,

drawings, or photographs of any post-Reformation monuments in country churchyards, or reminders of published references to such memorials. Many stones are already decayed, or sinking beneath the turf, and to put their existence on record is a task admitting of no delay. This appeal is being made with the cognizance of the Guild of Memorial Craftsmen (of which I am an honorary member), an association devoted to recording the work of monumental masons of the past, and improving contemporary design.

Any such information, particularly of 17th century stones (which 1 am at the moment engaged in writing-up), is urgently needed, and will

be gratefully acknowledged ".

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY.

SOME OLD WILTSHIRE DEEDS.

A very interesting collection of Wiltshire Deeds has been given to the Museum by The Rt. Rev. Abbot Horne, F.S.A., and Community of Downside Abbey. They refer to property in Devizes, leased by the Mayor and Corporation to various personages, and date from 1523 to 1623. Each deed has a brief summary of its purpose attached, written in English whereas most of the deeds are in Latin. The summaries are as follows:—

- (I) William Page of Devizes, gent, lease of a croft in Wekefield, known as "The White Croft" for 40 years (1523).
- (2) The Mayor to John Blandford, lease for 60 years of a tenement of the Old Almshouse lands, in the Oldport of Devizes (1568).
- (3) The Mayor to John Burde, lease for 70 years of a tenement and garden in the Newport (1559).
- (4) The Mayor to Hugh Preston, gent, lease of tenement and garden of the Old Almshouse lands in the Oldport of Devizes (1568).
- (5) The Mayor to William Comlye, lease for 40 years of his tenement in the Oldport (1558).
- (6) Five leases from the Mayor and Commonalty of Devizes for 21 years each, of plots or parcels of ground in the public street or Market Place. One of these plots is described as "lying directly square between the Inn callyd the Crown and the Public Highway" (1555).
- (7) John Baker Mayor of the Devizes, lease of a tenement in the Newport there for 60 years. "Dated in our Gilde Hall 1540".1
- (8) Mayor to Robert Lewen, lease for 99 years of a piece of void ground in the Oldport containing "3 score and ten foot" (1564).
- (9) Mayor to Richard Streat, lease for 30 years of tenement in the Newport of Devizes (1568).

¹ The seal on the deed is a merchant's mark.

(10) Mayor, etc., to Henry Baker and his wife Elizabeth, lease of tenement of the Old Almshouse lands in the Newport of Devizes, with backside and garden ground in the Brittox, for 60 years (1566).

(11) The Mayor to Thomas Batte, lease for 40 years of tenement and

garden in the Oldport of Devizes (1567).

(12) John Nicholas of Roundway to Richard Attwoode, lease for 99 years of a tenement in the Oldport, Devizes (1605).

(13) Mayor to John Stevens of Rowde, lease for 21 years of a

butcher's shop in the Old Shambles of Devizes (1570).

- (14) Mayor and Commonalty of Devizes to John Urnebrydge, lease for 50 years of a tenement in the Newport (1558).
- (15) Mayor of Devizes to James Webbe, tanner, lease for 60 years of a tenement in the Oldport "having the Cowesland on the North" (1552).
- (16) Stewards of The Old Almshouse, with consent of the Mayor, lease for 40 years of a tenement of the Almshouse land in the Newport (1552).
- (17) Mayor to Harry Cowrtes, lease for 30 years of a tenement and garden in the Newport Devizes (1563).
- (18) Mayor, etc , to John Burde, lease for 80 years of a tenement in the Newport (1564).
- (19) Mayor, etc., to Henry Morres, lease for 60 years of tenement and garden in the Oldport of Devizes (1560).
- (20) Mayor to Edward Hayns, lease for 60 years of a tenement in the Oldport and a shop "called The Tolsey House² under the Guildhall of Devizes" (1563).
- (21) John Nicholas of Roundway, gent,³ and Robert his son and heir, lease to Robert Gennings for 99 years of a tenement in the Oldport of Devizes (1623).

(22) Mayor of Devizes to Robert Truslow, son of the Comdns of the said Town, lease for 31 years of a tenement in the Newport "called The Brode Gate, with an adjoining cottage known as the Cage" (1557).

There is a pedigree of the Truslows in the Herald's Visitation of Wiltshire in 1623. They were descended from Truslowe of Beverley in Yorkshire. Apparently the Truslowe family came to Wilts about four centuries ago. One branch was living at one of Avebury's numerous manors, and the house is called Trusloe Manor to this day. There are several monuments to the family in Avebury Church. Another branch lived in Devizes and a third in the Downton district.

In volume 2 of the Annals of Devizes is the following:—"1593 Md, that on the 21st daie of December in the pishe church of St. John within the foresaid Boroughe, Richard Truslowe of Avebury, gent, executor of the last will of John Truslowe of Avebury, and John Kent one of the overseers, did distribute and deliver unto the poore people of the Towne the some of ffive marks of lawful Englishe money, pcle of

² The Tolsey House was the place where tolls were taken.

³ John Nicholas was Mayor of Devizes in 1610,

a legacy of tenne pounds given to the said poore people by the aforesaid John Truslowe". This charity no longer exists.

The area known as The Oldport, in Devizes, was the district surrounding St. Mary's Church, and the Newport, the district surrounding St. John's Church.

The Rt. Rev. Abbot Horne, in reply to my enquiry as to how and when the Old Devizes deeds came into the possession of Downside Abbey, said "The deeds are part of a collection bought some years ago from a dealer and given to the Abbey last July by one who has often been a generous benefactor to the Abbey".

"THE HUMOURS OF SPORT".

Among other recent gifts to our Society's Library is a copy of this book by G. Denholm Armour, who for forty years was the sporting artist on the staff of *Punch*. This book, though not typically "Wiltshire", is a collection of sporting pictures drawn by Armour and published in *Punch*, and as the artist has lived a large proportion of his life in our county, the book well deserves a place in our library. The book also contains some unpublished sketches that the artist gave to Captain Cunnington, who gives the book to the library, including a pencil sketch drawn by the artist himself, of himself, besides an excellent pencil sketch of the late William Cunnington, a vice-president of our Society, sitting up in bed examining some flint implements that had come from the famous Knowle gravel pit. The sketch is dated February 1902, when Mr. Cunnington was in his 88th year. He died in February. 1906.

B. HOWARD CUNNINGTON.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1943-44.

Membership. The list of subscribing members now contains 363 names, of whom 21 are life-members. Of these, 61 contribute to the Museum Maintenance Fnnd. There are in addition 26 exchange members. The Register has recently been carefully checked by the Hon. Secretary and the Financial Secretary, and all names of those who for various reasons have ceased to subscribe have now been removed. The Committee has lost two valuable members in Mr. C. P. Isaac who died in October, and Canon Manley, who has resigned. Mr. Isaac did useful work as Hon. Auditor to the Society, and Canon Manley will be remembered for his scholarly articles in the Magazine on various matters connected with the mediæval and genealogical history of the county.

The Magazine. The half-yearly numbers have been regularly issued under the able editorship of Mr. H. C. Brentnall, who deserves the thanks of the Society for his gallant and successful efforts to overcome the many difficulties of production under war conditions.

Additions to the Museum and especially to the Library have been made during the year. Some, but not many, books and deeds were rescued from destruction during paper-salvage drives. The thanks of the Society are due to the donors of these gifts. Among the documents received are two plans of the property acquired at Avebury by the National Trust. A considerable number of the Society's publications, including back numbers of the Magazine, have been sold during the year.

Finance. The accounts for 1943 have been prepared by the Financial Secretary, and are printed on another page. They show a satisfactory result, the nett surplus being £32 13s. 8d., compared with a deficit of £49 2s. Id. for 1942. The appeal for seven year covenants has been successful, 122 members having signed the necessary form. Tax-deduction forms will be circulated shortly, and the result of this arrangement will lead to a considerable increase of revenue next year. The deficit in the Museum Maintenance Fund has been reduced from £41 to £16. The Building Fund total is now £1,397. There has been a very satisfactory increase in the number of visitors to the Museum, which has again been much above the average. During the six months February—July, 1944, about 1,100 people paid for admission.

Mrs. Pearce, who had served the Society well for some years as caretaker to the museum, died at the end of last year. There was considerable difficulty in finding a suitable successor, and it was necessary to close the Museum for a time. But at the end of January Mrs. Cole was appointed, and is carrying out her duties with such great interest and efficiency as fully to justify her appointment.

Once more the Committee has to express regret that it has been impossible to hold the Annual Meeting of members which has been so useful and interesting a part of the Society's activities in the past. As this meeting is the occasion for electing the officers and committee, no fresh appointments could be made, and those holding office have been asked to continue for another year.

WILTSHIRE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES.

[This list is in no way exhaustive. The Editor appeals to all who are in a position to do so to render the record under this heading as complete as possible.]

Coate Reservoir System—Past and Present: and what of the future? Swindon Herald and Advertiser, 20th October, 1944. This interesting article by J. B. Jones contains much information not ordinarily available. Coate Water has been for many years in a sad plight, and it is Mr. Jones's plain intention to arouse a general concern about it. His object should commend itself to this Society. A former article was briefly noted in an earlier number of this volume.

Constructed originally to feed the Wilts and Berks Canal and completed in 1822, the reservoir outlived its original purpose to become a much frequented resort, whether its waters were open for bathing, boating and sailing in summer or its surface for skating during hard frosts. It is also a noted haunt of wild birds, for which a sanctuary has been provided at its south-western end. It has associations with Alfred Williams and still closer ones with Richard Jefferies, who was born within a short distance of its banks. But in 1933 the retaining dam was found to need reconstruction. The Swindon Corporation, into whose hands the reservoir passed in 1914, preferred to lower the level of the water with the result that, in Mr. Jones's words, "Coate Pond soon became a fetid swamp for half its area, and Swindon lost an important source of water supply in case of drought". A Guild of Friends of Coate Water was formed to urge its restoration, and it appears that the Town Council may be persuaded to raise the dam again and restore within the next few years Swindon's single "natural" attraction—if a reservoir may claim the epithet. It should be an added inducement to complete the work by 1948 at latest that the centenary of Richard Jefferies, of whom the town is rightly proud, occurs in that vear.

Mr. Jones explains a peculiarity in Coate Water (which he also calls the Long Pond) believed to be unique in such reservoirs. It is fed by an artificial channel taking off from the Upper Cole below Chiseldon. In this there is nothing unusual; but the Cole itself pursues its old course towards the bed of what is now the northern half of the reservoir. Both feeder and natural stream reach Coate Water side by side, but at different levels. Had the diminished Cole been allowed to join the reservoir at its own lower level, the impounded water would have spread back along it towards Chiseldon. Therefore another dam was built over which the feeder enters, while the Cole and the waters of a spring which rises close to this dam are carried by a culvert on the bottom of the reservoir to an exit under the terminal dam.

But there is a third dam, whose function Mr. Jones does not explain,

though he mentions its existence. Coate Water straddles the almost imperceptible watershed which separates the Cole from the Ray. The embankment which carries the Broome Manor lane across the southwestern end of the reservoir prevents its waters passing down the Ray to the west of Swindon, where they could not serve the locks.

Mr. Iones would seem to be a contemplative walker. He places the Greenhill feeder hatch two miles from Chiseldon: in that distance he would have overshot Coate Water itself. He describes the intake as lying "about a mile" south of the northern or terminal dam, whereas it is considerably less than half that distance. But these statements can be rectified by recollection and a map. He writes of "the River Cole, or Dorcan" and elsewhere of "the Dorcan" alone. It would be interesting to learn that this ancient name actually survived, but why should it survive in an oblique case? Dorcan is the dative of a supposed Dorca, which Ekwall in his English River-Names anglicized as the Dork, though nothing has been heard of it since the tenth century. Ekwall traces it through Old Breton and Gothic and Greek to a root meaning "clear", scarcely a good description of the Cole in its passage over the clays. One wonders why he looked so far afield. There is a well attested British river-name Doferic, "the little stream": so at least Ekwall himself interprets it, and it would suit the Upper Cole, which in its course bore many different names. Might not Dorca be a Saxon corruption of the British name?

Wiltshire is ill supplied with sheets of water and worse still with any the public may frequent. We welcome therefore Mr. Jones's account of Coate Water, in which he touches on more topics than can be mentioned here. His plea for the retention of the eastern "cliffs" of the Portland limestone in any reconstruction will be heartily endorsed by many who remember that pleasant feature of the Day House bank. Mr. Jones is concerned for the preservation of the exposure on scientific grounds: others, like the present writer, may have been fascinated by this miniature example of coastal erosion—a frowning array of cliffs nearly a foot in height pierced at intervals by mysterious caves of unknown penetration, whose roofs tower a clear four inches above their sandy floors. Did Jefferies' Bevis play there?

H. C. B.

Topographical Letter from Devizes by John Piper. Cornhill Magazine, November, 1944, pp. 190—195, with the following illustrations:—Market Cross, Houses in Long Street, the Castle, Little Brittox, The Market Cross, Black Swan Hotel, Market Place, Sotheron Estcourt Fountain, Avebury Restored, Old Town Hall, Museum Front. "The town's chief blessings are its good minor architecture, magnificent Museum (contents, not buildings, pp. 190—195)". The disadvantages are lack of a secondhand bookseller's shop, the absence of short woodland walks, and the wind "when the east winds of March blows day after day, Devizes is one of the coldest places in England".—A list of the best remaining houses in the town is given. There is a curious mistake in which "Mr. and Mrs. William Cunnington" are given as

the present representatives of the family in Devizes. It finishes up its account of the contents of the Museum: "if anyone should think of translating the contents to a great central collection, it would be useful to recall the kind of culture possessed by the founders and curators, and then to think again".

E. H. G.

Parish Documents at Trowbridge. The Trowbridge Parish Magazine for September, 1944, records the examination by Mr. F. C. Pitt of the collection of old documents preserved in the Parish Church. Some of the earlier ones were found to be in very poor condition and the retiring Rector, the Rev. St. Maur Forester, had them restored by experts at his own expense. By his desire they are to be framed and exhibited permanently in the Church. "The most important of these documents is a Deed of Endowment by James Terumber dated 1483. It is written in English, which is a very rare occurrence in deeds of this character at so early a date, and it relates to the endowment of a Chantry, and an Almshouse in the Churchyard. Although it is not so stated in the deed, James Terumber and his contemporaries, were almost certainly responsible for the rebuilding of the greater part of Trowbridge Parish Church a few years earlier. The Chantry dis appeared some sixty years later, but the Almshouse survived till the vear 1811.

The next two documents are both in Latin, and are dated a few years later (1487). They relate to an acknowledgment to pay James Terumber the sum of £16 per year during his lifetime. They are chiefly interesting from the family names they mention: Terumber, Tropenell, Seymour, Long, Halle, Dauntsey and others. These two deeds were discoveries by Mr. F. C. Pitt.

The last deed (in English) bears date 1648, and throws light on the origin of one of our Charities (the Bread Charity) relating to the purchase of land at Upper Studley (which is still in our possession). This land was acquired by money left by one Robert Pinchin ("citizen and draper of London") for the use of the poor people of the Parish of Trowbridge".

NOTES.

Three Coins. The top figure in the illustration is of a magnificent gold stater of King Cunobelinus who reigned in the east of England with his capital at Colchester in the first quarter of the first century. Its weight is 82 grams. The inscription reads CUNO, an abbreviation of the King's name, while on the other side is ANV with an ear of barley between. A normal coin has CAMV, an abbreviation of Camulodunum, the ancient name of his capital. In this case the die cutter has made a mistake and seems to have started the inscription upside down. A trace of the first letter C can just be seen on the left.

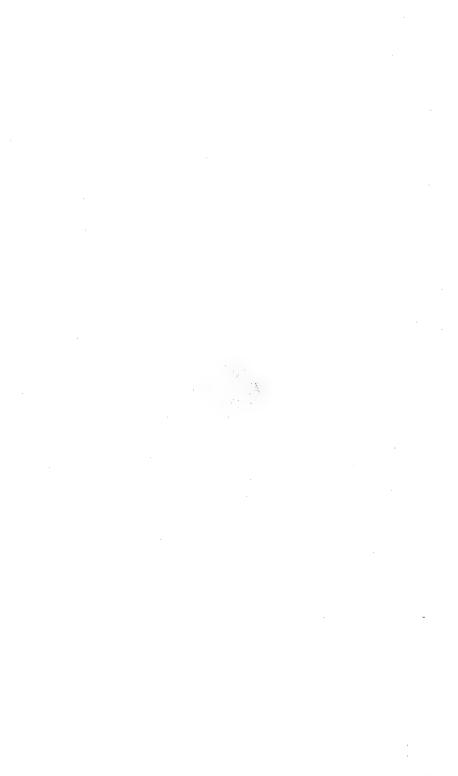
About 70 years ago the Churn River north of Cricklade was straightened and made to run alongside the Latton-Cricklade Road. In this work an old ford over the river was dug out, and a whole lot of antiquities were found—bronze brooches of the early first century, many early Roman coins including specimens of Nero and Domitian, now in my collection. Near this place, in a field known as Sluxham, many more coins were found together with a mass of rusted iron chain lying in gravel. Unfortunately no one took the trouble to record what was found, and the material was scattered. There is, however, a short notice in an early number of the Cotswold Field Club Proceedings. This coin was found at Cricklade, but, as with most objects of that metal, the exact find spot is not recorded; but there is very good reason to think that it was found during the operations just described. It was kindly sent to me by the present owner for determination and publication.

The next coin below to the left is a small bronze example of a rare coinage of the fifth century made by the Romanized Britons after the Roman exodus. The head on the obverse is after a Roman model, but the horse on the reverse is purely native, although possibly a remote copy of a Greek coin of Philip II. As such, it is a very rare example of work of the Dark Age; nothing is known like it. Mr. Sutherland has described the reverse design with an illustration in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xix, p. 290, 1939. It was found near my house at Wanborough.

The last coin is a silver sceatta of about 650 A.D. (Saxon). In or just before 1850 a lucky man digging near Marlborough found it and passed on to a London dealer, who sold it to Lord Londesborough. He allowed it to be described by Roach Smith in Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii, p. 168 and Plate 44. At the Londesborough sale it went to the famous Montagu collection, then to Lord Grantley, and at his recent sale it was bought and brought back to its old home in Wiltshire (illustrated in sale catalogue, lot 715). Obverse, a hound leaping to right and looking back, tail curled over back and chain round neck; reverse, a boar's head full face. This has hitherto been described as a wolf's head, but Dr. Edward Hindle, F.R.S., Scientific Director of the Zoological Society, has kindly examined a cast and, while realizing the



Three Coins found in Wiltshire: gold stater of Cunobeline; British bronze of the 5th century; Saxon sceatta (silver).



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difficulty of arriving at a conclusion from so small an object, is inclined to think it the face of a boar. This is a very interesting specimen of early Saxon work, a rare and valuable specimen of which no other example can be traced.

A. D. Passmore.

Popplechurch and an Aldbourne Earthwork. In the June issue it was suggested that Popplechurch might mean "pebble barrow". Mr. Passmore, who opened the barrow in question in 1895, is quite sure it contained no pebbles. But in his view the name belongs to the next field to the south, which lies in Aldbourne parish, not in Wanborough. Pebbles would not naturally occur on a Lower Chalk site, and only the importation of material from the Baydon neighbourhood would account for them and give rise to the distinctive name, whichever field it belongs to. However, none were found in what it will be tactful to call "Wanborough 1 (Goddard's List)".

Mr. Passmore adds that the hollow (in Aldbourne parish) leading up from the Hungerford Road to the Roman road is called Chestercombe. The name is significant, though the 6-inch map calls the lonely buildings at the head of it "Hellscomb Cottages". "Just alongside the Roman road at the top of the combe is a round ring earthwork that John Chandler thought was a disc barrow. Years ago he dug into it and cleared the centre, but nothing resulted. It is quite possible that such a ring might have protected a signal station . . With a fifty foot tower on the spot an observer could see from Newbury to Cirencester easily—that is, smoke or other alarm signals. One can also see from the air here where the Roman road has passed over a big filled-in ditch. This comes from the east and is filled up for about 100 yards to let the road pass on the level, a most interesting sequence".

The ring earthwork which Mr. Passmore mentions is probably Aldbourne [19a] in Goddard's List. (The square bracket, which indicates omission from the 6-inch map, may now be removed.) But the description there is a little puzzling. Hoare's words are these: "... I came to Peck's Hill, where I noticed a bank and ditch crossing the ridge of the hill, and shortly afterwards a Druid barrow intersected by the Roman road". Hoare was riding N.W. and seems to have crossed Mr. Passmore's filled-in ditch before he reached the "Druid barrow". But neither Hoare's map nor the Ordnance Survey shows any trace of the ditch on the Baydon side of the Roman road. If we may identify Hoare's "Druid barrows", as Goddard's List appears to do, with disc barrows, his assumption and John Chandler's agreed. It now seems to have been disproved, though the excavation which disproved it has gone unrecorded. Mr. Passmore's alternative assumption replaces it.

H. C. B.

Aldbourne Bells. The products of the well-known bell-foundry in this remote village, which flourished mainly in the hands of the Cor and Wells families from 1694 to 1826, had a wide distribution. The Birmingham Mail of June 23rd, 1944, contained a photograph of the

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bells of St. John the Baptist's, Deritend, removed from the tower in the course of demolition. Six of them bear inscriptions: the treble bell, "We were placed by subscription in the year 1766. Thomas Cox, minister"; second bell, "Health and happiness to all our subscribers"; fourth bell, "May the town of Birmingham be ever held in esteem for its manufacturers"; fifth bell, "Wisdom to the Council of the State and success to the British Fleet"; seventh bell, "May Great Britain ever stand unrivalled in commerce"; tenor bell, "R. Wells of Aldbourne fecit 1766". Personal, local and national interests seem to have obscured in the minds of the subscribers the primary purpose of church bells, but they belonged, it must be remembered, to the eighteenth century and the industrial Midlands.

Walters' Church Bells of Wiltshire lists this ring among the commissions executed at Aldbourne, though the inscriptions are naturally not quoted. The date given, however, is 1776, an obvious slip of ten years.

H. C. B.

Lacock to the National Trust. The Times of July 26th, 1944, announced the presentation by Miss Talbot of the Abbey and village of Lacock with the manor farm to the National Trust. The gift covers an extent of 300 acres. The Times added a brief account of the history of the Abbey from its foundation in 1229 and published two photographs, one of the Abbey from the south-east and another of a street in what it justly called "one of the most beautiful and unspoilt villages in the west of England". Miss Talbot's liberal policy of admitting visitors to see the most admirable parts of the Abbey will be continued by its new owners. Its architecture shows an interesting succession of styles from the Early English conventual, through the Tudor domestic to the Gothic revival and early nineteenth century adaptations.

It so happens that Lacock is one of the concerns of this issue of the *Magazine*. It is hoped to include a detailed record of the Abbey in the next number.

H. C. B.

Currency Bars or Sword-Moulds? Of the thousand and more examples of these equivocal objects so far discovered only one has turned up in Wiltshire. That was at Minety, as recorded in the second volume of the *Glastonbury* Report. But others may yet be found in Wiltshire soil, and a pamphlet, recently received, which deals with the question may appropriately be discussed here.

It is the revision of an article by E. Wyndham Hulme, which appeared in *The British Steelmaker* and bears the date August, 1944. Its title is "Sword Moulds v. Currency Bars", and in Mr. Hulme's opinion the home team wins. As he is evidently himself a metallurgist, his opinion merits consideration. Until 1905, when Reginald Smith propounded the currency bar theory, the sword-mould explanation held the field, but Mr. Hulme believes that "progress in science consists generally in modifying and extending accepted theories, not in reversing them".

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That saving word, "generally", may be presumed to excuse the cosmogony of Copernicus, who must otherwise have patched up the geocentric astronomy of his predecessors with more epicycles. But the author's objections to the Reginald Smith revolution are based on other grounds than mere conservatism. He dismisses the argument that a traffic in sword-moulds implies a division of labour unknown in Celtic times by declaring (and here the metallurgist speaks) that two-stage smithing implies no such thing. "The men who are moulding one day will be finishing the next ". This seems to exclude the traffic idea, at least at this stage of the process of manufacture. But having disposed of the objection that sword-moulds are incompatible with an Iron Age date, he does not accept that date, as we shall see. He objects to alleged standards of varying weights arrived at by the process of averaging discrepant examples of these so-called currency bars, and there is surely weight in his objection. He further objects that currency bars would necessarily be made of raw, unmanufactured iron in order to admit of sub-division by cutting. It may, however, be remarked that in Homeric times, as in Africa to-day, cattle were a medium of exchange and lent themselves still less to sub-division. He might legitimately have objected that a handle, such as all these objects carry, is an unnecessary addition to a mere bar of currency. The use of such bars, evidenced by Cæsar's taleæ ferreæ and by excavation, he does not deny: he only denies that these are they.

He mentions, by the bye, and it can hardly be repeated too often, the pronouncement of the British Museum laboratory, first made public by Sir Cyril Fox in Antiquity (1940, p. 433), that the Wayland's Smithy "currency bars" are "blacksmith's work very unlikely to be older than the 18th century" and consist of "two halves of a single object, their narrow ends having been united in a forged joint". But Mr. Hulme would correct this description. He points out that, before the rolling process came in, Sheffield sent double sword-moulds to Birmingham to be made into two blades and adds "since all blades from the mid-eighteenth century were made from steel bars, I accept the suggestion made to me by Mr. W. F. Gaunt of Birmingham . . . that the Wayland's Smithy moulds may be templets . . . concealed near the Long Barrow in Berks to puzzle antiquaries" and he assigns them to a date shortly after the publication of Kenilworth in 1824. In any case the picturesque legend to which Scott referred of the divine smith who did his work unseen for a fee left overnight can no longer be ante-dated to the Iron Age on the strength of the Wayland's Smithy hoax, if an intentional hoax it was.

But Mr. Hulme's main contention is that these moulds—sword-moulds once again in his opinion—belong to the last years of the Roman occupation, a view propounded originally by Thomas Wright in 1863, though Sir A. W. Franks later assigned them to what is now called Iron Age B. It is common ground that they were made, in the great majority of instances, from the brown iron ore (limonite) of the Forest of Dean, and no evidence is forthcoming for the smelting of this

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ore before the Romans worked it. Mr. Hulme supports his contention with a quotation from Gildas, who represents the Romans, when they left the island, "giving energetic counsel to the timorous natives" and leaving them patterns for the manufacture of arms (exemplaria armorum instituendorum). These exemplaria were apparently the sword moulds in question; but the Britons, long forbidden the use of arms by their Roman conquerors, could make no use of them and prudently buried them in their strongholds! Hence the hoards unearthed at Malvern, Salmonsbury, Meon Hill and Ham Hill, and lesser finds in Dorset and Devon, all, be it noted, within reasonable distance of the Forest of Dean.

Mr. Hulme is severe on "philologists" turned archæologists who confuse pottery kilns with iron furnaces and regard the presence of iron pyrites as evidence of smelting. He admits that they have the grace occasionally to call specialists to their aid, but not enough of them. That may have been the case in 1905, but, like other charges of a similar kind, this one misses its mark by some 30 years. No one could fairly accuse the modern excavator of not submitting his finds to those most competent to pronounce upon them, and the metallurgist is as likely to be called in aid as the malacologist.

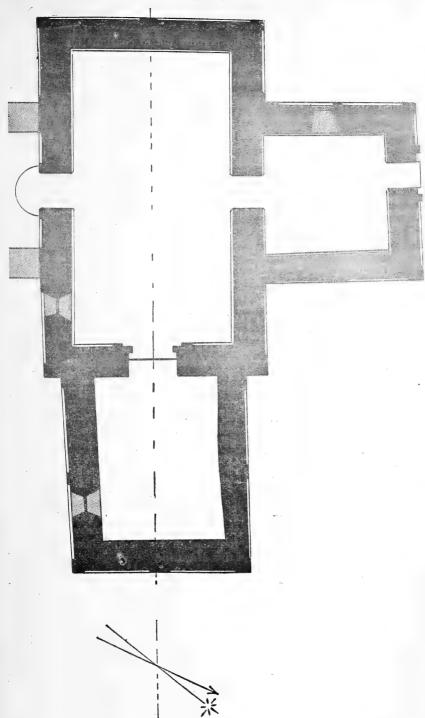
H. C. B.

The Ground-plan of the Saxon Church, Bradford-on-Avon. In the Wiltshire Times of May 13th, 1943, Major A. Gorham of Limpley Stoke published a ground-plan of the Saxon Church at Bradford from a detailed survey of the building made by him in the previous year. He kindly allows the reproduction of this plan reduced to fit the Magazine page. Its importance lies in the fact that apparently no such accurate ground-plan of the building has ever been published. The letterpress accompanying the plan says:—

"The general orientation of the Church is so far displaced from a 'true' east and west bearing that it is more nearly north-east and south-west; but the discovery that Major Gorham has made is that the whole chancel is considerably displaced from the central nave line. Now this displacement is symbolical of the attitude of the Saviour at the Crucifixion with His head inclined to one side and is quite a common feature in churches of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. Sometimes the chancel steps are displaced, sometimes the chancel arch and steps are displaced and sometimes, as in this case, the whole chancel. But the importance of the present discovery is that the Saxon Church at Bradford-on-Avon affords one of the earliest, if not the very earliest, known examples in the British Isles of such symbolical displacement".

Major Gorham has certainly made a remarkable discovery, and the indication of the chancel here, in what is undoubtedly one of the earliest churches existing in England, seems at first sight to lend an increased authority to the symbolical explanation of the leaning chancels in so many other churches.

E. H. G.



500 Notes.

So far Canon Goddard, who permits me to continue his note in the light of other considerations.

It will readily be agreed that Major Gorham's survey has established new and interesting facts about this church, and the inclination of the chancel is the most striking of them. Lukis's plan, which is one of the illustrations to Jones's long article on Bradford (W.A.M., v. at p. 249) shows no such peculiarity. It lays out the whole building on a single axis bearing $79\frac{1}{2}$ ° E. of N. Major Gorham's orientation for the axis of the nave is 50° E. of true north, and even supposing, as we must, that Lukis was content with a simple compass bearing, a difference of $29\frac{1}{2}$ ° is excessive for any date. The magnetic declination at Bradford in the 50's of the last century can hardly have been greater than 23° W. (It was somewhere about 22° W. at Greenwich). It looks as if Lukis's N. point was shown as inaccurately as his scale, which will not agree with Jones's own measurements, or indeed as his ground-plan itself. It is remarkable that no more expert survey seems to have been made until Major Gorham addressed himself to the task in 1942.

The axis of the chancel in Major Gorham's plan is not so much at variance with that of the nave as may at first glance appear. The fact is that no two walls of the church are really parallel. Measurements made with a protractor on this ground-plan show that each pair produced would meet well this side of infinity. The actual angular divergence or convergence varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ ° to $1\frac{1}{2}$ °, the latter difference occuring in the E. and W. walls of the nave and the N. and S. walls of the chancel. And, as it happens, the axes of the nave and the chancel

also differ by 1½°, the chancel axis bearing 48½° E. of N.

Are we justified then in insisting on the special significance of a divagation which is equalled twice over with no apparent reason in the lay-out of the church—at least, as it now exists? Whatever the explanation of the leaning chancels—and many authorities to-day are more than doubtful of their symbolic intention—this eleventh (? tenth) century building cannot safely be quoted as an example. It rather lends support to those extremists who hold that such irregularities are due to nothing more significant than a faulty eye. H. C. B.

John Bettesthorne of Mere. It should be recorded that Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to accept copies of the genealogical article on a fragment of her family history which appeared in the last number of this *Magazine*.

Miss Ethel Stokes. The death of this lady on October 20th, 1944, was the consequence of a London street accident in the black-out. The news will have grieved all who knew her or availed themselves of her constant helpfulness in matters relating to antiquarian interests. An active officer of the Records Association and secretary of its Preservation Section, she has in the course of the last twenty years identified and deposited in our Library hundreds of old Wiltshire deeds and

never grudged her assistance in tracing references on many historical subjects. Many of our members will learn of the debt we owe to her labours perhaps for the first time in the intimation of her death, but they will sympathize with this expression of our Society's sincere regret.

B. H. C.

WILTSHIRE OBITUARIES.

Canon William Henry Roberts Longhurst, died at Budleigh Salterton, September 9th, 1943, a week before his 105th birthday. He was not only the oldest clergyman in Britain, but also the oldest member of Oxford University and the oldest living Marlburian. Born September 11th, 1838, the son of the Rev. C. Longhurst of Bruntingthorpe; educated at Marlborough, 1855-56, and Pembroke College, Oxford, where he won the hurdles in 1861-62; graduated in law and history. Ordained 1865 and took up his first curacy at Christ Church, Savernake, 1865-67, combining that duty with a classical mastership at Marlborough Grammar School. After holding other curacies in Yorkshire and Warwickshire, became Vicar of Holy Trinity. Worcester 1871, of Kempsey 1879, Queenhill 1892 till his retirement in 1918; Hon. Canon of Worcester 1910-36; Chairman of the Worcester Royal Infirmary Committee for 22 years and governor of the Worcester Provident and Medical Dispensary for 45 years; Alderman of the County Council and Chairman of the Elementary Education Committee. He was still fairly active within two years of his death.

Obit., Times, September 9th, 1943.

Captain John Francis Arundell, Lord Arundell of Wardour, the Wiltshire Regiment, died September 25th, 1944, at Chester Military Hospital. Born June, 1907, only son of the 15th Baron and succeeded to title in 1939. Educated at Stonyhurst and New College, Oxford, and spent a year at King's College, Cambridge studying Agriculture and Estate Management. He was devoted to the English countryside and gave himself wholeheartedly to the service of the family estate. He was a devout Catholic and a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, a dignity conferred on his ancestor, Sir Thomas Arundell, in 1595 for service to the Imperial Army in Hungary.

Lord Arundell held a commission in the Wilts Territorials and went to France in 1939. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Dunkirk

and repatriated this year, but did not long survive his return to this country. He was unmarried, and the barony, created in 1605, thus becomes extinct.

Major the Rt. Hon. Walter Francis David Long, Second Viscount Long of Wraxall, Coldstream Guards, was killed in action. His death was announced October 3rd, 1944. Born September 14th, 1911; only son of the late Brigadier-General Walter Long, D.S.O., who was killed in action in 1917 and predeceased the first Viscount. Educated at Eton and placed on Reserve of Officers, Coldstream Guards, before the outbreak of the present war. Married in 1933, Frances Laura, granddaughter of the eleventh Earl of Wemyss, and had one daughter.

Obit., The Times, October 3rd, 1944.

Sir Sydney Waterlow, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., Third Baronet, died at Oare, November 30th, 1944. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, Entered the Diplomatic Service 1900, served at Washington; Diplomatic Secretary, Peace Conference, Paris, 1919; was Councillor, Foreign Office and then served at Bangkok, Addis Ababa, Sofia and Athens. He was a fine classical scholar. He leaves one son and two daughters of his second marriage.

Obit., Marlborough Times, December 14th, 1944.

Local Secretaries and other members are asked to send the Editor published obituaries of Wiltshire personalities, which may otherwise escape his vigilance. Please add source and date of publication.

ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

Museum.

Presented by Mrs. Fernie,: Five Pen-and-ink Sketches of Toll-gates in the Wootton Bassett district, by G. Adye.

Sand-glass used in Turnpike Auctions, dated 1851.

MR. C. R. CLEWETT: Two Copper Measures for Corntolls formerly used at Bedwyn market by the donor's ancestor, Charles Clewett, the last Aletaster and Measurer for that borough.

,, Rev. E. C. Gardner: Bronze Medallion of Sir Benjamin Brodie, P.R.S. (born at Winterslow 1783).

,, Mr. Courtney Stevens: Iron Doorkey (? 16th century) ploughed up near Wansdyke, Bishops Cannings.

Library.

Presented by Mr. W. A. Webb: Transcript of Parish Registers of Seend, 1612—1812.

Mr. C. E. Bean: Drawing, dated 1846, of "A Triple

Barrow on Beckhampton Down 'r.

, Mr. A. Shaw Mellor: Six-inch Map of Box district with additional place-names and a list of the same in the last three centuries.

Book of Cuttings relating to Box and Corsham Stone Quarries.

Country Life with views of Haselbury House.

Bath Stone Quarries at Box.

G.W.R. Magazine, September, 1908, with account of Box Tunnel.

All these items from the collection of the late H. A. Druett, Schoolmaster at Box.

,, Miss Ursula Moberley: Deeds relating to lands at , Lockeridge and Fyfield.

,, MISS MONA WILSON: Transcript from the Court Rolls of Alton Barnes, various dates, 1384 to 1545, showing in earlier years the separate records of Shaw-in-Alton.

"THE AUTHOR: Sword Moulds v. Currency Bars, by E. Wyndham Hulme, reprinted from The British Steelmaker, with revisions, August, 1944.

Mr. W. H. HALLAM: "The Jefferies Family Tree, 1685—1925", compiled by F. C. Hall and F. E. Butt.

Notes on Swindon Street Names.

Notes on the Church Bells of Swindon.

" CHELTENHAM PUBLIC LIBRARY: Fresh Water Shells of Wiltshire Reprint of article by the Rev. J. E. Vize.

- Presented by Mr. B. H. Cunnington: The Chronicles of Devizes, by James Waylen, interleaved, with numerous MS. notes, cuttings and illustrations.
 - Onr Battalion. Drawings from Punch, by L. Ravenhill. The Humours of Sport. Drawings by G. D. Armour, many having a local interest.
 - " Mr. B. W. Bourne: Transcripts of Parish Registers, Combe Bissett and Homington.
 - MS. Notes and Printed Pamphlet on Combe Bissett and its Church.
 - , CAPT. A. E. DUNSTON: Sale Catalogue (1923) of Coombe Estate, Shaftesbury.
 - " MR. ROLAND AUSTIN: Deed relating to Christian Malford, etc. (17th cent.).
 - , MR. F. W. Ball : Four deeds concerning land in Potterne, Rowde and Bishop's Cannings.
 - Mr. F. C. PITT: Church Bells of Wiltshire (Walters), Pt. II., History of Broughton Road Baptist Church, Melksham, 1669—1909.

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

GENERAL FUND IN CMF AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1943.

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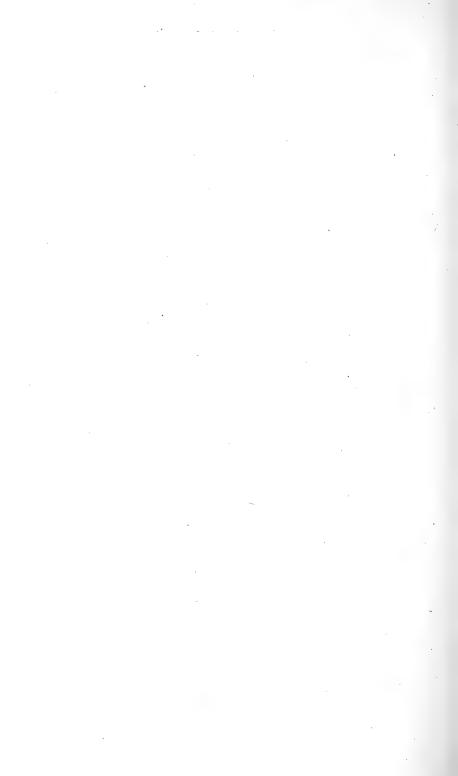
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