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The Wiltshire Archaeological
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Volume 98 2005

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The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine

Volume 98

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The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society

The Society was founded in 1853. Its activities include the promotion of the study of archaeology (including industrial archaeology), history, natural history and architecture within the county; the issue of a Magazine, and other publications, and the maintenance of a Museum, Library, and Art Gallery. There is a programme of lectures and excursions to places of archaeological, historical and scientific interest.

The Society's Museum contains important collections relating to the history of man in Wiltshire from earliest times to the present day, as well as the geology and natural history of the county. It is particularly well known for its prehistoric collections. The Library houses a comprehensive collection of books, articles, pictures, prints, drawings and photographs relating to Wiltshire. The Society welcomes the gift of local objects, printed material, paintings and photographs to add to the collections.

The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine is the annual journal of the Society and is issued free to its members. For information about the availability of back numbers and other publications of the Society, enquiry should be made to the Curator.

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Notes for Contributors

Contributions for the *Magazine* should be on subjects related to the archaeology, history or natural history of Wiltshire. While there is no fixed length, papers should ideally be under 7,000 words, though longer papers will be considered if of sufficient importance. Shorter, note length, contributions are also welcome. All contributions should be typed/ word processed, with text on one side of a page only, with good margins and double spacing. Language should be clear and comprehensible. Contributions of article length should be accompanied by a summary of about 100 words. Please submit two copies of the text (with computer disk if possible) and clear photocopies of any illustrations to the editors at the Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire, SN10 1NS. A further copy should be retained by the author. The editors will be pleased to advise and discuss with intending contributors at any stage during the preparation of their work. When submitting text or graphics on disk, Word or

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PITTS, M. W. and WHITTLE, A. 1992. The development and date of Avebury. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 58, 203-12

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For a book or monograph:

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Cold War Monuments in Wiltshire

by *Bob Clarke*

The Cold War punctuated the later half of the Twentieth Century as Communism and Capitalism raced to become the dominant global ideology. The horrors of nuclear war were, thankfully, never realised, although the British Government planned for such an event. This paper introduces the varied structures built in Wiltshire as part of that preparation, concentrating on the protection of central, regional and local government. Aspects include the public warning system involving the Royal Observer Corps, protection of the water supply in the Swindon area and the GCHQ site at RAF Blakehill Farm. An insight into their use is followed by a summary of current conditions and usage.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout 2003 a collaborative survey between the University of Bath in Swindon, QinetiQ Archaeology, Broad Town Archaeology and Wiltshire County Council investigated all military and related sites in an area of north-east Wiltshire. The North Wiltshire Military Survey (NWMS) covered structures dating between 1900 and 2000 within a 423 sq.km. area. Sites included airfields, prisoner of war camps, army camps and supply depots (report forthcoming). With so few Cold War monuments in Wiltshire, this paper includes those surveyed by NWMS and sites outside the project area but within the county boundary.

Cold War military sites, by their very nature, were secretive and well protected. Some are still on Ministry of Defence (MOD) land and are both difficult to assess and inappropriate to discuss here for reasons of national security. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 written records and sites have become increasingly accessible.

The Cold War was more than just a military concern. Consideration was also given to the preservation of Government and utilities, problems related to fallout, and warning of the public. Many installations were designed to withstand the extreme

destructive forces of thermonuclear attack. This paper focuses on the civilian structures in Wiltshire built and financed mostly by the Home Office during the Cold War. In times of national emergency, however, boundaries between civil and military agencies would become diffuse. Bunkers at Blunsdon and Devizes are described for the first time.

GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF WILTSHIRE DURING THE COLD WAR

Wiltshire was a confused issue geographically during the Cold War, dependent on the definition of the Government organisation concerned. For the Regional Seats of Government (RSG), and later Regional Government Headquarters (RGHQ), the World War II Home Defence Regions (HDR) were used. Wiltshire by the 1980s formed part of HDR 7, covering the South-West, which was in turn subdivided into 7.1 & 7.2. Wiltshire formed part of HDR 7.1 along with Somerset, Dorset, Avon and Gloucestershire. Within the Royal Observer Corps (ROC) the boundaries changed again. North Wiltshire fell under the control of Group 3 at Oxford and all other areas under Group 14 at Winchester.

Both groups were originally part of the Southern Area, but this changed to the Metropolitan Area during reorganisation and scaling down of the ROC as part of the 1968 Civil Defence review. Local Government protection was carried out according to a county framework as was, until abandonment, the Civil Defence Corps.

THE ROYAL OBSERVER CORPS

The Royal Observer Corps (ROC), an integral part of Britain's defence during W.W.II, was stood down just four days after VE Day. When a new threat was seen as the Soviet Union, recruiting and training restarted on 1 April 1947. Aircraft identification remained the primary duty of the ROC until it was recognised that a combination of jet aircraft and the rocket deliverable hydrogen bomb made the Corps' current role obsolete. In 1955 the Home Office created the United Kingdom Warning and Monitoring Organisation (UKWMO), primarily to give warning of attack, verification of detonation and fallout paths. The ROC became the 'eyes and ears' of the organisation and moved underground into purpose built structures.

Below ground monitoring posts of the ROC are the most prolific yet vulnerable monuments of the Cold War in Wiltshire. Some were moved over the period of their operation, making field assessment difficult. Twenty three posts were originally built within the county of which 14 survive. To demonstrate a typical problem, below is a brief history of one Wiltshire site. An overground post was originally established at Wootton Bassett (NGR SU07158235) in January 1938, designated 23/A3 in the Western Headquarters Group situated at Bristol. In November 1953 the post received an Orlit observation platform and came under the command of the Oxford group now following the RAF sector 'Southern' and designated 3/M3. In April 1956 the post was moved 5 km. to Toothill on the outskirts of Swindon, where another Orlit platform was erected, still reporting to Oxford. As part of the Home Office UKWMO upgrades an underground post (NGR SU11988343) was constructed in July 1961 which was subsequently abandoned in 1967 due to the constant ingress of water. A new post was built on the airfield at Wroughton in June 1968 (NGR SU14117950), designated 3/K3 and was in use until the stand down of 1991 (Tony Peach *pers. comm.* 2004). So what

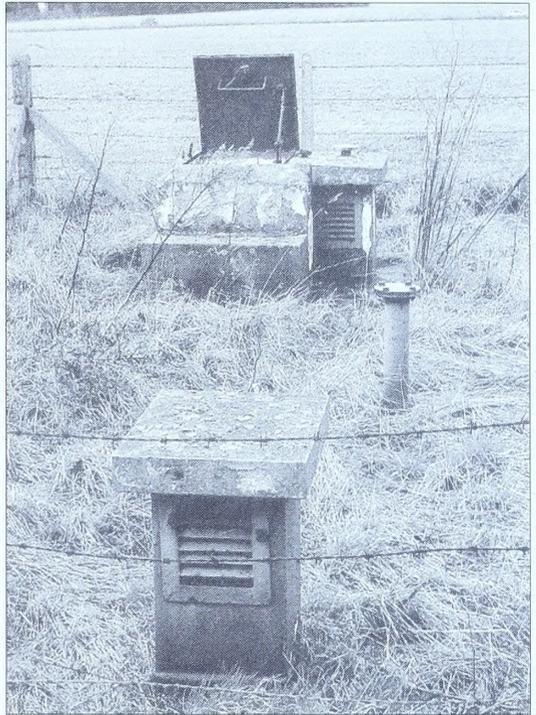


Fig. 1. The Royal Observer Corps' underground monitoring post at Amesbury. Over 1500 of these protected structures were built nationally, 14 survive in Wiltshire.

archaeology survives? The original site is now occupied by a school, no trace of the post remains. The Toothill site has an extremely large housing estate around it, although part of the surrounding fence remains; presumably the underground section is still extant. The post on Wroughton airfield forms part of the Science Museum collection and is open to visitors.

A 'TYPICAL' MONITORING POST

The underground post at Amesbury (NGR SU15983863), built in July 1964 is a classic monument of its type (Figure 1). Few features are visible above ground. The post is situated in the middle of a field about 100 m. from a track and is surrounded by a three strand wire fence on concrete posts with a metal gate in one corner. Buried underground is a reinforced concrete box 6 x 2.5 x 2.3 m., where a crew of three would have monitored the blast on a Bomb Power Indicator (BPI) gauge,

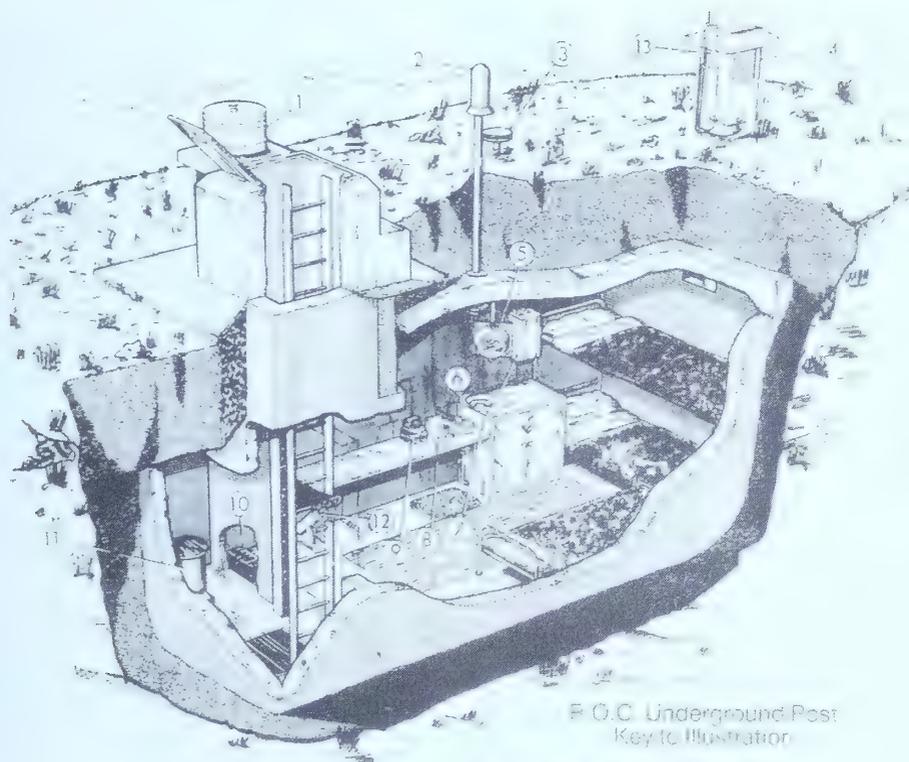


Fig. 2. Cross-section of an ROC underground monitoring post.

and recorded radioactive signatures through a Fixed Survey Meter Probe (FSMP). Contact would be maintained with the other two posts in the Amesbury group at Grateley in Hampshire and Wylde (NGR SU00703690) in Wiltshire, along with the group HQ at Winchester by land line.

Above ground is an access block with a counter-balanced steel trap door covering a 4.5 m. shaft which gave access to the post via a steel rung ladder. The access block also, as a later addition, contained a louvred ventilation duct and the fixed point for a Ground Zero Indicator (GZI). This was an instrument that worked like a pin hole camera, recording the initial flash of a nuclear detonation on to a graduated sheet of paper, allowing a fallout assessment to be reached. At the other end of the site is another small louvred ventilation shaft; master posts (one out of the group of three) often had the radio aerial fitted to this. Three tubes of varying diameter also run from the surface down into the bunker for instruments and communications (Figure 2). One carried the baffle plates for the BPI Another more prominent tube 50 cm. high and 6cm. in

- F.O.C. Underground Post
Key to Illustration
1. Ground Zero Indicator
 2. Survey Meter Sensing Head
 3. Bomb Power Indicator Sensing Head
 4. Air Vent
 5. Bomb Power Indicator
 6. Fixed Survey Meter
 7. Stand-By Radio Set
 8. Tele-talk Set
 9. Carrier Receiver
 10. 12 Volt Battery
 11. Chemical Closet
 12. Pump for Pneumatic Aerial
 13. Pneumatic Aerial

diameter would, in times of emergency, be fitted with the FSMP under a hard rubber cap. A small tube is also present to allow the Post Office (as it was in the time of construction) to pass a landline down into the post. On the 10 July 1991 the Government took the decision to cease monitoring and warning; all ROC posts were stood down by September of that year.

WARNING THE PUBLIC

The possibility of warning the public of a nuclear attack became more problematic with the advent of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) in the

mid-1950s. Also the hydrogen bomb, first detonated by the Americans in 1952 and closely followed by the Soviet Union in 1953, shifted the possibility of localised attacks, like those seen in Japan, to ones that would affect vast areas. By the mid-1960s the country was covered by a network of air-raid sirens and warning units known as Carrier Warning Points (CWP). By 1963 the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System (BMEWS), sited at RAF Fylingdales, also monitored for missile attack. In cases of missile detection all information would be passed to Home Office staff stationed at the UK Regional Air Operations Centre (UK RAOC), High Wycombe, who would decide whether, on military advice, to set the national warning network in motion.

Britain was divided up into 250 warning districts following the existing telephone charging boundaries. Each district had one Carrier Control Point (CCP) and a standby in case of failure. On the turn of a key the police could initiate all sirens and CWPs in that area. When Swindon was provided with a new Police Station (NGR SU15258475) in 1973 a number of sunken rooms were strengthened to form the 'War Room'; the CCP was situated here. At least seven air-raid sirens were positioned around the town and around thirty CWPs in outlying rural areas (Colin Bullock *pers. comm.* 2004). The CWP speaker units were mostly situated in Post Offices

or police houses; one was positioned in the garage at Avebury, ready to issue the 'four minute warning', should the need arise. The whole network was decommissioned in 1992 with most of the equipment removed and scrapped.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

By 1965 Central Government required County Councils to provide protected accommodation for their emergency staff. Wiltshire County Control, known as the 'County Main' was constructed during the late 1960s in the basement of Shire Hall in Trowbridge. The bunker could accommodate fifty-three officials and a number of military personnel (McCamley 2002, 201). District Councils also provided an array of protected sites using old Civil Defence Controls as at Salisbury (NGR 13952875) while others were purpose built as under the now demolished North Wiltshire Council offices at Chippenham. Salisbury Control Centre is a single story concrete structure built in 1962, and upgraded, as were many protected sites, in the early 1980s. The Wiltshire County Standby is under the library on Sheep Street in Devizes, replacing an earlier bunker at Roundway House that had its origins in World War II.



Fig. 3. Devizes Library. The Wiltshire County Standby lies beneath this building.



Fig. 4. Devizes Library. One of four Microflow Air Supply Units designed to filter out radioactive fallout dust and chemical contaminants.

WILTSHIRE COUNTY STANDBY

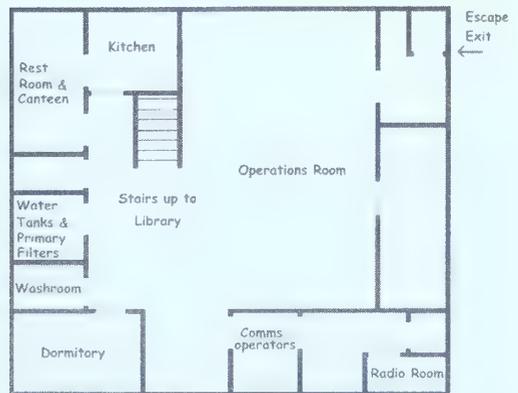
The Wiltshire County Standby in Devizes comprised a central control room with offices and domestic accommodation arranged on three sides. The original structure dates from the late 1960s – early 1970s, but appears to have been upgraded in the mid 1980s. Above ground the structure is two storeys high. The major part of the layout comprises external walls only, the rest being left open (Figure 3). This has advantages in that if the building collapsed the weight of the debris would pose little threat to the bunker below. The standby was accessed through an internal door just inside the building and then down a flight of stairs. An emergency exit, via a set of ladders, allowed the occupants to leave if the main entrance was blocked.

Ventilation was provided by four Microflow air supply units (Figure 4), produced by MDH of Andover, Hampshire. The company still provides

specialist Nuclear, Biological and Chemical (NBC) filtration systems for both the MOD and civil sector. Each of the four units had a separate supply from outside, containing an inline filter as it entered the building. Air could be pumped using a 12 volt DC electric motor fitted centrally to the unit or, in the case of power failure, be hand cranked. Only one outflow existed to expel foul air which, incidentally, is the only external sign of the bunker below.

Water was stored in seven 1000 gallon tanks, five in series in a specific room with a hand pump, while two others stood in the control room and were used to top up the main tanks. In peace time and during any build up to war water came from the library mains circuit piped from above. If the mains supply to the building was lost, water could be hand pumped to a small header tank in the kitchen. The kitchen area comprised a small room with a Belling oven and wall mounted water heater, sink and some storage units. The kitchen had two doorways, one leading from the corridor, the other leading into a separate room, which had yet another door leading back into the corridor. This served as the canteen and rest room, two doors being fitted so that staff did not have to go back through the kitchen after eating (Figure 5).

A small unisex toilet facility contained three units flushed by a hand pump, separated by hardboard partitions. A hand wash unit was operated by a push button on the wall. Next to the toilet unit was a large storage room which, in times of emergency, would have been converted into sleeping quarters, with bunks and, presumably, a ‘hot bed’ arrangement.



Devizes Library
Wiltshire County Standby

Fig. 5. Wiltshire County Standby plan.

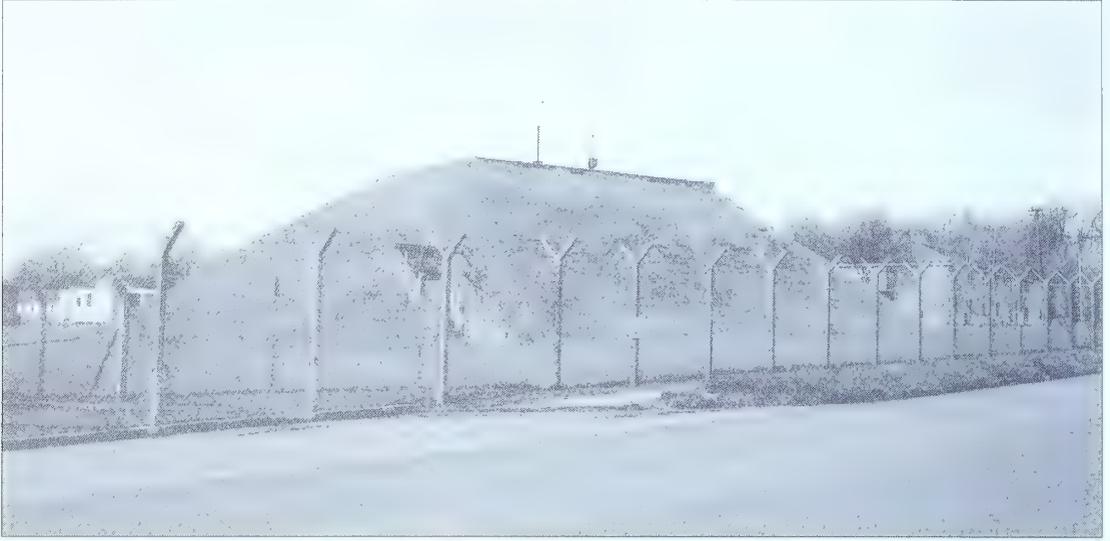


Fig. 6. 'PL 1'. One of three lifts down to the Central Government War Headquarters at Corsham.

Communications were handled in two separate rooms, a radio room covering incoming messages from emergency services and radio hams (Raynet), and a telephone block, where eight operators used land-line connections. Operators in this area had direct connection with other county centres including the Regional Government Headquarters (RGHQ) at Chilmark (see below). Land-line connections were vital. To ensure they were not damaged during a nuclear detonation they had a lightning suppressor fitted which, it was hoped, would dampen the effects of the Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP). A large office was also provided, presumably for senior staff members. This had two hatched windows, one on either side, which connected through to smaller office rooms. As information came in it would be passed through into this room. The office opened on to the central control room where all the rescue operations, food distribution, public order, fall-out and all other aspects of civil dependency were co-ordinated.

CENTRAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

Central Government made plans for its own survival. One of the most famous is surely the underground complex of tunnels at Corsham (NGR ST 847689). Formally a stone quarry and then an aircraft factory, the site was earmarked in the early 1950s as a Seat of

Central Government. By 1957 plans had been drawn up for a 7,000 strong staff at a centre covering in excess of a million square feet (McCamley 2002, 260). Passenger (Figure 6) and goods lifts were built as were new ventilation systems and, rather bizarrely, a bar. In line with other sites the HQ received a major refurbishment in the early 1980s, including a downsize in staff. By 1992 the site was effectively placed into care and maintenance.

In the event of the destruction of Central Government a number of Regional Seats of Governments (RSG), later to become Regional Government Headquarters (RGHQ), were constructed around Britain. These were central to each HDR (described above) and until the mid-1980s



Fig. 7. Chilmark. The main entrance to the two storey sunken Regional Government Headquarters. (Copyright © N.J. McCamley)

Wiltshire was to have been controlled by RGHQ's at Ullenwood in Gloucestershire or Hope Cove in Devon. In the 1980s, however, the Government embarked on a radical reshaping of Regional Emergency Planning which culminated in the construction of three massive, state of the art complexes, one situated in Wiltshire. Land close to RAF Chilmark, an underground bomb store in the south west of the county, was fenced off and over a three year period a two-storey sunken bunker was built (NGR SU984299) (Figure 7). The centre even included a BBC studio and a surgery. A little over four years later the site was redundant and by 1994, along with the majority of other bunkers, Chilmark had been disposed of through sealed bids (Nick McCamley *pers. comm.* 2004).

INFRASTRUCTURE

The role of the utilities after nuclear attack is difficult to ascertain. Clearly, massive disruption would be caused: water supplies would be cut off, as would gas and electricity due to the effects of the Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP). Sectors of the transport system were likely to be out of action permanently. Rail and road might survive in outlying areas, but air and sea ports, with their obvious military applications, would probably be beyond

repair. In view of this, contingency plans were made to attempt re-connection and re-routing where possible. A large National Grid Strategic Store is located just over the county border a few miles North of Cirencester. The main National Grid Control at Becca Hall near Leeds indicates that a major linkage is situated near Minety that would have undoubtedly played a major part in the regeneration of the electricity supply.

BLUNSDON EMERGENCY CONTROL CENTRE

The policy of locating control bunkers at sites of major strategic importance is graphically demonstrated at the Thames Water site at Blunsdon reservoir, a few miles north of Swindon (NGR SU 146903). Two large covered reservoirs stand 40 m. above the average height in the town, delivering via gravity rather than pump. The site clearly had significance in the Civil Protection planning of the 1980s as the reservoirs have a large protected control bunker situated between them. Filtered breathers fitted to the tops of both reservoirs are presumably to keep out contaminants. The bunker was constructed in 1987 as part of the Government upgrade of control of emergency water supplies. The



Fig. 8. Blunsdon Emergency Water Control. Escape exit (L), filtration stack (C) & main entrance (R).

building is a standard design intended to give 30 days protection for twelve staff with or without power or water supply.

The Emergency Control Centre is a semi-sunken, 15 m. sq. structure, standing just over 1.5 m. above ground, covered by 10 cm. of topsoil (Figure 8). Effectively it is a concrete box with 300 mm. thick walls capable of withstanding a blast over a pressure of 52kN/m². Entered via a pair of steel doors at ground level in the north-west corner, the doors are wide enough to allow large equipment into the bunker. Behind this a flight of concrete steps descend two metres down to a 200 mm. thick concrete blast door. All entrances and contaminated areas are separated from the occupied areas by further 200 mm. blast doors manufactured by Johnson Marine and Military Doors Ltd., Driffield. Behind the first blast door is an airlock and off from this are two further concrete doors, one to the decontamination room, the other to the generator room. The decontamination room contains a shower to be used before proceeding into the changing room, where uncontaminated clothing would be stored (Figure 9).

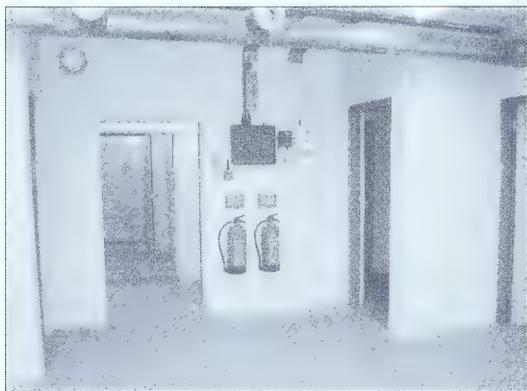


Fig. 9. Blunsdon Emergency Water Control. View from workshop through the suite of decontamination rooms to the main blast-proof door.

Entry to the living and working areas is via a 100 mm. steel pressure door. The work area is a large single room measuring 5 m. by 8.5 m. designed for up to 12 people to repair equipment and use communications systems. Domestic arrangements included a dormitory, capable of accommodating four triple bunks and a few lockers. A washroom accessed from the work area comprises a hand-basin, urinal, chemical toilet and waste water tank that could be emptied outside via a hand pump. A rudimentary kitchen comprised a sink, work top and shelving. No cooking facility is apparent but such

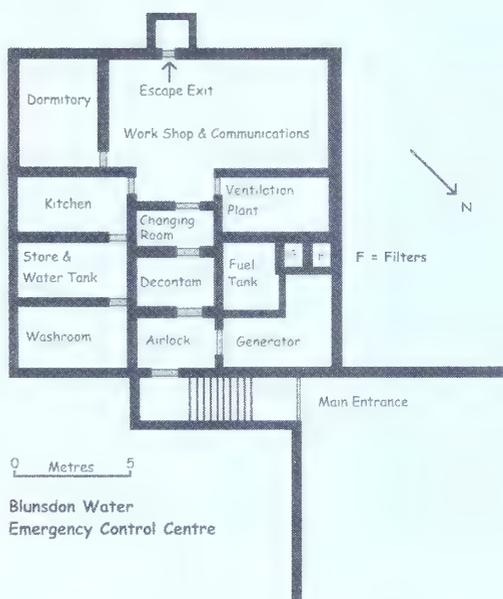


Fig. 10. Blunsdon Emergency Water Control plan.

may have been fitted during the transition to war. A large dehumidifier, situated above the sink demonstrates the problems many protected sites had with moisture. Two taps run into the sink, one connected to the mains supply, the other to a 4032 ltr. standby tank in an adjacent room.

Access to the ventilation room is through a connecting door in the work area. Here two fans, which can be electrically or manually operated, draw air in through a bank of filters and then into the air conditioning piping that runs around the building. The most visible part of the structure is the external intake for the air-conditioning system that stands 3 m. high and is 1 m. square. The centre works on the positive pressure principle, keeping the internal pressure above that outside. This principle, via an outflow valve in the wall of the changing room, keeps contamination outside the work and domestic sections of the centre (Figure 10).

The plant room contains a diesel generator which draws air through a louvred intake next to the entrance and exhausts through a vertical pipe visible on top of the bunker mound. A further pipe near the exhaust is a breather for the fuel tank which was replenished next to the entrance. The tank provided enough fuel for the generator to run for 30 days. As the air intake for the plant room is external it was treated as a contaminated room accessed via an airlock, necessitating full decontamination procedures before re-entering the bunker. A square



Fig. 11. Redundant sign at the entrance to GCHQ Blakehill Farm.

escape hatch is externally visible at the southern extremity of the bunker, accessed internally by a steel ladder off the work area. The site can be clearly seen from the A419 Swindon to Cirencester road.

EXPERIMENTAL STATIONS

Blakehill Farm near Cricklade, a former RAF site, was acquired by GCHQ in 1965 and a series of

experimental radio trials were conducted over the next thirty years (Figure 11). Trials included the Over-The-Horizon Radar (OTHR) system in conjunction with the American Government, as well as 'listening' duties. One highly visible element of the site until 1998 was a repositioned Chain Home timber tower (a component of a World War II radar site) measuring 73 m. (Robert Hogarth *pers. comm.* 2003). The site has been effectively cleared of the majority of wartime buildings, although four repositioned Ministry of Works timber buildings are still extant, as are some test equipment sets. One particular site, known as P- (pea dash), has a series of 2.5 m. sq. fibreglass boxes containing electronic equipment forming a linear array that stretched away from P- for nearly 1 km. (centred NGR SU 068908) (Figure 12). The array was publicly used to conduct High Frequency Radar trials, studying meteorological conditions in the North Atlantic. However this required the ability to 'see' over the curvature of the earth. These structures are clearly part of a fledgling Over-The-Horizon Radar system discussed by the British Government before the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 1997 RAF Blakehill Farm was closed.



Fig. 12. Blakehill Farm. One component of the P- Linear Array, showing discarded test equipment.

THE CURRENT POSITION

Of the twenty-three ROC posts initially constructed in the county fourteen that survived the 1968 reduction are still extant. Some, such as Amesbury, sit quietly receiving a few curious visitors a year, their only immediate threat being a lack of maintenance and encroaching vegetation. The post at Wroughton has been adopted by former ROC members and now forms the centrepiece of an informative display on Science Museum open days. The post at RAF Blakehill Farm has been designated a bat haven by its new owner, the Wiltshire Wildlife Trust, whilst the Great Bedwyn post (NGR SU28286528) is under the stewardship of its former Corps members who hope to open the site to the public. One post has not fared so well. The Avebury site, situated on Waden Hill overlooking the Henge Enclosure (NGR SU10386922), is in the process of being vandalised, including destruction of the infrastructure making it very unsafe. This is probably due to increased visitor numbers to the area and sets an interesting dichotomy within the World Heritage Site.

The majority of structures built to preserve both local and regional Government are faced with an uncertain future. The South Wiltshire bunker on the Blandford Road in Salisbury is currently used for council storage, although the building continues to deteriorate due to lack of maintenance and vegetation damage. Although current development threats are perceived, the possibility of sealing the site is the likely outcome. The County Main at Trowbridge is unlikely to disappear as the structure is underneath the main Council offices and is used during the day to day running of the county. Likewise, the Standby underneath Devizes library is used as a store for local community groups, book storage space and, rather appropriately, as an over-spill for the County Archaeologist's office. It is possible that parts of the district control at Monkton Park in Chippenham still exist (Mandy Fyfe *pers. comm.* 2004) although the majority of the bunker was removed when the North Wiltshire Council offices were rebuilt in 2000.

The RGHQ site at Chilmark is symbolic of the perceived current terrorist threat and as such has ensured a stable future. Bunkers such as this were built to withstand the forces of nuclear attack and now make ideal data repositories for company records and, in the information age, backup stores for computerised information. Chilmark, along with sites nation wide, has been adapted to store such materials. Further notable sites include the

Command Centre at Greenham Common and some Hardened Aircraft Shelters at the former USAF base at Upper Heyford in Oxfordshire. Large parts of the site at Corsham are under MOD control and at the time of writing no firm information about the complex's future can be ascertained.

The Emergency Control Centre at Blunsdon still functions at a reduced level. Maintained in case of pumping failure, Blunsdon forms part of emergency planning to cover water contamination from both natural or manmade sources. The majority of RAF Blakehill Farm is owned by the Wiltshire Wildlife Trust. What place some of the more discreet features will play in future plans is at present undecided. The 'War Room' at Swindon Police Station is soon to be demolished (2004/5) and is off limits to the public due to its recent use as a strong room holding evidence from many investigations. It is hoped that the site will be surveyed by the North Wiltshire Military Survey before removal.

CONCLUSION

The majority of civilian Cold War structures are still extant at the time of writing, with few perceived threats to their preservation. It is the experience of the NWMS team, however, that this situation needs to be viewed with caution. Four World War II airfields surveyed in the project area showed a high level of attrition. Out of 739 structures only 149, a little over 20%, have survived and the majority of those are at RAF Wroughton. If we consider the 25 monuments from the Cold War, it is possible that only 5 will be extant by 2035. Whilst this projection is simplistic, it is important to consider adequate protection for a representative group of monuments. Only then can future generations appreciate the very real preparations for nuclear war, a situation that strongly influenced British culture for nearly fifty years.

Acknowledgements

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Three Hundred and Fifty Years ago: The Penruddock Rebellion: Exploring the Enford Contingent

by Ian Hunt

In March 1655, rumours were rife that Royalists across the country were about to rebel against the government of Oliver Cromwell. Only in one county did any measurable insurrection occur. Colonel John Penruddock of Wiltshire led two hundred men to defy the Protector and proclaim the King 'beyond the sea'. The outbreak was short-lived. Trials ensued; a few rebels were executed, several were transported, some slipped back to obscurity. Three hundred and fifty years on, the rebellion is revisited. Previous accounts are examined afresh. Cognizance is taken of the national background, but discussion of the event and its consequences is from the viewpoint of the Enford contingent and their families, particularly the ancestors of 'Orator' Hunt. New evidence is presented.

Over the centuries, statesmen, scholars, county historians, military analysts, anecdotal topographers, popular authors, journalists and media producers, have given Penruddock's Rebellion such titles as the 'rising in the West', the 'action at Salisbury', and the 'Penruddock Uprising', and have interpreted it variously as an 'affair', '*émeute*', 'insurrection', 'rebellion', or '[up]rising.' Contemporaries, reading their broadsheets, learned of 'the late insurrection'¹ At the opening of Parliament in 1656 Cromwell, with some disdain, described the Wiltshire rebels as 'a company of mean fellows, alas, not a lord, nor a gentleman, nor a man of fortune, nor this, nor that, amongst them.'² The first person of significance to detail the rising historically was Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon. In his work – published posthumously – on the 'great rebellion' i.e. the civil wars, he had the advantage of being a national statesman, albeit royalist, as well as a Wiltshireman. Was, therefore, percipience intermingled with compassion when he wrote of the small rebellion: 'And thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and inflamed all the kingdom, was for the present extinguished in

the west, and Cromwell secured without the help of his army.'³ Over one hundred years elapsed before the next noteworthy contribution appeared. In 1819 Scotsman David Hume made reference to it in his substantial *History of England*:

The easy subduing of this insurrection, which, by the boldness of the undertaking, struck at first a great terror into the nation, was a singular felicity to the protector; who could not, without danger, have brought together any considerable body of his mutinous army, in order to suppress it. The very insurrection itself he regarded as a fortunate event; since it proved the reality of those conspirators, which his enemies, on every occasion, represented as mere fictions, invented to colour his tyrannical severities.⁴

A year later, a direct descendant of one of the Enford contingent, perhaps having read Hume, put pen to paper. Henry 'Orator' Hunt, Wiltshire farmer turned radical politician, imprisoned in Ilchester Jail for involvement in the 'Peterloo massacre' at Manchester, began his memoirs with recollections of his ancestors:

When the commonwealth was established, and Cromwell declared Lord Protector, my great great grandfather, colonel [sic] Thomas Hunt, who was in possession of those estates in Wiltshire, unfortunately took a decided and prominent part in favour of Charles the Second, who had fled, and was then remaining in France, waiting an opportunity for his restoration, and instigating those who were known to be his partisans in this country, to resist and overthrow the government and constitution of the country as then by law established. Charles was in constant correspondence with my forefather, who together with Mr Grove and Mr Penruddock, were all country gentlemen of large property and considerable influence, residing in the county of Wilts, and avowed loyalists firmly attached to the family of Stuart.⁵

The Orator's *Memoirs* have often been discounted on grounds of egotism, exaggeration and misconstruction. A re-reading of his version of 'Penruddock' may induce revised judgment. By contrast, the Victorian W W Ravenhill extensively researched 'the Rising in the West', 'endeavouring not to trench upon the designs of histories already published.' He sifted the *Thomason Tracts*, read Penruddock and Grove family papers, transcribed Mr Secretary Thurloe's files in Her Majesty's Record Office.⁶ The result was an immensely useful set of material. One regret is that it was never rewritten in more readable form. The other is that when his 'paper was originally penned' [1870] he had not seen 'Mr Waylen's account ... published many years ago in the *Wiltshire Independent*.'⁷ James Waylen, Wiltshire historian and erstwhile secretary to Thomas Carlyle, editor of Cromwell's speeches, contributed numerous illuminating pages on the civil wars and interregnum as they affected the local populace. His later work, with regard to 'Penruddock', helps expand the lives of the participants.⁸

Since the end of the nineteenth century a multitude of writers have contributed information, often repeating material, occasionally introducing new snippets or measured reassessments.⁹ A commemorative pamphlet was published for the tercentenary.¹⁰ In the last half-century, television coverage of history, with tie-in books, has supplemented traditional published works, the civil wars being especially popular. County histories have also appeared.¹¹ Either side of the millennium there have been some refreshing academic reappraisals of the period. Professor Barry Coward has stressed the interconnection of causes and effects,¹² while the late Professor Austin Woolrych teased out threads of

discontent and conspiracy on all sides as people strove for a better life: 'Penruddock's rising was of course a smaller affair, but it would not have been if all the men who conspired to take up arms and raise their tenantry had actually done so'¹³ A paper by Button [1997] broke new ground: it gave biographical details of Penruddock and his family, explained the discontent prior to the rising, summarised the event and Cromwell's reaction to it, discussed the legal aspects of the trials – especially the legality of transportation for prisoners condemned for treason, seeing it as a precedent – and explored the nature of the petition presented to the Commons in 1659 by those so transported. It introduced Thomas Hunt's attempts to obtain money to pay for the return voyage of his men.¹⁴ Most recently comes a reminder that the incident is retained in local folklore as a ballad, the chorus being:

Grove and Penruddock did rebell
But now they bid the world farewell.¹⁵

The 350th anniversary is a fitting moment to re-visit the event, set it in context, review some of the facts published so far, and explore afresh the lives and backgrounds of a few of the folk who, on that gloomy March day, earnestly or blindly followed their leader into the fray, not knowing if or when they would return. Situated fifteen miles north of 'New Sarum', Enford – where men meeting 'under the Elmstubb' were normally more vociferous over 'neglect of social boundaries'¹⁶ – offers a good cross-section of social classes represented in Penruddock's little army.

The year 1655 opened inauspiciously for Cromwell. 'Overcome with sorrow' at his mother's death in November 1654, and still 'openly' upset in January, 'he needed what little faith and patience he possessed to cope with his difficulties at large.'¹⁷ On 22nd he 'impatiently dissolved parliament' because they had not 'given a full liberty to Godly men of differing judgements,' but themselves become the oppressors.¹⁸ That same month, Edmund Ludlow, though prominent in the regime in Ireland, was 'circulating pamphlets hostile to the government.' The Wiltshireman had, a year ago, reacted to Oliver's being proclaimed Lord Protector, believing this 'unlawful.' Cromwell, hitherto 'reluctant to proceed to extremities,' now thought measures necessary.¹⁹ On 13 February an uprising at Marlborough was curtailed by the local commander:²⁰ John Wildman, representing 'pure republicanism', was arrested while writing 'The declaration of the free and well-affected people of England now in arms against the tyrant



Fig. 1. *The King's Arms, Salisbury, a meeting place of the Penruddock rebels*

Oliver Cromwell.²¹ From the same area emanated 'royalist' rumblings. Trying to stem political gatherings the 'tyrant', on 25 February, banned horse-racing: for countrywide co-ordination, the disaffected turned to fox- and stag-hunts.²² One regional meeting in a forest near Wokingham avowed 'each man should raise a force agreeable to his means, in order to attack Cromwell's troops.' Not all meetings were outdoors: the *King's Arms*, Salisbury (Fig. 1), was one cosier venue.²³ While spies reported, bribes, warnings, and fear reduced conspirator numbers.²⁴ In south Wiltshire they persevered. Colonel Penruddock's band first determined to enter Winchester on 8 March during the Assizes but demurred.²⁵ Marlborough itself was considered, to release support from Lord Hertford and potential partisans.²⁶

On Sunday 11 March sixty men met near Salisbury in Clarendon Park. Augmented by local gentry, servants, artisans, very early on Monday John Penruddock of Compton Chamberlayne (Fig. 2), 'who was in charge of the Wiltshire side of the Western Association',²⁷ assisted by Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, the King's emissary, with Hugh Grove of

Chisenbury near Enford, and Francis Jones as senior officers, entered the city, captured the sheriff and Assize judges, and released the gaol prisoners. Proclaiming the King, however, gained little support. They rode to Blandford craving warmer response. With alarm raised in London and elsewhere, the insurgents moved west, bent on sanctuary in sympathetic Cornwall. At one a.m. on Tuesday 13 March, they met on a hill near Yeovil. Skirting hostile towns, the 'tories', so labelled by Somerset men, headed towards South Molton, aware that Desborough and lesser military commanders were in pursuit. There in Devon next day, following a two-hour skirmish after dusk, the main party surrendered to a junior officer. Stragglers and deserters were rounded up; mercenaries like Wagstaffe escaped. Seven-score prisoners were listed, mainly at Exeter (including Penruddock and Grove) with smaller numbers at Taunton and Ilchester. Desborough ignored 'the meaner sort,' concentrating on those 'to make a pattern for all the rest.' Thanksgiving for the insurrection's failure took place in London on 22 March. Meanwhile, Cromwell's aides summoned key prisoners for questioning. Cromwell displayed moderation and, despite the charge being treason, permitted trial by jury. Courts were arranged for Salisbury on 11 April, Exeter on 18 April and Chard on the 25th. Already mutterings abounded about juror impartiality. In villages, the uprising doubtless inglenook-gossip, tension built as local justices enquired after persons absent ten days from their habitations. Although £20 fines could be imposed for non-co-operation, Hunt's unmarried sisters, Margery and Elizabeth, did not know what to say. The sheriff's men were telling tenants to withhold rent from landlords under suspicion.²⁸

News of Thomas Hunt came at last. He and Henry Clarke, also of Enford, were imprisoned in Taunton, awaiting trial at Chard with two dozen others. The Attorney-General informed Secretary Thurloe:

Wee shall not be able to proceede against many of the prisoners heare, because, though we can prove them to have beene in armes in other places, yet in this county we cannot; they were taken only as straglers; but against the chiefe we shall proceed; therefore we beginne with Captain Hunt, against whom there is clear evidence.²⁹

Demoted before the hearing, he was charged on Wednesday 25 April with High Treason. Years later, he professed being denied defence counsel. Was he told that back home on 19 April his wife had borne



Fig. 2. Col John Penruddock, portrait by Dobson at Compton Park, reproduced in WANHM vol. 15, 1875

a daughter?³⁰ Found guilty, he was condemned to death. By contrast, persuasive neighbour Clarke was acquitted. Cases were completed so hastily that by 10 a.m. on Friday 27 April the judges had left. Other reports reached Wiltshire. On 16 May Penruddock, condemned at Exeter, needling Cromwell polemically more than militarily by challenging the Protectorate's validity and arguing treason was committable only against kings, family appeals having failed, was beheaded. Hunt's near-neighbour, Grove, 'never guilty of much rhetorick,' but 'a lover of the good laws of the land,' was likewise despatched. Some kinsfolk were loath to demonstrate solidarity: 'worthy doctor' Thomas Fuller, Grove's erstwhile brother-in-law, kept uncharacteristically quiet.³¹ Several of the Enford villagers, followers of Clarke, Grove and Hunt, were languishing in west country prisons; the families of Moses and Richard Kinfield, Timothy Maton, Thomas Ranger and the other men, did not know what would befall them.

'Orator' Hunt claimed that his father regularly recited the uprising from musty records locked in a family chest; some details in his *Memoirs* and other writings, unobserved elsewhere, have a ring of truth. 'Colonel Hunt ... was sentenced ... for having raised, clothed, equipped and mounted a troop of horse in the county of Wilts.'³² Ravenhill found no account of the trial at Chard; his transcript of the indictment read to similar prisoners at Salisbury excludes such words; perhaps Hunt family papers did once exist?

Ravenhill wrote that, for the assault on Salisbury Market Place, three troops were formed, one led by Penruddock. Within his troop was reported to be a son of Sir Edward Clarke, initially presumed killed in the subsequent fighting.³³ Desborough's list of prisoners due for Chard Assize named twenty-five held at Taunton and two at Ilchester,³⁴ among whom was Major Clarke of Enford. When asked what he had to say, Clarke answered that he had many siblings; that his father, Sir William Clark [sic], had died in debt, leaving many lawsuits outstanding; that he had met friends believing relevant legal matters were for discussion; that only on arrival did he discover the reality. He denied aiding and abetting the uprising and, at first opportunity, had returned home. He had 'pleaded so Lilburne-like' that he was 'the only person of Eminency brought to his tryall and acquitted by the Jury in all these Western parts.' Alive, and free, but a doubt over his identity remained. Ravenhill concluded that he was probably the son of Sir Edward Clark.³⁵

From a marriage settlement cited by Waylen, however, Henry Clarke, was born in 1621, second son of Sir Henry Clarke and, ca. June 1639, married Isabella Warwick. Her father provided £1,000 which Sir Henry Clarke retained until his son came of age in September 1642. In return, Sir Henry Clarke settled lands: 'the manor of Enford ... worth in demesnes, £177 a year, and in old rents, £6 15s a year.'³⁶ The Clarks continued a tradition of lordship there, succeeding Culpeppers and Petres, the latter having sold the title to William Rolfe who, in turn, in 1635, sold it to Sir Henry. The manor house stood north-east of Enford church by the Avon, being destroyed by fire in the nineteenth century.³⁷ Two years after Sir Henry Clarke's death and a year after 'Penruddock', one Longstreet Farm in Enford was rented out. Notwithstanding that it was freehold – nominally in possession of the Hunts but administered by an in-law in a bid to recover debts – within the annual rent of 'Fourescore pounds' was 'a Cheife rent' payable to Mr Clarke, September 1656.³⁸ Since the dissolution of the monasteries, secular lords of the manor had become more numerous; some extended their powers. Occasionally, conflicts of interest arose with that other traditional lord of the manor, the church. Sir Henry Clarke's opportunism left his son with questions to answer. Much of Longstreet, within the Hundred of Elstub and Everleigh, belonged to Winchester Chapter. Courts were held in Enford, twice yearly, at the accustomed place under the Elmstubb. When the Winchester steward travelled

there in 1657 he was directed by the Chapter's financial administrator to investigate a case in which:

Mr Jonathan Hill Coroner 5 Oct 1650 inquired upon the death of Susan Elliot weddow felo de se who hanged herself. Her goods were worth £40 and Sir Harry Clark of Enford seized upon them. However, he made some benevolent arrangement including the taking of her child aged 6 and promising to breed her.³⁹

Doubtless, Henry Clarke accounted for the missing property.

During the civil wars and interregnum, money was in short supply. Squeezing rent from tenants and appropriating other available funds became commonplace, to meet family living expenses, and to pay parliamentary impositions. The 'royalist' Clarks had entered Parliament's blacklist from as early as March 1643 when 'the Catalogue of the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates' was first published as an ordinance. Wiltshire extracts indicate that 'Clark Henford [sic], Esq' at £178' was not the wealthiest man insofar as Enford was concerned: Hunt, Thomas, Enford, Gent., was recorded at £220.⁴⁰ The younger Clarke, prior to 'Penruddock', did admit 'in his petition [4th May 1649] that he was in arms against the Parliament', observing that 'he had never been sequestered nor judicially impeached but doubting that he might be considered liable for something said or done by him in relation to the second war (that of 1646) [sic] he desired to compound.' 'The only personal property he acknowledged was a gelding and wearing apparel to the value of £20.' Next year a fine of £98 10s. was increased by £80.⁴¹ Clarke's silver-tongued contrition disguised his family's active royalism, with considerable financial outlay to equip and maintain a body of men and but scant occasion to recoup it. An index of royalists in the Great Rebellion includes: 'Col H Clarke – Sir Henry, horse regiment.'⁴² The Clarks had significant interests in neighbouring Hampshire, being associated with Avington, near Winchester, where in October 1645 Major Henry Clark had indeed featured prominently as a royalist when Cromwell besieged that city's castle.⁴³ His father paid fines to the Parliamentary Committee 'so delinquency was waived.'⁴⁴ After Sir Henry Clarke's death in 1654, his son succeeded him, and, eventually, at the Restoration, attempted by dubious means to become a member of parliament for Great Bedwyn.⁴⁵

Hugh Grove (Fig. 3), by self-admission a man of few words, lived at Chisenbury Priors just north of



Fig. 3. *Hugh Grove, an engraving from Colt Hoare's Modern Wiltshire*

Enford. There the family 'possessed land both freehold and leasehold, the latter held under the famous hospital of St Katharine.'⁴⁶ Older than Henry Clarke, he was married to a cousin, Jane Grove. They had two sons, the elder of whom died young.⁴⁷ His namesake father came from the family associated with Shaftesbury and was twice married. By his first wife he had daughter Eleanore, who became Mrs Thomas Fuller; by his second, he had more children including 'rebel' Hugh.⁴⁸ Hugh Grove (senior)'s uncle, Matthew Grove, had married into the Maton family who 'were lessees of Chisenbury Priors until 1587 when Leonard Maton assigned the remainder of his term to his son-in-law.' The Grove association with Chisenbury, via Hugh Grove's younger son, John, strengthened by intermarriage with the Chafin family, was to last over two hundred years.⁴⁹ Coverage of the Grove family of Ferne exists as an introduction to the diaries of Charlotte and Harriet Grove.⁵⁰ Extracts from this, with material from elsewhere, offer fresh insight. Not only were the family well-connected, they were exponents of 'good taste', a far cry from Cromwell's 'meaner sort.'

Charlotte Grove, having visited Warwick Castle in June 1834, wrote a few days later, 'passed near Aynhoe [south of Banbury and west of Buckingham] where the Groves formerly lived.'⁵¹ Thither an Agnes Grove repaired to marry into the distinguished Brudenell family. Hoare records that the Groves,

temp. Henry VI, resided at Chalfont St Giles.⁵² Migrating to the Dorset/Wiltshire border by 1500 they acquired considerable estates at Shaftesbury, Donhead and Ferne.⁵³ Robert Grove, having developed legal and administrative skills, was appointed steward and surveyor of lands to Sir Thomas Arundell, who encouraged him to become member for Shaftesbury, 1545.⁵⁴ But Arundell, a leading Catholic in south-west England, was executed a few years later. The then earl of Pembroke, 'Black Will' Herbert, noticed Grove and being much impressed with the illustrated survey which he made of his estates,⁵⁵ rewarded him with a house and deer park near Wincanton. Robert Grove became feodary for Wiltshire, the official responsible for seeing that Crown tenants met their obligations.⁵⁶ He made a good marriage; among his progeny were Matthew Grove, and Mary Grove, who married Hugh Keyte (1532-1589) of [Long] Cheselbourne in Dorset.⁵⁷ In the church Keyte's memorial contains a verse inscription written by his brother-in-law.⁵⁸ Another clue to Matthew's poetic talents lies in his being designated 'of Staple Inn',⁵⁹ presumably sent there by his father to learn 'a smattering of law and the good manners necessary for life in a gentleman's household,' particularly useful for younger sons.⁶⁰ This renders him eligible to be the author of a rare volume '*The most famous and tragicall history of Pelops and Hippodamia*' printed in London, 1587. Without biographical details, the work is dedicated to Sir Henry Compton,⁶¹ the nobleman who sold lands in Longstreet and Enford to the Hunt family, 1575.⁶²

Matthew Grove would not be the first young man to occupy his time scribbling whilst awaiting preferment or commissions. Perhaps his unworldliness, what worthy Dr Fuller called 'the pleasant but profitless study of poetry',⁶³ caused him to fall into financial difficulty. Failure to pay rent for Chisenbury meant his being summoned for debts, required repeatedly in 1600, to present himself before magistrates at Wilton. They, however, had to report 'Matthew has not been found.'⁶⁴ The Matons recovered the property temporarily before Matthew Grove had to surrender the lease, which, in 1613, passed to his nephew Hugh snr,⁶⁵ a son of Matthew's elder brother, William of Gray's Inn, MP for Shaftesbury. By William's marriage, in 1563, to Thomasyn Mayhew of Fonthill, there were eight children, four sons, including Hugh snr, and four daughters, including Alice, who married Thomas Butler of Almer, Dorset. Among the Butler children was another Alice who became wife to one of the



Fig. 4. Chard Old Town Hall, where the trial of Clarke and Hunt took place, an engraving reproduced in WANHM vol. 15, 1875

Enford Hunts,⁶⁶ thus establishing a Grove kinship hitherto unacknowledged.

The Groves at Chisenbury were committed Royalists, continually facing pressure and danger as a consequence. Hugh Grove, 'having been a captain in the King's army,' appears in the book of fines imposed by Wiltshire parliamentarians. Typical was the year 1645, when the family horses, commandeered by Cromwellian soldiers, would not be returned without another hefty payment. When summoned again in 1648, he claimed 'to have no land or real estate in the county' but only personal estate; his fines totalled £323.⁶⁷ Recurring injustice would render him a suitable individual to rebel eventually, action rather than words being his apparent creed. After execution his body was taken to St Sidwell's, Exeter, where a memorial exists. His son, John, petitioned Charles II in 1660, reminding him of his father's loyalties to the former King, seeking recompense or conferral of an office.⁶⁸ Despite the execution of the quiet, loyal man, somewhat at contrast with more voluble, literary relatives, the Groves, remaining good acquaintances with the Penruddocks, were survivors.

Unlike the Groves, the Hunts of Enford have not previously had their family history published in any concerted way. 'Colonel' Hunt, continued the Orator, was sent back [from Chard] (Fig. 4):

to be executed at this very jail – Ilchester – wherein his descendant is now writing. However, Hunt's two sisters came to visit him the night previous to his execution. His sister Margery slept in his bed all night, while the Colonel, who had dressed himself in her clothes, walked out of the prison unperceived with his

sister Elizabeth; but, being a stranger in the neighbourhood, when day-light arrived he had not got so far from the jail but that he heard the bell toll for his execution. At this awful period he met a collier carrying a bag of coals upon his horse, and having ascertained that he was friendly to the cause of the Stuarts, he place[d] his life in his power. The man assisted him to escape to France, where he remained with the second Charles.^{69*}

At Chard, Desborough had allowed the Sheriff to return those condemned to Ilchester (Fig.5). If the Protector sent nothing contrary before Monday 7 May, 'they ware that day to dye.' The judges' sentence, that Thomas Hunt be 'hanged, and quartered', was not commuted by Cromwell – to 'severinge his head from his body' – until 3 May. Cromwell's mercy caught the Sheriff unprepared. Execution was delayed while an axe with an eleven-inch blade was procured. Time, suggest various writers, for the condemned to organise family visits, escape plans, bribes. The Orator here echoed the Sheriff, who recorded:

The sister that stayed behinde in the chamber hanges the Captens cloake and hatt and dublett on the chayer and goes into his bed; Foote and Pickover (condemned persons), cominge into the chamber, thought him asleepe and soe laye downe in the trundle bedd. In the morning, callinge to the Capten, [they] perceived that twas his sister in the bedd and the Capten gone.

The Sheriff despatched letters posthaste to the Protector.⁷⁰ Next day, local justices reported to Desborough, exonerating the Sheriff, blaming the gaoler's neglect and opportunism of the sisters now secured, 'humbly desire[ing] to know [his] pleasure concerning them.' Margery, 'that high-souled girl who risked her own life,⁷¹ was threatened with execution; tempers cooled; two years passed before the sisters' release. Meanwhile, broadsheets reported 'the strange and miraculous escape of Major [sic] Hunt'⁷² The Orator graphically recounted the collier's role, hue and cry evaded, dialogue included, maintaining it was verbatim from an inherited manuscript.⁷³ Escape in female attire was not unique.⁷⁴ Rescue by a coalman may have been.

Identification of 'rebel' Hunt hitherto is erroneous. Waylen wrote: 'Thomas Hunt, of Longstreet, in the parish of Enford, gentleman. His delinquency lay in bearing arms against the Parliament,' assumedly a royalist who surrendered, October 1645, when Winchester Castle fell. In a certificate, 7 October, victorious Cromwell instructed:

these are to require you to permit the bearer thereof, Thomas Hunt, major, with his four servants, five horses, and his arms, with his baggage, to pass to Hermitage, Dorset, without any let or molestation, and there quietly to abide, not doing anything prejudicial to the State.'

On 29 October, the Dorset Committee, at Wareham, certified that '[Hunt] submitted himself to the mercy



Fig. 5. Ilchester Gaol in the early 19th century, around the period when 'Orator' Hunt was also imprisoned there

of the Parliament, by taking the Negative Oath and the National Covenant.^{75*} Waylen said the Orator correctly described his ancestor's part in the Penruddock affair but ignored his previous action, the Winchester siege, and erred in the matter of sequestration by claiming that 'Colonel' Hunt suffered confiscation of his entire estate. Waylen rightly identified sequestration details for Winchester-siege Hunt: a farm at Box, called Wormwood; a farm at Longstreet [Enford]; and that he 'craved allowance for a rent-charge of £60 payable annually to his mother (Alice Butler of Newton, Dorset).'⁷⁶ Neither the Orator nor Waylen realised that different men and sequestration data were involved. Soon after 'Penruddock', Parliament reissued the 'Catalogue of th[ose who] have compounded for their Estates,' first published, 31 March 1643, in which was entered: 'Hunt, Thomas, Enford, Wilts, Gent, £220.'⁷⁷ In 1643 this would delineate the future sanctuary-seeker as head of family. At reissue Thomas Hunt of Enford was a notorious fugitive. Perhaps government officials had not differentiated one from the other, hastening to fulfil Cromwell's intention to 'make [royalists] pay the expenses to which their mutinous disposition continually exposed the public.'⁷⁸ Having promised passivity, 'sequestered' Hunt cannot have relished confusion with a 'mutineer', especially if 'decimation tax meant unearthing royalist pasts which many were trying to forget.'⁷⁹

'Major' Thomas Hunt was born to Alice Butler, of Almer, Dorset, following her marriage in 1616 to Thomas Hunt in Enford.⁸⁰ In 1619 Alice Hunt's husband died,⁸¹ followed, in 1622, by her father-in-law.⁸² That left her brother-in-law, Robert, as head of the family. By 1638, young Thomas Hunt had married Mary Collier of Piddletrenthide, Dorset. Leaving Enford, they moved to Wormwood, accompanied by their child and Mary's unmarried sister, Ann. Onset of civil war and pressures of land-ownership led Thomas Hunt to begin borrowing Ann's dowry. She vouched retrospectively that:

out of special love to her sister, [she] did for severall yeares make her aboade in the house of her sister at Box duringe the time, what, by ill management of the estate by [Thomas], what, by other superfluous wayes of expence that he ran into, and what, by abuses & breach of promises made by [him] and some of his family, whereby he had bin disappoynted of moneyes, but, principally by reason of the late troubles wherein [he] happened to bee engaged against the parliament, hee became indebted & behindhande, and wanteing

moneyes as well to take off] his sequestracon laid on him by the Parliament as to payeing his necessary expences as also to inable him to proceed in a convenient purchase of land.^{83*}

In March and April 1645, attempting to avoid fine or seizure, he 'transferred' Longstreet and Wormwood farms to Ann, paying her nominal rent; redemption was expected within seven years.⁸⁴ To sign a conveyance, she met him in Salisbury at 'the Kings Armes, beinge no triviall blinde Alehouse, as is scandallously surmised.'⁸⁵ She had loaned £1,000. After the Winchester siege, Thomas Hunt's debts increased; the loan went unpaid, the fixed term expired and relationships soured. By October 1652 he could not afford his mother's quarterly jointure of £15; three years elapsed before rectification. He had already bargained, unsatisfactorily, with his Enford relatives. About 1650, notwithstanding 'assignment' of his lands to Ann, he 'sold' his uncle a lease. Then, opportunely, in 1652 or 1653, his namesake-cousin contemplating marriage, Thomas Hunt allegedly discussed selling him the Longstreet farm inheritance. Ann was asked to lend the deeds.⁸⁶ To worsen matters, in autumn 1655, she contracted marriage with William Constantine, a Dorset lawyer-landowner of powerful pedigree, but ambivalent political allegiances.⁸⁷ He expected the dowry. Thomas Hunt's health deteriorated. Walter Bushnell, vicar of Box, facing ejection from his living to enable institution of a pro-parliamentarian minister, recalled:

although Mr Hunt were then living yet [1656] he was not at the time of my appearing before the Commissioners in a capacity to vindicate either [of us, against accusations that we] drank very hard, being high in Beer.⁸⁸

In 1656, Constantine, having persuaded his own mother to pay widow Alice £200 in lieu of missed jointure and to end future liability,⁸⁹ took his compensation claim to Chancery, naming not only Thomas Hunt but also his Hunt cousins. Response and counter-claim followed,⁹⁰ No-one knew where 'Major' Thomas was, not having 'seene or come by [his] speech' for several months. Between November 1657 and July 1658 he died, leaving a posthumous daughter.⁹¹ Litigation continued until Constantine paid off the Major's eight children in 1663 so that Longstreet finally became his.⁹² His largesse enabled Widow Mary Hunt to remain associated with Wormwood until the 1680s.⁹³

The 'rebel' can be identified from various sources. Rev. Bushnell's first appearance before 'the

ejectors' was 14 February 1656 at *The Bear*, Marlborough; sitting in judgement was provincial puritan Commissioner William Blisset, a busy man. In that town a week later, he and Isaak Burgess conducted an inquisition arising from an Exchequer order by Cromwell (30 January 1656). Thirteen good and lawful men swore that Thomas Hunt 'late of Endford, gent, who committed high treason 14 March [1655]' and 'duly forfeited all his property,' held lands in Littlecott [just north of Longstreet] 'in reversion after the death of his father Robert' who [being Alice's brother-in-law] was 'yet in full life.' Robert Hunt survived until 1676, by then over eighty: that did not stop the commissioners from seizing this estate, as well as wheat and barley value £100, 'into the hands of the Lord Protector' the very day of the inquisition.⁹⁴ They overlooked another small Enford estate associated with this branch of the family: those remaining had somewhere to reside. 'Captain' Hunt was Robert's son by his first marriage, 1617, to Elizabeth Kinton of Wanborough. By 1653 Thomas Hunt had a son by wife Jane.⁹⁵ This seems when Ann Collier loaned the deeds to the Hunts' solicitor. For three years she asked Robert and Thomas to return them. They and their counsel acknowledged having them but 'putt her off[f] with delays [and] have continued to doe to this present day.'⁹⁶

Having fled Ilchester, Thomas Hunt, according to the Orator, remained in constant attendance about [Charles's] person; returned with him in the same vessel; assisted in his restoration; expected immediate restoration of his own estates; no one could have expected less justice in return for his zealous, faithful services; but, the prince's secret advisers recommended him to conciliate his enemies, and to let his friends shift for themselves, which advice he followed; as Hunt's estates had fallen into powerful hands, Charles refused to expedite their restoration but offered him the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, 'which he indignantly refused, and in disgust retired into the country, where he married, passing the remainder of his life in tranquillity, accompanied by his sisters, upon a small estate in the parish of Enford, overlooked by Cromwell's agents; with the property he had with his lady, and the wreck of his fortune, he sustained the character of a gentleman to a good old age, leaving an only son.'^{97*} Gardiner's *History* observed Thomas Hunt's escape to the Continent, remarking that the Dover port officials were no more loyal to Cromwell than the Somerset gaolers. A footnote mentions a petition which Hunt submitted to Parliament in

August 1660, yet the text stated he left England in 1655, never to reappear.⁹⁸ The petition to 'the house of Peers' states he was 'beyond sea' for five years, but omits where.⁹⁹ Three letters in March 1658 to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles II in exile, elucidate. Another fleeing rebel, Thomas Mompesson of Salisbury, wrote that he had with him Mr Hunt, 'who, had he not escaped, would have been beheaded.' They were willing to risk re-entering England and, as Hunt added, 'raise a regiment of horse, easier to be levied than foot' in their home area. Mompesson subsequently acknowledged their commissions. They were in Caen.¹⁰⁰ In July 1659 Secretary Nicholas in Brussels, of the belief that 'the greatest part of the nation' 'incline to appear for the King's restoration,' encouraged Mompesson and his lieutenant-colonel, 'with all privacy' to embark at Cherbourg for Dorset or Somerset 'where there are no garrisons or troops.'¹⁰¹ Six months later, however, Nicholas, still in Brussels, was writing with uncertainty to Lord Mordaunt in south-west England that if Col. Mompesson reached him 'to advise him how best to serve his Majesty.'¹⁰² The whereabouts of Lt-Col Thomas Hunt, by implication, being temporarily unknown, what of his men?

Desborough's list of prisoners dated March 1655 contained many men of low status, which reflected 'the strong ties of deference still prevailing in the chalk country.'¹⁰³ Among those held at Exeter were eight from Enford (Fig. 6):

John Bankes, cordwainer; Richard Browne, servant to Major Clarke; husbandmen Moses Kenfeld*, Richard Kinfield*, Robert Nicholas and Thomas Ranger*; carter Timothy Maton*; and Robert Skardey, a taylor¹⁰⁴

Prosopographical study of those identified * reveals a hierarchy and interdependence between and within families dwelling in a rural community. The deference is an embedded feudal remnant, paying their rents and tithes, occupying the right place in church, witnessing one another's wills, making their neighbours' inventories. The perceived difference is that some now owned property previously rented. Timothy Maton came from the poorest family. Born in the 1630s, he was one of six children of Timothy and Alice Maton of Chisenbury Priory. The elder Timothy was a husbandman and, as evidenced by his will, at the lowest end of the wealth ladder, his inventory of 1681 totalling just £11 6s. 6d. Moses and Richard Kinfield were two of the five sons of John Kinfield, another husbandman, also of Chisenbury,



Fig. 6. Enford, where men were normally 'more vociferous over neglect of boundaries'.

who had married 'Lucy' Paradise in 1626; the family were relatively better off. More is known about Thomas Ranger, a child of Solomon Ranger of Longstreet by his 1615 marriage to Ann Fry. Solomon Ranger was the village chapman cum mercer. Enford registers are incomplete but baptisms and bequests between them indicate that Thomas Ranger was one of eight offspring. When Solomon Ranger (sen.) wrote his will in 1641, he left Thomas the cottage he then lived in which he had 'bought of Mr Thomas Hunt'; to another son, Hugh, he left the other bargain, 'called Snowes' which he 'bought likewise' of Mr Hunt. Previously (c.1595-1615) Solomon's cottage had been rented at 6s. annually by his parents John and Alice Ranger. John, one of the lesser taxpayers in the village in 1576, had been elected constable of the hundred in 1588. The other cottage, the second of three in Longstreet belonging to the Hunts, had been rented annually by Richard Snow and his sons for just 2s. 8d., but there was less land attached.¹⁰⁵ From Solomon Ranger's will and the inventory taken in May 1644, the family appear to have been god-fearing, 'comfortable' despite customer debts, organised and comparatively harmonious. Or as much as a family might be, given that a civil war was being waged. Nothing is known of their activities over the next ten years, but Thomas Ranger must have been under thirty when he was recruited to join Penruddock. As they set off, little could they have realised how far their journey would be.

Fewer than one in three prisoners was tried. Of these, thirty-nine were sentenced to death.¹⁰⁶ Some being reprieved joined those, who, like these Enford men, were imprisoned. They languished for a year unaware that they were to be sold for transportation to Barbados. The island was 'the richest spot in the English New World Empire on account of the super-profits generated by the sugar industry.'¹⁰⁷ Anthony Ashley Cooper, for example, had plantations there and a share in a Guinea trader.¹⁰⁸ By 1656, however, the island was experiencing a manpower crisis; since June 1654 the Protectorate had conceived and carried out its 'Western Design', a project to attack the Spanish possessions in the West Indies. There was a shortage of volunteer soldiers. Under Desborough's control, prison riff-raff were being exported from Britain. Slaves and indentured men already in Barbados were being pressed for service. To compensate for losses against the Spanish in 1655 and to fulfil slave complements, traders were encouraged to purchase other undesirables and ship them off.¹⁰⁹ Plantation owners found indentured labour cheaper. Rumours of transportation did exist. 'Some officers and men taken prisoner on [Cromwell's Irish] campaign – at Wexford [1650] – were treated as chattel prizes and sold as indentured quasi-slaves,¹¹⁰ and 'in September 1651 the Council had resolved that Scottish prisoners from the battle of Worcester be moved to Bristol for shipment to the plantations.'¹¹¹ Englishmen, therefore, may have

considered themselves safe, unaware that dissident compatriots were being removed there from the Tower of London.¹¹² Anxiety may have increased had they also known that one plantation was called 'Wiltshire'.

Ravenhill could not find a list of those transported to Barbados post-Penruddock but sufficient evidence exists that Enford men were included. He did discover in what circumstances they went. In March 1659 a petitioner, Marcellus Rivers, on behalf of himself and seventy others, informed MPs that, after a year, they were snatched from prisons by order of the High Sheriff, driven through the streets of Exeter under armed guard and hurried to Plymouth where they boarded the *John of London*. For thirty-nine days and 4,500 miles they were locked below decks amongst horses, heat and steam overcoming them. Until they anchored off Barbados they never knew whither they were bound.¹¹³ The island's governor, in a letter to Cromwell in September 1655, acknowledged his Highness's general commands and set out the conditions upon which the men were to remain:

Such persons brought to this place and landed on merchants particular accounts, with a liberty to dispose of them to the inhabitants of this place for 4, 5, 6, or 7 years, which years being expired, the party is free to stay or depart hence.^{114*}

It is not certain for how long the Enford men were committed. Martin Noell, the trader and himself an MP, said that five years was the norm, men working twelve-hour days with four refreshment breaks. The governor's main concern was that he would not be blamed when men absconded. According to Rivers:

Being sadly arrived there on the May 7 1656, the master of the ship sold your miserable petitioners to most inhuman persons, for 1550 pound weight of sugar apiece, as goods and chattels, neither sparing age or condition, they now generally grinding at the mills and attending at the furnaces, or digging in this scorching island; having nought to feed on but potatoe roots, nor to drink, but water with such roots washed in it, being bought and sold from one planter to another, being whipped for their masters' pleasure, and sleeping in sties worse than hogs in England, and made miserable, beyond expression or Christian imagination.^{115*}

By the time this petition was heard, Oliver Cromwell had been dead for six months and his effete son, Richard, was nominally Protector. Petitioners perchance forecast a sympathetic hearing. The

debate, however, was inconclusive. Rivers himself, who claimed wrongful arrest, eventually received compensation in 1662; it is doubted the 'meaner sort' were recompensed.¹¹⁶

By contrast, Henry Clarke may have been encouraged to stand for parliament in 1661, because 'at the return' his star was ascendant. A hero locally for 'so stoutly opposing the surrender of Winchester Castle', and being 'made free of the guild of merchants' there in 1660,¹¹⁷ he was known nationally for something he had earlier denied:

Major Henry Clarke, whose claim to its gratitude (that of the royalist parliament) for his venturing on a glimmering of hope in Mr Penruddock's business the restored monarch was prompt to recognise, drew a pension of four hundred pounds a year for nearly twenty years.¹¹⁸

Moreover, Clarke helped administer pensions for others. His public service commitments expanded in other directions. In January 1666 he was one of the Commissioners sitting in Devizes under Wiltshire's high sheriff, to apportion across the county the Royal Aid to be levied monthly for the benefit of Charles II.¹¹⁹ In 1673 he was still listed among the gentry of Wiltshire,¹²⁰ but by then, his namesake son had succeeded him on the pensions committee. That same year he settled the Enford estate on him and his daughter-in-law, Hester.¹²¹ There is also record of his buying a lease from Mr [Joseph] Ash; it related to the Longstreet farm belonging to Winchester Cathedral.¹²² About this or some related matter, another landowner in the district, Samuel Cusse, a constant complainant, wrote in 1673 to a member of Winchester Chapter:

Honored Sr. I have neglented [neglected] noe tyme in the Cuntrey sens I came downe to a blege my frinds, primally to specke with sum of the Jury as from thair selves to prevent Clarcke and Ash and Hunt from doinge base things with sum of the Jury.^{123*}

In June 1674 Clarke's daughter, Anne, married George Duke of Lake.¹²⁴ Henry Clarke, of Winchester siege and Penruddock rebellion, died in 1681, but, like his father before him, left unfinished business. In December 1686 Duke filed a Bill of complaint against his brother-in-law who, he pleaded, had failed to complete the marriage settlement that his father had promised.¹²⁵ Henry Clarke (jun.) followed family tradition: at the meeting of the Court of the Manor of Enford in October 1684 he was Court Baron.¹²⁶ Those traditions were continued for another sixty years. The lordship

remained with the Clarkes until 1747 when it passed to the Jacobs.¹²⁷

Upon return to England, by May 1660, Thomas Hunt grew busy, seeking employment, obtaining redress for himself, family and 'men' transported to Barbados. Job applications included: 'the Government of Calshot Castle [nr. Southampton] now held by an outlaw pardoned by Cromwell'; 'Surveyor General of the Excise'; 'Registrar to the Arch Bishop of Canterbury'; 'a warrant to be sworn as Serjeant at Arms to the House of Commons' purchased from a Scot. These applications emphasised that he: 'had all his estate [both reall and personall] seized as forfeit [to the use of the late pretended protector]'; 'never returned from his exilement until he received a Comission,' as Lt Col; 'received such great losses as hath almost wholly ruined himself, wife, children and relations.'¹²⁸ No application appears successful. He was not alone. 'The very poverty, to which the more zealous royalists had reduced themselves, by rendering them insignificant, made them unfit to support the king's measures, and caused him to deem them a useless incumbrance.'¹²⁹ His petition, in August 1660, praying that two of his Chard judges, who had tried him without defence counsel, be excepted from the Act of General Pardon so he could proceed against them for injuries done,¹³⁰ vanished into a sub-committee. There were evaporating attempts to regain his lands. The Surveyor-General advised the petitioner to fund a commission of enquiry.¹³¹ Until late that century, Hunts in Enford were mostly tenants, short on success in retrieving their property titles. Thomas Hunt also requested the fare home for 'his men' in Barbados. Approaches to the king eventually progressed in December 1660 when Lord Treasurer Southampton recommended to the island governor that, at moderate royal expense, they be returned by 'the first good passage.' Four years later Hunt received personal compensation, amounting to £650,¹³² paltry by comparison with that for neighbour Clarke. Disillusioned with life in London, he returned to his wife and sisters in Enford, having further children, one of whom, Henry b.1666, is candidate to be the Orator's great-grandfather. Rural life renewed was no kinder. In June 1676 the Dean of Winchester learned further from Cusse:

what Damages is Donne your Howses on Longstreete farme [adjacent the homonymous one bought by Constantine] since Hunt came into posson & likewise to the land by carryeing off[f] the Crophe of corne and penneing the shipp on other lands. And I lately sawe

that all the timber is cutt and carryed away and the timber of the Barne wch is fallen is all carryed to Hunts and there converted to his use. I could wish you would send two Discreete Honest men to survey it but not your Church officer who is a confederate of theirs.^{133*}

Thomas Hunt died in relative obscurity in 1695, intestate, his years of 'acon', fame, and paperwork exhausted.¹³⁴

Of the 'lesser men' of Enford, Button wrote in 1997: 'it was likely that a high percentage [of the Salisbury rebels] were destined to stay in the West Indies, and that the surviving [ones] never returned to England' and that 'it is most likely that the 'freed' Salisbury rebels who stayed in Barbados were assimilated into the lowest strata of white Barbadian society or emigrated to Jamaica.'¹³⁵ Recently, she has discovered that a handful of Penruddock's Dorset contingent, funded by government monies obtained by Captain Edward Strange, did return, either independently in 1661 having served their five-year indenture or being among 'the 700 or so officially freed' in 1662.¹³⁶ They received war pensions from the Dorset pensions committee (an Act of Parliament enabling Quarter Sessions magistrates to identify men who had fought for Charles I and provide assistance).¹³⁷ The first session to consider applications was held at Bridport in October 1662. From records for sessions up to 1664, however, no presentment refers to men disabled in consequence of the Penruddock affair. This is the case even for the citation dated January 1664 for Robert Sugar, feltmaker of Sherborne, who was on Desborough's list of March 1655.¹³⁸

A parallel system operated in Wiltshire. The JPs apparently first sat, at Marlborough, in October 1660 before the national scheme is deemed to have started. One of them was Henry Clarke. At the next session, in New Sarum, January 1661, there was a petition by Philip Goldstone of Swallowcliffe Wilts., late Cornet. He had taken part in the Penruddock rising:

& after the body wch was then gott together were Defeated & soe hard pursued after yo'r pet'r was enforced to make . . . escape into a wood & there lay for many days & nights in ye cold having no manner of reliefe, Soe that at ye last he was enforced out from there to some other place where he was taken and imprisoned at Ilchester for ye space of which [two years] he endured such hardship & wth the wounds he received in ye form'r warrs & his cruall usage in prison he hath utterly lost his limbs soe yt hee is not

able to gain a Livlyhood having spent his estate in ye service of his Ma'tie . . .

His claim was corroborated by witnesses; 'the sum of 20/- to be paid to him in quarterly sums'.¹³⁹ Goldstone must have been captured after Desborough compiled his list. At Marlborough in October 1663 no new petitions were considered: 'Persons fitt to be penconed to be certified to the next sessions at ye Devizes.' So many pensions had been granted that they were suspended until Easter to enable Justices in each hundred to enquire into each case and be satisfied 'it is fitt for a pencon'. The court would then decide whether to continue the scheme. In January 1664 at New Sarum, again there were no new petitions but one entry read: 'pencon of ij/li p.annu. to Robert Reynolds of Enford, therefore by reason of his services and sufferings as a Souldier in the service of his late Maty and during the late warr hee hath been brought to great want And now is poore and indigent.' At the same session *continuing* pensions were confirmed for nine men of Enford or nearby Chisenbury and Netherhaven, two of them being Moses Kinfield and Thomas Ranger. That Easter, at Devizes, four more Enford pensioners appear. Ten years later half a dozen Enford men, but not Kinfield or Ranger, were still receiving pensions, albeit reduced, and it was ordered that 'noe Pencons be henceforth granted but on Mocon in open Court'.¹⁴⁰ These may have been casualties from the Civil Wars at large but the entries, from 1663 onwards, for Enford pensioners, support the supposition that they had been brought home from the West Indies, thus enabling their local leader, Thomas Hunt, to claim recompense.

Of the pensioners listed, however, only the names of Moses Kinfield and Thomas Ranger match the list of prisoners which Desborough sent up from Exeter to London.¹⁴¹ Whether the Enford 'rebels' were the pensioners remains to be determined. And, if they did return to their home village, what did they discover?

'Ordinary people . . . found that their lot was often worsened with the change of ownership in the land consequent upon the confiscations, because the new owners were noticeably less humane than the established proprietors to whom the local inhabitants and their troubles were familiar of old'.¹⁴² But there may have been some happy endings. Timothy Maton the elder of Chisenbury made his will in 1670. Son Timothy is the first mentioned. Not only is he alive but he appears to have returned by October 1663 because that month: 'Timothy Mayton junior'

married 'Elenor Tarrant of Chisenbury'. Timothy the elder died in 1681 and Timothy the 'rebel' in 1694. Moses Kinfield may have returned at the same time, although it took him until September 1664 to find a bride, Catherine Carter of Coombe. Over the next dozen years they had five children, including a Timothy, perhaps in honour of his Maton compatriot. On Christmas Eve 1666, Moses Kinfield's father drew up his will; in it he asked his son John to let Moses have the family house in Chisenbury until he could provide himself with one of his own – a sign that Moses needed a fresh start, the gesture of a dying father since the inventory is dated a few days later. In the same will is the simple but poignant: 'I give my son Richard Kindfeild one hundred pounds if hee com again' – not only had the brother never returned but, by implication, Moses did not know what had become of him either. Moses' wife died in 1696, he himself in 1706, both by then 'of Longstreet'. Thomas Ranger had evidently returned by January 1664 but his marriage is not in the Enford registers. With a wife, Frances, however, he had children baptised in 1677 and 1681. Designated as 'of Longstreet' Thomas died in 1700, his wife in 1712. One of his kinsmen was leasing a cottage in Longstreet from the next generation of Hunts in 1705.¹⁴³

Some have debated whether Penruddock's Rebellion was instigated by Royalists *per se* or Royalists having their strings pulled by Roundhead puppeteers. Was it a plot initiated by Cromwell to strengthen his grip on the country?¹⁴⁴ To many 'Oliver Cromwell remains a deeply puzzling and controversial figure'.¹⁴⁵ Some quote examples of his tolerance, others his brutality; some the worth of his legacy, others the cost of his 'godly reformation.' Suffice it to say, Oliver Cromwell, symbol of an enigmatic interlude, rattled the cage, people shook and suffered: although monarchy returned, life in Britain was altered thereafter. Regarding the insurrection, royalism and republicanism may have clashed, assorted religious fervours may have raged, social ills may have erupted, private vendettas may have festered. Nevertheless, few 'Penrudokians'¹⁴⁶ were executed; several were transported – punishments severe today but moderate then – though no consolation for loved ones remaining; many ran free unprosecuted; the rich and wily bought personal absolution. While the trials were ongoing, Cromwell himself was already preoccupied with the massacre of the Vaudois Protestants, arranging collections for the bereaved. Two months later he would blame ungodliness and the people's

profanity for his troops' defeat in the West Indies. At home the army was still vexatious and expensive. After the brief but stern rule of the Major Generals what had been a blip in the 'healing process' between the Protector and local administrators was put aside.¹⁴⁷ Ordinary folk were left to sweep away great men's debris.

Those ordinary folk, Major Clarke, still of Enford Manor, Hugh Grove, deceased of Chisenbury Priors, Thomas Hunt, formerly of Littlecott, were not nearly as uncouth as Cromwell claimed. Some may have been less wealthy than others, but variously they had the gifts of eloquence, literacy, dignity, bravery, the ability to adjust. At heart, they suffered disdain through simply being different from the Protector. What did 'Orator' Hunt get right? His scenario matches those told by others, but the rescue by the collier lacks independent verification. Unaware that there were two 'civil war' Thomases, he was muddled about his ancestors' lands all falling into powerful hands as a direct consequence of the 'action at Salisbury'. They apparently lost them through incompetence as much as political intrigue; nevertheless, thereafter they could at least rent them. Recent evidence has demonstrated that far more families recovered their lands than has hitherto been understood.¹⁴⁸ Litigation concerning Longstreet farm, reciting machinations of the Hunts, continued into the 1820s, long after the family ceased association. In Henry Hunt's inherited folklore, had his family's fortunes been determined by the courage of 'a collier' or the coins of 'A Collier'? He perhaps exaggerated his forebear's importance in the uprising, both insofar as seniority and direct links with Charles II pertained. Did he vainly strive to outrank his rival, William Cobbett, who never progressed beyond RSM?

Research has recently been undertaken into 'Orator' Hunt's attitude to slavery. His ambivalence has been noted.¹⁴⁹ There may be reasons for this. His son-in-law came from a family who owned plantations in Jamaica. And his own family may have been involved. In notes taken by the vicar of Enford at the deathbed of the Orator's grandfather in 1773, there is reference to 'his plantation in Jamaica'.¹⁵⁰ No other clue to this plantation has yet been traced. Cruel irony indeed if the grandfather's plantation were found to be worked by descendants of the men of Enford transported for obligatory loyalty to their local landed gentry in 1655. The Penruddock affair must have had significant impact on village life there. Twenty years later the population, including children, was estimated to be about six hundred.¹⁵¹

If Thomas Hunt recruited thirty men on his own – and it is not known if Clarke or Grove made similar recruitments – that represents about one sixth of the adult males in the community. To lose them for a few weeks would doubtless affect seasonal tasks; to lose so many for five years, and some for ever, must have been devastating both for social and economic reasons. Did any married ones return over seven years later to discover that their wives had invoked the 1604 Act enabling them to re-marry? That some did return to raise families perhaps rectified any manpower and skills shortages. That the villagers continued land deals with one another could point to harmony in the wake of their leaders' royalist ardour. Equally it could demonstrate deeply entrenched 'feudal' necessity. In April 1685 members of the Ranger and Kinfield families were still meeting the steward of Winchester Chapter under the Elmstubb. The representatives of the hundred were content: the clerk wrote: 'Juratori p'sentant nothing amiss omnia bene.'¹⁵² They did not know that the Monmouth rebellion was imminent!

Acknowledgement

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Quarrying for Flint and Chalk at Porton Village: Prehistoric and Recent Activity

by *David J. Ride*

A chalk quarry in Porton village is rich in prehistoric flint flakes. The nature of earthworks there is described and the probable sequence of activities discussed.

INTRODUCTION

A piece of unused ground in Porton village, in the parish of Idmiston, some 0.9ha in area, contains signs of intensive quarrying. Well-patinated prehistoric flint flakes are recovered from the area, but other flakes appear to have been struck by a metallic hammer. The ground is owned currently (August 2004) by Dr H M Darlow and lies behind the grounds of his house, named The Cuckoo Pen. It is bounded by a lane leading to a ford; the River Bourne; the garden of Downeholme; gardens of houses in The Limes; and St Nicholas's churchyard. It is centred on National Grid Reference SU 4190 1366. This land was formerly part of Gomeldon Farm, first mentioned in a deed of 1703 (Bourne Valley Historical Society archives, document 40/01), later named Porton Farm (OS County Series 1:10,560 map, 1883), and now referred to as Church Farm, whose Victorian farmhouse, now named Byford (by a new owner c1948, pers. comm. the owner's daughter, Mrs Shelagh Tucker of Seattle), is separated from The Cuckoo Pen by the lane already mentioned. Byford house does not appear on the tithe map of Idmiston parish made in 1841 (nor on the Porton Enclosure map of 1850). The area discussed in this note, including the grounds of The Cuckoo Pen, features on the tithe map as plot 381 and was called Gaston; it is described in the schedule as 'pasture'.

The chapel lay on plot 382. These, together with plots 383, 384, 385, 386 and 442, all contiguous and all lying in the village of Porton, were owned in 1841 by John Ingram and occupied by Richard Bowles (Norris, 2004). Figure 1 shows a modern copy of Porton village as depicted on the 1841 tithe map. Figure 2 shows a modern map of the area under discussion in greater detail.

DESCRIPTION OF THE QUARRY

The quarry occupies a bluff with ground falling sharply away to the river. The bank immediately adjacent to the river appears to have been excavated away to leave a steep face up to 5m in height. The 1901 and 1939 1:2500 OS maps show a quarry symbol at the eastern end of the terrace, and another in the centre of the original field of Gaston (see Figure 2); neither conveys a realistic impression of the complex topography. Instances of apparent naturally steep erosion occur in some chalk stream valleys; however, modification is clear, at least in some parts, in this case. Whether intentional or not, the resulting almost level terrace would have provided wheeled access alongside the river, suitable for carting quarried material. This margin has not yet developed a substantial depth of organic mould, neither have

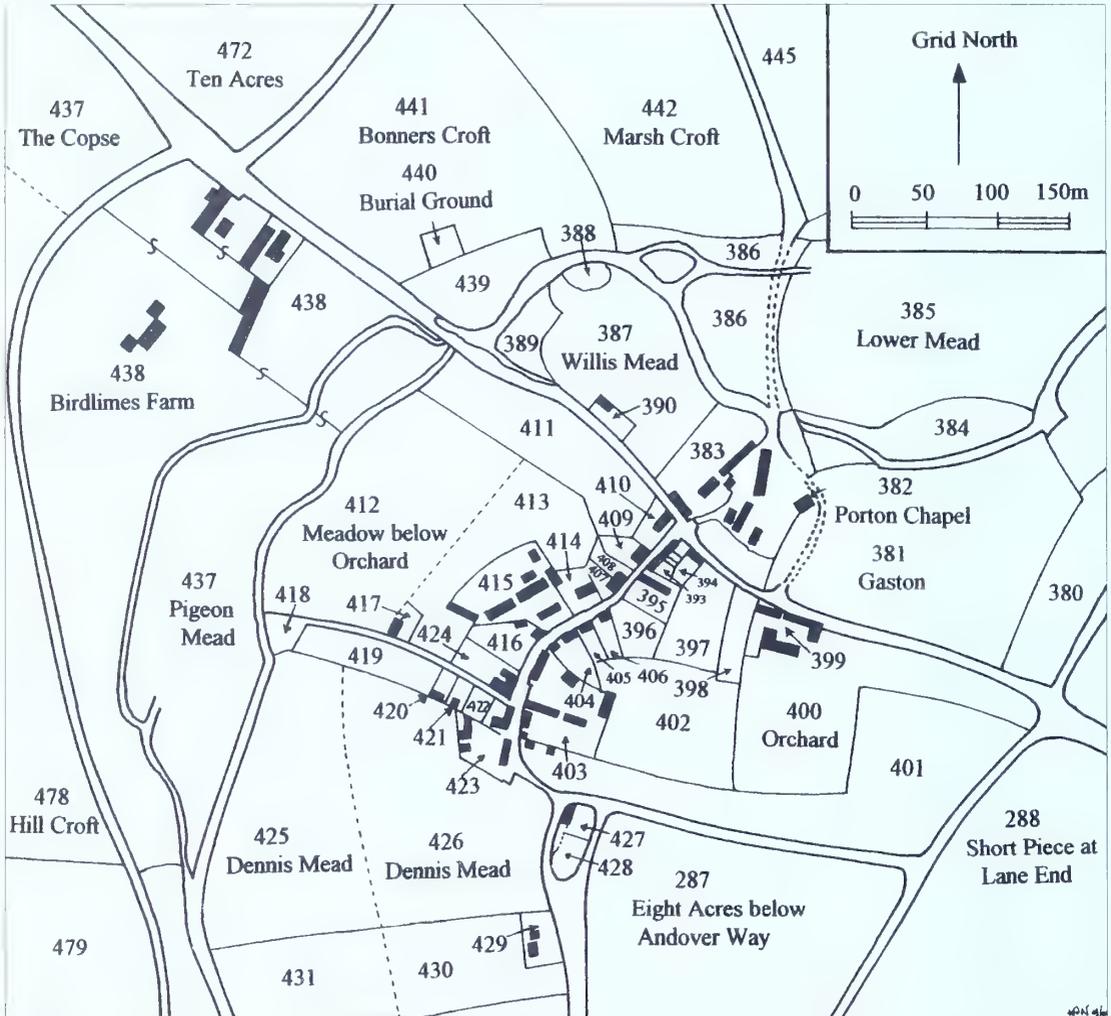


Fig. 1. Part of the 1841 tithe map for Idmiston parish, showing Porton village. (Transcribed by K.P. Norris, courtesy Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office).

significant levels of weathering or silting occurred; nevertheless, the ledge supports beech trees one hundred years or more in age. Above this excavation, the ground is markedly holed and rutted by a series of curvilinear depressions. One, 6m wide and 3m deep, extends for 40m. In contrast, a further example is circular, some 6m in diameter, with raised edges; it superficially resembles one of the larger Neolithic flint mines at Easton Down some 4.5km to the east (Stone 1931; Barber *et al.* 1999). This depression was partially filled in the 1980s (pers. comm. Dr Darlow), and any such infilling must have modified the contours of the ground around it. The remains of flint walls in the western corner of the plot testify to the former presence of at least one building, which is not shown on the 1841 or subsequent maps.

DISCUSSION

The quarry appears to have been dug to obtain both chalk and flint as it is apparent that substantial quantities of material have been removed from the site that cannot be accounted for by the export of flint nodules alone. The period of operation remains problematical, however. Little silting has occurred on the opencast extraction next to the river, and this may indicate a more recent date. However, some earthworks further upslope are more weathered and rounded in profile. The linear nature of some suggests that carts may have been important in removing the material. Given little further dating evidence, a broad Medieval to post-Medieval or

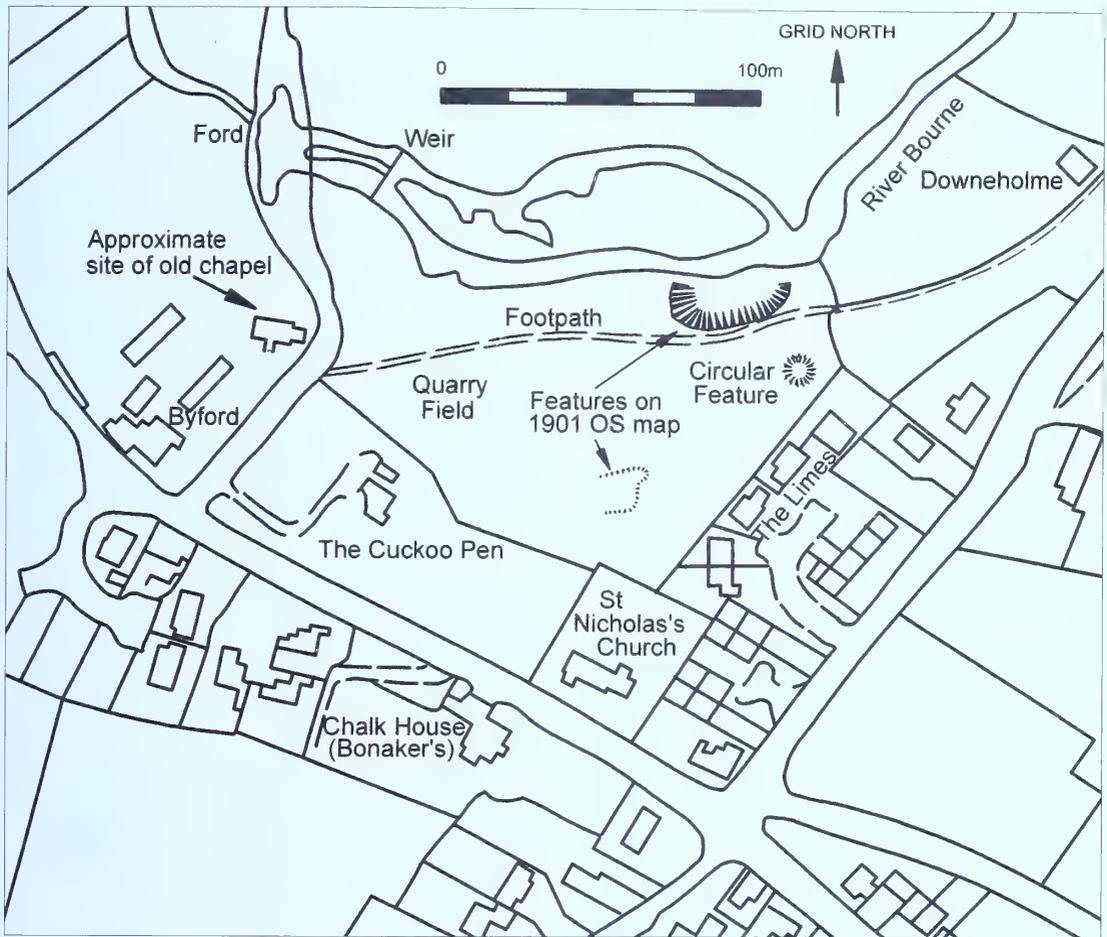


Fig. 2. A sketch map showing the features discussed in the text. (Redrawn after K P Norris with additions.)

even later date might be postulated.

The local archaeologist Dr J F S Stone (1899-1957), who excavated flint mines at Easton Down, was a friend of Dr Darlow; he examined the ground, but could reach no opinions as to the nature of the features nor their likely date (pers. comm. Dr H M Darlow). There has been local speculation that the earthworks resulted from flint quarrying activity to obtain building material for the present St Nicholas's Church (consecrated in 1877). The church is constructed of roughly knapped flints with stone quoins. It is also possible that earlier quarrying activity was used to obtain flint for the building of the fourteenth century St Nicholas's Chapel, originally a chapel-of-ease for the Burgelen family who owned land in the parish, including what is now Birdlymes Farm (a corruption of the family name). This chapel stood opposite the entrance to the footpath through the quarry site, on ground now

associated with Byford, where the lane bends to the left as it approaches the ford and where there is a raised, rectangular, earthen platform. The chapel became progressively decayed and was too small for the congregation. It was demolished in 1876, and a Faculty (W&SRO D1/2/41) decreed that the materials be used in the building of the new St Nicholas's chapel (only subsequently designated as a church) on a new site. In 1864 the old chapel was depicted in watercolours (a dated copy of which hangs in the present church). In design, it was much like the present, larger church whose ground plan and style were no doubt influenced by it; unlike the present building it contained a gallery. The salvaged material would have been inadequate for the construction of the new chapel, additional nodules being needed for the later, larger structure. Also, there stands, facing the church and across the road from The Cuckoo Pen, a large, two storeyed

cob house (Chalk House, originally Bonakers) with attic rooms and with cob (puddled chalk) garden walls, dating from Georgian or early Victorian times; large quantities of chalk were required for its construction.

Chalk and flint were widely quarried for building material from the Romano-British period onwards. Sellwood (1984) reports that much of the town wall of Roman Silchester was composed of unworked flint. Atkin (1983) describes tunnels beneath Norwich created by the extraction of chalk and building flints from the 11th or 12th centuries, while Ayers (1990) discusses the prodigious quantities of chalk and flint used in Norwich buildings. A late medieval chalk-mine at Thetford, consisting of an open-cast quarry into whose sides tunnels (adits) were driven, is described by Bruce-Mitford (1952). At Bow Hill and Windover Hill, Sussex, and Pitstone Hill, Buckinghamshire, vertical shafts were dug down to suitable seams of chalk and flint, and recent tunnelling for flint and chalk is also preserved at Whitlingham, Norfolk (Barber *et al.* 1999). The remains of post-medieval and perhaps earlier chalk quarries on the Marlborough Downs are extremely widespread and were referred to in the nineteenth century by both Merewether (1851) and Smith (1884). Much building flint was obtained from clearing fields for agriculture or was recycled from derelict buildings. Chalk was used for pipeclay, chimney linings, writing chalk, road repairs and for making lime, in addition to cob and clunch (hard chalk building blocks).

Using the present nomenclature of the British Geological Survey (Bristow *et al.* 1997; Ride and Hopson 2001), the chalk at The Cuckoo Pen belongs to the Tarrant member, a chalk of intermediate hardness (both Easton Down and nearby Martin's Clump flint mines lie on Tarrant Chalk) Beneath the Tarrant lies the softer Newhaven member, and beneath that the porcellanous Seaford member. Flint nodules suitable for knapping and for building material occur in the Tarrant and Seaford members. The Newhaven member contains small, spiky nodules of little utility. Chalk from the Tarrant member, and perhaps the Newhaven, is suitable for the production of cob and for mortar. Seaford chalk is probably too hard easily to extract in quantity and to crush and puddle as cob but was a source of clunch, hewn blocks used directly in the construction of buildings and walls (a prominent example can be found at 16 Flower Lane, Amesbury; at Porton, only a small section of clunch is visible in a wall surrounding the Old Rectory.)

Sizable quantities of chalk were certainly used in Porton village to construct buildings and walls of cob. In particular, cob walls enclosed much of Byford and its orchards, and some of its outbuildings are of cob construction. It is reasonable to suppose that chalk for these walls was obtained from the farm's own land across the lane; no other quarry appears to have existed on the farm. A cob wall enclosed the orchard and piggery of Birdlymes Farm that at one point at least (in thick alluvial soil at 19 Parkland Way) had footings of flint nodules about a yard (2.7m) wide and two feet (0.61m) deep (pers. obs. 1969). This enclosure is now the bungalow estate served by Parkland Way. Cob walls are usually constructed on a low plinth of flint, stone or brick, or a rubble mixture. Other cob structures may be seen about the village and many more have disappeared owing to recent development and natural decay.

Mr Charlie Tompkins (1899-1994), a resident of Porton, writing in *The Story of Rosemoor in the village of Porton* (Tompkins, n.d.), tells of this Regency house, situated in the High Street, being surrounded by a cob wall that fell into disrepair. He describes, too, the now demolished cob wall from Targetts Corner (junction of Winterslow Road with A338) to the start of the High Street as the longest in Porton. (It would have been about 400m in length, perhaps containing 500m³ of chalk-soil mixture.) He tells how, in his youth, he assisted John Calloway in repairing cob walls: a cart load of chalk was tipped at the site, a quantity was spread out about one foot in thickness and clean short wheat straw was mixed with it, with the addition of water. This was then trodden down to consolidate it. The suction was great, it seemed it would pull the soles from your boots, consequently it was very tiring work. When this was mixed and trodden and workable, a broad tined fork or prong was used to place it in position on the wall to be repaired. It had three broad tines and resembled Neptune's trident. A depth of eighteen inches was built up at one time, and then allowed to dry out, before proceeding higher.

Tompkins refers to a long cob wall surrounding the old Regency Vicarage in the High Street and parts of Targetts Farm. The farm, an old dairy, has been replaced by a development of houses, Parsons Close, but the wall survives almost intact round the garden of the old Vicarage, in which the new Rectory has been built. Tompkins writes that this wall was topped with tiles from a builders yard in Fisherton Street, Salisbury, by a cob-waller named Uriah Crouch who lived in Paradise Row at Idmiston. The most likely

source of chalk for these constructions was from a quarry on the south side of Porton High Street at the Gomeldon Hill end (NGR SU 4186 1361), the obvious advantage being that laden carts would have travelled downhill. A similar fortuitous example occurs at Amesbury where a quarry beside the Salisbury Road (NGR SU 4158 1407) could have served southern parts of the village lying downhill, an expediency inevitable when quarrying from a hillside near a riverside settlement.

Like the date of the quarries, the nature of the struck flint observed from the slopes and alongside the river is problematical. Most pieces examined were left *in situ*, but those recovered are relatively small and fine, and sometimes quite thin. Worked flints from Dr Darlow's collection at the site include two thumb-nail scrapers and a fabricator. The assemblage does not display the typical characteristics of flint mines or quarry sites, where one also expects to see large, crude, cortical or secondary flakes, cores, and the debris from quartered nodules. Most of the flakes are deeply patinated, consistent with a prehistoric origin. The assemblage appears to represent later stages of manufacture rather than outline preparation, and need not imply the presence of mining. The thick layer of worked flint debitage (or workshop floor) observed at prehistoric flint mines elsewhere would, if such had existed here, have been scattered by subsequent activity reducing the chance of investigating a prehistoric origin for the earthworks by excavation. Such scattering may account for the flint flakes on the riverside terrace, but cortical flakes have not been discovered there either. Some flint flakes appear to have been struck with a metallic hammer, in which case the facing of setts in historic times is a likely activity. It is possible that the site represents multi-period activities of different types.

Neolithic flint knappers recovered flint from underground by mining where seams were too difficult to access by opencast quarrying. Surface and near-surface flint is subjected to repeated cycles of freezing and thawing, which cause stresses and fractures, rendering the nodules unsuitable for knapping into tools. (Such imperfections are unimportant in flints used for building where only rough knapping may occur.) Neolithic methods of flint extraction by deep mining are uneconomic for building purposes and certainly inefficient for extracting chalk, except as a by-product. It seems likely, therefore, that the large, partially refilled pit is not part of recent chalk or flint extraction activity.

As a prehistoric mining area, the site possesses advantages over the Easton Down and the neighbouring Martin's Clump mines (Stone, 1933: Ride *et al*, 1998) as it is close to water as well as containing flint nodules of comparable quality. It seems improbable that such a benefit would not have been exploited by prehistoric flint miners.

Chalk quarries are not usually situated so near to village centres, and are mostly located on steeply sloping land that could not be used for other purposes. It is likely that the ground at The Cuckoo Pen was already neutralised by quarrying before recent activity commenced. It would have been useless for agriculture and building, perhaps fit only for sheep or goat grazing. Choice of the site for renewed quarrying would have been a natural and reasonable action. The steeply sloping hillside meant that historical methods of extracting chalk could be employed. The former disturbance of the ground would have made chalk extraction easier. It did not matter that some chalk there had become blended with organic material through previous activity, for chalk used for cob was often deliberately mixed with soil, as examination of some decaying cob walls readily reveals. Indeed, the soil extracted from the footings of a wall was a useful, economic and ready-to-hand material for this purpose. In this context, it is noteworthy that Tompkins mentions only chalk in relation to repair work, where excavated soil might not have been present.

In the early nineteenth century, a time of great unemployment among agricultural labourers, the burden of rates for poor relief in rural areas fell almost entirely on farmers. Those in receipt of relief were often given such tasks as road mending and wall building. It is likely that many of Porton's cob walls, and the necessary quarrying activities, date from that time.

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Langdon Wick: a Grange Estate of Stanley Abbey

by *Graham Brown*

An enclosure near Wick Down Farm formed part of a grange of the Cistercian monastery at Stanley until its suppression in the mid-16th century, by which time it had probably become part of Richardson Grange. Analysis of the field survey plan has identified the main components of the grange complex. A study of the aerial photographic transcriptions of the area, and of the map and documentary evidence, has enabled an interpretation of the wider grange estate, its land-use and communication pattern, to be made.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout much of the Middle Ages the monks of the Cistercian monastery at Stanley held large tracts of land on the Marlborough Downs, principally on the Lower Chalk bench to the north of Avebury, including an estate at Berwick Bassett; a grange at neighbouring Richardson; land at Broad Hinton; tenements and meadow at Avebury; and an extensive sheep pasture on Hackpen Hill. To the east of Hackpen Hill the monks held Langdon Wick, as well as tenements in the nearby market towns of Marlborough, Chippenham, and Calne (Birch 1875, 239-307; Figure 1).

Langdon Wick is one of five tithings in the parish of Preshute and lies at the northern end of the parish, with Temple Rockley, also in Preshute, along its southern boundary. Geologically, Langdon Wick lies largely on Middle Chalk with a narrow band of Upper Chalk, overlain in places by small pockets of Clay with Flints, across the higher ground of Hackpen Hill in the north-west. A 'finger-like' projection of Upper Chalk extends south-east from Hackpen Hill, centrally across the tithing, dividing it between two distinct areas with what is today known as Preshute Down to the north and Wick Down to the south. The land is undulating, reflecting the underlying geology, and varies in height from 185m OD on the lower downs to 270m OD on Hackpen Hill.

Settlement within the tithing is today confined to Wick Down Farm, with an isolated cottage to the north and field barns on Preshute Down. The farm, which is part of a much larger farming enterprise, is principally used as a riding centre and stables. It is situated at the foot of a relatively steep south-facing escarpment at the head of the southern fork of a narrow band of valley gravel leading southeast to meet the River Og to the south of Ogbourne Maizey.

A study of Langdon Wick, undertaken as part of a research programme into Stanley Abbey and its estates (Brown *in prep*), entailed a survey of the earthworks of an enclosure to the south-west of Wick Down Farm which, it is suggested here, was a grange of Stanley Abbey (Figures 2 & 3). The resulting plan shows a number of earthwork building platforms with yards and closes enclosed within a boundary bank, all of which overlie an earlier 'Celtic' field system. A larger, outer enclosure, which incorporates the present farmstead, was also probably part of the grange. An analysis of the plan and aerial photographic transcriptions of the area, coupled with map and documentary evidence, shows that the grange estate was probably coterminous with the tithing; in addition, the medieval communication pattern was identified, as well as evidence of agricultural practice.



Fig. 1. Location map showing the estates of Stanley Abbey in the Marlborough Downs and Chippenham regions

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The Wick Down enclosure was first noted in 1814 by Sir Richard Colt Hoare who remarked on 'several irregularities in the ground, apparently the site of ancient habitations, but I do not attribute them to so remote an era as that of the Britons, or even the Romans' (Colt Hoare 1819, 41). The enclosure was substantial enough to warrant inclusion on his map of the area (ibid, facing 34). Towards the end of the 19th century another Wiltshire antiquary, the Rev A C Smith, noted 'many earthworks to the west and south of Wick Farm' (Smith 1885, 131).

In 1913, the Rev E H Goddard reported on a small-scale excavation of the enclosure. A 30m length along one of the banks was dug to a depth of about 0.5m. Pottery recovered was interpreted as either medieval or modern, although Grinsell gives a medieval date (Goddard 1913, 309; Grinsell 1957, 185). The precise location of the excavation and the present location of the finds are unknown.

In 1975, the Archaeological Division of the Ordnance Survey carried out an earthwork survey

of the site at a scale of 1:2,500 (NMR No: SU 17 SW 44). The resulting plan shows the outline of the enclosure as a continuous bank; however, little internal detail is shown apart from a rectilinear enclosure in the north-west corner. An external ditch is also depicted along the north, west, and southern flanks. Two scarps are shown extending northwards from the northern side of the enclosure, as well as a curving bank, set with stones, in the east. This plan has been used on subsequent Ordnance Survey maps of the area.

During the 1990s there was renewed archaeological interest in the region, initiated by Peter Fowler on Fyfield and Overton Downs and followed by the work undertaken for the Avebury World Heritage Site Research Agenda (Fowler 2000; Chadburn & Pomeroy-Kellinger 2001). Staff of the former RCHME undertook two aerial photographic transcriptions and despite Langdon Wick lying beyond the principal areas of research for both projects, much of the estate was nevertheless included (NMR archive No: AF1071473, AF1116517). The transcriptions show extensive tracts of 'Celtic' fields in the north, on Preshute Down, as well as a small enclosure that has been partially excavated and interpreted as being of

Bronze Age date (Piggott 1942; NMR No: SU 17 SW 5; Figure 5). More specifically, the extent of the grange near Wick Down Farm is depicted. There are substantially fewer traces of 'Celtic' fields on the southern part of the estate, although there is evidence of ridge-and-furrow to the east and north of the grange, which may have levelled any 'Celtic' fields here.

No analysis of Langdon Wick was made in the Avebury project report since it lies beyond the boundary of the designated World Heritage Site. Fowler (2000, 169), however, erroneously suggested that the enclosure was the site of a preceptory of the Knights Templars and that it overlay a pattern of tofts and crofts: he also suggested that a chapel lay within the north-west corner of the enclosure (See Discussion).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Langdon Wick lay within the barton (or demesne land) of Marlborough Castle until 1194 when it was bought by Stanley Abbey from the king (Chettle & Kirby 1956, 270; Stevenson 1983, 173). In 1275 the abbey also held one carucate of land here (presumably arable) (Anon 1818, 262). It was clearly an important estate since, in 1291, it was valued at £9 3s 4d. This was the fourth highest valuation of Stanley's Wiltshire estates, higher than any of its other Marlborough Downs holdings (Astle *et al* 1802, 192-3).

A tantalising insight into the economy of this downland estate is revealed in the only surviving Minister's Account (TNA: PRO SC 6/1054/18; appendix A). Dating to 1292 (and a year after the *Taxatio* valuation), it shows that its economy was based on sheep and corn husbandry, similar to many other chalk downland estates. Oats, barley and dredge (a mixture of barley and oats) appear to be the main crops grown, along with a smaller amount of wheat (a third of which was supplied directly to the abbey).

Sheep are not enumerated in the account; however, women were paid to milk the ewes, and oil was purchased for the lambs (this was used to protect them from disease). The absence of sheep numbers is, however, hardly surprising. In the early Middle Ages they were primarily kept for milking; in addition their dung was used to manure the land and their skins used as vellum. It was not until after

the 12th century that wool became an important commodity and sheep numbers increased (Bond 2004, 57). Flocks were then often organised outside the grange framework and placed under the control of a 'master' shepherd who organised their movement around the monastic estate as a whole, often separating out the ewes, which were retained for milking and breeding, from the wethers (castrated rams), which produced more wool (*ibid*, 60).

The account also specifically mentions the grange at *Langeden* and is the only direct reference to a grange here. In the dairy, cheese and butter were made for the abbey, although some was retained for the grange itself.

In 1535, the survey of all monastic and ecclesiastical property in England and Wales (the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*) shows that Stanley Abbey and its estates was valued at £177 0s 8d. Langdon Wick was grouped with the other principal Marlborough Downs estates and referred to as '*Berwick Bassett cum Richardson et Langeden*' (Caley & Hunter 1814, 114), suggesting that the estate was administered jointly with the other two. Significantly, this combined estate, apart from the home grange at Stanley, was the only one that was still held directly by the monks, reflecting the continued importance of the Marlborough Downs to the abbey's economy. A separate entry of allowances and payments in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* lists a payment of £3 10s to the king for *Langeden* and *Weke* (*ibid*, 115). This amount was the annual fee-farm (the freehold rent charge) when the estate was purchased from the king in 1194 (Chettle & Kirby 1956, 270).

In February 1536, Stanley Abbey was suppressed; four months later, Sir Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp (who later became Earl of Hertford and Duke of Somerset), was granted large tracts of former monastic land in Wiltshire including Stanley's Marlborough Downs estates (Berwick Bassett, Richardson and Langdon Wick). He also acquired three other Stanley estates on the clay vale to the north of the Downs at Midgehall, Studley Grange and Costow (L & P Hen VIII 10, 1256.6). In January 1537, Sir Edward Baynton of Bromham, who was Vice Chamberlain to three of Henry VIII's queens and one of Wiltshire's leading gentry, was granted the monastery itself together with the remainder of the abbey's estates in Wiltshire, Berkshire and Somerset (Anon 1902, 131; L & P Hen VIII 12 pt1, 311(33)). Although the abbey was largely destroyed, part of it was retained and converted to a grand mansion (see for example WSRO: 473/245). The remaining estates continued to be leased. In October



Fig. 2. An aerial photograph of the enclosure with Wick Down Farm in foreground (NMR 15833/28, ©Crown copyright. NMR)

of the same year, the former abbot, Thomas Morley, was appointed suffragan bishop of Marlborough (L & P Hen VIII 12 pt2, 1008 (34); Hutchins 1868, 8 note b; Cross & Livingstone 1997, 1555).

A survey taken at about the time of Seymour's acquisition gives a clear picture of the monastic estates he acquired on the eve of the suppression (Inst Hist Research: Seymour Papers vol 12, 172). By this time Langdon Wick appears to have been merged with the grange at Richardson. Most of the arable land was at Richardson where there were two open fields, amounting to 217a (c90ha), divided equally between the East Field and the West Field. Meadow at Richardson amounted to a mere 1½a (0.3ha), which was presumably situated near the stream that ran through the grange. Although there was 7½a (3ha) of pasture near the grange and a further 76a (30ha) on Forehill Down, the bulk was at Langdon Wick where there was 180a (c75ha) at Wick and 260a (c108ha) on Langdon. In addition:

if the lord of the said manor will occupy the said manor with his own sheep he may well and sufficiently find upon Wyke and Langden 1600 widders [or wethers], 50 wainloads [cart-loads] of hay upon the Wyke yearly to be made. And also he may find yearly upon the down

aforesaid 350 sheep with the which. And with the third part of grain of upon the said furze at the expense of the farmer there to be sown and also by the said farmer to be mown and reaped and ready to carry . . . (ibid, 173).

Although there is no mention of population at Langdon Wick, there are indications of continuing occupation. In 1548, twelve years after the suppression, a shepherd was employed to tend the lord's sheep (Blatcher 1968, 335), and in the mid-16th century Thomas Pearce (alias Hurde) was the farmer here. He was an influential person in the region since, when he died in 1580, although resident at *Langden Weeke*, he appears to have held land elsewhere in the county (Anon 1906, 361). He had assets of over £74, which he allocated mainly to his immediate family with smaller amounts going to the churches of St Mary's in Marlborough (where he was buried) and Preshute, as well as other, smaller beneficiaries (TNA: PRO Prob 11/63).

In 1613, the manor of Langdon Wick was granted to Sir Francis Seymour, the earl of Hertford's grandson, on his marriage to Frances Prynne (Fry & Fry 1901, 25). In 1658, Francis Seymour leased the estate to Richard Hunt for ten years at an annual rent of £240 (Alnwick Castle Archive: Sym papers

X. 2.11 Box 17). Throughout much of the 17th century, the estate continued as a sheep pasture (Bodington 1920, 114).

Langdon Wick was not immune to the agricultural improvements of the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1717, workmen were paid for laying quickset hedging around newly enclosed land, part of which was a 10a (2.5ha) close (Alnwick Castle Archive: Sym papers X.2.11, box 6). The following year, building work and improvements to the farmstead, known by this time as Week Down Farm, included the planting of twenty-four ash trees about the house, building a cow house and repairing other outhouses and a pond (ibid).

The estate remained in the Seymour family until 1779 when it was allotted to Charles William Wyndham in whose family it remained until 1844 when Joseph Neeld acquired it (Stevenson 1983, 174).

EARTHWORK SURVEY AND INTERPRETATION

The earthworks of the main enclosure containing the former grange buildings cover an area of *c.* 1ha. They overlie, and are constrained by, a former 'Celtic' field system (Figure 3). The enclosure lies on a north-east facing slope at 230m OD and is defined by a bank and partial external ditch. The bank along the southern side measures 138m in length and up to 0.3m in height; however, the ditch is only evident to the west of a slight lynchet. The external ditch turns north where a prominent lynchet, which measures up to 1.5m in height, and terrace, define the western side of the grange. At the enclosure's northern end the ditch is again apparent as far as the modern fence boundary where there is a gap measuring 10m in

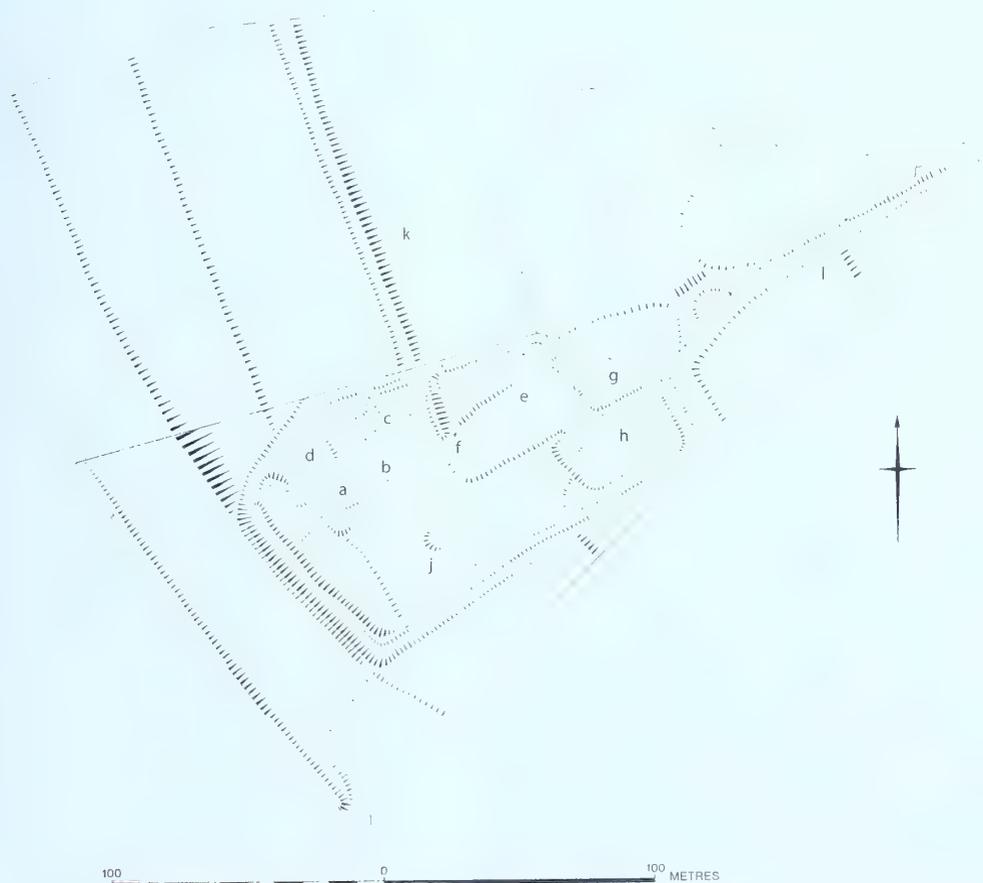


Fig. 3. Earthwork survey

width. A second gap in the enclosure is evident midway along the northern perimeter bank. Beyond this second gap the bank gradually diminishes towards a number of exposed sarsens, suggesting that the enclosure may have continued beyond the sarsens into a small paddock. In the paddock its course is unclear since the earthworks here are very slight; however, it may be defined by a spread scarp that turns south to meet a prominent bank leading towards Wick Down Farm. This scarp could also be the remains of a 'Celtic' field corner underlying the enclosure.

Internally, the grange enclosure is divided into four main components. In the north-west there is a grouping of four compounds, or homesteads, all of which have sarsen in their banks. The largest compound (a) measures c. 20m x 15m overall and comprises an L-shaped building platform set above a rectangular yard. This yard has entrances on the northern and eastern sides. To the east of this compound, and separated from it by a narrow entrance gap, is another building platform with a slight cross division (b). Again, a yard occupies a lower level to the east. The third compound (c) comprises a building platform with an internal cross division, which is set along the northern perimeter bank, and a yard occupying the area to the south. The fourth compound (d) lies to the north of (a); it comprises a small building platform in the west contained within a walled enclosure.

To the east of the four compounds is a large rectangular enclosure, or yard (e). Internally, a scarp cuts diagonally across it in a south-west/north-east direction leading to a small mound, which was possibly the result of stone clearance. The large yard is defined on three sides by a bank with sarsen stones protruding, while the fourth side is left open. A gap (f) along the western bank provides access to the four compounds. North of the gap, the north/south bank is substantially higher than elsewhere, measuring c. 2m high on the eastern side but only 0.5m on its western side.

To the east of the yard (e) is a platform (g). It measures 25m x 15m and is defined in the south by an L-shaped bank and by a shallow scarp on the other two sides. The northern side is parallel to the diagonal scarp in (e), suggesting that the gap between the two was an entrance into the yard.

To the south of (g) is another embanked enclosure (h) with an entrance on the northern side. Internally there are two slight L-shaped scarps, which probably represent property divisions, each with a small building platform. This compound, together with

the platform (g), is set apart from the others and may represent the area of the principal farmstead and dairy (See Discussion).

The south-western quarter of the grange contains a series of slight linear scarps, at least one of which is the remains of a 'Celtic' field lynchet, while others may represent small stock enclosures. A circular depression (j) is probably the site of a former well.

Extending in a northerly direction from the entrance gap along the northern side of the grange is a double-lynchet trackway (k), which measures 2m wide and terminates at the field boundary. This boundary also lies at the base of the escarpment.

On the eastern side of the grange is a broad, slightly curving bank (l) overlying two 'Celtic' field lynchets. It measures 140m in length and up to 0.3m high in the west with sarsen stones set intermittently along the northern side and terminates close to the field boundary.

DISCUSSION

The Cistercians were amongst the most influential of the new reformed orders to establish themselves in England during the 12th century. They sought a simpler way of life in which agricultural work was regarded as part of their monastic life (Knowles 1950, 348); they were also renowned for the way they managed their estates from a network of granges, which were essentially monastic farms. These granges were initially staffed by lay brothers, the *conversi*, and assisted by hired labour; however, during the 13th and 14th centuries, many granges were leased to tenants (Platt 1969, 94) leaving perhaps the home grange and other more important granges still being farmed directly by the monks. Donkin (1978, 67) asserts that the grange 'was the most important single contribution of the new monastic orders, and particularly of the Cistercians, to the landscape and economy of the 12th and 13th centuries'; it was also a system that was emulated by other monastic communities such as the Premonstratensians and Gilbertines (Burton 1999, 265).

The formation of a grange could be a long process as the monks strove to acquire land by grant, purchase or exchange in order to build up compact blocks of land that was held in severalty although, as Burton (1999, 261) suggests, the Cistercians did not necessarily wait to acquire a whole estate before creating a grange. Although a consolidated block of land was the ideal, it was not always possible to

achieve (Donkin 1978, 60), but where a grange was established the monks were able to manage their land, their sheep flocks and cattle herds, independently of manorial control. Sometimes, as in the case of Berwick Bassett and Richardson, these landholdings cut across tithing boundaries (BL: M.T.6.e.1. (1.)), while in some other instances, such as Langdon Wick, they acquired whole tithings.

The morphology, size, and function of Cistercian granges varied enormously. Some were quite extensive with farm buildings, homesteads and perhaps accommodation for visiting choir monks, contained within an enclosure. Attached to this inner enclosure there may have been a much larger, outer enclosure, which may have been divided into closes and perhaps contained other farm buildings. Some granges were moated sites (for example Richardson and Midgehall), which may have been located on the edge of a settlement or lay detached, but within their consolidated land-holding. Others may be quite indistinguishable from secular farmsteads and may now underlie later farm buildings.

Although many granges were predominantly agricultural, others were involved in a variety of industrial activities such as stone quarrying, iron smelting and milling; in contrast, those positioned near rivers or near an estuary may have been involved in fishing. Loxwell Grange provides a useful example of a grange with additional functions; although it was predominantly a pastoral grange it probably also worked Stanley's stone quarry at *Bycombe*, which lay close by, and may also have been involved in woodland management.

Stanley Abbey was a daughter-house of the former Savigniac abbey of Quarr on the Isle of Wight (the Cistercians merged with the Savigniac community in 1147). It was originally established in 1151, at Loxwell, deep within the royal Forest of Chippenham, but three years later the community moved to Stanley some 2.5km distant and on the south bank of the River Marden. Loxwell remained in the monks' hands and became a grange. To support the monastery, further land was acquired, some of which was in the Chippenham region and in the vicinity of the abbey where they established a home grange. Over the next fifty years they built up a network of granges and estates across northern and central Wiltshire, with others further afield in neighbouring counties. At the suppression in the mid 16th century, Stanley Abbey held land in thirty separate localities in Wiltshire, three in Somerset, and one each in Gloucestershire, Berkshire and Sussex. In common with many Cistercian houses,

sheep were an important component in Stanley's economy; nevertheless, the varied soils and geology of their holdings ensured a diverse range of resources that was essential to the abbey's success. An analysis of Stanley's holdings suggests that they were concentrated in a number of 'zones', the largest being in the Chippenham region. Another important one was on the western side of the Marlborough Downs with another further north on the clay vale (Figure 1).

The undulating chalk downlands of the Marlborough Downs were heavily exploited by monastic communities, particularly the Benedictine house at Glastonbury and the alien priory of Bec-Hellouin (Brown *forthcoming*). In addition, the Knights Templars held large tracts of land, including Temple Rockley, which borders Langdon Wick. Fowler (2000, 169) suggests that the Templars' preceptory was in Langdon Wick; however, there is no evidence that they held land here and a more likely location is in the area of Temple Rockley Farm (Brown *forthcoming*).

The research at Langdon Wick has highlighted three main issues: the nature and extent of the grange; the grange estate and its economy; and the place-name.

The Grange

The grange at Langdon Wick is situated 15km (9 miles) to the east of Stanley Abbey (Figure 1). Lying at the head of a stream and narrow band of valley gravels, it was conveniently sited in a relatively sheltered position on a lower slope of the downs. It was in an area that had already been exploited in the prehistoric period with large tracts of 'Celtic' fields, especially on Preshute Down, and to the south in Temple Rockley and Clatford. In addition, a barrow cemetery comprising seven round barrows on Rough Down defines the southern extremity of the estate. Despite the lack of Romano-British finds, the place-name itself perhaps suggests occupation at this time somewhere in the area (see below). Similarly there is no evidence of occupation during the Anglo-Saxon period, but given its siting and agricultural potential, it is plausible that there was some form of settlement here before Stanley Abbey acquired it.

The grange comprises two distinct elements: an inner enclosure, and an outer enclosure. The inner enclosure was the centre of the grange estate, with the farmhouse probably near the entrance. Set apart from the farmhouse were four compounds (Figures 3a, b, c, d), which were probably the homesteads for



the hired labour. Fowler (2002, 169) suggests that a chapel may have been sited in the area of the homesteads, but this seems unlikely since, morphologically, they are all remarkably similar. Nevertheless, a place of private worship was provided at many granges for the *conversi* (Donkin 1978, 53) and at Langdon Wick this may have been in the form of an oratory incorporated in the farmhouse or *domus*. Chapels were also discouraged on Cistercian granges by their General Chapter throughout the 12th century, and it was only later, in the mid-13th century, that they were permitted at what Platt terms the 'greater granges' (1969, 26). Although Langdon Wick was relatively highly valued in the late 13th century, there is no evidence of a chapel here.

Surrounding the inner enclosure is the outer enclosure. It covers an area of c.15ha and is defined on three sides by a bank and a steep escarpment along its northern side (Figure 4). This area largely mirrors the area of meadow depicted on the late-18th century estate map (Figure 5). Also shown on the estate map are two tracks that converge on the meadow from the north and east where they abruptly end on the edge of the meadow. However, these tracks undoubtedly continued to the inner enclosure. The course of the northern track, for example, is reflected in the trackway (k in Figure 3) that meets the inner enclosure along its northern side. In the east, the other track is precisely aligned on the bank (l in Figure 3) that extends from the inner enclosure to the perimeter of the outer enclosure and probably marks the former course of the trackway. It may also indicate that an entrance to the outer enclosure, possibly with a gatehouse, underlies the present stable complex. The east/west bank also effectively divides the outer enclosure into two large closes, with perhaps further close boundaries marked by some of the 'Celtic' field lynchets. It is unclear what these closes would have been used for, but given the evidence from grange outer enclosures elsewhere in Britain, it is probable that they were used as sheep or other stock enclosures with perhaps agricultural buildings such as sheep houses (otherwise known as sheepcote or by the Latin *bercaria*) (Platt 1969, 42). It is perhaps significant that the present farmhouse is positioned within the perimeter of the outer enclosure and close to the purported entrance. This building may also overlie an earlier, medieval

building, and possibly an alternative location for the monastic farmstead.

When compared to some other granges, the inner enclosure at Langdon Wick is relatively small whereas its outer enclosure is considerably larger. For example, at Monkash, a grange of Neath Abbey in Glamorgan, the inner enclosure covered an area of c.2.4ha (c.6a). The outer enclosure was c.8.3ha (c.20a) and included a large barn and a dovecote (Griffiths 1982, 262-65). Another of Neath Abbey's granges, Gelligarn, had an inner enclosure of similar size to Monkash's, but its outer enclosure, at c.11.6ha (c.28a), was larger, but still smaller than Langdon Wick (ibid, 260-62). Nevertheless, some granges were similar in size to Langdon Wick. The inner enclosure of Tewkesbury Abbey's grange at Llantwit measured c.1.2ha (c.3a); here the remains of a gatehouse, barn, a dovecote, and other buildings have also been identified (ibid, 299-303). At Griff, a grange of Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire, the inner enclosure covered c.1.6ha and contained a dwelling, outhouses, and a large barn-type structure with opposing entrances along the longer sides (Hunt & Stone 2003, 31-32).

The grange estate

The grange estate covers an area of c.743a (c.310ha). Significantly, only one small area was liable for the payment of tithes; this was on Rough Down and known as 'Piece against Temple'. Tithe exemption applied to a number of categories of land (Kain & Prince 1985, 9). Exemption had also been granted to the Cistercians in England by Pope Innocent II in 1133, and although it was revoked in 1215 on future acquisitions, it did not apply to land that was brought into cultivation. It was a privilege that was resented by the bishops and clergy and in order to placate them the Cistercians invariably paid some form of compensation (Knowles 1950, 355). At Langdon Wick, a payment of £1 was paid annually to the rector of Preshute in place of the great tithes (Stevenson 1983, 181). This was also the value of the titheable area on Rough Down at the time of the Tithe Award in 1843.

Evidence of the medieval land-use and communication pattern can be extrapolated from the aerial photographic transcription and estate map

Fig. 4. (opposite) Aerial photographic transcription. Extensive tracts of 'Celtic' fields are evident on Preshute Down compared to the area to the south of Wick Down. The long pecked lines are of ridge-and-furrow while the shaded areas indicate possible sheep enclosures. Small pecked lines are tracks shown on the 1779 estate map (transcription adapted from NMR: AF1116517 (© Crown copyright. NMR)).

(figs. 4 & 5). On Preshute Down a track links Broad Hinton with Rockley: this was probably a drove-way across the downs to the market town of Marlborough where Stanley Abbey held tenements (the route was abandoned in 1809-10 when a turnpike road was constructed to the south on Wick Down (Cossons 1959, 263)). Two tracks lead towards the grange: the northern one was probably the route from Stanley's other Marlborough Downs estates, while the easterly route led towards Marlborough.

Pasture covered much of the estate. At the time of the suppression it amounted to at least c.233ha (560a) and included land at *Wyke, Langden, Fore Downe* and *Cowe Down*, which was sufficient for nearly 2,000 sheep (Institute for Historical Research: Seymour papers, 174). The full extent of meadow during the medieval period is unclear, but it seems likely that it was in much the same area as in the late-18th century when it was confined to the area of the valley gravels – along Long Mead and Little Mead – and within the grange's outer enclosure. The area of meadow may therefore have been c.18ha (c.44a). Evidence of arable cultivation is more explicit, with ridge-and-furrow surviving to the north and east of the grange (fig 4). On Preshute Down, the survival of extensive tracts of 'Celtic' fields, coupled with the apparent absence of any ridge-and-furrow, suggests this area was primarily used as pasture (however, the north-western side of Preshute Down was under cultivation in the late-18th century, which may have resulted in the levelling of any field systems here).

Although the grange contained a range of agricultural buildings, other sheep enclosures, including shelters for the shepherds, may have existed further afield. Smith (*forthcoming*) suggests that most sheep enclosures on the Marlborough Downs were 'typically sub-square or sub-rectangular' in plan and surrounded by a bank and external ditch, although a curvilinear example was identified at Raddun (Fowler 2000) – there may well have been others. There are two possible examples of sheep enclosures on the grange estate. The first is sub-square in plan and lies to the north of the grange, on Wick Down; it covers an area of c.0.75ha with ridge-and-furrow set within a 'Celtic' field system to the north. The second example lies on the southern side of Preshute Down, in the prime area for pasture, where a Bronze Age enclosure, with what was termed an 'ancient' pond close-by (Piggott 1942, 48-61). It is conceivable that this enclosure was re-used during the medieval period as a sheep enclosure – particularly given its juxtaposition to the pond –

which in form appears to be earlier than the sub-square examples built elsewhere on the downs during the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Place-name

During the medieval period the estate was referred to in a number of ways: sometimes the two words, Langdon Wick, were combined while on other occasions Langdon appears separately. The earliest record occurs in 1194 when the estate was granted to Stanley Abbey and referred to as '*pasturam de Langeden cum omnibus pertinentiis et Wikam cum pastura...*' (Birch 1875, 285). In 1291 the estate was known as *Langedene Wik*, while a year later the grange itself appears in the Minister's Account and referred to simply as *Langeden* (Astle *et al* 1802, 192; appendix 1). This is the only occasion that a grange is specifically mentioned. There are similar references in 1536 when *Langeden* is first mentioned together with Berwick Bassett and Richardson, and later as *Langeden et Weke* (Caley & Hunter 1814, 114-15). In 1626, it was referred to as *Langden and Wyke*, and elsewhere as *Langden, otherwise Langden and Wyke* (Fry & Fry 1901, 29), implying perhaps that the two were synonymous. Thirty-two years later, it was known as *Langden Wike* (Alnwick Castle Archive: Sym X. 2.11 box 17) and in 1717 it was known as *Weeke Down* (Alnwick Castle Archive: Sym X. 2.11, box 6).

The initial grant in 1194 clearly refers to two pastures – on Langdon and Wick – and similar references using the combined name probably refers to the estate as a whole. However, where Langdon appears separately, in 1292 and 1536, this refers to the actual grange.

The toponymn, *Langeden* comprises two elements: the first probably means 'long' while the second may derive from the OE *denu* meaning valley (Gelling 1993, 97; Hooke 1998, 11). This particular pasture possibly lay on Preshute Down where, in the late-18th century, there was an enclosed, cultivated field known as Denn Bottom (fig 5), and further east (in Ogbourne St Andrew parish) the valley is today known as Dean Bottom. The second name, *Wikam*, possibly refers to a Romano-British settlement (Draper 2002, 29-43), and despite the lack of earthwork or pottery evidence, the settlement presumably lay somewhere on Wick Down.

The archaeological and topographic evidence appears to be at variance with the place-name evidence. The place-name suggests that a grange lay somewhere in the area of Denn Bottom, whereas all

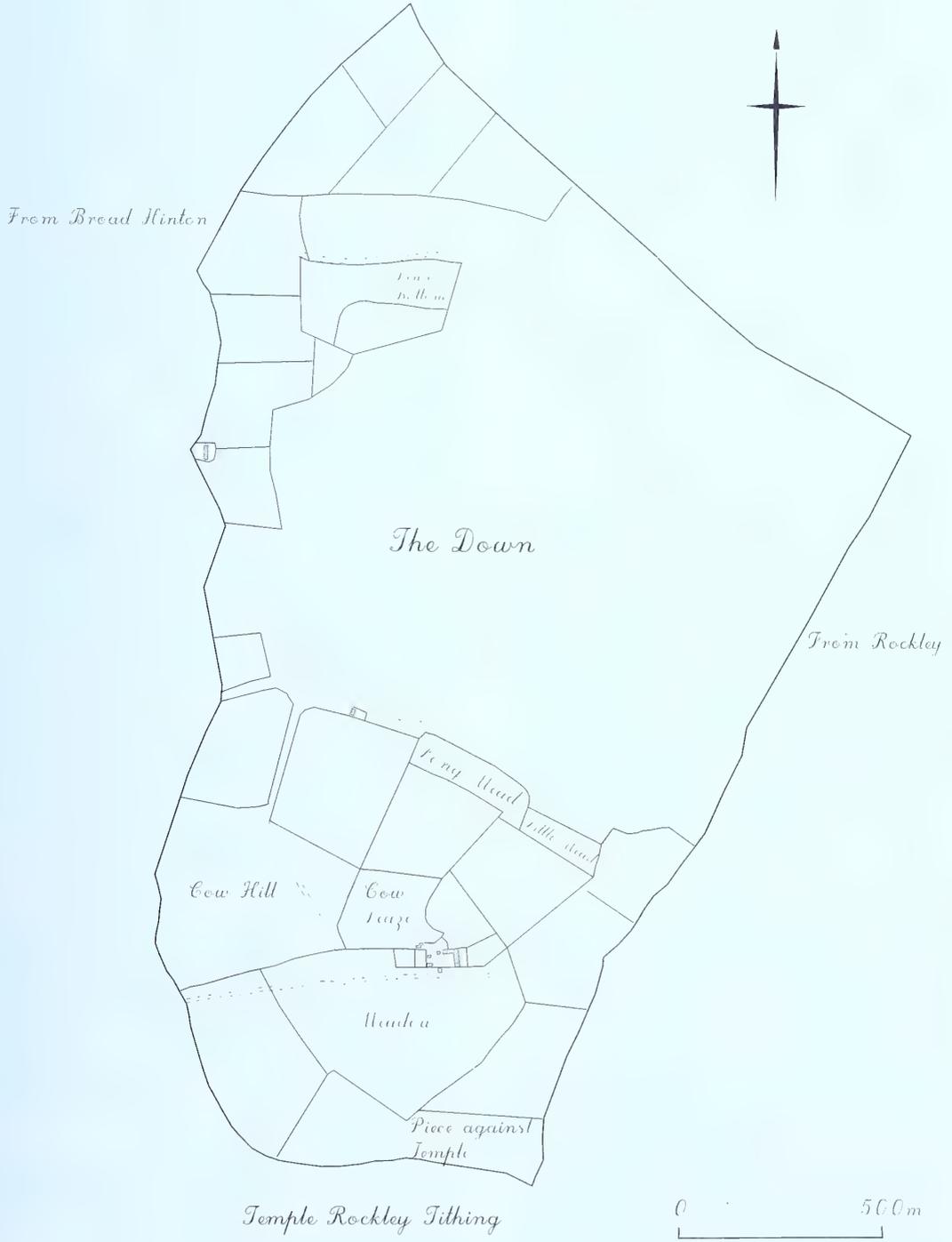


Fig. 5. The tithing of Langdon Wyke in 1779 (re-drawn from WSRO: 1780/4)

the other evidence points to it being in the valley to the south of Wick Down. There could, of course, have been two granges, but this seems unlikely based on the available evidence. Although the present farmstead is known as Wick Down Farm (and by extension the earthwork enclosure has been given the same name), it also lies at the head of a long valley and it is plausible that this was known as *Langeden* during the medieval period – only losing its name when a new farmstead was built at the foot of Wick Down. Forehill (or Fore Down) is another example of a ‘lost’ toponym. Although it was used in Seymour’s mid-16th century survey, it also appears in Lord Pembroke’s 1562 survey of Winterbourne Bassett (Straten 1909, 266), and probably lay on the boundary of Langdon Wick on Hackpen Hill.

SUMMARY

Langdon Wick was one of Stanley Abbey’s most valuable estates in the late-13th century, but for how long this continued is unclear. Certainly by the mid-16th century the estate had been subsumed within Richardson grange, perhaps leaving a resident farmer or shepherd. The fortunes of the estate were nevertheless inextricably linked to those of other Stanley estates and it is probable that, with the shortage of *conversi* and hired labour, not only were granges leased out, but those that remained ‘in hand’ were also rationalised. It was not until the mid-17th century that it again became an estate in its own right.

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Appendix: Minister's Account for Langeden transcribed by Steven Hobbs

The original forms in Latin of some unusual and abbreviated words are given in parenthesis.

Account of Langeden¹ Wednesday after the feast of St. Richard [3 Apr.] 1292

11s. 8d. remain from 2½ qtr. of wheat sold. 26s. 10d. from 14qtr. 6 bushells of dredge. 7s. remain from 3qtr.

of oats sold.
Total (—) 50s 6d

Expenses: For wages of servants 5s. For one roofer 15d. For allowances (pitanc') 3s. For minor (minut') expenses 4s. For salt 3s. 2d. For reeds bought 14d. For oil² bought for the lambs 11d. For tallow (cepo) bought 12d. For minor expenses around the dairy 2s. 6¼ d. For dung (fald') bought 4s. For fodder bought 4s.

For settling the debts 32s. Total 61s. 11¼ d. There remains owed 11¼ d.

Wheat; The profit (exitus) of wheat 9qtr. Of which (Inde) in seed 3qtr. 6 bushells. For the abbey 3qtr. Worth 13s. Sold 2½ qtr. In bread ½ qtr.

Maslin (Berm')³; The profit of maslin 15qtr. In seed 3½ qtrs. In the allowance (lib') of the servants 12 qtr. Barley; The profit of barley 32 qtr. In seed 6qtr. 1 bushell. In the allowance of servants 26 qtr. and so is balanced (eq').

Dredge; The profit of dredge 35 qtr. In seed 11 qtr. In sales 14 qtr. 6 bushells as above. For the abbey 9 qtr. worth 23s. 1½ d.

Oats; The profit of oats 36 qtr. 1 bushell. In seed 13 qtr. 6 bushells. In flour 8 qtr. In animal feed (prebend' affrorum) 7 qtr. In the allowance for additional sale (prebend' supervenient') 3 qtr. Worth 6s. Sold 3 qtr. In allowances (alocation') 8 qtrs. from the said crop (blad') worth 32s.

Value to this date (val' terminus) 74s. 1½ d.

Receipts: Account for Langeden Monday before the feast of St. Katherine [25 Nov.] 1292

For 11¼ d. remaining in the purse (burs'). For 21s. 8d. remaining for 5 qtr. of maslin (bermangcorn'). For wax and honey sold 6s. For rents 18d. remaining at Marlborough
Total 29s. 2d.

Expenses; For the wages of servants 12s 8d. For the women milking (mulgent') the ewes (oves) 4s. 2d. For oil for the sheep 28½ d. For tack⁴ (tacc') and other minor expenses 2s. For roofing the farmhouse (domus) 2s. For salt bought 26d. For the allowances (pittancia) in harvest 2s. For the expenses of the additional sale (superven') 18d.

Total 28s <9 ½ d. *inserted above* > 11d from the settling of the abovesaid work (op'). For the rent assize nothing accounted. There remains in the purse 4½ d.

The profits of the Grange

Wheat; The profit of wheat 2qtr. All for the abbey worth 5s a qtr. Total 10s.

The profit of maslin (bermancorn') 12qtr. Sold 5qtr. Servants' allowance 4qtr. For the milk maids (mulierum mulgent') 3qtr. Worth 13s

The profit of oats 1½ qtr. For the cellarer's cart [*ie for the animals pulling it*] 6 bushells worth 18d. For the abbot's horse at Kingswod 2 bushells worth 6d. Dairy; The issues of the dairy 10 weys of cheese < ?worth 6s. a wey > of which (Inde) 8 weys (? *are in the dairy or for the abbey*) 2 in the grange. For butter 21 gallons all for the abbey worth both cheeses and butter £3 12s.

Allowance to him (ei) for a mare and foal 26s. 8d.

Value to the date £6 11s 8½ d.

Annual value £8 5s 10d.

Notes

¹ T.N.A SC6/1055/18

² Oil or grease was used to protect sheep from infestation and disease.

³ Bermancornus is a combination of the latin mancornus, maslin, a mix of corn for human consumption, and ber, the old English for barley, indicating the predominant element of the mix.

⁴ Taccum – meaning tack, an iron plate used to protect the axle of a cart.

The Establishment of Parish Councils in Wiltshire

by Ivor Slocombe

The 1894 Local Government Act introduced parish councils elected under a wide franchise. This article examines its implementation in Wiltshire – the varying local circumstances, the political campaigns leading to the elections, the composition of the new councils and the backgrounds of those who became councillors.

INTRODUCTION

The late 19th century saw a complete reform of local government. The hotchpotch of separate bodies – Vestries, Poor Law Guardians, Burial Boards, Highways Boards, School Boards and local Boards of Health – was gradually replaced by a rational series of councils. First, County Councils were established in 1888 and the process was completed in 1894 when the Local Government Act introduced District Councils and Parish Councils. The Parish Councils Act had two main aspects. Firstly, it aimed to rationalise parish boundaries within the new District Councils. Secondly, it established elected councils in the larger parishes and annual parish meetings in the smaller ones. Neither operation was straightforward. The mere mention of altering historic boundaries and amalgamating parishes aroused intense local feelings and illustrated often long standing antipathies between neighbouring communities. The elections themselves inevitably led to campaigns which reflected a variety of national and local issues. The most important issue, however, was the social structure of the new councils and whether the previously dominant rule of the landowners and clergy through the vestries was replaced by more representative bodies.

The aim of this article is to examine how the Act was implemented in Wiltshire and to explore the tensions and controversies which arose.

RATIONALISATION OF COUNCILS

Many parish boundaries needed rationalising. Some parishes had outlying areas in other counties or detached portions within other parishes while some Poor Law Boards, previously the main vehicle of local administration, straddled county boundaries. The intention was that district and county boundaries should coincide and similarly all parishes should fall within a particular district. The government also expected that the smaller parishes would willingly amalgamate to form a unit large enough to qualify for an elected council rather than just an annual parish meeting. However, through their lack of understanding of villages, they seriously underestimated the antipathy of neighbouring parishes to each other. It was also possible for the largest parishes to be split into two or more separate parishes.

The county councils were to be responsible for planning and implementing these changes. In Wiltshire a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Fitzmaurice was established to prepare a plan, to consult on it and then to make recommendations to the county council. The plan they produced was a comprehensive one involving 101 parishes with a population of under 200. (see Appendix 1).¹

The alignment of parishes with county boundaries seems to have proceeded relatively

smoothly. Wiltshire gained Kilmington and the tithings of Yarnfield and Gasper from Somerset and an outlying part of Shalbourne from Berkshire. Hampshire took over Melchet Park, Plaitford, West Wellow, Damerham, Martin, Toyd Farm with Allenford and the part of the parish of Whitsbury which lay within Wiltshire. Bourton and Silton were transferred to Dorset and Leverton Tithing and Charnham Street to Berkshire. Gloucestershire took Kemble, Poole Keynes and Somerford Keynes including Shorcote. The only real controversy occurred in the Malmesbury area where Ashley and Long Newton resisted transferring to Gloucestershire even though they were in the Tetbury R.D.C. This was one of only eight cases in the whole country where a rural district overlapped county boundaries.

Some parishes were partly within and partly without a rural sanitary district. The Act provided that the part in the rural sanitary district would automatically become a separate rural parish. Under this provision 16 new parishes were formed in eight areas in Wiltshire: Alderbury (Fisherton Without, Milford Without); Bradford-on-Avon (Bradford Without); Chippenham (Chippenham Without, Langley Burrell); Devizes (Rowde, St. James Without); Highworth and Swindon (Swindon Without); Malmesbury (Brokenborough Without, St. Mary Westport Without, St. Paul Without); Melksham (Melksham Without, Trowbridge Without); and Wilton (Burcombe Without, Fugglestone St. Peter, South Newton).

The consultations on the proposed amalgamation of small parishes proved to be as contentious as might have been expected.² Lord Fitzmaurice asked local county councillors to arrange and chair the local meetings. Some did so reluctantly knowing what the outcome would be. Mr. Buckley, the county councillor for Britford, confirmed that he would arrange a meeting about the proposal for union of Nunton and Bodenham with Odstock but he was positive that they would be strongly opposed to any such union. Mr. Hussey Freke from Highworth reported the feeling in Inglesham and Stanton Fitzwarren: 'In each place the inhabitants only desire, as I understand, to be left alone. So the inquiries will be purely formal.' Rev. John Thomas of Marlborough was even more pessimistic: 'If all Lockeridge were polled they would vote to a man against any severance from West Overton. Any meeting at the present time would draw no attendance and would infallibly be regarded as political.' Sometimes the parish concerned held their

own meeting and passed a formal resolution before the official consultation could take place. In this way Teffont Evias expressed their opposition to an amalgamation with Teffont Magna: 'That this meeting, being of the opinion that the affairs of the parish of Teffont Evias will be best managed in accordance with the wishes and interests of the parishioners of that parish by the parochial electors belonging to it assembled in their own parish meeting, without the interference from such electors belonging to any other parish.' Even the county council could fail to understand local allegiances and geography in their proposals. The Fitzmaurice plan proposed the amalgamation of Earldoms and the detached portion of Whiteparish with Landford. Local consultation resulted in Earldoms wanting to remain separate, Whiteparish having no objection and Landford opposing the extension of their boundaries mainly, it was said, because their burial ground was not big enough. Even the very smallest of parishes objected to losing their identity and being taken over by a larger neighbour. Avon with a population of 10 and only two electors did not want to amalgamate with Langley Burrell. Mr. Napier explained: 'They would lose their nice little social vestries. It is held now one year at Mr. Fry's house and the next at Mr. Curtis.'³

Although the County Council was required by central government to inquire into and to publish proposals for parishes with a population of under 200 it did not seem prepared to push its plan with any great vigour in the face of local opposition. Early in the debate in the council on the draft plan, Lord Fitzmaurice declared that 'they were not bound to allow local opinion to override more important general consideration such as the spirit and purpose of the Act of Parliament. At the same time he must say that he had great confidence in local opinion as residents in a parish would be likely to know what was best for them' (applause).⁴ When it was reported to the county council that Rolleston (population 28) was against going with Shrewton, Lord Fitzmaurice commented that, as the opposition was now greater than they had expected, it would be prudent to leave it alone. 'The matter was not urgent, the sky would not fall down whether Rolleston was or was not merged in Shrewton.'⁵ Perhaps the council had taken note of the letter from Hugh Wyndham in the *Devizes Gazette*:

... several other parishes have fallen under the notice of the council or rather of the busybody part of them calling themselves the Finance, Law and

Parliamentary Committee . . . the Czar of Russia himself could not act in a more autocratic manner than the Finance Committee have done, and though he might have grouped us against our will he would not have insulted us by first asking our opinions and then acting directly against them.⁶

A possible union of the three parishes of East Tisbury, West Tisbury and Wardour proved equally contentious. The idea of union came from a petition signed by 20 potential electors in August 1894. A local inquiry was held by the Hon. Henry Wyndham in February 1895 by which time local opinion had been somewhat modified. The new councils had already met and were in favour of continuing separately. West Tisbury produced a petition with 126 signatures against union and Wardour one with 82 signatures. The chairman of West Tisbury commented that the original meeting in 1894 had been for union. He was still personally in favour of it but he would not like to see it effected against the expressed wishes of others. The county council therefore decided to take no action.⁷

Some local councillors found themselves in a difficult position when asked to chair a local meeting because of their own allegiances. Mr. Clutterbuck of Hardenhuish Park tried to opt out of the meetings about Kellaways and Langley: '...better for someone else to do it (not me!) I am rather interested as a parishioner and also in the particular parish referred to there is liable to be a display of local party spirit from which I have at present been able to hold aloof.'⁸

The County Council had held over 80 difficult and time-consuming local consultations. Lord Fitzmaurice recognised this when he wrote to the clerk of the council in June 1895: 'You will, I hope, take an adequate holiday (*sic*) at Whitsuntide and try to arrange for the county officials and the clerks – all of whom have had hard work – to do the same.'⁹ But much of the work had been unproductive and by the end of 1894 only relatively few amalgamations had taken place, some of which involved parishes which later transferred to neighbouring counties. All the amalgamations which did take place involved only the very smallest parishes.

Table 1 Parish Amalgamations by 1895

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Amalgamated with</i>
Avon	10	Tytherton Kellaways (to form Tytherton)
Shorncliffe	18	Somerford Keynes
Fullaway	11	Stert

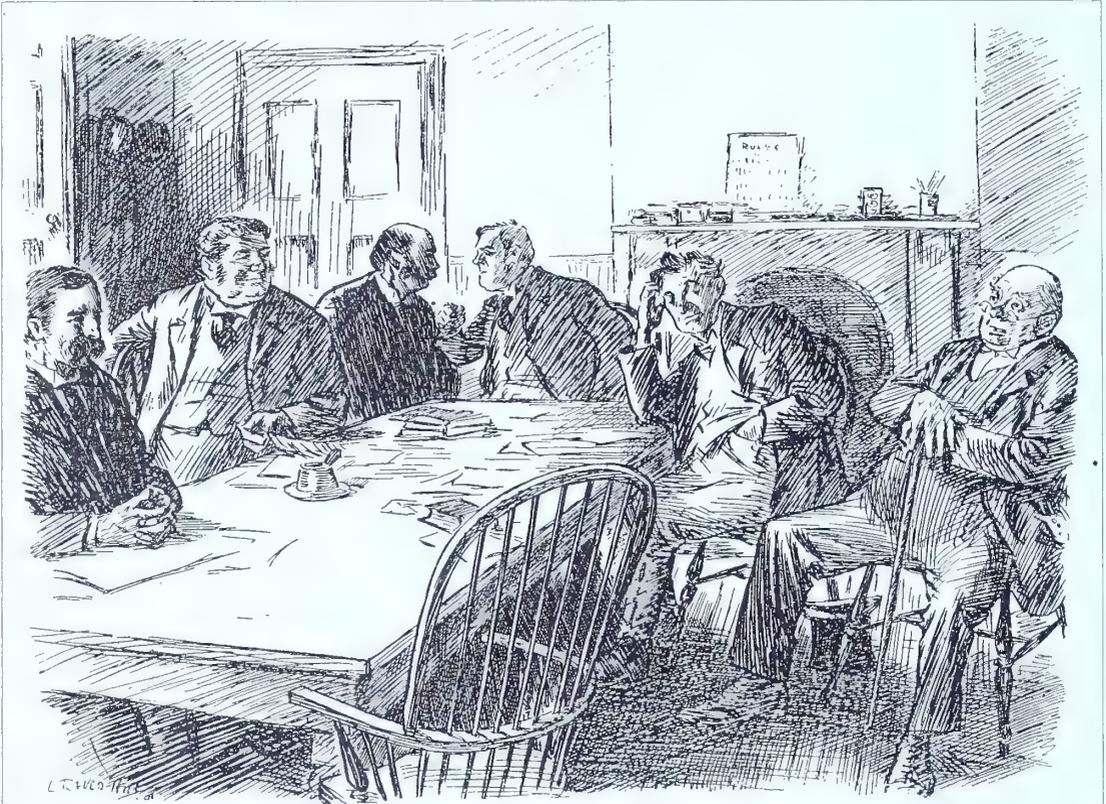
Hippenscombe	35	Tidcombe and Fosbury
Clatford Park	13	Overton Heath (to be called Clatford Park)
Old Sarum	13	Stratford-sub-Castle
Langley Wood	15	Downton
Draycot Foliat	40	Chiseldon
Whaddon	18	Semington and Littleton
Fifield Bavant	43	Ebbesbourne Wake.

The process of amalgamation continued after 1894 but again it involved only a very limited number of parishes:

Table 2 Parish Amalgamations 1895-1897

<i>Date</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Amalgamated with</i>
1895	Earldoms	Landford
1896	Eisey and Water Eaton	Latton
1896	St. Mary Westport Without	St. Paul Malmesbury Without
1896	Sherston Parva	Sherston Magna to form Sherston
1896	St. Mary Westport Within	Brokenborough to form Brokenborough
1896	Clatford Park	Fyfield
1896	Cricklade St. Mary	Cricklade St. Sampson to form Cricklade.

Equally contentious were the proposals to divide some of the largest parishes and the attempts by some areas to break away and form their own separate parish. Bradford Without covered a large area to the north, south and east of the town with a population of 2730. Strong pressure came from four constituent villages – Holt (907), South Wraxall (337), Winsley (632) and Limpley Stoke (514) – to have their own parish councils. This was not opposed in principle by the County Council but Lord Fitzmaurice, who knew the area well, was concerned about what would be left. Bradford Without (340) would then consist of Leigh and Woolley to the north and Trowle to the south, areas that had nothing in common and would hardly hang together as a separate parish. He therefore proposed that the remaining area in the north should be divided between South Wraxall and Holt and the area to the south be incorporated in Wingfield. This was hotly opposed by those villages who said they did not want such an 'artificial' extension of their boundaries.¹⁰ Lord Fitzmaurice's suggestion was not followed through and the five separate parishes were formed in September 1894. Westbury was even larger



MORE AMALGAMATION.

Parish Councillor. "WULL, I DO VOATE THAT THE TWO PARISHES BE MARMALADED."

Chairman. "OUR WORTHY BROTHER COUNCILLOR MEANS, I UNDERSTAND, THAT THE TWO PARISHES SHOULD BE JAMMED TOGETHER!"

This Punch cartoon is by Leonard Raven Hill. He lived at Bromham and was a member and later Chairman of the Bromham Parish Council. The cartoon almost certainly relates to the proposal to amalgamate Chittoe with Bromham.

with a population of 5634. The move to split it up came from Bratton (610) and Dilton Marsh (1222). But the Dilton Marsh proposal included Old Dilton which was claimed by Westbury Leigh. The particular Westbury objection was to their separation from Westbury Leigh which they said formed part and parcel of the town.¹¹ In October 1894 it was eventually decided to divide Westbury into three: Westbury, Bratton and Dilton Marsh. In 1895 Heywood (with Hawkeridge) was also split off. The separation of a part of a large parish often had significant financial implications. South Marston wanted to be separate from Highworth. This was opposed by Mr. Hussey Freke who pointed out that the whole of the G.W.R. rateable value would go to South Marston. Despite this the council agreed by 31 votes to 9 that South Marston should become a separate parish: 'We have come to the conclusion that the inhabitants of South Marston have made

good their claim that the tithing be established as a separate parish.'¹²

PARISH COUNCIL OR PARISH MEETING?

The Act provided that all parishes with a population of 300 and over would have an elected parish council while smaller parishes would simply have a parish meeting. But parishes with a population of over 100 and under 300 could demand a parish council and the County Council was obliged to agree. Parishes with under 100 population could request a council but the County Council did not necessarily have to meet such a demand.

In 1894, before the amalgamation of parishes and changes in county boundaries, Wiltshire had 177

parishes with a population of over 300, 119 with between 100 and 300; and 31 with under 100. The smaller parishes had to weigh up the advantages and perhaps kudos of having an elected council against the cost of running the council and, more particularly, the cost of holding an election which could fall heavily on the local rate. The timescale was such that it was not possible for the smaller parishes to apply for and obtain permission to have an elected council before the first elections in December 1894. However, the County Council considered 18 applications in January 1895 although 10 were rejected because they had failed to follow the correct procedure. The timing was such that the County Council considered applications from some parishes which were later transferred to other counties. By March 1895 councils had been approved for 14 smaller parishes (Ebbesbourne Wake, Manningford Bohun, Newton Tony, Rushall, Somerford Keynes, Staverton, Stert, Swallowcliffe, Teffont Magna, Upton Lovell, West Harnham, Winterbourne Dauntsey, Winterbourne Earls and Winterbourne Gunner). Three more were added in April (Great Hinton, Nomansland and Winterbourne Stoke). All these parishes were relatively large with a population of around or over 200. There is no record of any of the very small parishes with under 100 population requesting a parish council.

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

In the early discussions on the Act there was a widely expressed view that there was no place for politics, and especially party politics, in the new parish councils. This was well stated by Lord Bath at a meeting at Corsley:

It would require a great deal of human perversity to introduce sectarian or political feeling into the working of the Act. It would be very difficult indeed for a parish council to quarrel over sectarian or political questions ... He thought it was very important that each parish should independently of any outside influence or outside agitation, select from within their own parish those who they thought were the best fitted to carry out the best interests of the parish.¹³

Although this approach was followed in many areas, it was a fantasy to think that politics would not enter the campaigns leading up to the elections. Fairly soon two opposing camps appeared – the

Radicals or Progressives (mainly the Liberals) and the Conservatives. The Radicals were, in a sense, on the attack, encouraging working men to stand for election and advocating that the new parish councils should use their limited powers to the full, for example in establishing allotments. The Conservatives reacted to this trying to defend their existing position of power by the pre-selection of councillors instead of elections and proposing the minimum of action by the parish councils in order to contain the rates. Each side blamed the other for starting the fight.

In October 1894 the Liberals held a conference at Salisbury attended by 500 – ‘the cream of Wiltshire and Hampshire Liberalism’. It was reported to have had a good sprinkling of the leisured classes – M.Ps, barristers, Church of England clergymen, ministers of various denominations, farmers and tradesmen but the majority of the delegates were working men, agricultural labourers or village artisans. Sir Charles Hobhouse, one of the speakers, advocated that representation on the councils should be very wide and should extend to all classes and to both men and women.¹⁴

A rather more secret meeting of the Western Division of the National Union of Conservative Associations was held in October at the Salisbury Club, Bristol under the Duke of Beaufort’s chairmanship. Walter Long said he had originally expressed the view that party politics should be kept out but the gentlemen of the other side had not accepted his suggestion. He had already been told of the Radical Association which had taken active measures to be ready for a political contest. Thus the Conservatives would be compelled to take the field and act in unison. His aim was to elect ‘a moderate and practical council which fairly represented all the interests of a locality; but where they were met by a strong party fight, they would have to fight on strictly party lines.’¹⁵ In November a meeting of Liberals was held at Trowbridge chaired by Sir Charles Hobhouse. They agreed to form a Local Government Electors’ Association for West Wilts with the aim of ‘exploring the Act faithfully’.¹⁶ In reality it was a reaction to the Bristol Conservative meeting.

The political fight was reflected in two leading local newspapers – the *Devizes Gazette* (Conservative) and the *Wiltshire Times* (Liberal). In an editorial in October the *Devizes Gazette* tried to write down the importance of the new parish councils and encourage the avoidance of elections in order, as they said, to get the best men selected.

Now that we are within measurable distance of the actual coming into operation of the Act, people begin to see that, except as to the cost and possible annoyance which it may entail, it will prove of very little importance to anyone. The cackling, long and loud, over this small egg of the Radicals has doubtless led some of the labouring classes to imagine that great benefits will accrue to them from it. Six months experience will, we are assured, convince them of the contrary.... If the parishioners of a parish are wise they will avoid contested elections and at the parish meeting select the very best and most intelligent men of the parish to make up their Council. In this way, and this way alone, will they be able to avoid expense and to get the Act administered properly.¹⁷

The *Wiltshire Times* editorial of 27 October took a rather different line on the relative merits of the Conservative and Radical proposals.

It is too late in the day for Tories in our part of the county to pretend that they look upon Parish Councils with a friendly eye ... Mr. Long has not advocated and does not advocate the total expulsion of Radicals from the Councils; it is equally certain that the Duke (of Beaufort) and he mean, if they can, to have a good muzzle on such Radicals as may be elected The object they (Liberals or Progressives) aim at will be to ensure that the new Councils shall be composed of men who are disposed to regard Parish Councils as useful institutions and not the horrible thing which they seem to the distempered imagination of the Duke of Beaufort.¹⁸

The political campaigns with their inherent hostilities became most apparent in a series of meetings across the county. These were ostensibly to explain the provisions of the new Act but they were organised by the two parties and were addressed by George Fuller M.P. (Liberal) and Walter Long M.P. (Conservative) respectively.

Walter Long at North Bradley, for example, said he had led the formal opposition to the parish council Bill in Parliament. He explained the need to restrict expenditure including the avoidance of elections. It was preferable beforehand, through discussion, to decide who would be the best men to manage the affairs of the parish.¹⁹ George Fuller, addressing another meeting at North Bradley some weeks later, disagreed with Long in saying that the parish council would not make a great difference in the running of the village. He knew the village was prepared to meet the cost of improvements. He opposed the pre-selection of councillors for this was

usually done in hole and corner meetings. It was necessary to choose the right men and if they could not be obtained without a contest, then by all means have one.²⁰

A similar but more outspoken reaction to Long's views was contained in a letter to the *Wiltshire Times* by J. Docking of Trowbridge.

Long said he was non-political but his speech really was grossly partisan, full of unworthy insinuation, distrust and want of faith in the people Looking through the landowner's spectacles he could see little else but spoliation and robbery as the outcome of the new Parish and District Councils unless they are manned by his own non-political jelly fish who will order themselves lowly and reverently before the parson and the squire. . . [Finally he commented that the idea of pre-election agreements] '... means government by selection and not by election; it is the Russian idea of autocracy as opposed to the modern democratic spirit and it shows the Tory love for popular institutions and self-government. It is selfish, ill-liberal and sordid, and while pretending to be non-partisan he (Long) was pleading the interest of the classes right through as opposed to the interest of the working population.'²¹

These differences of opinion and antagonisms came to a head at two meetings addressed by George Fuller with Walter Long in the audience. At Steeple Ashton, on Long's home territory, Fuller took issue with Long who had said that if the new parish council loaded his land with rates then his men would injure themselves because it would lead to a decrease in their wages. Fuller and Long then had a long personal wrangle about what had happened at the Bristol meeting.²² At Chitterne, most of which was owned by the Long family, the meeting was again addressed by Fuller but the front row was occupied by Walter Long, Lady Doreen Long and Mrs. Martin (Long's sister). Long said he felt called upon to be present as 'self-appointed guardian of the sacred rights of property'. He then proceeded to subject Fuller to 'a series of running comments of more or less relevancy.' At this stage Mr. Spenser, Fuller's assistant, tried to restore order which provoked the response from Long: 'Order yourself. Don't call me to order; you are not in the chair. When Mr. Fuller brings his private secretary it seems he brings his bully in addition.'²³ Another ill-tempered meeting took place at Keevil. It was chaired by J. Docking of Trowbridge and was in support of Mr. Rickard and other progressive candidates for the Parish and District Councils. Docking made an inflammatory

speech saying the land was ruled by wealthy farmers and nabobs. He disagreed with the show of hands at the parish meeting for 'even in that village there had been men who would no more dare to put their hands up in such a meeting than he should to put his hands into another man's pocket.' The *Wiltshire Times*, perhaps showing its sympathies, reported that at this point a local farmer Edward Ellis who had previously behaved in a way to say the least not very creditable, rose and pretended to reply. He, however, contented himself with shouting something about Rickard, Docking and Dalley, violently knocking a stick on the floor and saying he didn't care a ——— for the Chairman.²⁴ The stage was thus set for spirited and contentious elections in many parishes in December 1894. But a correspondent in the *Marlborough Times* was concerned about this: 'Elections ... will keep our parishes in a constant state of excitement causing many to neglect their houses, wives and children and be the means of introducing and keeping alive a continued ferment of ill-feeling'.²⁵

THE ELECTIONS

The right to vote in the parish council elections was quite wide and included all those on local government and parliamentary registers. The list of qualifications was complex but essentially it covered all those over 21, male and female, who either owned or occupied a house or land on which rates were levied. The numbers of voters can be illustrated from the following examples.

Table 3 Numbers of voters

	Total pop.	Electors	No. who voted
East Knoyle	956	200	149
Highworth	2576	445	287
Ramsbury	2164	500	312
Wootton Bassett	2200	423	306

The arrangements for the elections were unusual. First, a parish meeting of electors was called and a temporary chairman elected, usually a local dignitary or the vicar. Nominations were then made, followed by a show of hands vote. The appropriate number of candidates with the most votes were declared elected but any elector could then demand a formal poll. This was probably intended to avoid a formal election wherever possible because of the relatively high cost which would fall on the rates. But this in itself was contentious. The Conservatives favoured

the more informal process which they thought they could manage while the Radicals demanded a secret poll on principle. Information is available for 175 parishes. A formal election took place in 107 (about 60%) of them. In 51 of the 68 parishes in which no poll took place, the exact number of councillors was nominated. In the remaining 17 parishes there was a vote at the parish meeting but no further poll demanded.

The smaller parish meetings seem to have been quiet and orderly occasions. The flavour of the one at Wishford is nicely shown by the report that the chairman began by asking the men to remove their hats and pipes. The larger meetings must have been very difficult to handle and various strategies were used. At Liddington those with the right to vote sat on one side of the hall and non-voters on the other. At Westbury there were 17 nominations for 15 seats. The press report said that the voting by show of hands was a tedious and wearisome process. The chairman rendered his own task easier by calling upon one row at a time to hold up their hands.²⁶ It was even more chaotic at Lyneham where there were 22 candidates for 11 seats. A correspondent later calculated that there were 68 electors present but five did not vote. That meant the maximum number of votes was 693 but 855 were actually cast. 'Many must have voted more than 11 times and in two cases, at least, there must have been two hands held up by the same voter.'²⁷ The Wootton Bassett meeting was even larger with 200 electors present and 33 valid nominations for 15 seats. One of the Radicals spoke on the invidiousness of the proceedings and advised his followers not to vote but to demand a ballot. As a formal election was then inevitable, the show of hands was carried out 'with as much levity as it were a farce'.²⁸

There is evidence of intimidation at some of the parish meetings. At Steeple Ashton, Walter Long entered the room during the process of counting and was greeted with applause. He took no part in the proceedings beyond holding his hand up in favour of certain candidates. But his mere presence must have been daunting to the many electors who were his employees. The voting does not seem to have gone quite as he wished and a poll was demanded. Long and his political supporters then went to a neighbouring workshop where he gave advice on the best mode of procedure to secure the election of nine councillors who would best serve their interests. A *Wiltshire Times* reporter managed to slip into the meeting but was thrown out as soon as he was recognised.²⁹ At the Westwood meeting Mr. Tanner

complained that Mr. Mortimer had come to his house and told his wife that if he was involved in the meeting or agitated for a village water scheme, he would raise his rent. The chairman also made reference to a rumour in the village that Mr. John Marsh had threatened to discharge some of his men if they went against him.³⁰

In many parishes there was either a pre-meeting or some kind of local consultation to agree the appropriate number of nominations before the parish meeting was held. This happened successfully at Broad Hinton and Nettleton. At South Wraxall it was reported that the matter was cut and dried for the labourers of the village had five candidates selected for some time and to these were added two farmers. The pre-arrangements at Wylve were more formal. A preliminary meeting was held at which 11 nominations were put forward for seven seats. An informal but secret ballot was then held. It was agreed that at the parish meeting the same 11 nominations would be made but the four who had come lowest in the informal ballot should withdraw.³¹ At Holt there was a special meeting of working men although there was some discussion about who this included. It was proposed and carried 'That this meeting of working men pledges itself to do its utmost to secure a full and sufficient representation on the parish council'. Mr. Beaven tried in vain to stop the distinction between the gentlemen and working men and the vicar was a lone voice in complaining that women had not been invited to the meeting.³² The opposite happened at Langley Burrell with the farmers calling a meeting at Mr. Joseph Knight's house, excluding working men and the vicar. They aimed to tie up seven of the nine places, leaving only two for working men.³³ The attempt at an agreement at Whiteparish failed. Originally the Progressives and Conservatives agreed to split the seats evenly but with 11 places there was a dispute over the 'odd seat'. Consequently a poll had to be held which resulted in six seats for the Progressives and five for the Conservatives.³⁴ There was also a failed attempt to reach a deal at Chiseldon. The Labour party met and decided to put forward 10 candidates for the 13 seats and hoped all would be elected. They had met with the farmers and landowners with a view to a compromise, offering to withdraw three of their candidates leaving them with a majority of one on the council. The landowners would not agree to this and a poll had to be held.³⁵

In other places there was very strong pressure on some of the candidates to withdraw in order to avoid an election having to be held. This happened

at Enford, Kington St. Michael, Ludgershall, North Wraxall, Ogbourne St. George and Wingfield. At a later election at Seend there were 14 nominations for 11 seats but one withdrew. The show of hands was followed by one elector demanding a poll. 'It took the persuasive powers of the whole meeting some time to get him to withdraw his demand. Ultimately he did so, consequently there will be no poll.'³⁶ The parish meeting at Steeple Langford was even more bizarre. There were originally 12 nominations for seven seats. Five withdrew and, after questions to the candidates, five more withdrew leaving only two nominations. Someone then proposed that the council should consist of the Rector, two farmers, two labourers and two tradesmen. This met with general approval and appropriate names were put forward.³⁷ At the first meeting of the Minety council there were mutual congratulations that the council was starting with only five shillings to pay for its election instead of £5 10s. for a contest.

A key issue is whether the results of a parish meeting show of hands and a subsequent poll were substantially different. Comparative information is available for 43 councils involving 458 seats. Overall there was a difference of 21% in the two lists of elected candidates.

Table 4 Change in results at parish meeting and poll.

<i>No. of seats on Council</i>	<i>No. of changes in councillors elected</i>						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	4	2	3	2		1	
9		1					
11		4	6	6		1	
12			1				
13		1	3	2	1		
15		2				2	1

In four smaller parishes (Upavon, Clyffe Pypard, South Marston and Leigh) the poll produced exactly the same result as the show of hands at the parish meeting. The largest change was at Downton where six of the 15 councillors eventually elected had been unsuccessful at the parish meeting. Proportionally the greatest change was at Dauntsey where only two of the seven councillors were successful at both the parish meeting and the poll.

The period between the parish meetings and the formal elections does not seem to have been marked by any intense campaigning. At Cricklade St.

Sampson's all was reported very quiet and not much evidence of an election except for a placard 'Vote for Miss Drury – a Woman of Mind'. There was also practically no excitement at Potterne in the election but there was an expression of slight dissatisfaction by a certain clique when the result of the poll was declared. It may be that all the important action had taken place before the parish meeting and, in any case, there was only a relatively short period of two weeks between the parish meeting and the polls. There was rather more jubilation in some places when the results were announced. At Box the count was not completed until 5 a.m. on Sunday morning. Although rain fell at intervals, a large crowd awaited the result. When it was announced at Market Lavington that Grist (a farmer) was top of the poll, he was immediately seized and borne shoulder high through the village amidst the enthusiastic cheering of a large crowd. At West Lavington, however, there was an expression of anger against one of the losers, Mr. Conway, a Prudential Assurance agent. 'There were frequent shouts of 'Where's Conway', the gentleman who demanded the poll and put us to this trouble and expense.'

The contests were fought as much on personal and local issues as on more general labels. The basic Radical versus Conservative battle continued. In other places it was a somewhat similar contest between farmers and labourers. Only at Mere and Tisbury did the candidates use the traditional party names of Conservative and Liberal with even three Labour men at Tisbury. Some large parishes covered several hamlets or communities such as Southwick with Rode Hill and Downton with Redlynch, Morgan's Vale and Charlton. In these areas the divide was a geographical one with the smaller parts fighting for representation. In a few cases Church and Nonconformist candidates opposed each other while at Idmiston, although no poll actually took place, the Temperance Movement managed to secure seven of the eight nominations.

The novelty of the first parish elections ensured a relatively high turn-out of voters at least compared with present day figures. Although the evidence available is limited to a few parishes, the turn-out was consistently over 60% and often up to 75%. The lack of experience in electoral procedures also caused some practical problems. At Hilmarton there were 188 names on the electoral roll; 158 ballot papers were issued including six spoil papers. But most had more crosses than were allowed including one who had marked all 21 names with a cross. One put numbers instead of crosses against the names. A fairly

large number 'plumped' i.e. by voting for only one candidate, while 17 voters declared their inability to read.³⁸

There were also issues on which the County Council as the authority in charge of the arrangements had to make a decision. At Donhead St. Mary the poll was due to open at noon but the ballot papers had not arrived. At 12.35 p.m. a telegram was received to say that the papers had been delayed on the train. They eventually arrived at 2.45 p.m. but by this time a decision had been made to close the poll and postpone it to a later date. 'The occurrence has caused a great deal of dissatisfaction.' More commonly it was a matter of the equality of votes for the last places on the council. In January 1895 the Finance, Law and Parliamentary Committee of the County Council had nine such cases before it, for example at Atworth where three candidates tied for the last place. The Committee decided that if one or more of the candidates withdrew before 28th January thereby reducing the number to match the places available, then the remaining candidates would be declared elected. Otherwise, a new election for the remaining seats would take place and the full procedure would have to be followed. A motion to restrict that election to the existing candidates was defeated. Yet further complications occurred at Langley Burrell. The County Council had ordered a new election for the last two places. At the parish meeting there were four candidates and, on a show of hands, two were duly elected. But then one of the candidates demanded a poll. After the meeting closed, however, it was discovered that Mr. Lawrence was qualified by residence to stand as a candidate but was not actually on the electoral roll and only electors could demand a poll. The Chairman seems to have received conflicting advice on what to do – whether to confirm the two elected or to arrange for a poll. The case went to the High Court but that was inconclusive and it seems to have been returned to the County Council to sort out. Perhaps many felt as did those at Ramsbury: 'All feel heartily glad the contest is over.'

THE NEW COUNCILS

An analysis of the composition of the new councils is difficult not simply because of the wide range. Although general reports refer to Radicals or Progressives and Conservatives or Moderates, the actual election returns normally only give the occupations of the elected candidates. The *Devizes*

Gazette with its strong Conservative sympathies rejoiced at the relative failure of the Radicals in the Devizes and East Wilts areas despite the advantage that the wide franchise should have given them. 'For years our ears have been dinned and our understandings vexed by high-falutin saponaceous blather about the incalculable blessings of Parish Councils and the unprecedented justice and infinite beauty of one man one vote.' They were particularly pleased with the result at Bishop's Cannings which had been specially targeted by the Radicals from Devizes. They won only two of the 11 seats compared with the farmers' seven. The Conservatives had in fact prevailed in almost all the parishes except Bromham and Easterton where they 'seem to have been outwitted by their wily adversaries.' The *Devizes Gazette* summed it up by saying it was simply that the Conservatives were popular in their own parishes and the Radicals were not.³⁹ The *Wiltshire Times* commenting on the result in South Wiltshire gave a rather different picture. They claimed that the labouring men had taken a strong stand and were well represented by their own class or by tradesmen or smallholders who stood as their champions. Nonconformists had also done well and in one or two cases a Free Church minister had stood high and his established neighbour low in the poll. Overall the Nonconformists and Liberals were in a very large majority.⁴⁰

At Mere and Tisbury, where the elections were fought on strict party lines, the outcome was in fact somewhat mixed. At Mere the Liberals had a clear majority with 11 councillors against four for the Conservatives. Tisbury contained three parishes: East Tisbury (10 Conservatives, 1 Liberal/Labour); West Tisbury (7 Conservatives, 2 Liberal); and Wardour (11 Liberals). It is particularly noticeable how the predominantly Roman Catholic Wardour sided with the Liberals.

Political allegiances were also reported at Market Lavington where 10 Conservatives were elected against one Liberal. At Bromham it was the Progressives who gained nine of the 11 seats and were said to have polled 1418 of the 2411 total votes cast. Unusually at Chiseldon, five of the 13 seats were won by Labour candidates who had been nominated by the Agricultural Labourers Union. Avebury had been regarded as the parish with the most active supporters of this union but they did very badly and the union agent was bottom of the poll. There is not always a very obvious link between occupations and political allegiances. At Ramsbury, for example, 10 Progressives, four Moderates (or Conservatives) and

one Independent were elected. The Progressives comprised two farmers, two bootmakers, an accountant, a cress grower, a baker, a draper's assistant, a labourer and a carpenter. The Moderates had a farmer, a solicitor, a gentleman and a victualler. The Independent was also a victualler. There is similar evidence from Roundway. Conservatives consisted of four gentlemen, a M.P., a vicar, a civil engineer and a newspaper proprietor (of the *Devizes Gazette*). The Liberals were an agricultural labourer, an artisan, a solicitor's clerk and a foreman printer.

Bradford Without was untypical in having all seven seats taken by farmers and there does not seem to have been any council with all labourers. Normally the councils had a spread of occupations and political affiliations. Nettleton is a good example with four farmers, a labourer, a carpenter and the Rector. There was also a very good mix at Horningsham which is perhaps surprising considering its domination by Lord Bath and the Longleat estate: farmer, innkeeper and farmer, woodward, grocer, baker and grocer, butcher, labourer, gardener, chairmaker, carter, carrier. The complexity of some of the political strategies is well illustrated by Highworth with 15 seats. The Liberal and Radical Association put up a list of 15 candidates which they claimed was balanced and they hoped would be elected en bloc. Not all were members of the Association and included one conservative, one independent Liberal and over half were working men. They got 10 elected but only three or four were said to be 'working men in the usually acceptance of the term.' The new council consisted of five farmers, five working men and five others. Some of the most remarkable results came from those larger parishes which consisted of several separate communities. At Southwick with 11 seats, the hamlet of Rode Hill said they wanted four seats but were offered only three and so they demanded a poll. In the election Rode Hill was extremely well organised putting up seven candidates while Southwick spread itself too thinly with 21 candidates. Also the Rode Hill voters 'went almost to a man to the booth' while only half the electors of Southwick voted. The result was that Rode Hill captured six seats giving them not only a firm base on the council but an overall majority. At Downton the show of hands at the parish meeting had resulted in the distribution: Downton nine, Redlynch four, Morgan's Vale two. Again, Redlynch, spurred on by the incentive that it was fighting to have its own parish, got well organised and won eight of the 15 seats. But with all the talk about political parties and social occupations, one must not forget that with very

local elections personalities and individual characters would always play a major part. This was well expressed at Whiteparish: 'The voting was not at all confined to party lines and the council as selected shows great discrimination on the part of the electors, all of the candidates elected being representatives of good standing.'⁴¹

THE PARISH COUNCILLORS

Before the 1894 Act, the government of the parishes, mainly through the vestries, was dominated by men of property especially the wealthy landowners, the farmers and the businessmen with substantial local interests. The great question was to what extent would the labouring classes use the elections, with the fairly wide franchise, to change this order and attempt to seize power. Many of the old order feared the potential change. Others considered that, in practice, little would alter. W. T. Stead, editor of *The Times* expressed his opinion: 'Your parish councils will be the old vestries over again – the squire and the parson will find that instead of being disestablished their power has only received consecration at the hands of democracy.'⁴² Most probably recognised that the 'power base' would broaden and simply hoped to be able to control the extent to which this happened. There was a widespread concept of three broad classes – landowners and farmers, traders and craftsmen, and labourers – and many expressed the opinion that somehow there should be an equal number of councillors from each group. Information from across the country immediately following the elections tended to suggest that this was in fact the outcome. The *Contemporary Review* calculated that between a third and a half of the seats were won by farmers, a quarter by craftsmen and most of the rest by labourers with a sprinkling of parson, gentry, professional men, nonconformist ministers and women.⁴³

The picture is, however, much more complex because of the very large number of different occupations represented and the difficulty of categorising these into broad groups. In Wiltshire 117 parishes have been identified in which the occupation of all or at least the large majority of the councillors is recorded. In these parishes there was a total of 1090 councillors with 146 different occupations (see Appendix 5). Arranging these into

the three broad categories recognised at the time provides the following picture: gentry and farmers 423; traders and professionals 473; labouring classes 194.

Although the first two groups are roughly equal, the labouring classes are significantly under-represented. The middle group, in particular, does not represent a homogenous band of occupations but a diverse list including accountants and solicitors, engineers, grocers and bakers, station masters and wheelwrights. There does not seem to be a recognised method to arrive at a more refined classification of these late 19th century occupations. Any attempt to do so will inevitably raise discussion about the status of various occupations but the following classification may be useful in giving a more detailed description of the new parish councillors.

Table 5 Occupations of councillors

Farmers and related occupations	342
Gentry and clergy	<u>81</u>
	423
Tradesmen and craftsmen	225
Shopkeepers and traders	145
Professional	52
Clerical and railway employees	<u>51</u>
	473
Labourers	128
Other workmen	<u>66</u>
	194

The biggest single group was clearly the farmers with 317 seats, nearly 30% of the total. At the other end of the social scale, the labourers had less than half that number – 128 seats or 12% of the total. It is perhaps surprising that a significant number of men describing themselves as 'gentlemen' were prepared to submit themselves for election and 48 became councillors. These included the Earl of Suffolk (Charlton), Edward Lowndes (Castle Combe, Manor House), John Gladstone (Lacock, Bowden Park), C. Phipps (Dilton Marsh, Chalcot House) and T. Miller (Cricklade St. Sampson's, Master of Fox Hounds). But election was not a foregone conclusion. Lord Brudenell-Bruce (East Grafton) was defeated and Lord Nelson was reported to have come very low in the poll. Charles Pomeroy (Littleton) just scraped in with the lowest number of votes of those elected.

Of the shopkeepers, the bakers (35) and the grocers (22) plus those describing themselves as bakers and grocers (10) were predominant. It is unclear why these should have figured so much more

prominently than the butchers (10). Innkeepers were also well represented (29). It has been said that certain crafts or trades were the most radical or at least took the most active interest in current affairs. It may be that the new parish councillors continued this tradition. Carpenters (45) formed the largest single craft but masons (19), blacksmiths (16) and bootmakers (14) also appear frequently. Finally the 'other workmen' included a large group of gardeners (20).

This overall picture for the county does, of course, include much local variation and local factors always played a greater part in parish elections than in parliamentary ones. It is difficult, however, to explain the distribution between the different social classes and occupations with any great certainty. The councils, in general, were still dominated by the farmers while the middle group of professionals and traders were mostly men of some substance. The labouring classes formed a much smaller group than might have been expected. What evidence is available suggests that most labourers, while conscientiously casting their votes, did not consider themselves fitted or able to cope with the affairs of the new councils and still looked to those men of property or business who were better qualified and experienced.

THE CHAIRMEN

Parish councils were able to elect as their chairman either one of the councillors or someone from outside the council provided he or she was eligible to stand for election as a councillor. Perhaps surprisingly, a significant proportion of councils opted for an outside chairman. In the 112 councils for which information is available, 64 councils elected one of their own number and 48 appointed someone from outside the council. The decision on which option to take reflected the whole issue whether the new democratic basis of the parish council should prevail or whether the older tradition of the 'lord of the manor' should continue. Wroughton was unique in first voting in principle that the chairman should come from within the council before proceeding to the election. Only the vicar, who was a parish councillor, opposed this. In other cases there was certainly the feeling that the new council needed direction from someone with good business or administrative experience. Elsewhere it was more political with the defeated 'faction' trying to get a chairman sympathetic to their views, sometimes even

someone who had been defeated in the council election.

In 11 cases there was a direct contest between a councillor and an outsider. In 8 of these cases (Great Bedwyn, Bemerton, Durrington, Lydiard Millicent, Lydiard Tregoze, Rowde, Southwick and Sutton Veny) the parish councillor won. Of particular interest are the three parishes (Collingbourne Kingston, Hilperton and Horningsham) where an outsider defeated a parish councillor. At Collingbourne Kingston the nominated councillor James Saunders, a grocer, was reluctant to stand but, even so, the rector Rev. Tanner was only elected by four votes to three. At Hilperton, Mr. Lester of Fairlawn, Trowbridge defeated Mr. Greenhill, a local farmer, but again by only one vote. Horningsham was even more surprising. There the Congregational minister, Rev Ball, defeated the parish councillor Mr. Pope of Manor Farm by five votes to four. Looking at the occupations of the councillors who voted, there are no obvious political or social alignments. There was, however, a strong non-conformist tradition in the area and the election probably therefore revolved around religious rather than any other affiliations.

The actual selection of someone from outside was usually fairly obvious. The council called on a local dignitary, even almost pleading with him to take on the task. At Highworth the provisional chairman reported: 'The deputation that has waited on Mr. Hussey Freke has been successful in securing his service as chairman and in this he thought the Council would consider themselves fortunate.'⁴⁴ Both Monkton Farleigh and South Wraxall recruited Sir Charles Hobhouse, Amesbury had Sir Edmund Antrobus and Atworth Mr. G.P.Fuller M.P. In other places it was a leading local industrialist such as Mr. Beaven at Holt rather than a member of the landed gentry. Quite often the decision to have an outside chairman seems to have been agreed before the meeting. The prospective chairman was then in attendance at the meeting, or at least waiting outside, and took the chair immediately the election formalities were completed. This happened at Barford St. Martin: 'Mr. Barnes, who was present in the room, then took the chair and briefly expressed to the council his sense of the honour they had done him in choosing him as their chairman.'⁴⁵ The *Devizes Gazette* explained why they thought certain people were prepared to be co-opted as chairman but not to stand for election to the council: 'Sometimes the very best and fittest man in a parish to fill the office will be one whose self-respect would forbid his going from house to house soliciting votes.'⁴⁶

Contested elections for chairman occurred much more frequently where only councillors were concerned. Of the 48 outside chairmen, 39 were elected unanimously but only 44 of the 64 councillor chairmen received the full support of their council. There is no obvious pattern in the elections which did take place. There seem to be only two cases where it was a fight between the labourers and the gentry. At Wanborough James Sykes, a labourer, defeated the vicar, Rev. King. At Chiseldon it was the other way round when Mr. A. Buller, gentleman, defeated Mr. S. Tarrant, artisan. It seems likely that most contests were purely personal. Thus at Purton two gentlemen, Mr. Sadler and Mr. Martin, competed against each other. At Fonthill Gifford the contest was between Walter Shaw-Stewart J.P. and the vicar, Rev. Lewis. But whether there was a contest or not, most chairmen were drawn from the gentry, farmers or tradesmen. Very few indeed came from what might be considered the working classes. Frank Toomer, carpenter (Durrington), Mr. Trotman, engine fitter (Rodbourne Cheney) and Frank Marchant, carpenter (Westwood) were very much the exceptions. The *Devizes Gazette* saw this trend in the election of chairmen as wholly desirable.

We find that, generally, persons of education, influence and leisure have been chosen for the office of chairman and vice-chairman of the parish councils; in a few instances – happily very few – the reverse has been the case. One hardly knows whether to regard with contempt or pity those hapless parishes where persons possessing neither education nor leisure have, either by their own presumption or the egregious folly of their neighbours been pitchforked into positions which they are utterly incompetent to fill.⁴⁷

THE CLERGY

The local clergy had always played a significant part not only in the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish but also in the civil administration. This arose partly from the status of the vicar in the parish but also from his position on the vestry. When the new parish councils took over the civil administrative duties previously carried out by the vestries, it raised the question of what role, if any, the clergy might take.

The clergy seem to have fallen into two distinct camps. There were those who fully recognised the new order of things and realised that they no longer held a special position. Rev. Cooper, vicar of

Longbridge Deverill, for example, declared ‘he was extremely glad to be relieved of the duty of chairman of the vestry in which office he took no delight. He was glad to be on common ground and to take his chance with other men of being elected or not.’⁴⁸ In contrast were those who simply did not accept the concept of an elected body. Perhaps the most extreme example of this attitude was Rev. Homan, rector of Chicklade. The parish council of Hindon decided to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee with a dinner and tea. They wrote to the neighbouring parishes to see if they wished to join with them. They received what they considered an insulting reply from Rev. Homan: ‘Sir, if there is to be any commemoration of Her Majesty’s long reign apart from the services of Thanksgiving, I am of opinion that as to purely social festivities, the initiative should be taken by the *Natural Leaders of Society*. Should any of the *Gentry* of the neighbourhood set on foot a scheme I shall be prepared to consider what course I ought to adopt.’⁴⁹

Some disputes arose as the new councils assumed their responsibilities. The administration of charities and whether they were ecclesiastical or not often led to arguments. However, the most frequent dispute was over custody of parish documents, especially the tithe map and award. Many vicars considered these belonged to the church and refused to hand these over to the new councils. It took a high court case to establish that the ownership of these documents lay with the council rather than with the church. A number of vicars adopted what might be described as the ‘elder statesman’ role. In particular they acted as the neutral chairman of the parish meeting at which the councillors were nominated. Some even acted as provisional chairmen of the first parish council meeting to oversee the election of chairman.

In some parishes the vicar was invited to become the ‘outside’ chairman. This happened at Barford St. Martin, Broad Town, Chilton Foliat, Collingbourne Kingston, Compton Bassett, Fittleton, Froxfield, Sutton Benger and Woodford. In addition the Congregational minister became chairman at Horningsham. But in several other cases, the vicar was nominated but defeated. In total, the chairmanship was held by the local vicar in 19 parishes plus one held by a congregational minister. But eight other vicars had been defeated in the chairmanship elections. It was a much more dangerous decision for the vicar to stand for election. Over 30 clergymen were elected but seldom did they come top of the poll. It must have been embarrassing for a vicar to stand for election and then be defeated in his own parish. At Wootton Bassett Rev. Cockshott

came bottom of the poll with only 36 votes when 306 actually voted. A similar fate was met by Rev. Canon Jacobs at Horningsham although he claimed that he had indicated before the poll that he no longer wished to stand. The *Wiltshire Times* commented that 'The vicar, it will be noted, occupies a rather unenviable position.'⁵⁰ Some vicars came out badly from the show of hands at the parish meeting but managed to rally sufficient support to get elected when a poll was held. Rev. Banfather, vicar of Little Blunston, was one of those who demanded a poll but still did not get elected. Others must have seen the writing on the wall and quietly withdrew after the parish meeting and before the poll was held. The indications are that the vicars were either neutral in their politics or were sympathetic to the conservatives. But it is difficult to establish this for certain as it was only at Mere that the election was fought on the traditional party lines and there Rev. Borradaile was listed as a conservative, losing by only three votes.

The outcome of the elections for the clergy shows no clear pattern. It may be that in some areas the local vicar lost if there was a very strong nonconformist community as at Horningsham. But it would appear that mostly it was a question of personality and whether the local vicar was popular or not. A similar opinion was expressed in an editorial in the *Devizes Gazette* on vicars as chairmen: 'It is pleasant to note that in very many parishes clergymen have been chosen for the office of chairman. When they have not been so chosen the objection, we apprehend, is rather to the individual than to his office.'⁵¹

WOMEN

The Local Government Act (1894) allowed women to vote on the same qualifications as men i.e. ratepayers. There is no record of the total number of women entitled to vote but it was probably limited because being the wife of a ratepayer did not in itself give a right to vote. Women could also stand for election to the council but very few took advantage of this right. Only about six women in the county became parish councillors.

The women who were elected all had considerable status in the parish. At Langley Burrell the farmers had met and had drawn up their list of candidates which included the two Miss Ashes who were the principal landowners in the area. One came top of the poll and her sister came third. But Miss

Ash also stood for election in the neighbouring parish of Kington Langley and was defeated, coming 15th of 20 candidates. The Ogbourne St. Andrew council included Jane Tanner, a widow, Ogbourne St. George had Miss Margaret Blyth, daughter of the vicar, and Charlton had Lady Victoria Howard. In each case they had been elected at the parish meeting with no poll demanded. At Preshute the masters of Marlborough College seem to have taken an active part in the elections. Mrs. Emily Upcott, wife of one of the masters, came third in the poll. Rev. W. Chappel, a college master, was also elected but the Master of the college, F. E. Thompson, was unsuccessful. Some other women stood for election but were not elected. At Holt, Isabella Beaven, wife of Albert Beaven, one of the leading employers, was defeated at the show of hands at the parish meeting and, although a poll was demanded, she did not stand in the subsequent election. Other defeated candidates were Catherine Baroncelli of Iford Manor at Westwood, Sarah Fowle at Durrington, Miss Ruth Dyke at Heddington and Miss Elizabeth Perkins at Lacock.

There was hardly any comment in the press about the success or otherwise of women in the parish council elections. Certainly they seem to have done less well than in, for example, School Board elections which were held at about the same period. It is possible that women were generally excluded because of the 'business' nature of the councils or lost in the political factions which dominated the election in many parishes.

CONCLUSION

The 1894 Local Government Act introduced a democratic element into parish administration. As such it inevitably aroused not only a great deal of local interest but the active participation of political parties despite the earlier protestations that politics should play no part in parish councils. There was a fear that the elections would create local enmities which would split villages and would be lasting. Although there is much evidence of the intensity of feeling around the election campaigns, the divisions do not seem to have continued permanently.

There were great expectations on the new parish councils but, in reality, their powers were quite limited and consequently some disappointment ensued. The next elections were due to be held in March 1896 and it was questioned whether the novelty would have worn off by then and whether

the second round of elections would be as intense as the first. The *Devizes Gazette* was in no doubt that the atmosphere had changed.

Judging from the reports which have reached us from various quarters as to the proceedings at the parish meetings Monday night, the public interest in the parish councils has declined since they were first constituted. There is still, however, a preponderance of parishes where the seats are not plentiful enough to accommodate all the aspirants and while numerous polls are demanded, other places have only escaped by the skin of their teeth, as it were – in other words by the self-restraint of the unsuccessful candidates.⁵²

The evidence seems to uphold this view. In the Devizes area, for example, polls were demanded in only seven of the 15 parishes. At Great Cheverell and Upavon all the old councillors were re-elected. Similarly in the Chippenham area there were only five polls in the 17 parishes. Only at Lacock did there seem to be any intensity of feeling. At Collingbourne Ducis there was no interest whatever manifested and only two electors besides the chairman and the clerk were present at the parish meeting. Bromham was the exception. The election had been hard fought in 1894 and two years later it was reported that the proceedings had not lost any novelty or interest. Excitement animated the whole parish during the past week and this ‘tended to materially ameliorate the usual monotony of rural life.’ In general, despite any bitter election contests, the parish councillors, once elected, seemed to have worked well together. The *Devizes Gazette* summed this up:

As regards the spirit in which the Councils have transacted their business, it seems that on the whole their proceedings have been harmonious though not necessarily unanimous.⁵³

Notes

The main sources used are:

Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office (WSRO): minutes of the individual parish council meetings and the annual meetings.

Local newspapers, especially the *Devizes Gazette* and the *Wiltshire Times*, which not only reported the election results in full but whose editorials contain outspoken comments on the political campaigns and the outcomes of the elections.

¹ WSRO F2/200/1

² WSRO F2/201/2 An exercise book with notes on the

meetings held and copies of the correspondence.

³ *Wiltshire Times*, 30 June 1894

⁴ *Devizes Gazette*, 17 May 1894

⁵ *Ibid*, 11 August 1894

⁶ *Ibid*, 26 July 1894

⁷ WSRO F1/100/5 Minutes of the County Council’s Finance, Law and Parliamentary Committee 5 March 1895

⁸ *Ibid* F2/201/2

⁹ *Ibid* F2/201/2

¹⁰ *Devizes Gazette*, 4 August 1894

¹¹ *Ibid*, 4 August 1894

¹² *Ibid*, 11 August 1894

¹³ *Wiltshire Times*, 10 November 1894

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 14 July 1894

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 20 October 1894

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 3 November 1894

¹⁷ *Devizes Gazette*, 4 October 1894

¹⁸ *Wiltshire Times*, 27 October 1894

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 15 September 1894

²⁰ *Ibid*, 20 October 1894

²¹ *Ibid*, 13 October 1894

²² *Ibid*, 27 October 1894

²³ *Ibid*, 10 November 1894

²⁴ *Ibid*, 15 December 1894

²⁵ *Marlborough Times*, 1 December 1894

²⁶ *Wiltshire Times*, 8 December 1894

²⁷ *North Wilts Herald*, 14 December 1894

²⁸ *Wiltshire Times*, 8 December 1894

²⁹ *Ibid*, 8 December 1894

³⁰ *Ibid*, 8 December 1894

³¹ *Salisbury Journal*, 8 December 1894

³² *Wiltshire Times*, 10 November 1894

³³ *Ibid*, 17 November 1894

³⁴ *Salisbury Journal*, 22 December 1894

³⁵ *Swindon Advertiser*, 8 December 1894

³⁶ *Devizes Gazette*, 12 March 1896

³⁷ *Salisbury Journal*, 8 December 1894

³⁸ *North Wilts Herald*, 14 December 1894

³⁹ *Devizes Gazette*, 20 December 1894

⁴⁰ *Wiltshire Times*, 22 December 1894

⁴¹ *Salisbury Journal*, 22 December 1894

⁴² K.P. Poole and Bryan Keith-Lucas, *Parish Government 1894-1994*

⁴³ Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect – Women in English Local Government 1865-1914*

⁴⁴ WSRO 671/20 Minutes of Highworth Parish Council
⁴⁵ WSRO 268/12 Minutes of Barford St. Martin Parish Council

⁴⁶ *Devizes Gazette*, 10 January 1895

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 10 January 1895

⁴⁸ *Wiltshire Times*, 17 November 1894

⁴⁹ WSRO 1803/1 Minutes of Hindon Parish Council

⁵⁰ *Wiltshire Times*, 22 December 1894

⁵¹ *Devizes Gazette*, 10 January 1895

⁵² *Ibid*, 12 March 1896

⁵³ *Ibid*, 12 March 1896

Appendix 1. Draft County Council Proposals for amalgamation or otherwise of all parishes with under 200 population.

101 parishes. Committee chaired by Lord Fitzmaurice.

<i>small parish</i>	<i>pop'n</i>	<i>proposal</i>	<i>resulting parish</i>
Alderbury Union			
Old Sarum	13	unite with Stratford-sub-Castle (321)	Stratford-sub-Castle (334)
Langley Wood	15	unite with Landford (231)	Landford (283)
Earldoms	37	unite with Landford (231)	Landford (283)
Standlynch	72	unite with Downton	(see Nomansland)
Stratford Toney	115	unite with Coombe Bissett (327)	Coombe Bissett (442)
East Grimstead	131	unite with West Grimstead (215)	Grimstead (346)
Nomansland	155	unite with Standlynch and Downton (3430)	Downton (3657)
Odstock	177	unite with Nunton and Bodenham (324)	Nunton(501)
West Dean	197	leave unaltered	
Amesbury Union			
Rollestone	28	unite with Shrewton (548)	Shrewton (576)
Allington	70	unite these two	Boscombe (183)
Boscombe	113	unite these two	Boscombe (183)
Winterbourne Dauntsey	136	unite these two	Winterbourne Gunner (302)
Winterbourne Gunner	166	unite these two	Winterbourne Gunner (302)
Orcheston St. Mary	145	unite these two	Orcheston (326)
Orcheston St. George	181	unite these two	Orcheston (326)
Milston and Brigmerston	154	unite with Durrington (393)	Durrington (547)
Cholderton	175	unite with Newton Toney (292)	Newton Toney and Cholderton (467)
Wilsford and Lake	197	unite with Amesbury (981)	Amesbury (1178)
Bradford Union nil.			
Calne Union			
Yatesbury	148	leave unaltered	
Chippenham Union			
Avon	10	unite with Langley Burrell Without(533)	Langley Burrell(572)
Tytherton Kellaways	29	unite with Langley Burrell Without(533)	Langley Burrell(572)
Hardenhuish	99	unite with Chippenham Without (1686) and divide into two parishes.	
Slaughterford	106	unite with Biddestone (493)	Biddestone (599)
Leigh Delamere	111	unite with Grittleton (360)	Grittleton (471)
Draycot Cerne	147	unite with Sutton Benger (354)	Sutton Benger (501)
Littleton Drew	172	unite with Nettleton (379)	Nettleton (551)
Cirencester Union			
Shorncote	18	unite with Somerford Keynes (251)	Somerford Keynes (269)
Pool Keynes	129	unite with Kemble (482)	Kemble (611)

Cricklade and Wootton Bassett Union

Braydon	63	unite with Purton (2432)	Purton (2495)
Eisey and Water Eaton	128	unite Eisey (36) with Latton (218) unite Water Eaton (92) with CrickladeSt. Sampson (1249)	Latton (254) Cricklade St. Sampson (1341)
Tockenham	138	unite with Lyneham (1012)	Lyneham (1150)
Marston Maisey	188	leave unaltered	

Devizes Union

Fullaway	11	unite with Etchilhampton	see Etchilhampton
Allington	96	unite with All Cannings (509)	All Cannings (605)
Patney	106	unite with Chirton and Conock (314)	Chirton (420)
Alton Barnes	143	unite with Stanton St. Bernard (273)	Stanton St. Bernard (416)
Stert	153	unite with Etchilhampton	see Etchilhampton
Beechingstoke	161	unite with Marden	see Marden
Marston	173	unite with Worton (303)	Worton (476)
Marden	188	unite with Beechingstoke (161)	Marden (349)
Cheverell, Little	195	unite with Great Cheverell (370)	Cheverell (565)
Etchilhampton	172	unite with Fullaway (11) and Stert (153)	Etchilhampton (336)

Fordingbridge Union

Toyd Farm with Allenford	16	unite with Martin (413)	Martin (429)
Whitsbury	174	leave unaltered.	

Highworth and Swindon Union

Draycott Foliat	40	unite with Chiseldon (1204)	Chiseldon (1244)
Inglesham	119	leave unaltered	
Swindon (without Urban District)	161	leave unaltered except name Coate (161)	
Stanton Fitzwarren	166	unite with Highworth (2576)	Highworth (2742)

Hungerford Union

Hippenscombe	35	unite with Ham and Henley (241)	Ham (414)
Buttermere	138	unite with Ham and Henley (241)	Ham (414)
Tidcombe and Fosbury	199	unite with Shalbourne (201)	Shalbourne (400)

Malmesbury Union

Foxley	96	unite these two	Norton (or ?Foxley) (195)
Norton	99	unite these two	Norton (or ?Foxley) (195)
St. Mary Westport (without Borough)	114	unite north part with St Paul leaving south as separate parish	Details not yet obtained for apportioning parish
Sherston Parva	126	unite with Sherston Magna (1349)	Sherston (1602)
Easton Grey	127	unite with Sherston Magna (1349)	Sherston (1602)
Alderton	136	unite with Luckington (394)	Luckington (669)
Sopworth	139	unite with Luckington (394)	Luckington (669)
Garsdon	141	unite with Lea and Cleverton (450)	Lea and Cleverton (591)

Marlborough Union

Clatford Park	13	unite with Fyfield	see Fyfield
Overton Heath	34	unite with Fyfield	see Fyfield
East Kennet	70	unite with West Overton (606) minus hamlet of Lockeridge (150)	Overton (576)

North Savernake	93	unite with South Savernake, Brimslade and Cadley (212)	Savernake (305)
Fyfield	152	unite with Clatford Park (13), Overton Heath (34) and hamlet of Lockeridge (150)	Fyfield (349)
Berwick Bassett	165	unite with Winterbourne Bassett (291)	Winterbourne Bassett (436)
Melksham Union			
Whaddon	18	unite with Semington and Littleton (422)	Semington (440)
Trowbridge (without the urban district)	184	leave unaltered	Staverton (184)
Mere Union			
Monkton Deverill	104	unite with Kingston Deverill (234)	Kingston Deverill (338)
West Knoyle	158	unite with East Knoyle (956)	Knoyle (1290)
Sedghill	176	unite with East Knoyle (956)	Knoyle (1290)
Pewsey Union			
Huish and Stowell (548)	115	unite with Wilcot, Oare, Draycott	Wilcot (663)
Chute Forest	119	unite with Chute (388)	Chute (507)
Manningford Abbots	121	unite with Manningford Bruce (250)	Manningford Bruce (371)
Charlton	141	unite these two	Wilsford (315)
Wilsford	174	unite these two	Wilsford (315)
Alton Priors and Stowell	178	unite with Woodborough (424)	Woodborough (602)
Rushall	188	unite with Upavon (471)	Upavon (659)
Romsey Union (Hants)			
Melchet Park	37	unite these two	Plaitford (201)
Plaitford	164	unite these two	Plaitford (201)
Tetbury Union			
Ashley	80	unite with Long Newnton (323)	Long Newnton (403)
Tisbury Union			
Chicklade	59	unite with Hindon (495)	Hindon (615)
Berwick St Leonard	61	unite with Hindon (495)	Hindon (615)
Teffont Evias	123	unite with Teffont Magna (232)	Teffont (355)
Fonthill Bishop	165	unite with Fonthill Gifford (427)	Fonthill (592)
Alvediston	195	unite with Berwick St John (428)	Berwick St John (623)
Warminster Union			
Knook	106	unite with Heytesbury (826)	Heytesbury (932)
Hill Deverill	111	unite these two	Brixton Deverill (223)
Brixton Deverill	112	unite these two	Brixton Deverill (223)
Chitterne St Mary	154	unite with Chitterne All Saints (428)	Chitterne (582)
Sherrington	154	unite with Codford St Peter (260)	Codford St Peter (414)
Norton Bavant	163	unite with Bishopstrow (270)	Bishopstrow (433)
Westbury and Whorwelsdown Union			
East Coulston	103	unite with Edington (846)	Edington (949)
Bulkington	172	unite with Keevil (384)	Keevil (739)

Great Hinton	183	unite with Keevil (384)	Keevil (739)
Wilton Union			
Fifield Bavant	43	∂division expedient	
Groveley Wood	60	unite with Barford St Martin (514)	Barford St Martin (574)
Little Langford	62	unite with Steeple Langford (467)	Langford (529)
Baverstock	64	unite with Dinton (413)	Dinton (477)
Netherhampton	163	unite with Fugglestone St Peter (without borough of Wilton) (1014)	Fugglestone (1177)
Berwick St James	191	unite with Stapleford (250)	Stapleford (441)

Appendix 2. Parishes partly within and partly without Rural Sanitary Districts which became separate rural parishes under the Act

Alderbury	Fisherton (without city of Salisbury)	1218
	Milford (without city of Salisbury)	870
Bradford	Bradford (without urban district)	2730
Chippenham	Chippenham (without borough)	1686
	Langley Burrell (without borough)	877
Devizes	Rowde (without borough)	1783
	St James (without borough)	877
Highworth and Swindon	Swindon (without urban district)	161
Malmesbury	Brokensborough (without borough)	320
	St Mary Westport (without borough)	114
	St Paul (without borough)	915
Melksham	Melksham (without borough)	2211
	Trowbridge (without borough)	184
Wilton	Burcombe (without borough)	249
	Fugglestone St Peter	1014
	South Newton	475

Appendix 3. Recommendations for changes in county boundaries

Cirencester	Shorncliffe and Somerford Keynes	Wiltshire
Fordingbridge	South Damerham, Martin and Toyd Farm with Allenford and part of parish of Whitsbury within Wilts	Hants
Hungerford	Leverton Tithing (Berks bit, Chilton Foliat) Charnham Street (part of Hungerford) Berkshire part of Shalbourne	Berkshire Berkshire Wiltshire
Mere	Bourton and Silton Kilminster and tithings of Yarnfield (in Maiden Bradley) and Gaspar (Stourton)	Dorset Wilts from Somerset
Romsey	Melchet Park, Plaitford and West Wellow	Hants
Tetbury	Ashley and Long Newton	Gloucs.

Appendix 4. Amalgamation and Division of Parishes 1894 and later

Date = date of County Council order.

Bradford on Avon	11 Aug 1894	Bradford Without divided into 5 separate parishes: Holt, South Wraxall, Winsley, Limpley Stoke, Bradford Without.
Chippenham	10 Jul 1894	Separate parishes: Chippenham Within, Chippenham Without, Langley Burrell Within, Langley Burrell Without
	20 Nov 1894	Parish of Avon amalgamated with Tytherton Kellaways to form Kellaways
Cirencester	7 Aug 1894	Parish of Shorncote amalgamated with Somerford Keynes
Cricklade and Wootton Bassett	18 Feb 1896	Parishes of Eisey and Water Eaton and Parish of Latton amalgamated to form Latton.
	15 Nov 1898	Parishes of Cricklade St Mary and Cricklade St Sampson amalgamated to form Cricklade.
Devizes	7 Aug 1894	Parish of Fullaway amalgamated with Stert.
	10 Jul and	
	11 Aug 1894	Portion of Parish of Rowde within Borough of Devizes to be new parish called Rowde Within
		Portion of Rowde in Devizes R.D.C. to be Rowde Portion of St James, Devizes within Borough to be new parish of St James, Devizes Rural portion of St. James to be new parish of Roundway
Hungerford and Ramsbury	7 Aug 1894	Parish of Hippenscombe amalgamated with parish of Tidcombe and Fosbury.
	2 Oct 1894	Parish of Great Bedwyn divided into two parishes: Great Bedwyn and Little Bedwyn.
Malmesbury	10 Jul 1894	New parishes of: Brokenborough Within, Brokenborough Without, St Mary Westport Within, St Mary Westport Without, St Paul Malmesbury Within, St Paul Malmesbury Without
	18 Feb 1896	Parishes of St Mary Westport Without and St Paul Malmesbury Without amalgamated to form St Paul Malmesbury Without
		Parish of Sherston Parva and Sherston Magna amalgamated to form Sherston Parishes of Brokenborough Within and St Mary Westport Within amalgamated (Name of Brokenborough Without changed to Brokenborough)
Marlborough	20 Nov 1894	Parishes of Clatford Park and Overton Heath amalgamated to form Clatford Park
	18 Feb 1896	Parishes of Clatford Park and Fyfield amalgamated to form Fyfield
Mere	5 Mar 1895	Mere and Zeals formed into separate parishes.
Salisbury	10 Jul 1894	Parish of Fisherton Anger divided into Fisherton Anger Within and Fisherton Anger Without
		Parish of Milford divided into Milford Within and Milford Without
	7 Aug 1894	Parish of Old Sarum amalgamated with Stratford-sub-Castle
		Parish of Langley Wood Amalgamated with Downton
	21 May 1895	Downton divided into Redlynch (inc Langley Wood) and Downton
	21 May 1895	Detached part of parish of Whiteparish added to parish of Landford
	19 Nov 1895	Parish of Earldoms amalgamated with Landford
18 Feb 1896	Parish of Britford divide into East Harnham and Britford	
4 Aug 1896	Parishes of Standlynch and Downton amalgamated and then divided into	

two: Standlynch with Charlton All Saints and Downton

Swindon and Highworth	7 Aug 1894	Parish of Highworth divided into Highworth and South Marston
	7 Aug 1894	Parish of Draycot Foliat amalgamated with Chiseldon
Trowbridge and Melksham	10 Jul 1894	Separate parishes of Melksham Within, Melksham Without and Trowbridge and Staverton
	7 Aug 1894	Parish of Whaddon amalgamated with Semington and Littleton
Warminster	15 Feb 1905	Parishes of Chitterne All Saints and Chitterne St Mary amalgamated to form Chitterne
Westbury	11 Aug and 2 Oct 1894	Parish of Westbury divided into three parishes: Bratton, Dilton Marsh and Westbury
	17 Nov 1895	Westbury divided into Heywood (inc Hawkeridge) and Westbury
Wilton	10 Jul 1894	Separate parishes of: Burcombe Within, Burcombe Without, Fugglestone St Peter, Bemerton, South Newton Within, South Newton Without
		Then: Burcombe Within, Fugglestone St Peter and South Newton Within amalgamated with Wilton
	7 Aug 1894	Parish of Fyfield Bavant amalgamated with Ebbesbourne Wake

Source: Lord Fitzmaurice and W. L. Brown *The Boundaries of the Administrative Council of Wilts*

Appendix 5. Occupations of Parish Councillors 1894

Gentry and clergy	81	Newspaper proprietor	1
Gentleman	48	Auctioneer	1
Vicar/minister	30	Manufacturer	1
M.P.	2	Agent	1
M.F.H.	1	Architect	1
		Sup. Insurance Soc	1
Farmers and related occupations	342	Conservative agent	1
Farmer	317	Veterinary surgeon	1
Market gardener	16	Racehorse trainer	1
Farm bailiff	4	Land measurer	1
Yeoman	2		
Agriculturist	1	Clerical and railway	51
Smallholder	1	Clerk	9
Dealer	1	Railway employee	6
		Police pensioner	5
Professional	52	Widow/spinster/married woman	5
Schoolmaster	10	Engine driver	4
Doctor/surgeon	9	Signalman	4
Engineer	5	Postman	3
Accountant	4	Station master	3
Estate agent	3	Postmaster	2
Insurance agent	3	Solicitor's clerk	2
Solicitor	2	Timekeeper	1
Land agent	2	Cashier	1
Chemist	2	Guardian	1
Road surveyor	1	Foreman printer	1
Civil engineer	1	Parish clerk	1
		Architect's assistant	1

Pensioner	1	Sawyer	2
Army pensioner	1	Whitesmith	1
Shopkeepers and traders	145	Bookbinder	1
Baker	35	Clothworker	1
Innkeeper	29	Baker's foreman	1
Grocer	22	Tobacco maker	1
Shopkeeper	11	Wool stapler	1
Baker and grocer	10	Wool sorter	1
Butcher	10	Mattress maker	1
Coal merchant	5	Hurdler	1
Draper	3	Watch repairer	1
Victualler	3	Gas fitter	1
Iron manufacturer	2	Water finder	1
Leather manufacturer	2	Dog trainer	1
Cheese merchant	2	Glover	1
Grocer and postmaster	1	Hairdresser	1
Clothier and outfitter	1	Foreman	1
Grocer and draper	1	Cress grower	1
Brick and tile merchant	1	Draper's assistant	1
Commercial traveller	1	Mat factory foreman	1
Hay and straw merchant	1	Engineman	1
Timber merchant	1	Brass finisher	1
Merchant	1	Bacon curer	1
Engine proprietor	1	Miller's foreman	1
Mat manufacturer	1	Brick maker	1
Meat salesman	1	Labourers	194
Trades and crafts	225	Labourer	128
Carpenter	45	Gardener	20
Mason	19	Quarryman	6
Blacksmith	16	Carter	5
Bootmaker/shoemaker	14	Woodman	5
Miller	12	Shepherd	4
Tailor	11	Groom	4
Builder	11	Artisan	2
Bricklayer	10	Roadman	2
Carrier	10	Machineman	2
Brewer	8	Striker	2
Plumber	5	Wharfinger	1
Painter	5	Factory employee	1
Thatcher	5	Woodward	1
Saddler	4	Rubber worker	1
Fitter	4	Sexton	1
Wheelwright	3	Watchman	1
Contractor	3	Groom/gardener	1
Maltster	3	Dairyman	1
Leather dresser	3	Allotment holder	1
Chairmaker	2	Cowman	1
Haulier	2	Mill worker	1
Gamekeeper	2	Plate layer	1
Printer	2	Forgeman	1
		Mealman	1

The High Paths – Pedestrian Flood Causeways in Wiltshire

by Gordon Sharp

Nine raised flood-paths are described, all occurring within the catchment of the Bristol Avon. The flood-paths were built mainly on or close to approaches to road bridges to allow dry-shod passage for pedestrians beside roads liable to flooding. The best known example in Wiltshire is that portion of Maud Heath's Causeway raised on arches at the Kellaways Bridge over the Avon. Several of the flood-paths were built during the latter part of the 19th century, perhaps in response to increased flooding caused by more rapid run-off due to improvements in land drainage, coupled with a period of higher rainfall.

INTRODUCTION

This paper originated from realisation that a causeway path across the floodplain of the Bristol Avon in Little Somerford parish represents a more basic version of the well known raised path that carries Maud Heath's Causeway across the same floodplain 11km downstream. Causeways designed to allow dry-shod passage over land liable to flooding are described below as 'flood causeways' or 'flood-paths'. The paper is not concerned with those equally important but more mundane causeways that provided firm footing over otherwise 'miry and foundrous'¹ sections of road. Naturally, some causeways did both.

Some exploration has shown nine flood causeways within the catchment of the Bristol Avon. All lie beside sections of road liable to flooding, and as all are narrow and suitable for foot-passengers or led animals only, they are better described as flood-paths. Apart from very short approaches to road bridges, flood causeways wide enough to take wheeled traffic seem rare in Wiltshire. None was found along the Bristol Avon, though there are at least three across other floodplains, of which the most prominent crosses the floodplain of the Rivers

Thames and Churn at Cricklade. The paper is confined to the pedestrian flood-paths, summarises the sparse documentation, briefly describes what remains to be seen in the field, and discusses their origins. The main features of extant Wiltshire flood-paths are summarised in Table 1.

All the flood-paths found lie within an area 22km north-south by 10km east-west, extending roughly from Malmesbury to Melksham. Whilst all lie within the catchment of the Bristol Avon, seven of the flood-paths cross the floodplain of the river itself. More detailed descriptions of the flood-paths follow, taking them in turn from north to south.

HOLLOWAY BRIDGE, MALMESBURY

The most northerly of the flood-paths lies on the edge of Malmesbury, beside the road to Cirencester. The flood-path is 66m long and follows the east side of the road immediately south of the Holloway Bridge (ST 936874) which crosses the Tetbury branch of the River Avon. The path amounts to a wide stone wall some 46cm (exactly 18 inches) wide, and up to 0.5m high. The stonework is regularly

Table. Flood-paths in Wiltshire: Main Features

<i>Location</i>	<i>Map Ref.</i>	<i>Approx Length</i>	<i>Date Built</i>	<i>Floodplain Crossed</i>	<i>Construction</i>
Holloway Bridge Malmesbury	ST936874	66m	?Late C19th	Bristol Avon (Tetbury branch)	Stonework bank with 8 rectangular flood apertures
Rambridge, Lea	ST 962875	315m (inc. gap)	?	Woodbridge Brook	150m earth bank, then 110m gap, then 55m stonework bank with brick and stone arches.
Norton Ford	ST887845	63m	?	Unnamed tributary of Bristol Avon (Sherston branch)	Stonework bank with three small flood apertures leading to modern wooden footbridge across ford.
Little Somerford	ST 965834	250m	1893	Bristol Avon	Earth bank, with short bridges of concrete, and of concrete with wood decking.
Dauntsey	ST 979823	240m	?	Bristol Avon	Earth bank with concrete pipe-drains
'The High Path' Sutton Benger	ST 955789	300m	?	Bristol Avon	Earth bank with stone sections, inc. stone arches
Part of Maud Heath's Causeway Langley Burrell	ST 947758	220m	1812	Bristol Avon	Brick and stone arches and earth bank
Reybridge, Lacock	ST 919691	140m	1899	Bristol Avon	Stonework bank, then modern wood-decked bridging
Footbridge, Lacock	ST 922681	250m	?Late C19th	Bristol Avon	Stonework bank and bridges, and modern wood-decked bridging

coursed, and the path is pierced by eight rectangular flood-relief openings, each 76cm (30 inches) wide. The openings are bridged by single stone slabs, and protected by horizontally mounted iron gratings. The path is flanked by a pipe-rail supported on 'T' section iron columns. Though narrow, the path is quite wide enough for pedestrians in single file.

The parapet of the Holloway Bridge immediately north of the flood-path bears an inscribed stone, stating that the bridge was widened in 1932 under



Fig. 1. Holloway, Malmesbury. Flood relief opening in flood-path with re-used grating and coping slab

the direction of the County Surveyor, H.S. Ganderton. An undated engineering plan signed by him shows the proposed widening of the bridge superimposed on the outline of the previous bridge which also clearly had a flood-path in the same relative position as the widened structure.² A sectional drawing has notes calling for re-use of the 'existing gratings to flood-openings', and of the stone coping slabs across the openings. Thus, although the present flood-path dates only from 1932, it clearly replaced a similar, older, path.

No date has yet been found for the older structure, though the regular form depicted on the engineering plan, and the nature of the iron gratings, tentatively suggest a nineteenth century origin.

RAMBRIDGE, LEA

Three km east of Malmesbury, a flood-path in Lea parish traverses the floodplain of the Woodbridge Brook, a tributary of the Avon. The path follows the east side of the minor road from Lea to Charlton northwards to Rambridge (ST 962875) where the road crosses the brook and immediately rises above

flood level. In all, the flood-path extends over some 315m, and consists of a 150-metre long southern section which is not very obvious, followed by a 110-metre gap across higher ground and then by 55m of well preserved stonework bank with arches. The stone bank was cleared of undergrowth by the Highways Authority during February 2003 in the course of rebuilding Rambridge.

The 150-metre southern section of the flood-path is a public footpath which starts at ST 963872, runs parallel to the road, and is a slightly raised ‘shelf’ lying on the field side of a ruinous stone wall – which was almost certainly part of Garsdon Manor’s deer-park wall.³ The ‘shelf’ appears to be simply an earth bank, now somewhat degraded, and traverses the edge of a flood-prone field, rising at most to a metre above field level. At the northern field boundary the land rises a little and the footpath continues northwards across a slightly higher field for 110m to rejoin the roadside at the southern end of the stonework bank.

The stonework bank is some 55m long, by 1.2m wide and rises about 0.8m above present road level, which, as at other flood-paths, has been slightly raised since construction of the path. The bank is pierced by 24 brick arches wedged with chockstones, and though built of cemented rubble, had been cement rendered, with remnants showing that the render had been scribed to resemble dressed stone. Both ends of the bank are abrupt, and neatly finished with a single step up from the side, rather than from the end. The step at the north end is from the road, while that at the south is from the field side, presumably because two public footpaths meet the road at this point, one being parallel to the road, and leading from the southern section of flood-path.

So far, no firm construction date has been found, though the minutes of the Malmesbury Waywardens for 14 June, 1879,⁴ call for the preparation of plans and specifications for rebuilding the bridge at Lea, whilst minutes for 12 July note that tenders for the work had been accepted. As the stone bank was aligned with the bridge parapet, there is a strong probability that the present bank was built (or rebuilt) at the same time as the bridge, in 1879.

NORTON FORD, NORTON

The shortest of the flood-paths found so far lies 3km south-east from Sherston, at Norton ford. The ford crosses a tiny stream flowing north-east past Foxley

and Cowage Farm to join the Sherston branch of the Bristol Avon and lies at a junction of unclassified roads some 200m north of Norton village. The ford is marked by a concrete strip about 2m wide crossing the road which covers pipe drains large enough to carry the stream most of the time, but, plainly, not all of the time.

The narrow floodplain of the stream here overlies clays near the top of the Forest Marble, close below the contact with the Cornbrash.⁵ Five wells shown on the 1:25,000 OS map within 400m east and north of the ford form a distinct cluster which may represent tapping of a minor aquifer in the basal Cornbrash above the clays. The cluster suggests that the little valley may be saturated all year round, and that before the installation of pipe drains the ford was always a mucky spot.

The flood-path lies on the east side of the road leading from Norton village towards Foxley and Malmesbury, and consists of 63m of level stonework bank leading north to a 6m, modern, wood-built footbridge beside the ford. About 5m of stone bank continue north from the bridge to rejoin road level as it slopes upwards off the little floodplain. The stonework bank is generally 0.6m wide, and is a maximum of 76cm above present road level. It is flanked on the east, or field, side by a variably degraded earth bank which adds 50 to 60cm to the width of the path. There are just three small, square flood apertures in the bank, each about 25 by 25cm, and lying between 10 and 22m south from the bridge. The stonework is roughly coursed, but has been strongly and carefully pointed, almost decoratively, and gives the impression of regularly coursed stone. Two decrepit railway sleeper-type posts which might have supported railings remain, but otherwise the flood-path is bounded only by a normal post and barbed wire field fence. There is a double step up from the roadway at the south end of the flood-path, and a similar step down on to the bridge at the north end.

The road appears to have been considerably raised over much of its course beside the flood-path. At the ford, the top of the concrete over the pipe drains is about 50cm above the upstream stream bed, and modern drains have been inserted below the road to the south. It may be that the square flood apertures in the bank are just the tops of taller slots which are now buried. Some modern repair work has been done to the abutments of the footbridge, and ‘LS , KC, 1995’ is scribed into cement on the south abutment.

LITTLE SOMERFORD

Little Somerford's flood-path traverses the Bristol Avon floodplain 3.8 line km south-east from Cow Bridge, on the edge of Malmesbury, which is the nearest road bridge upstream. The flood-path is 250m long, and follows the west side of the road between the villages of Little and Great Somerford. The path crosses a broad, shallow depression extending from the northern edge of the Avon floodplain southwards to a slightly raised section of road leading to the modern road bridge, the deck of which is above normal flood levels. The depression is floored by Kellaways Clay and recent alluvium.

The flood-path is a heavily overgrown, roughly level-topped bank, up to 1m in height above the modern road surface, and generally about 1.2m in width at the top. It is flanked to the west by a deep ditch. No stonework is visible through the matted vegetation, and two shallow test pits suggest an earthen bank topped with railway-type ballast. Most of the flood-path has a variably decrepit 19th- or 20th-century guardrail along its western side, consisting of reinforced concrete posts at around 2.7m intervals supporting two pipe-type rails 4cm in diameter. The rails and posts are painted white.



Fig. 2. Little Somerford. View north along the flood-path, showing the guardrail.

Towards the mid-point of the flood-path the bank is pierced by two small modern bridges. The northern of the two is a concrete arch some 2.6m wide which spans an important drain, while the southern, some 40m to the south, is a 10m wooden deck which was renovated by the Highways

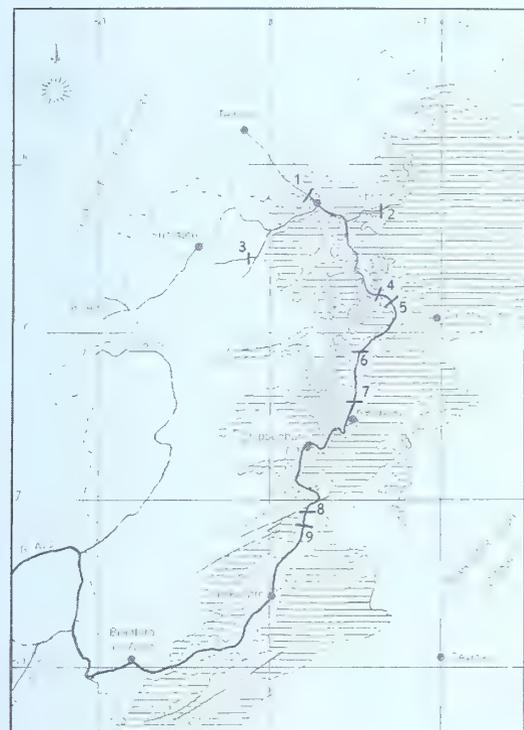
Authority in the 1990s. The southern bridge is presumably for floodwater relief. Low gaps under the arches suggest that the modern road surface has been raised in relation to the flood-path.

Andrews and Dury's 1773 map shows a bridge between Little and Great Somerford. This was a wooden bridge 'for foot passengers and saddle horses but wagons and carriages passed by a ford across the water'.⁶ In about 1799, the wooden footbridge was replaced by a three-arch, stone road-bridge, built by subscription, 'In consequence of a Mr Heath having lost two colts that were drowned by crossing the water at the ford. . .'.⁷

Although the *Victoria County History* notes that, 'a stone causeway for pedestrians was built on the west side of the road near Great Somerford village c.1809',⁸ this may be an assumption related to the date at which the road concerned was turnpiked. In fact, the first mention of a flood-path dates from 1892, when the minutes of the Malmesbury Highway Board record that, 'A letter was received from the Revd. T.H. Manley asking the Board to make a raised footpath adjoining his grounds where the road is covered with water in times of flood.'⁹ In January 1893 the Board resolved '... that application be made to the County Council to erect a footway near to the Railway Station in the Parish of Somerford Parva, the Main Road there (No 12A) being very low and in times of flood covered with water rendering it impassable for foot passengers, the estimated cost of the same being £130. . .'.¹⁰ Later minutes indicate that at least the bulk of the works were completed during 1893.

The next mention of the causeway is by Portia Hobbs in her *Somerford Magna* in which she notes that a baker's cart was washed off the road during an early 20th-century flood, and that 'the iron rail by the raised flood path was, and still is, bent where the tackle was rigged to pull out the poor drowned horse'.¹¹ Older residents in Little Somerford confirm that flooding was frequent until the 1960s, and that the flood-path was much used. The surface was gravelled.¹²

Finally, an early 20th-century photograph looking northwards towards the old bridge shows a section of level topped, metre-wide, stone bank along the west side of the bridge approach on the Great Somerford side of the river.¹³ The bank has an iron railing offset to the west, was almost certainly a short section of flood-path and might be the origin of the reference to a stone causeway given in the *Victoria County History*.



- KEY**
- Alluvium
 - Oxford Clay
 - Kellaways Beds
- 1 : Holloway Bridge, Malmesbury;
 2 : Rambridge, Lea;
 3 : Norton Ford;
 4 : Little Somerford;
 5 : Dauntsey;
 6 : Sutton Benger;
 7 : Maud Heath's Causeway;
 8 : Reybridge, Lacock;
 9 : Footbridge, Lacock.

Fig. 3. Flood-path Locations in Wiltshire's Clay Vale. (modified from Geddes, I., 2000.)

DAUNTSEY

Dauntsey's flood-path lies mainly west of Dauntsey Bridge (ST 979823), which is the nearest Avon road crossing downstream from Little Somerford Bridge (1.6 line km). The flood-path is 220m long and follows the south side of the unclassified road to Great Somerford. The opposite side of the road is marked by the high stone wall of part of Dauntsey Park. A short section of flood-path continues east from the bridge as a degraded earth bank on the north side of the road. The area is underlain by recent alluvium on Oxford Clay.

The western part of the flood-path commences from the Avon bridge and is an inconspicuous

overgrown earth bank about 2.5m wide. The bank is flanked on its southern side by battered, estate type iron railings with a shallow ditch beyond. After some 35m, the bank is pierced by the first of six irregularly spaced pipe-drains consisting of cement pipes (45cm ID) set in concrete abutments. These drains are spread over a total distance of about 115m. The maximum height of the path above the present road surface is about 0.8m. Presumably to prevent it becoming a dam, a section of Dauntsey Park's wall along the north side of the road is pierced by ten round brick arches, which vary from 0.6 to 1.15m in width. The ten arches are broadly opposite the eastern four pipe-drains in the floodpath.

The flood-path ends about 75m after the last pipe-drain, just before a large cross drain, which passes beneath the park wall and under the road, emerging through a brick arch. This cross drain appears to mark an earlier course of the River Avon, which was followed by the parish boundary until 1809, when the boundary was moved some 70m further to the west, to coincide with another cross drain, and with the end of the high wall along the north side of the road.¹⁴

So far, there are few clues as to the date of the flood-path. Plans dated October 1871 for the widening of Dauntsey Bridge over the Avon appear to show the start of the path just west of the river.¹⁵ A very slight hint that the causeway may be even earlier is provided by an 1824 report on Dauntsey Bridge, which states that it appears to have been rebuilt about 55 years previously, and that the inhabitants of the parish had paid for repairs to the bridge and to 'the road over and at each end of the bridge'.¹⁶

THE HIGH PATH, SUTTON BENDER

Excluding the M4, the next road-crossing of the Avon is 4.1 line km downstream from Dauntsey Bridge, on the western edge of Christian Malford village. The flood-path here is west of the river, within Sutton Benger parish, and is roughly 300m in length, lying along the north side of the B4069 road immediately before the bridge over the Avon. At its highest point, the path is about a metre higher than the level of the modern road, and some 2m wide across the top. A generally ruinous, single guardrail follows the north side of the flood-path, and guards the drop into a substantial ditch. For the most part,

the flood-path is a heavily overgrown earth bank, but includes a central masonry section some 55m long which has 21 arches. The earth bank sections are also pierced by masonry arches, some collapsed. There appear to be about six arches within the eastern earth bank, and at least four in the bank westwards beyond the masonry section. The arches are deeply buried, and it seems likely that the modern road has been raised in relation to the flood-path, perhaps by as much as a metre. The height of the bank declines westwards, and it disappears at a field gate where the floodplain rises to a river-terrace at a field boundary.

The *Victoria County History* notes the presence of the flood-path, but does not suggest a construction date. It does record that, 'the Swindon to Chippenham road was turnpiked through the village in 1756, and disturnpiked in 1875. Its bridge over the Avon, linking Sutton Benger and Christian Malford, was built in the 18th century, possibly c. 1756: it has cutwaters separated by three segmented arches. It was widened in the 20th century.'¹⁷ People from Christian Malford know the flood-path as 'The High Path' to Sutton Benger, and report that it has been used within the past 20 years. Motorcyclists used to ride along it during floods.

MAUD HEATH'S CAUSEWAY, LANGLEY BURRELL

Kellaways Bridge, which carries Maud Heath's famous causeway across the Avon is the next road bridge downstream from Sutton Benger, 3.3 line km to the north. Here, 'Maud Heath, by a deed of gift dated 12th June 14Edward IV (1474), gave to Trustees land and property in Chippenham. The income from this bequest has been used to make and maintain a causeway from Wick Hill to Chippenham Clift.'¹⁸ Maud Heath seems to have been a wealthy widow. Remarkably, her Trust is still alive and, with County Council help, remains responsible for upkeep of much of the causeway. Maud Heath's causeway is presumed to date, at least in part, from shortly after 1474, and extends for some 7km from Wick Hill westwards to Chippenham, crossing the River Avon and its floodplain en route. For most of its length, the causeway crosses land above flood levels, and was simply a 'pitched', or cobbled path allowing easier passage over the heavy and potentially marshy

ground of the Oxford Clay and Kellaways Clay that underlies much of the route.

Long sections of the causeway are now mainly seen as a rather ordinary looking, kerbed footway, with a tarmac or concrete surface, running beside the road from Wick Hill through East Tytherton, Kellaways and Langley Burrell into Chippenham. Undoubtedly the most prominent and famous part of the causeway is the 220m section raised originally on 64 brick and stone arches to cross the floodplain of the River Avon on both sides of the Kellaways bridge (ST 947758). Only this section forms a true flood causeway, or, more strictly, a flood-path, and seems to date from 1812. In 1811, the Trustees' Minute Books record that Mr John Smith of Calne was 'to be employed to make estimates for building an arch or arches for raising the road at Kellaways from the Church to the Bridge to carry the waste water so as to render the road passable in time of floods and also for raising the road on the other side of the Bridge as far as may be necessary.' The work was carried out the following year¹⁹.



Fig. 4. Maud Heath's Causeway. The 1812 flood-path east of the Avon bridge

Chamberlain notes that a bridge over the Avon at Kellaways is shown on a 1653 map, and that an iron bridge built in 1853 was replaced by the current bridge in 1960. Only 62 arches can now be counted in the flood-path (45 east of the bridge, and 17 to the west) and it seems possible that two were lost during construction of a later bridge. In September 2002 the flood-path was in excellent condition.

A sidelight on construction of the flood-path is provided by Britton's *Beauties of Wiltshire* (1825), which states that 'some years ago', a lease of two cottages at public auction yielded between eight and nine hundred pounds, 'which sum was expended in

making additions to Calloways Bridge, and in extending the causeway on each side so as to form a commodious road for foot passengers during floods.’ The high value achieved at auction was due to an impending General Election, and the fact that the cottages’ occupiers carried votes.²⁰

There are few hard facts on the nature of Maud Heath’s causeway in general prior to the Trustees’ Minute Books, which commence in 1753, and there are no references to a raised flood-path section before 1811. The splendid monument beside the Avon bridge dates from 1698 and gives due praise to Maud Heath, though little information.

There is no current or historic trace of a flood-path at Chippenham Bridge in the middle of the town, which is the next road crossing 3.6 line km downstream from Kellaways, and 4.2 line km upstream from the next at Reybridge (ST 919691). The parish of Lacock contains two Avon crossings, both with stone bridges of some antiquity. The northern crossing is at Reybridge, whilst the southern, south-east from Lacock Abbey, was known in 1628 as ‘Footbridge’, not necessarily because it was exactly that. The history of the local roads and of the two bridges from 1528 to the end of the 17th century was traced by F.H. Hinton in 1943 from records held at Lacock Vicarage.²¹

REYBRIDGE, LACOCK

The River Avon at Reybridge lies on the west side of its valley and floodplain, both narrow here, and underlain by Oxford Clay.²² The bridge leads eastwards on to a flood-path some 140m in length, which follows the south side of the unclassified road to Naish Hill. The first hints of a bridge at Reybridge are given in *The Place-names of Wiltshire* which notes a Robert del Ebrige from 1232, and a John atte Rebrige in 1384,²³ while prior to the mid-17th century, passenger traffic from Bath to London avoided the poor state of the roads in Chippenham by forking right at Pickwick to cross the Avon at Reybridge, continuing up Naish hill to rejoin the wagon road beyond Chippenham. Around 1653, Reybridge was reported in a petition to have ten arches, of which Hinton suggests that two probably spanned the river, while the rest were flood-arches. No traces of the latter remain today in the bridge approaches, but they may have represented either a flood-causeway useable by wheeled traffic, or an earlier pedestrian flood-path. In, or shortly after, 1653, it appears that Reybridge was probably pulled



Fig. 5. Reybridge. View east from bridge towards wooden flood-path.

down, and the materials used to reconstruct Footbridge. Reybridge may not have become a road-bridge again until the 18th century, and the present bridge carries the inscription ‘PW. 1743’.

The flood-path as seen today is comparatively modern and dates from 1899 or 1900. In February 1899 Lacock Parish Council passed a resolution: ‘That great inconvenience being experienced by foot passengers at Ray Bridge in time of flood, the County Council be asked to provide a footbridge on the east side of the river to remedy the present state of things.’²⁴ The County Council readily agreed, and as seen today the flood-path starts as a wooden structure raised on masonry piers with concrete tops. This first section is about 100m long, by 1.5m wide and reaches 1.1m above the road surface. Guard rails along both sides are wood, and the surface is of tarmac. The wooden structure is succeeded eastwards by a masonry path 45m long, and up to a metre in height above the road. The masonry section has a low stone wall topped by wooden rails on its south side only, and drops to road level at its end via a short ramp.

That flooding was common here is illustrated by the fact that Rey Mill, some 500m upstream from Reybridge, used to have two waterwheels, an internal breast-shot wheel for normal conditions, and an undershot flood wheel on the outside of the mill.²⁵

FOOTBRIDGE, LACOCK

A few hundred metres south-east from Lacock Abbey, and just 1km downstream from Reybridge, the unclassified road from Lacock to Sandy Lane crosses the Avon floodplain via a flood-path, a causeway and bridges. Though known in 1628 as ‘Footbridge’, Hinton suggests that the crossing may

have been so-called because it lies close to the foot of Bowden Hill.²⁶ Alluvium here is again underlain by Oxford Clay. Starting from the west, the first 100m of the crossing is a wood-built flood-path on masonry and concrete piers, identical to that at Reybridge just 1.5km upstream, and hence possibly of similar age (about 1900?). This flood-path portion of the crossing lies along the north side of the road and ends at the first bridge, which crosses the present course of the Avon.

The bridge has three pointed arches which are apparently truncated at the top by later work (the bridge was widened in 1956),²⁷ and passes eastwards on to a stone causeway which is the full width of the road at some 8 to 9m, somewhat wider than the bridges at each end. The sidewalls of the causeway are pierced by square drainage openings, each with a vertical central slab presumably placed to prevent sheep from straying. After about 60m, the causeway is succeeded by the second bridge, which has five arches, the first two of which are semi-circular and brick-lined whilst the last three are pointed and lined by stone. The second bridge appears to cross a previous course of the Avon, which can be seen as a dry channel approaching the eastern, pointed arches of the bridge from the north. Hinton notes that Footbridge was rebuilt c. 1654 using material from Reybridge, but also suggests that the oldest part of the bridge may be the two most westerly arches, which are of a style suggestive of the 15th or early 16th century.²⁸

A complicated history is further suggested by the fact that the main river channel turns sharply east after the Avon bridge and runs beside the stone causeway before turning south again immediately opposite the round arches of the eastern bridge. However, Andrews and Dury's 1773 map shows two courses for the river here, passing each side of an island, which is traversed by the stone causeway. The road rises above flood level immediately after the eastern bridge. The next road crossing of the Avon lies 4.3 line km downstream from Lacock, in the centre of Melksham. Again, there is no sign of a flood-path, and none was found further downstream towards Bradford-on-Avon.

DISCUSSION

Though probably not ancient, some historical and environmental links may be suggested for these flood-paths. All nine cross impermeable substrates where the Avon or its tributaries traverse Jurassic

clay units of North Wiltshire's Clay Vale. So far no flood-paths have been found in the valleys of the Kennet, of the Salisbury Avon, or along the Wylye, all in Wiltshire's Chalk Country, perhaps because although clay substrates do occur there, and floodplains are also locally wide, there are more widespread opportunities to cross relatively incised rivers via short bridges with decks above flood level.

There is no point in a flood-path that carries one dry-shod only to the swirling waters of an impassable ford, thus flood-paths are necessarily synchronous with, or postdate, bridges. Given a bridge, there must also be a need for uninterrupted passage across it. During flood times, the 30km arc of the Bristol Avon through the Clay Vale from Malmesbury through Chippenham and Melksham to the limestones just before Bradford on Avon presumably represented a considerable impediment to east-west movement of people, goods and stock. Excluding modern bypasses and the M4, there are only ten road crossings of the Bristol Avon within the Clay Vale below Malmesbury, six of which have flood-paths. The remaining four are Cow Bridge on the B4042 near Malmesbury, those in central Chippenham and Melksham, and a crossing in the south at Staverton, all of which lack flood-paths, presumably because the bridge decks and their approaches are above normal flood levels. Chippenham's ancient and well documented Causeway seems to have been a passage over swampy ground well above Avon flood levels, and is not taken to be a 'flood causeway' in the terms of this paper.

At first sight, local social or administrative purposes would seem insufficient to warrant building flood-paths, though trade, access to markets, movement of pack animals and perhaps even droving, could supply a sufficient need. The belief that Maud Heath's Causeway was built for the benefit of women going to and from Chippenham market seems mainly based on a statue of her erected in 1838 which fancifully depicts her as a market woman. It is very likely that the causeway was indeed used by market women, but there is no evidence that access to the market was an important reason for its construction. In any case, the raised flood-path section was not built until 1812. The locations of the other eight flood causeways in the Avon catchment seem to have even less direct connections with the area's market towns, and look more related to cross-valley movement for local purposes. At least four of the flood-paths were actually, or probably, built in the railway era, and, for these, it may also be that just getting to the station in a respectable state,

and on time, also drove construction. A similar speculation might be made for school children as village schools became more frequent during the 19th century.

It may be that through the long period from Neolithic settlement of the lowlands to about the 11th century, the Bristol Avon traversed the Clay Vale within a more complex floodplain than that of today. The floodplain might have contained seasonally flowing distributary channels forming wetlands treated as common pasture, hunting grounds and sources of wood. Crossings via fords, or light wooden bridges may have been straightforward, and flood interruptions both less severe than later, partly through the sponge-like effect of the wetland, and anyway less disruptive as communities were more self-sufficient..

The population pressures of the 12th and 13th centuries may have had two effects on the floodplain. First, the great expansion of arable farming is likely to have caused increased soil erosion leading in turn to silting of the floodplain and its distributaries, and raising the base level of the main river channels. Secondly, land-use on the floodplain changed from low-value, low-intensity common pasturage to highly valuable common meadows. Remaining pools, channels and swamps were undesirable, and the floodplains became ever smoother grassland. Both factors may have tended to increase both the frequency and the severity of flooding.

These changes caused by human activity may have been intensified by the climatic shock of the early 14th century, when a marked cooling trend ended the warm period of the high Middle Ages. In particular, the decade 1310-20, brought a series of devastatingly wet summers with harvest failures, famine²⁹ and severe unseasonable floods.

Finally, there is some evidence that flooding in the Avon Valley became more severe and frequent during the 19th century. Serious floods are reported along the river in 1809, 1823 and 1866. In July 1930, a Mr John Singer of Chippenham wrote to the town council stating that to his knowledge, and that of his father, no floods had occurred in the town before 1866. 'That was the first time that a flood was known to have occurred, and that from that date floods occurred most winters.'³⁰ This apparent increase in flooding may have been due to two factors. The years 1866 and 1872 are shown by Marlborough College meteorological records to have been wet ones, and the records also show a marked rainfall 'spike' from 1875 to 1882, with severe flooding in the latter year. This wet period may have been superimposed on a

tendency to more rapid run-off caused by the extensive drainage works carried out to improve agricultural land – particularly on clay soils – in the latter half of the 19th century. These improvements were not only for agricultural purposes, as sometime in the mid-19th century, the Duke of Beaufort is said to have arranged for troops to be used to insert tile-drains across floodplain land in Dauntsey where the going was too heavy for the Beaufort Hunt.³¹

Overall, the climatic and flooding record tends to suggest that floods in the Avon valley may have become more common from the 13th and 14th centuries, and, possibly, more severe in the 19th century, the actual, or most likely time, for construction of the flood-paths.

CONCLUSIONS

The nine flood-paths found so far in Wiltshire share a number of features. All lie in the Wiltshire Claylands, on clay substrates, and all fall within the catchment of the Bristol Avon. They were all built beside roads, and were designed for foot passengers or led animals only. Three of the flood-paths were definitely built during the 19th century, while two were probably built in that century. Dates for four of the paths remain unknown. As there is no obvious connection with markets, or with long distance travel, except perhaps a desire to reach the railway station dryshod, their construction is suggested to have been a response to mainly local needs. The building of the paths may have been influenced by an increased tendency to flooding in the latter part of the 19th century. This is suggested to be the result of more rapid run-off due to improvements in land drainage, coupled with a period of higher rainfall, most notably between 1872 and 1882.

Notes

- ¹ *V.C.H. Wilts.*, vol iv, p.261
- ² WSRO F4/180/66
- ³ *V.C.H. Wilts.* vol. xiv, p.91
- ⁴ WSRO. G7/1/2. Malmesbury Highway Board Minutes, June 14th, 1879
- ⁵ One Inch Geological Sheet 251. Institute of Geological Sciences, 1977
- ⁶ WSRO. A1/531/18/11. Report by Clerk of the Peace, 1859
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ *V.C.H. Wilts.* vol. xiv, p.205
- ⁹ WSRO. G7/1/2. Malmesbury Highway Board Minutes. p.371

- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.390
- ¹¹ Hobbs, P., *Somerford Magna* (Alan Sutton, 1982) p.73
- ¹² Pers comm. Boulton, J.
- ¹³ Fenton, M., *The Malmesbury Branch* (Wild Swan Publications, 1990), p.91
- ¹⁴ *V.C.H. Wilts.* vol. xiv, p.65
- ¹⁵ WSRO. A1/531/4/2; also WRO. A1/533/3, p.27, in a volume of bridge plans
- ¹⁶ WSRO. A1/531/4/2
- ¹⁷ *V.C.H. Wilts.* vol. xiv, p.221
- ¹⁸ Chamberlain, J.A., *Maud Heath's Causeway*. (Chippenham Borough Council, 1974), p.3
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.33
- ²⁰ Britton, J., *The Beauties of Wiltshire*. iii (London, 1825), p.252
- ²¹ Hinton, F.H., The Roads and Bridges of the Parish of Lacock, Wilts. *WANHM* 50, 1943, pp.119-135
- ²² Geddes, I., *Hidden Depths. Wiltshire's Geology and Landscapes* (Ex Libris, 2000), p.101
- ²³ Gover, J.E.B., Allan Mawer and Stenton, F.M., *The Place-names of Wiltshire* (Cambridge University Press, 1939)
- ²⁴ WSRO. F2/250/7. Correspondence between Parish Council and Highways Authority
- ²⁵ Willoughby, R.W.H., Water-Mills in West Wiltshire. *WANHM* 64, 1969, pp.71-99
- ²⁶ Hinton, *op.cit.* p.128
- ²⁷ WSRO. F2/255/140/1. Highways Department correspondence, Laycock. 1956
- ²⁸ Hinton, *op.cit.* p.135
- ²⁹ Lamb, H.H., *Climate, History and the Modern World* (Routledge, 1995)
- ³⁰ Chamberlain, J.A., *op.cit.* p.46
- ³¹ Pers comm. Borrás, J.

Piety and Church Fabric in Sixteenth-Century Wiltshire: Evidence from Wills

by *Steven Hobbs*

A gazetteer of material illustrating religious beliefs and customs in Wiltshire during the Reformation found in wills proved in the local church courts between 1519 and 1590. It was compiled during work on the Wiltshire Wills Project, a Heritage Lottery funded initiative to improve access to and preservation of this important collection. References to dedications of churches different to those found today have also been noted.

INTRODUCTION

The Wiltshire Wills Project, one of the aims of which was to produce a digital catalogue of the Salisbury Diocesan Probate Collection, provided an opportunity for the writer to abstract material of interest for mid-16th century church history in general and the Reformation in particular.¹ The year 1570 was selected as a suitable cut off date because little of relevance was noted after in the registers of the Archdeacon of Salisbury's court, which were checked up to 1590. There are 2513 Wiltshire wills in the collection between 1519-1570, of which there are only 61 original wills, the rest being copies in registers; (original and registered copies survive for just eight wills). Almost 2000 of these wills are from the court of the Archdeacon of Salisbury whose jurisdiction extended over the south of the county. The registers of this court survive with any degree of completeness from 1540. The Bishop of Salisbury's court, which covered the entire county, has 334 wills dated before 1570, most of which date from 1550. There are 241 wills, mainly dating from 1567 from the court of the Dean of Sarum, whose jurisdiction extended over about 40 Wiltshire parishes. The peculiar jurisdiction of Corsham is represented by 22 wills dating in the main from 1563. There are 39 wills in the Miscellaneous Series (comprising probate records that were overlooked when the collection

passed to the custody of the District Probate Registry in 1858), all from parishes within the archdeaconry of Salisbury. For the sake of completeness 16th century wills in other collections, notably Marlborough borough archive, have been included (Ref G/22). There is then a regrettable but inevitable bias towards south Wiltshire in the survey.

The date given is the year of probate; the date the will was made is only given in the section relating to bequests to churches and funeral customs and then when it is more than two years before probate. The gazetteer below is intended to make this widely available to researchers interested in such subjects.

BEQUESTS TO CHURCHES AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

Examples have been restricted to bequests for specific purposes only; thus references to bequests for the upkeep of bells are only included when details of the work to be paid for are given. Bequests of money to the High Altar have also been omitted since these generally were to the incumbent to settle payments for tithes, typically 12d. Often bequests in kind were made. Bequests of crops could be sold for cash while sheep or cows might provide the church with a source of income through their sale or hire. This explains

such phrases as 'a cow to maintain the light' which at first might appear puzzling, if not bizarre. The evidence from the wills seems to reflect the ebb and flow of the Reformation from the Protestantism of the reign of Edward VI, through the Catholic reaction under Mary, into the religion of the Church of England established under Elizabeth I.

Several wills proved in the reign of Henry VIII provide evidence of pre-Reformation customs and beliefs. Bequests of lights at altars and chapels reveal the cult of Saints, swept away under Edward VI, although Jesus chapels mentioned in a couple of wills proved in 1557 and 1558 indicate some relaxation during Mary's reign. Similarly several references to Month's Mind, an occasion for prayers to be offered for departed souls, are a reminder of the importance in the old religion of prayer to alleviate the passage through Purgatory to Heaven. Although the intentions set out by Thomas Mompesson of Tisbury in his will made in 1560 suggest that old beliefs had not been entirely swept away, it is inconceivable that they could have been carried out and remained rather defiant wishes from one who lived in a parish dominated by the catholic Arundell family. John Gough of Salisbury St Edmund was far more in tune with current religious belief.

In attempting to assess the impact of the Reformation, wills of priests have been included which gives something of a bias to the religiousness of the extracts. Furthermore, out of the total of 2513 wills only 77 feature in the first section of this paper. This would appear to suggest that most lay will makers preferred to use their wills solely as a means of disposing of their worldly goods rather than as testaments of their religious beliefs. They may have already made financial provision to cover their religious beliefs.

Glossary

- Alb*; the tunic of white cloth worn by priests
Beadman; person who prayed for the deceased, often reading out their names from a book or roll
Censer; a vessel in which incense is burned
Corporas; the cloth on which the sacraments were placed during the Eucharist
Dirige; the name for the service of the office of the dead
Dornick; a fabric used for vestments
JHS; a corruption of the Latin IHS, derived from the first three letters (iota, eta, sigma) of the name Jesus in Greek.
Light; a candle placed on the various altars in the church as witness of devotion

- Manuell*; Manual, a book containing the rites for the sacrament and sacramentals
Mass, Mass book; the sacrament of the Eucharist and the book of that service
Mind, month's, year's; a mind day when the deceased was remembered, on the day of the funeral in any month or year following.
Obit; prayers for the dead
Paschall; a large candle lit at Easter
Pax; a representation often of the crucifix, kissed during the Mass
Rood; the screen representing the crucifixion that stood between the nave and chancel
Sepulchre; a structure for the ritual burial of the reserve sacramental on Maundy Thursday
Trental; a set of thirty requiem masses.

Amesbury, Nicholas Chamber alias Smyth; 'a canope to bare over the hooly and blessed sacrament on corpus christe day and on all suche days when that the sacrament shalbe with stawys and borders thereunto hanging. Also I gyve to the atyryng of the sepulter on good Friday a pawle imbrawderyd with golde and sylke with the borders and fringes of sylke ther unto belonging and this y wyll Agnes my wife have in her ward during her lyfe. For becawse of the better kepyng and she to repayre yt yf need be, and at all suche tyme as it shalbe occupied she to deliver it unto the wardens of the church for the honowryng of god is service And after her dethe to the church aforesaid and ther to remayne. Also to the mayntenaunce of Jhs service within the same church, 3s 4d. Also to all sowlen (*All Souls*) lyght within the same church, 12d Also the the shepards lyght in the same church, 4d. Also to saynt stephyns lyght, 4d also to the maydens lyght, 4d'; bequests for church works, Cholderton, Shepton, Newton and Bulford 1543, P2/1Reg/29

Amesbury, Thomas Battar; 'to the mayntenaunce of the JHS masse one weather shepe, 1547, P2/2Reg/35B

Amesbury, William Nottyngnam, yeoman; to the repairing of the south aisle 20s, 1553, P2/2Reg/173A

Amesbury, William Bachelor, husbandman; a cloth to hang before the Rood, 1558, P2/3Reg/100E

Berwick St James, William Hewlett, Asserton; bequest of the lease and interest of Asserton chapel...his farm, tenements and free chapel, 1574, P2/5Reg/180A

Bishopstone (S. Wilts), Owen Newman; to be buried beneath the steps ('gryse,'*grece*) under the rood loft, 1558, P2/3Reg/136A '...6s 8d which I lent to the

Change of the great bell & 6s. 8d. for my burial', 1558, P2/3Reg/136A

Bishopstone (S. Wilts), Jane Kyng, widow; 'to the repaying of the bell ther late decayed 1 bushell of wheat & 1 bushell of barley', 1559, P2/3Reg/169A

Bulford, John Benger; to the ten priests at his burial 8d each and the ten priests at his month's mind 8d. each, 1551, P2/2Reg/125B

Bulford, John Turney, husbandman; 'The church of Bulford owythe unto me 16d for a bawdryche (baldric).Item for the pascall and the font tapar 2s and for naylys to mend the bellys, 2d', 1557, P2/3Reg/22A (Possibly served as a churchwarden)

Charlton (near Pewsey), Robert Clerk, vicar; 'a hanging paynted as the apostells in order (sic) made the credo. I will that ther be made in the southe parte of the church yard ...one palme crosse the charges therof to be borne by my goodes at the discreation of my overseers', 1559, P2/3Reg/162A

Charlton in Donhead St Mary, Purnell Kynge, widow; a bequest to the chapel there 1561, P2/4Reg/77C

Chilmark, John Case, yeoman, 'I wyll that the pore people shall have at my buryall halfpenny dole to be gevin in brede, And so lykewyse at my monythis mynde, And every yere duryng the lyfe of Christiane my wife to have one dyrige & masse in the parisshe churche of Chilmarke ... and to have bred and drynke for them that shalbe present at the same, 1558, P2/3Reg/102C

Cholderton, William Clerck; 'to our ladyes light' 6 sheep to maintain it; to 'St. Catherins light 1 cow to maintain it; 5s to the Greyfriars (*Franciscan monks*) and 5 of them to come to the month's mind to have it and if they do not come then it is to be bestowed on other priests; 10 priests to be at his burial, his month's mind and his 12 month's mind, 1526, P1/2Reg/93A

Compton Chamberlayne, William Bounde, yeoman; 3 new bell ropes. To the 3 men who shall ring for him at his burial and all the month following 3s, 1561, P2/4Reg/85D

Corsley, Robert Hewstes; for the rood light, 6d, 1547, P2/2Reg/35C

Corsley, Agnes Carpenter; 12d for the rood loft, 1549, P2/2Reg/83B

Corsley, John Grene; to the mending of the great bell 2s, 1558, P2/3Reg/95A

Damerham, John Smyth; to the casting of the bell, a sack of wheat, 1557, P2/3Reg/46B

Downton, Henry Rolfe, senior; to poor people to pray for me, 3s 4d, 1546, P2/2Reg/43(1)

Downton, Thomas Allyn, vicar; to be buried in

the Litton (churchyard) 'before my chancel door'; bequest of Eliot's Dictionary to Richard Cater, parish clerk, 1559, P2/4Reg/12B²

Durrington, Nicholas Hardinge; a bushell of wheat and a bushell of malt to be made into food and drink for poor people at my burial, 1578, P2/5Reg/316B

Edington, John Lluellyn, 'to diverse prestes to syng masses for the welthe of my sowle in my parishe church at Mary Maudelyn aulter, 6s 8d, 1540 P2/L/1

Edington, Agnes Gawen; unto poor people 4 bushells of wheat at my burial to be baked into bread and to be distributed amongst them, 1557, P2/3Reg/81B

Edington, Richard White; to poor people 40s to be distributed by Margaret my wife at the day of my burial & at my month's mind, 1559, P2/3Reg/146D

Fisherton de la Mere, Christian Everley, widow; to the ringers 6d, to him who makes her grave, 4d, 1574, P2/5Reg/212B

Fonthill Gifford, Robert Jerade alias Hyscocke; to 'allselles lyght' (All Souls), 3d., 1547, P2/2Reg/42(1)

Fonthill Gifford, William Knyght; to 'Alisowlen' light, 2d, 1547, P2/2Reg/48C

Fovant, John Candell, yeoman, to his brother to 170 sheep to keep an obit and diriges every year in Fovant church that is to say to the Richard Beryman, curate 3d, to the clerk 2d and 2s 8d to be given in bread among the poor people of Fovant 'theras shal be seen most need to pray for my soul and all christens', 1546, P1/2Reg/129

Great Bedwyn, Thomas Hobbes; a corporas to the church, 1557, P1/1Reg/13

Great Cheverell, John Lybbe, rector; all his legacies to be settled before his month's mind, 1559, P1/1Reg/18

Hindon, Alice Frythe; to the chapel a kroke³, 1548, P2/2Reg/40A

Hindon, John Mayo; to **Tisbury** church 3s 4d, 'desyryng the paryshe that my monethe may be ronge for and my executors to pay the ryngers', 1564, P2/4Reg/165B

Lacock, John Bosworth, bequest to Ralph Ricrofte (*vicar of Lacock*) of Cranmer Upon Sacrament,⁴ 1569 (will made 1563), P1/1Reg/110B

Longbridge Deverill, Walter Hoper; the high cross light, 4d., to the holy ghost light, 4d., 1546, P2/2Reg/6A

Longbridge Deverill, John Vylles; to the high cross light one ewe, 1556, P2/3Reg/10A

Longbridge Deverill, William Bryce, yeoman; to the church 1 cow to and for the maintaining of 2

tapers of wax, the price of the cow is 10s., the hire of it by the year 3s. 4d. The tapers to stand upon the 2 great candlesticks in the chancel, 1557, P2/3Reg/40A

Longbridge Deverill, John Hayter; 12d to the sacrament of the church, 4d to the high cross light, 4d to the holy ghost light, 1559, P2/3Reg/179B

Longbridge Deverell, John Holbroke; 12d to the ringers, 1580, P2/5Reg/364A

Maiden Bradley, John Lerpoll, priest; for the rood light, 6d; 'all the ornamentes that art ther already that is to saye an aluter clothe of silke and curteynes to the same and reliques and the crosse' by the disposition of Mr. Richard Mompesson (executor) 1557, P2/3Reg/12B

Manningford Bruce (Bruston), John Burgys, rector; My will is to have at **Swindon** a priest to say yearly dirige and a requiem about the feast of St. Gregory (12 march) and he to have for his pains 6d.; at the offering of the same mass 1d to the clerk, 5 poor folks to be at the same mass to pray for my soul l., for all Christian souls they to have 14d. a piece. To them that do ring 4d amongst them all and that the churchwardens of the same church may see this done they to have for their pains 2d. a piece. If this be delayed and not done yearly that then it shall be lawful for them to enter and distrain in West Swindon in a close called 'the shipe Howse' now in the hands of Anthony Stychall for so much as the sum comes to and that strain to be withheld until they be satisfied, 1558, D1/43/219B

Marlborough, John Burnard, shoemaker, to the 4 men that Shall bear him to church 4d each, ringers who shall ring at his burial 4d each, to some priests to say mass for him at his burial 8d each. Likewise at his month's mind 5 or 4 priests as his executors by their discretion shall seem requisite, 1557, P1/2Reg/156C

Marlborough St Mary, John Mathew; 3s 4d charged for evermore on his house in Marlborough to be paid to the churchwardens 'to be bestowed in ij tapers of waxe to? burn at evynsong Matyns Masses and evynsong upon ij great brason candelstyckes called standards in every principal and magnas duplas festes (the two main feasts) in the yere before the high alter ther for evermore. I bequeath £4 sterling to bye the foresaid brasn candelstycke to bere the forenamed ij tapers of waxe', 1531, G22/1 245.

Marlborough St Mary, William Seyman, barber; to the high altar 'my vestment of purpull satten embrowdered with the albe & stoole and all that thereto pertayneth with a pax wherein is sett a

crucifixe gilte & a corporas with case of purpull satten and Jhus embrowdered upon hym... to Jhs aluter my vestment of dornyx with the albe & my masse boke. And if it be not maynteyned I wyll that it shall goo to the hygh aluter,' 1540, G22/1247

Marlborough St Mary, Clement Yong, widow; buried in church; 6s 8d for breaking the ground and 12d. to the 4 men that should bear her to the church, both to be paid immediately after my burial; 20d to the vicar to pray for me and for forgotten tithes, 1552, D1/43/1/74

Martin, Thomas Storcke, 2 bushells of malt to be brewed and 2 bushells of wheat to be baked and given to the poor at my burial and to everyone of my godchildren, 1564, P2/4Reg/169A

Martin, Dorothy Horsey of Upton, Berwick St John; to be buried in the chapel on the left side of husband, William; 20s for the upkeep of the church and for my grave; '6 pore folks who shall beare me to my burial to eche of them a goun of blacke cotton & two shillings a pece'; 12 bushells of good and sweet wheat to be distributed within 1 month of her death, 1577, P2/5Reg/281

Monkton Deverill, Alice Lucas, widow; two table cloths for the table in the 'quyer', one I have already and the other to be bought as good as that is, 1571, P2/5Reg/122A

Milston, John Covey of Brigmerston; to 3 priests at my burying and 6 at my month's mind, 6s., 1547, P2/2Reg/36B

North Bradley, Ambrosius Dawntesye, gentleman; bequest of Erasmus' Paraphrases of the Bible to the parish, 1551, P2/2Reg/122C

Norton Bavant, William Benet, gentleman; to the poor people of Norton 6d for each house at his burial, month's mind and year's mind, 1559, P2/3Reg/159D

Pertwood, Peter Gwariar, rector; to be buried in the church of St. Peter, Pertwood before the picture of St. Peter; £3 to the church to buy a 'coope' (Communion cup), censor and 'manuell' and other things it lacks; 20s to buy a bell; his executors will cause to be said three trentals for his 'sowle helthe' and the masses st his burial to be counted for the same trental, 1558, P1/1Reg/15

Plaitford, Edward Whyte; 6s 8d to be distributed to the poor in bread at my burying and at my month day, 1557, P2/3Reg/39B

Poulshot, William Wilsun, vicar, in the 'chancel ende directly before the place where I usid to pray to God'; a silver spoon and all his books to the vicar of Potterne; 'I will that the vicar of Potterne to bury me and to see me honestly brought on Earthe and so

to say every night dirige with other orations as is ordained by the church the whole month'; he is to have 10s for his pains, 1558, P1/1Reg/17B

Salisbury St Edmund, John Gough, innholder; 'To the faythfull preacher of godes hollye worde to make a Sermon [in the church] at the daye of my burial 6s 8d', 1562, P1/2Reg/130

Semley, John Hygden; to the maintenance of a taper containing the weight of 2 ½ lbs. to be maintained before the high altar and the holy sacrament in the church for ever, 10s., to the common dirige held yearly in the church, 8s., 1548, P2/2Reg/38B

South Newton, Geoffrey Swett; to the poor people to be made into bread at my month's mind a sack of wheat, 1558, P2/3Reg/141C

Stapleford, Phillip Vycount, vicar; 12 priests to have 12d each at his funeral and the same at his month's mind, and the parson of Stockton to have at both times, 4s, 1557, P2/3Reg/58B

Steeple Ashton, John Longe, West Ashton, farmer; to be buried in the church '... and a psalme of david songe at my burial... to the pore people ther 2 bushelles of Wheat to be baked into loves of bred & distributed at my burial by my overseers', 1575, P2/5Reg/230A

Steeple Langford, William Bryther; 2s towards the buying of a canopy, 1554, P2/2Reg/189

Sherrington, John Cartar, rector; £4 10s to be bestowed on poor people at his burial and at his month's mind; £6 13s 8d for a priest to pray for him for one whole year after his departure, 1553 or 4, D1/43/185

Stockton, William Shephard, rector; to Ralph Ricrofte, priest of **Chilmark**, his best gown and all his books of scripture, 1557, P1/1Reg/14C

Stourton, Thomas Parrett, husbandman; to the 'sepulcre' light 1 wether sheep, 1547, P2/3Reg/24C

Teffont Evias, Philip Hobbys, yeoman; 'I geve legacy & bequeath unto the Church of Sutton (**Sutton Mandeville**) oon kowe to mayntayn a light before the Sacrament there. Also I geve & bequeath to the Church of Teffount Evyas Syx kyne prece vi markes for to have a yerely obijt with iiij prystes and eche to have for ther labour iiijd. & ther dynner and that to be at the oversyght of the parson & fermer ther for the tyme being And [if it] shall fortune the forseid the obijt nott to be kept at Teffounte yerely as hit ys before specified Then I wyll that the forseid kyne be delivered [to] the church <wardyns> of Sutton Mawnyfyld (**Sutton Mandeville**) and ther to have a yerely obijt as ys afforseid by the oversyght of the parson & fermer ther for the [time] being and

the dirige to be kept always the mondaye sevynyghtes after do(minica)s' in albis [Low Sundays, the Sunday after Easter Sunday]and the massis oon the twyseday with brede drynke & cheese at the dirige', 1544, P2/H/2

Teffont, Thomas Dove; an altar cloth to serve upon the high altar or else 2s for it, 1548, P2/2Reg/56B

Tisbury, John Arnold; for **Chicklade** church; 'towards a payre of vestementes ...40s to be stowed after the wyll of my wife. 6s 8d towards the byyng of a newe chalyce'; for Tisbury church' fyfthe wethers to mayntayne and fynde a lampe to brenne ther befor the sacrament nyght and daye and that my wife to have the ordering and the the keypyng of the saide shepe during her lyfe and to fynde the lampe. Also I bequethe to the brotherden of Tisbury towards the mayntaynyng of god is service and to be prayde for me and all my fryndes and all christen sowles fyfthe wether shepe yf the brotherhed prist do contynewe and syng ther and my wife to have the custody of the said shepe during her lyfe and pay yerely to the said brotherhed 13s. 4d. and yf hit shall fortune the said brotherhed to decay in her lyfe tyme that then I wyll she to be stowe the same shepe into some good <ordys> of charite as she shal <thynke most best>. Bequests to the churches of Tisbury (high altar) Fovant, Rollestone and Wilcot,' 1542, P2/1Reg/31A

Tisbury, Ann Warren, bequest of the residue of her estate after her debts are settled to be distributed at her funeral, her month' mind and year's mind month's and year's minds, 1558, P2/3Reg/77B

Tisbury, Thomas Mompesson senior, Chicks Grove, 'item I geve & bequeath to our mother church of sarum pro decimis oblitis (for forgotten tithes) 12d. desyryng the honorable cumpany or the same church ons (once) within the monethe as they shall thyncke best, to pray for my sowle with the colett for the dede. Item I bequeathe to sir Richard my curate 12d. to the clerke 8d. to the bedeman 6d. over & above his dutie for making of my grave and to every other syngyngman in the queare 6d, every chylde helping in the queare 4d. Item I bequeathe to the Churchwardens of Tisbury to the use of the same church for breaking of the grounde and the use of the belles during the moneth & yeres mynde 10s. Item I wyll that myne executric with suche as I do put in trust do or cause to be done one quarter of wheat or mor at ther discrestion to be put in doole bredde delivered at my buryall among the poor And so at my moneth & yeres mynde according to ther discrestion. Item I require my curat or the vicar or

curat for the tyme being openly every sonday in the yere, yf yt may be permitted, to pray for my sowle at the common prayer tyme and he to Receyve of my executric for his labor & salary 5s. item I geve & bequeath to every godchylde that I have lvyng in Chilmarke to pray for my sowle to be delivered to them & to every of them by my executric or her assignes. Item I bequeathe to every pore house holder having not a half(d) plowgh lande in Tysbury parishe every howse 12d.' 1560, P2/4Reg/58C

Urchfont, Nicholas Haume; 10s to the south window and the light there, 2s 8d, 1546, P2/2Reg/19

Trowbridge, Elizabeth Phillipps of Studley, widow; to the high altar a wedding ring, 1567, P5/1Reg/84B

Upton Lovell, Margaret Gardener, widow; to the poor at her burial 1d each and penny bread doles at her month's mind and her twelve month's mind, 1562 (made 1552), P2/G/10

Warminster, William Chamberlayne, Boreham; '... to the intent that god maye be the more lawdably served and the people also therby stered upp inwardly to delight the same I geve 4s towards the bynginge of a payre of Organes to be sett & used in the parish church of Warminster', 1576, P2/5Reg/255A

Warminster, Agnes Pilchard, widow; 2s towards 'the repayrng of the glase windowes of the chapel of Warminster and its furnishinges', 1586, P2/7Reg/39B

West Knoyle, Agnes Pope, widow, 'one cowe to maynteyne one taper before the roode', 1559, P2/3Reg/182A

Wilton, Elizabeth Carent, widow; 'that a prist shall singe for me after my departing the space of one hole yere haveing for his<wages> £6 'and the prist I leve' at the election of my executor, 1547, P2/2Reg/32

Winsley, William Wyltshyre, husb., 1 sheep to maintain yearly a taper before the sacrament of the altar, dat. 1547, P2/2Reg/115C

Winterbourne Gunner, Margaret Johnson, widow, 2s to buy an altar cloth, 1560, P2/4Reg/50C

Winterbourne Stoke, Thomas Mackerell, 12d. for wax to burn before the sacrament of the altar, 1546, P2/2Reg/15B

Winterbourne Stoke, Nicholas Lawse; to be buried in the chancel; to a priest for prayers for a year after death for my soul & of all Christian souls, £6 13s 4d, 1546 P2/2Reg/12

Wylde, Richard Crowche, Deptford; 'towards the newe healing of the body' of the chapel (*re-roofing*) at Deptford, 20s,' 1565, P2/4Reg/215B

BURIALS IN CHURCHES AND CHURCHYARDS (SPECIFIED PLACES)

Wishes to be buried in specified places in churches and churchyards are of interest to historians and archaeologists of Wiltshire churches. It must be remembered that references in wills are evidence of intention and not of actual burial and this was a custom that continued after the Reformation and the period covered by this survey. Mention of specific burial places in wills seems to have declined in the later 16th century and may be as a result the religious changes which swept away altars, chantries and private chapels associated with medieval cults. The most common examples are burials in chancels, the privilege of rectors, lay and ecclesiastical. As in the previous section priests figure prominently; 21 out of 85 wills.

Aldbury, Richard Leveredge, vicar; to be buried in the churchyard or else in the chancel as my executrix shall think most best, 1567, P5/2Reg/12D

Amesbury, Agnes Nottingham; by the Jesus chapel door, 1569, P2/5Reg/65B

Amesbury, Richard Bundaye; under the great bell, 1556, P2/2Reg/2C

Amesbury, Michael Skott; in the Jesus chapel, 1550, P2/2Reg/95B

Amesbury, John Skott; in the Jesus chapel, 1556, P2/3Reg/7B

Amesbury, William Bachelor, husbandman; in churchyard by the grave of his late master, John Andrews, 1558, P2/3Reg/110E

Amesbury, Margaret Beche, 'a religious sister' of the late abbey; in the Jesus chapel, 1553, P2/2Reg/175A

Amesbury, Nicholas Chamber alias Smyth; in the body of the church 'befor the Rowd' (rood), 1543, P2/1Reg/29

Baverstock, Christian Rabbetts alias Willoughby, widow; in the chancel; bequest of 5s to mend the way from the church to her dwelling house, 1575, P2/5Reg/219A

Boscombe, John Stevyns; in churchyard outside the south door, 1568, P2/2Reg/51B

Bower Chalke, Richard Buttery, curate; in the chancel; for a new coffer to secure and help the poor people, 20d, 1547 P2/2Reg/58D

Bower Chalke, Agnes Vincent, widow; in

churchyard by the chancel door, 1550, P2/2Reg/113B

Bower Chalke, Stephen Nightingale, husbandman; outside the south side chancel door, 1557, P2/5Reg/27B

Burbage, John Hutchens; in north aisle, 1568, P5/2Reg/29A

Charlton (near Pewsey), Robert Clark, vicar; 'afore the holy & blessed sacrament on the south part of the chauncell', 1599, P2/3Reg/162A

Chitterne All Saints, Thomas Blake; in the churchyard at the chancel door, 1584, P2/6Reg/116A

Chitterne St Mary, John Myddelcote, vicar; in the chancel, 1558, P2/3Reg/105D

Cholderton, John Deacon, priest; in the chancel, 1558, P2/3Reg/133C

Corsley, Joan Grene; in the church porch, 1569, P2/5Reg/71B

Chilmark, John Case, yeoman; in the Holy Sepulchre on the south side of the church, 1558, P2/3Reg/102C

Devizes St John, Katherine Bredd, widow; in the church 'as nighe unto my husband as may conveniently be found', 1572, P1/1Reg/56D

Dinton, William Grene of Upper Teffont, yeoman; in the south aisle, 1580, P2/5Reg/365

Ditchampton, John Hayes of Wilton, brewer; in the south aisle of St. Andrews; returns to St Mary, Wilton the house he purchased for the church for £5 (*possibly used for brewing church ale*), 1558, P2/3Reg/122C

Ditchampton, Elizabeth Hetheron, Chilhampton, South Newton, widow; in the chancel, 1563, P2/4Reg/140

Ditchampton, George Dawkins, gentleman; in the chancel, 1563, P2/4Reg/111B

Downton, William Jumper, New Court, yeoman; by his own seat, 1569, P2/5Reg/55B

Downton, Helen Latymer; in the chancel, 1569, P2/5Reg/52B

Downton, Joan Horner; in the chancel, 1550, P2/2Reg/97C

East Knoyle, Joan Meadon, widow; in the church adjoining to the place where my late husband was buried, 1576, P2/5Reg/279A

Edington, Henry Chatterton, Tinhead; in the church and Margaret, his widow, by him, 1575, P2/5Reg/229A&C

Enford, Alice Maten; in the chancel; to the poor people of Enford that have no plough of their own to each ½ bushel of wheat, 1558, P2/3Reg/98E

Erlestone, Christopher Chambers, yeoman; in the church porch, 1569, P2/5Reg/58D

Fonthill Bishop, John Feltham; in the south aisle, 1551, P2/2Reg/119A

Fonthill Bishop, Robert Feltam; in the south aisle, 1554, P2/2Reg/188A

Fovant, Richard Beymonde, curate; in the holy sepulchre, 1547, P2/2Reg/48A

Fugglestone Richard Bacon, Quidhampton, husbandman; in churchyard next to his wife, 1557, P2/3Reg/76B

Ham, Robert Curr, rector; in the chancel before the north door, 1562, P1/2Reg/140B

Holt, Margaret Sertene, widow; in the new aisle, 1566, P2/4Reg/231B

Imber, Alice Harrys, widow; in churchyard on north side of west end of church, 1559, P2/3Reg/163B

Kemble, John Timbrell; in churchyard before the church door, 1563, P1/2Reg/146A

Little Bedwyn, Lawrence Myllington, vicar; in the chancel, 1562, P5/1Reg/5A

Ludgershall, Thomas Houghton, rector; in the chancel, 1552, D1/43/1/171

Maddington, William Gylbarde, husbandman., in the chancel, 1548, P2/2Reg/59A

Marlborough SS Peter and Paul, James More, glover; in the church before my seat, 1546, D1/43/1/192B

Milston, John Burley, parson; in the chancel, 1569, P1/1Reg/99A

North Tidworth, John Cooling, rector, in the chancel, 1553, D1/43/1/174

Preshute, Mary Chapman alias Hiscoke, widow; in the middle of the church near to Margaret Daniell, 1570, P1/1Reg/24A

Salisbury, Richard Freman, esquire; in the college church of St. Edmund 'be hynde the hey auter ... next unto my wife be side the Trynyte auter next joining to the botteras (*buttress*) Ther as my father and mother lythe be fore oure lady of pette (*pity ie the Virgin Mary*)' 1504, G23/150/86

Salisbury St Edmund, Alice Holmes, in the church 'nere to the place where my husband was buried', 1561 P1/2Reg/132B

Salisbury St Edmund, Robert Baxter; in the north side of the churchyard, 1570, P1/2Reg/30C

Salisbury, Mantell, Wiliam, vicar; in the chancel, 1561, P1/2Reg/98A

Salisbury St Thomas, Robert Nelson, innholder; in church near to his pew, 1562 P1/2Reg/133A

Salisbury St Thomas, Percival Stonax, yeoman; in the churchyard 'nighe to the place there as my wife was buried', 1562, P1/2Reg/132A

Seend, Richard Franklyn, Seend Marsh, in south

aisle right under the East window of the aisle, 1571, P2/5Reg/117C

Shalbourne, Richard Parsone, (glover); in the choir, 1519, G22/1/245

Sherrington, John Cartar, rector, in the chancel, 1553, D1/43/1/185

Shorcote, Humphry Hayley, rector; in the chancel at the right end of the high altar, 1554, D1/43/1/189A

Shrewton, Richard Moggridg, husbandman; in the churchyard near to where 'my father doth lye', 1565, P2/4Reg/209D

Shrewton, Henry Harrison, vicar; in the choir, 1570, P2/5Reg/92B

South Newton, Thomas Wellys, in the churchyard before the porch, 1550, P2/2Reg/111D

Stapleford, John Harry, vicar, in the chancel, 1571, P2/5Reg/125C

Steeple Ashton, Stephen Whytely, West Ashton, husbandman; at the end of my seat, 1547, P2/2Reg/42(1)B

Steeple Ashton, Ellis Wright, vicar, under great marble stone at vestry door, 1569 P2/5Reg/53A

Steeple Ashton, William Stileman gentleman; 'in the quire where I do knele,' 1558, P1/2Reg/143

Steeple Ashton, Anthony Passhen of Littleton, clothier; 'before the seate where I do knele', 1559, P2/4Reg/21A

Steeple Langford, John Elyot, farmer of the parsonage; in the chancel, 1568, P2/5Reg/47

Stert, Andrew Goselyng; in the churchyard (litton) of the chapel of St. Faith (Feythe) against window of the south side of the chancel, 1547, P2/2Reg/74B

Sutton Mandeville, Thomas Humber; in the chancel, 1550, P2/2Reg/110C

Tisbury, Henry Lawrence, gentleman; in the south aisle, 1565, P2/4Reg/214C

West Grimstead, William Bowman, rector; in the chancel, 1552, D1 43/1/73B

Warminster, Elizabeth Bennet; in the chancel 'fast by my husband', 1551, P2/2Reg/131B

Warminster, Thomas Gyfford, Boreham, gentleman; in the Lady chapel in Warminster church, 1575, P2/5Reg/235B

Westbury, Ambrose Adlam; in or near the Jesus chapel; ref. to rents out of Raymylls; wishes that his great silver salt shall remain always in the house of Bytham so long as any of the name of Adlames shall live and remain [there], 1565, P5/1Reg/62

West Dean, Sibell Andrewes, widow; in the chancel, 1549, P2/2Reg/72B

West Dean, William Richardson, rector, in the

chancel on the north side of the high altar, 1557, D1/43/1/216B, 221B (copy)

West Lavington, John Briant, husbandman; in churchyard 'as neere into Littleton side as maie conveniently be done...', 1562, P1/2Reg/144A

Whiteparish, Michael Newman, in the church before St. Nicholas' altar, 1559, P2/3Reg/154B

Whiteparish, Richard Lyght, gentleman; in the churchyard at the west door by his father; 5s to maintain the west side of the church, 1560, P2/4Reg/56

Winterbourne Monkton, Thomas Stile, husbandman; 'my seates ende'; 5s to the church for 'brekinge uppe the grounde', 1570, P1/1Reg/38A

Wilton, Walter Gray, clothier, in the chancel, 1557, P2/3Reg/38C

Winterbourne Stoke, Richard Mogerygge; in 'ower ladye Ile', 1548, P2/2Reg/63C

Winterbourne Stoke, John Newman, husbandman; in our lady's aisle in the south side, 1556, P2/2Reg/5A

Winterslow, William Payne; in the chancel, 1558, P2/3Reg/107A

CHURCH DEDICATIONS

Changes of dedications are particularly hard to pin down in documentary sources. The process does not appear to have been determined by a formal procedure recorded in diocesan or parish archives. Thus only rare glimpses are provided as evidence of change. Current dedications are given in brackets.

Amesbury, St Melor, 1549, P2/2Reg/86A (St Mary and St Melor)

Corsley, St James, 1558, P2/3Reg/120A, 1562, P2/4Reg/99B (St Margaret of Antioch)

Ditchampton, St Andrew, 1558, P2/3Reg/122B (church closed)

Donhead St Mary, ref to chapel at Charlton, 1558, P2/3Reg/125B, St Peter's chapel, 1573 (will proved 1584), P2/6Reg/121B

Heytesbury, St Peter, 1562, P5/1Reg/9C (St Peter and Paul)

Patney, St Nicholas, 1560, P1/2Reg/118B (St Swithin)

Sherrington, St Cosmos and St. Damian, 1553 D1/43/1/185 (St Michael)

Stratford Tony, Stratford St Anthony, 1787, D1/14/1/20/ 8of 14 (St Mary)

Stert, St Faith, 1547, P2/Reg/74B (St James)

Sutton Veny (Magna), cemetery of our lady assumption, 1557, P2/3Reg/41A; St Mary, 1557 P2/

3Reg/72C, 81C; our lady of Fenny Sutton, 1577 P2/3Reg/93A (St John the Evangelist)

Wilton, St Nicholas, 1547, P2/2Reg/62A (St Mary and St Nicholas)

Wingfield, St Andrew, 1560, P2/4Reg/65A (St Mary)

Winterbourne Stoke, SS Peter and Paul, 1548, P2/2Reg/63C (St Peter)

Notes

¹ For further reading on this subject see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in*

England, c 1400-1570 (New Haven & London 1992) and *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (York 2001). Clare Gitting, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (Routledge 1988)

² Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary*, published in 1538, was the first Latin-English dictionary. He was the son of Sir Richard Elyot of Wiltshire and London and it is believed that he was born in Wiltshire; certainly he married Margaret Aborough of Downton, which possibly suggests why a copy was in the parish.

³ Possibly crock, an old ewe unable to bear young.

⁴ *A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament* by Thomas Cranmer, published in 1550.

The Scouring of the White Horse Country

by Brian Edwards

Exploring a seemingly sudden widespread disaffection with chalk horses in the nineteenth century, this paper traces elements of identity imposed on hill figures that represented region and nation for centuries prior to the comparatively recent adoption of prehistoric remains as national heritage. It questions long-held suggestions of a seven-year restoration cycle and the role of manorial lords, and examines the belief that those white horses created in a period starting in the late eighteenth-century were primarily motivated by the fashion for follies and horse painting.

*For the White Horse knew England,
When there was none to know. . .*

G.K. Chesterton, *Ballad of the White Horse*, 1911.

INTRODUCTION

Hill figures, sometimes referred to as turf monuments, are large subterranean shapes that have been carved into the side of a hill.¹ The turf layer is removed in the outline of a horse or other figure, and the excavated area is then backfilled with compacted chalk. The figures can be seen from a distance, but they do become overgrown and can in time disappear, so regular restoration is required in order to maintain them. Traditionally this refurbishment consists of weeding and replenishing the chalk with a renewal of the figure's outline, and is known as 'scouring'.

The oldest known hill figure is the Uffington White Horse, which having been created by trenches being cut and backfilled with chalk at some point between 1400 and 550 BC, has survived nature's unceasing determination to overgrow it for 3,000 years.² The remarkable survival of this hill figure is seemingly due to regular scouring over several millennia, which in recent centuries was traditionally executed at intervals often cited as around every seven

years.³ In view of this extraordinarily long-held custom it is particularly surprising that in 1880, when producing his paper on the 'The White Horses of Wiltshire', the Revd. Plenderleath noted only in passing that the traditional celebratory maintenance of the Uffington horse had ceased in 1857. He reported:

. . . since which time they have ceased, and the figure is now so overgrown with weeds as scarcely to be discernable from a distance, except by a person who knows where to look for it.⁴

Plenderleath's passive understatement belies the sudden unexplained termination of this extraordinarily long held landscape movement. The ancient custom of regularly restoring Uffington White Horse in celebratory fashion was so popular over the century prior to 1857, that the chalk hills of Wiltshire are today characterised by imitations spawned during this period. The effort involved in the creation and regular maintenance of these sites is testimony to the tremendous enthusiasm for hill figures at numerous locations across the region and much further beyond. Scouring at Uffington ceased, therefore, at a time when the popularity of white horse hill figures had seemingly been at a national high for three-quarters of a century.

This broad based national enthusiasm for chalk horses appears to have taken off in 1778, when a

rustic chalk 'horse' figure at Westbury⁵ was re-carved into a more realistic looking steed. A similarly shaped figure appeared at Cherhill in 1780, and another at Pewsey in 1785. Other white horse hill figures appeared outside the county, one appearing at Mormond Hill in Scotland around 1795 or perhaps earlier, and a horse with a rider appeared near Weymouth the following decade.⁶ Back in Wiltshire the Marlborough horse appeared in 1804, then Alton Barnes Horse was carved in 1812, following which the Hackpen Horse appeared at Broad Hinton in 1838, with another appearing at Litlington in Sussex in the same year, and then the Devizes 'Snob' Horse was cut by shoemakers in 1845. Chalk horses were also cut at Rockley, near Marlborough, and another just across the Wiltshire border at Woolbury in Hampshire.⁷ The end of this popular movement appears to centre on the last scouring festival at Uffington in 1857, yet even this final occasion inspired the horse at Kilburn (North Yorkshire) to be cut later the same year.

Although two other horses appeared after 1857, at Broad Town c. 1864 or earlier,⁸ and Inkpen c. 1868, these rather endorse the 1857 scouring at Uffington as a watershed in hill figure management.⁹ The Inkpen Horse was not maintained and soon disappeared, and the Broad Town horse was described soon after as in need of improving by the owner William Simmonds who was not sufficiently motivated to carry this through.¹⁰ Whatever induced this lack of enthusiasm and brought about the end of scouring at Uffington, it had also brought about the end of scouring elsewhere.

Following the cutting of Marlborough White Horse in 1804 by pupils of the High Street Academy, scouring with revels took place every year for approximately 30 years but halted upon the headmaster's death. The final scouring of Westbury White Horse took place in 1853, and in 1856, the year prior to the final scouring at Uffington, a final scouring took place at Alton Barnes.¹¹ Scouring was also halted at the hill figures of Tysoe, Whiteleaf, and Cerne Abbas which, along with Westbury, are cited as holding festivals in association with the scouring, similar to the practice at Uffington. The sudden unexplained termination of scouring at Uffington in 1857 was typical of all these sites, and seemingly marked the end of a tremendously popular national enthusiasm.

That the cessation of scouring was a result of sudden irremediable disaffection with these hill figures, is evident. With so many of the Wiltshire horses being close together their relative states would

surely have prompted comparison, their fading condition would be witnessed on a daily basis by those working in the fields and regularly noticed by parishioners emerging from services, as many hill figures could be seen from a church.¹² Where some motivational factor such as local pride had previously encouraged regular maintenance, however, the deterioration and loss of these figures failed to instigate the scouring of survivors. After 1857 all the hill figures tended towards neglect, and as a consequence numerous horses quickly disappeared including those at Rockley, Litlington, and Woolbury.¹³ The horse figures were ignored to the extent that there is no contemporary commentary on their decline during the ensuing decade, so it is impossible to state how many disappeared during this period, although it appears to have totalled around ten. A number of new chalk figures were carved during the twentieth century, but the total known to have disappeared to date now stands at sixty.¹⁴ This estrangement is in somewhat sharp contrast to the evident enthusiasm behind the hill figure movement in previous times.

CROSS PURPOSEES

Following the Reformation, a Saxon ancestry free of any influence from Rome was increasingly asserted



Fig. 1. *Verstegan's Hengist and Horsa landing in Kent, accompanied by a white horse standard*

by the Church of England in order to establish a historic origin for the English church. Scholarships in Anglo-Saxon were founded through the universities, and the process of familiarising with Anglo-Saxon language and literature led to transcribed and disseminated texts that benefited scholars. Among them was Richard Verstegan, who in entering Oxford as a Catholic knew his religious adherence would see him fail to gain his degree. Verstegan's studies, however, resulted in the publication of *A Restitution of decayed intelligence, in antiquities concerning the most noble, and renowned English nation* (Antwerp 1605, London 1653), which included an illustration of the Germanic leaders first described by the Venerable Bede (673-735) as landing in Kent in 449. Whilst more extensive accounts followed Bede's in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and *Historia Brittonum*, there had never been such an instant and vivid portrayal of the Saxon landing as Verstegan's illustration of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa complete with banner displaying a white horse (Fig. 1).¹⁵ Accompanying the illustration of the white horse are imaginative copper engravings of Saxon gods of unprecedented design,¹⁶ together with other descriptions and images from which numerous emblems and symbols appear to have developed, including the county symbols of Essex and Middlesex in addition of course to the white horse of Kent (Fig. 2). Although acknowledged by these counties, Verstegan's influence remains seemingly unrecognised further west in England beyond the early half of the seventeenth century, when his imaginative imagery was readily absorbed through the absence of any contemporary sense of national ancestry to rival the historically popular perceived past born of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *Brut* Chronicles.¹⁷

Sold from a stall in St Paul's churchyard and influentially appearing in the same year as Camden's *Remains: Concerning Britain* (1605)¹⁸ and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, Verstegan's *Restitution* promoted the Saxons as enhancers of indigenous culture. He not only argued that the Saxons were the formative influence of the English nation, but that the English were descended from the Germanic Saxons and were totally unrelated to the British. The strength of this belief was such that an identity developed embracing Danes and Saxons alike as Gothic, and a century later the Britons became defined through Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707) as Celts.¹⁹ The notion of the Saxons being at the root of English culture and ancestry was further popularised through such

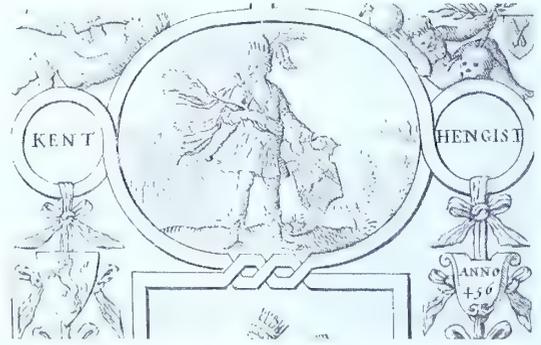


Fig. 2. *The Kent Invicta* (bottom, left) and *Hengist* in John Speed's atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1612). Note the shading indicating that the rear of Hengist's shield is shown, so the embossed horse faces right.

as Philemon Holland's English translation of William Camden's *Britannia* (1610), successive editions of which had included increasingly enlarged sections on Anglo-Saxon history, promoting an image of England as a nation founded on a language and religion emanating from a Saxon system of churches and monasteries. This topographical survey of antiquities contributed, as Edwin Jones has stated, 'much to the English sense of national identity in the sixteenth century'.²⁰ This Saxon identity was furthered by John Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631) which, in addition to reminding the church that it was a repository of social history, defended the historic founding of abbeys and priories. This prepared the ground for the developing interest in monasteries and monastic history later in the century by such as Sir William Dugdale, Thomas Tanner, Roger Dodsworth, and Henry Wharton. With the emphasis stressing a Saxon heritage having been replenished in 1649, when the head of the church was lost through the regicide of Charles I, Saxon scholarship flourished in Oxford University in the last half of the seventeenth century, much promoted through the enthusiasm of individuals encouraged by competition with Cambridge and the establishment of a lectureship in Saxon studies. The main corpus of Anglo-Saxon literature was made accessible in this period, and by the end of the century the works of Gildas, Nennius, and Asser had been edited, as had the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, which of course was purposely written in accessible language in the knowledge that this was how the rapid spread of Christianity had been facilitated.²¹ Bede, who had written of Augustine bringing Christianity to England, was considered papist, however, and

Abraham Whelock's translation of 1643 was intended for scholars rather than public consumption. The public would get their view of history from the pulpit, interpreted for them by such as Bishop Ussher, whose chronology extending from his calculation that Creation began on 23 October 4004 BC was universally adopted.²²

With the flow of Anglo-Saxon texts and the increasing focus on Anglo-Saxon history among academic and church circles, liturgy-induced stories that lauded Anglo-Saxon piety, mixed with a sense of Anglo-Saxon liberty and law, encouraged a developing sense of a Saxon heritage in parishes, so as to compete with the overwhelming presence of a Roman-influenced past. To this background popular celebrations were transformed into such as commemorative 'Saxon fairs', and sites were adopted and monuments created to commemorate the illusory sites of real and imagined Saxon centres, religious conversions, and battle victories. An example related to hill figures was a 'monk's' turf maze cut at Hilton Huntingdonshire in 1660.²³ Wider interest in Saxon customs and culture developed from John Selden's *Jani Anglorum Facies Altera* (1610), demanding an English translation in 1683; and Richard Hawkins's *A Discourse on the National Excellencies of England* (1658) fed a developing sense of national pride in Gothic-based historic deeds and feats.²⁴ This period saw Mummers Plays and pageant processions deploying contemporarily discovered historical personages, at which point several women characters suddenly became more celebrated. As tales of Robin Hood were 'remodelled' so Maid Marion made her first appearance at May games, Britannia became popularly renowned and first appeared on coins, and Lady Godiva made her first appearance at Coventry fair, which was reinstated in 1678. Other reinstatements included Gog and Magog; having been lost to the Great Fire of London in 1666 they were quickly resurrected and paraded as founders and defenders in pageants.²⁵ Alongside renewed and refashioned traditions, new events were also initiated as rediscoveries. In 1680, for instance, the Revd. Thomas Hayward was granted the right to hold an annual fair at Stonehenge, which since 1663 had been publicly attributed through poetry to the Danes.²⁶ These and many other public occasions were reinvented as descending from Saxon Merry England alongside the post-Restoration reintroduction of festivals dislocated from religion by the Reformation, and banned from the churchyard by Puritans.²⁷

Across England, and typically in Wiltshire, South Oxfordshire, and West Berkshire, every feature in the landscape and every peculiar custom has given rise to a history imagined to explain its being. Much of it came, as Raphael Samuel taught his students, 'with famed Saxons or Saxon monks attached'.²⁸ The emphasis on a Saxon past was perhaps significantly encouraged in these and other locales by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Oxford students who, having been stimulated by university lectures in Anglo-Saxon history and the Gothic identity promoted by the church, were active in the wider region, and of course graduated to pulpits nationwide. In 1742 the Revd. Francis Wise reported that Oxford colleges were connected to commemorations close to Oxford at Whiteleaf in Buckinghamshire. Links such as these could have been established through land ownership, but the number of other Saxon-styled celebrations in the region is either a general reflection of the penetration of the Saxon ideal, or suggests that the colleges may have been particularly active in encouraging 'Saxon' commemoration at locations in the vicinity of the university. In addition to the scouring festival at Whiteleaf, Joseph Strutt cites an Abingdon churchwardens' account for setting up 'Robin Hoode's bower'. A pageant commemorating a victory by Cuthred King of the West-Saxons was annually celebrated at Burford on the Oxfordshire border with Gloucestershire, and of course there is the scouring festival at neighbouring Uffington.²⁹ The involvement of people from outside, at both Whiteleaf and Uffington, suggests not only an acceptance on the part of the local squire and remaining population,³⁰ but that it may have been fostered and supported by a network of encouragement and information beyond parish bounds. Such a network at that time perhaps could only be facilitated through the church, or the seminary that was Oxford University.³¹

The church's hand in scouring in this period is evidenced in the Churchwardens' Accounts for 'Repairing of ye Giant 3s' at Cerne Abbas in Dorset.³² There are few surviving references recording any detail of scouring prior to the end of the seventeenth century. Two seventeenth-century accounts, one at Uffington and one at Tysoe, refer to scouring being performed as an obligated service for lands held, and four accounts dated between 1486 and 1541 appear in Plymouth Corporation's Audit Book for financial payment for 'ye renewing' and 'cuttyng' of the figures of giants carved into the face of the Hoe.³³ While manorial obligation connected with take-up of land

is understandable, and corporate payment for a municipal coastal defence strategy imaginable, church involvement at Cerne Abbas has been reasoned only in connection with the manor.³⁴ The date of the churchwardens' account, however, is highly suggestive of the anti-Catholic commemorations of that period. It was only fifteen years after the 'Popish Plot' and celebrations of the failure of the Gunpowder Plot 1605 had been reinvigorated only six years previously when William Prince of Orange (1650-1702) landed at Torbay in neighbouring Devon on 5 November 1688. This event was celebrated at Cerne Abbas by the purchase of a commemorative thanksgiving book for 'being preserved from Popery and arbitrary power'.³⁵ The date of the landing lent further cause for celebration as November 4 also happened to be William III's birthday. The resultant fusion of celebrations has been most suitably summarised by David Cressy:

And after 1688 the anniversary of the landing of William of Orange – significantly but fortuitously on 5 November – focused attention on the double deliverance of liberty and religion. Celebrations of William's birthday on 4 November became entwined with commemorations of his landing on the fifth. In a further mutation, the Gunpowder anniversary was harnessed to the struggle against arbitrary government and Jacobite tyranny, as well as popish religion.³⁶

Whilst since 1605 an official day of thanksgiving, the Whigs made 5 November a holiday to recall the 'Glorious Revolution of 1688', and the established church used this uniquely English anniversary to denigrate any form of dissent. Traditionally-lit bonfires, a particular expression of freedom and liberty which were being celebrated as distinctive Anglo-Saxon attributes, became a vehicle for sectarian affirmation once reunited with the firework celebrations that had been banned between 1685 and 1688 during the reign of the Catholic James II.³⁷ The vicar of Cerne Abbas in this period was the Revd. John Ball BA, who took up his post in 1672 and remained the incumbent until 1711. This may have been the John Ball who was born at neighbouring Yetminster in 1647, and who graduated from Oxford in 1666.³⁸ It is tempting to associate him with Oxford's Anglo-Saxon bias, perhaps viewing the Uffington and Whiteleaf figures in the vicinity. He may even have witnessed or taken part in scouring ceremonies and, thus primed, took up his post in Cerne Abbas. However, whilst a seminary scholar might appear to be the most likely to discover and perhaps trace references,³⁹ Cerne Abbas had no need

to rely on the incumbent to discover an association with a Saxon past. The coming of Augustine in 597 was described in accessible Latin in Book One of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. William of Malmesbury promoted the story and from 1586 successive editions of Camden's *Britannia* published that Cerne Abbey was founded by St Augustine of Canterbury, to commemorate the site where he had 'broken into pieces the idol of the heathen English Saxons'.⁴⁰ An embracing emphasis had of course been placed behind the history of abbeys being founded by John Weever in 1631, and the modern definition of Augustine's standing in the *Dictionary of Saints* as 'venerated as the evangeliser of England as distinct from Roman Britain',⁴¹ underlines the attractiveness to the post-Reformation church of exploiting a site associated with this key figure. Accessibility to *Britannia* was of course fashionably wide after the English translation was made available in 1610, and a new edition of *Britannia* appeared in 1637, so it was not so much restricted knowledge as current public history that Cerne Abbas had a Saxon idol called 'Heil'.⁴²

Whatever the actual origin of the Cerne Giant, the churchwardens of 1694 would not be paying for the refurbishment of the figure unless its believed identity conformed to church beliefs. The church authorities would not have been paying for the restoration if they thought the figure's origin (as now commonly considered) was Pagan Celtic, Roman Catholic, a Roman Hercules, or a cartoon Cromwell. This is not to argue that these must be dismissed as possible origins, but merely to reason that in order to pay for the restoration in 1694 the churchwardens must have believed the figure represented something with which the church would wish to be associated.⁴³ What the church wanted to believe the Cerne Giant represented appears to have been noted in the year following the scouring of 1694, since the Bishop of London Edmund Gibson's new edition of *Britannia* reported that:

Cerne Abby was built by Austin the English Apostle, when he had dashed to pieces the idol of the Pagan Saxons there called Heil.⁴⁴

Forty years on from the 1694 scouring, Cerne Abbas received a visitation from the Bishop of Bristol, who understandably enquired after the origin and meaning of the Giant. Another thirty years passed before recollections of that visitation were added to the Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries,⁴⁵ which would reveal to few the opinion of the Revd. John Hutchins Rector of Wareham:

Mr Hutchins himself thinks it was without doubt, intended for a memorial of the Saxon God Heil.⁴⁶

Public accounts varied, however. One story perhaps not unrelated to the appearance of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* in 1726 suggested that the Giant had fallen asleep on the hill and was tied down by peasants, and other stories remained undecided whether the Giant was 'cut by the Ancient Britons or the work of the Papists'.⁴⁷

Public attention was first drawn to the Giant through a pamphlet published in 1742 by the Revd. Francis Wise (1695-1767). Wise, of Trinity College Oxford, was the first to bring hill figure sites to wider public attention, and in addition to publicising the figures at Uffington, Westbury, and Whiteleaf, Wise wrote himself into history by being the first to publicize the Cerne Giant – despite not at that time having seen the figure.⁴⁸ In a seemingly innocuous tangent in his *Further Observations on the White Horse and other Antiquities in Berkshire* (1742), Wise posed a question over the possible Catholic origin of the figure by referring to it as the 'Giant of Cerne Abbey Dorsetshire', then adds so sparse a description of a site so remote from his stated area of interest that only in self-promotion it appears was he mentioning it at all. Wise stated that he, 'had not time to examine the tradition concerning it', and that he did not want to impinge as the area was being researched by another antiquary, whom Wise does not name but may be assumed to have been John Hutchins. Wise was determined to make a name for himself, it seems, and it is perhaps no coincidence that at this time he was hoping to be elected to the Society of Antiquaries.

In his pamphlet of 1742, Wise brought to wider attention a horse figure that had been carved on a hillside at Bratton near Westbury. Although he usually convinced himself that such sites were of Saxon origin, in this instance Wise stated that it had been made within the memory of those 'living, or but very lately dead'.⁴⁹

The White Horse of Bratton-Castle in Wiltshire

In the neighbourhood of Edington in Wiltshire, the place where Alfred gained the second most remarkable victory of his life, is a White Horse cut on the side of an high and steep hill, and under a large Roman fortification called Bratton-Castle, from the neighbouring town of Bratton : so in this respect 'tis not unlike the Berkshire Horse. Bratton Castle is likewise the very place whither, as antiquaries agree, Alfred after the battle pursued Guthrum the Danish

King, ...Notwithstanding which I must give my readers caution about it. For did not the fabrick discover it to be modern, yet the inhabitants of Westbury, a borough town a mile from it, and instituted a revel or festival thereupon, might inform them as much; it having been wrought within the memory of persons now living, or but very lately dead.⁵⁰

Wise could of course have been mistaken about the modernity of the figure, and the testimony could be referring to a scouring or even a redesign rather than a cutting,⁵¹ but the testimony appears plausible in the light of the church stance on Saxonism. Furthermore Wise's declaration that the figure was modern, as opposed to his customary habit of believing sites to be Saxon, makes this finding appear more credible.⁵² There was also an obvious precedent and model for the Westbury figure in the form of the geography, equinity, Alfredian associations, and festival of the Uffington figure. In terms of timing another hill figure, the Wilmington Long Man, has recently been dated to the seventeenth century, and there was also of course the scouring of the Cerne Giant in 1694 to underline active interest in cutting and maintaining hill figures in this period.⁵³ Another consideration is that the site was already publicly revered. The 1586 edition of William Camden's *Britannia* had embedded Edington near Westbury in the public's memory as the site of the Battle of Ethandun, and its location and importance had long been promoted by the number of seventeenth-century reissues of Camden's work.

Edington where the fight was in the fields between the town and Bratton-castle, which without doubt was the place the Danes fled after their rout, and held out a siege of 14 days.⁵⁴

During the period Wise suggests the figure was cut, stories highlighting Saxon battles and characters were increasingly circulated in the interests of the church. The Battle of Ethandun was actively promoted as the turning point of English history, and King Alfred became an increasingly recalled and widely admired historic figure, with his rôle being emphasised in the public's mind through received definitions of England's foremost historic character, model king, and greatest ever Englishman.⁵⁵ It is then unsurprising that other landmarks created to commemorate Alfred and the Battle of Ethandun appeared in the period that followed. In addition to the bust of Alfred that adorned the Temple of Worthies at Stowe, the Jacobite-leaning Tory Lord

Bathurst revealed, when writing to Alexander Pope on 24 July 1732, that he had almost completed his 'Hermitage'. This was a folly in the form of a castellated ruin in commemoration of Alfred the Great's famous victory at Ethandun that he named 'Alfred's Hall',⁵⁶ and it was later claimed as the place where Alfred dressed as a minstrel in order to pass amongst the Danes and discover their plans.⁵⁷ Alfred's Hall was later paralleled by 'Alfred's Tower', built at Stourhead in 1762 to mark both the supposed point at which Alfred rallied his forces to fight the Battle of Ethandun, and the accession of George III.⁵⁸ Indeed George III's rise to popularity seems to have been foreshadowed by a number of Alfredian publications, including A. Bicknell, *The Life of Alfred the Great: King of the Anglo-Saxons* (London 1777), Robert Holmes, *Alfred: An Ode, with Six Sonnets* (Oxford 1778), Owen Manning, *The Will of King Alfred* (Oxford 1778), Ebenezer Rhodes, *Alfred: An Historical Tragedy* (Sheffield 1789), and John Penn, *The Battle of Edington, or, British Liberty: A Tragedy* (London 1792).⁵⁹ Alfred's reputation and popularity had been reaffirmed following the Hanoverian succession, and with a Saxon present to compare and match with the Saxon past new slanted interests in Saxonism had surfaced. Rosemary Sweet illustrated this point through Edmund Gibson's dedication to George I, that echoed Verstegan's, 'chiefest blood royal of our ancient English Saxon Kings,' dedication, and appeared in the revision of Camden's *Britannia* 1722:

Not only our Histories, but our Language, our Laws, our Customs, our Names of Persons and names of Places, do all abundantly testify, that the greater part of your Majesty's Subjects here, are of SAXON Original. And if we enquire from when our Saxon Ancestor's came, we shall find, that it was from your Majesty's Dominions in *Germany*.⁶⁰

Britannia, as already stated, was often the spur underlying public interest, and its promotion of the etymology of place names and increasing focus on Anglo-Saxon history had a stimulating effect on the enquiries of antiquaries.⁶¹ The 1722 edition, which carried Gibson's dedication and contained a list of common Saxon place names, appeared in the same year in which Bodley's Sub-Librarian, the Revd Francis Wise, published his text of 'Asser's Life of Alfred' (1722)⁶². Stimulated perhaps by *Britannia* and quite possibly through the attention given to Anglo-Saxon history at Oxford University, where he gained his appointment of Keeper of the Archives in 1726, Wise started to further his interest through

exploratory field studies.⁶³ In 1738 this resulted in the publication of a pamphlet promoting Uffington White Horse as a monument cut to commemorate Alfred's victory over the Danes at the Battle of Ashdown in 871.⁶⁴

Wise's pamphlet undoubtedly advertised the Uffington horse and invested a more detailed association with Alfred through a relatively cheap and readily accessible account, but as scouring festivities and encouragement to associate with Saxon sites had long been taking place, he may merely have been endorsing what was already believed by the majority of those familiar with the landmark.⁶⁵ Despite the battle having been fought under Alfred's brother Ethelred, and at a location which remained unknown, the belief that the Uffington horse was cut to celebrate 'Alfred's victory' at Ashdown was directly drawn from the existence of the landmark, and of the immediate evidence of human intervention through the barrows and other earthworks in the surrounding landscape. Unless determined by shape and size as defensive barriers, barrows and other earthworks were believed to be burials that, being outside churchyards, were explained as resulting from war. Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682) confirmed in a *Tract on Artificial Hills, Mounds, and Barrows* that barrows were 'hills of interment for remarkable and eminent persons, especially such as died in wars'.⁶⁶ The large number of barrow groups in the surrounding area of the White Horse was taken to confirm that a great battle had occurred on the Downs; and the proximity of the hill figure to the place-name Ashdown identified it as the site of the battle of *Ascesdune*.⁶⁷ The theory was further endorsed by nearby Wantage being celebrated as King Alfred's birthplace, and Alfred's fame and the renown of the battle gave rise to a landmark becoming known locally as 'Alfred's Castle'. In addition the post-Reformation church may perhaps be thanked for 'Christening' the remains of a Neolithic long barrow after the early Germanic legend of 'Wayland'.⁶⁸ These local names were then used as ancient proof of the great battle that took place, which of course was corroborated by the Saxon horse being the emblem of Hengist and Horsa, and hence adopted by Alfred, as Wise himself suggested:

No-one can be ignorant that the Horse was the Standard which the Saxons used, both before and after their coming.⁶⁹

Thus although historical knowledge spread and intensified from publications, with translations and ideas filtering out from those, such as the clergy, who

had access to this material, the harbinger of historical awareness in cases such as Uffington was often the site itself. And it is no coincidence that many of the Georgian chalk horses were carved below earthworks and other landmarks. The hill figure was a constant reminder that something happened at this place in history, and immediately prompted anyone witnessing it to ask questions. Such questions myth and legend were more ready than history to answer. In the example of the Uffington White Horse, its presence was such that it was considered ancient and magnificent. Therefore it had to have been instigated to commemorate something equally ancient and magnificent, and there was no more widely known great historical act in the vicinity than 'Alfred's victory' over the Danes.

Seemingly nothing could override the overwhelming popular wish for a Saxon connection throughout this period, and even the most plausible and well presented counter-argument was ignored.⁷⁰ Wise's original findings were published in *A Letter to Dr Mead concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly showing that the White Horse, which gives name to the great Vale or valley which it overlooks is a monument of the West Saxons, made in memory of a great Victory obtained over the Danes A.D. 871* (Oxford, 1738). This met with a methodically argued if vitriolic riposte in 1740 from the pseudonymous 'Philalthes Rusticus', believed by Plenderleath to have been the Revd. William Asplin, vicar of Banbury.⁷¹ In *The Impertinence and Imposture of Modern Antiquaries Display'd: or A Refutation of the Rev. Mr. Wise's letter to Dr. Mead, concerning the White Horse and Other Antiquities of North Berks, In A Familiar Letter to a Friend* (1740), Rusticus not only mauled Wise's appraisal of Uffington White Horse, but made clear that there was no direct evidence connecting the hill figure with the West Saxons.⁷² The character assassination of Wise and the sarcasm with which it was embellished, however, somewhat worked against what was being argued.⁷³ The serious points Rusticus made were subsequently overlooked, and his interjection launched a famed dispute that made the White Horse even more widely renowned than ever before. Consequently the only lasting effects were born of his insults and any reactionary distortions through which Wise thought to justify himself.

In the year following the attack by Rusticus, Wise was defended by the Revd. George North, in *An Answer to a Scandalous Libel Intituled 'Impertinence and Imposture of Modern Antiquaries Display'd'* (1741). North and Wise did not know one another, and prior

to the attack from Rusticus being published North had himself been among those finding fault with Wise's pamphlet, albeit in a rather less hostile and more private way.⁷⁴ The reason for North's transition from private critic to public defender is unclear, although the suggestion that North 'took pity' on the besieged Wise has been made by Leslie Grinsell, who credits North's publication with having lent Wise sufficient confidence to publish more of his researches.⁷⁵ Wise perhaps had no need of North's intervention, however, as he more than ably defended his position with a follow-up publication in which he shrewdly introduced another category of turf hill figure, the Christian Saxon cross monument.

In *Further Observations on the White Horse and other antiquities* (1742), Wise's account of the Whiteleaf Cross (Fig. 5), a figure carved in the Chiltern Hills in the shape of a Greek Cross mounted in a pyramid stand, appeared in the wake of Stukeley's Christian-embraced *Stonehenge*. By Christianizing hill figures alongside ancient monuments in general (as purported by Stukeley and to all outward appearances officially endorsed by the church), Wise laid the foundation for an expanding belief that hill figures were monuments created at the very moment that England converted to Christianity. The horse therefore denotes a victory gained by the Saxons over some other people, the Cross some action in which the Christians prevailed over the Pagans.⁷⁶

If accepted, Wise's findings would launch hill figures into areas of status that could not be more highly regarded in England, and as this class of monument was something very much wanted ever since Matthew Parker adopted stories of Joseph of Arimathea, there was a tendency of wanting to believe and willing it to be true. In order to be accepted, however, the cross hill figure required an inspirational history which by contemporary logic would have to involve a battle over pagan opposition. This then should have disqualified the Whiteleaf hill figure site, as there was not any tradition in respect of any known battle taking place nearby. Wise, however, etymologically argued such a battle into existence by translating neighbouring Bledlow as 'Bloody Hill', then reasoning that this meant a place where Danes were massacred. Incredibly, Wise then embroidered his translation by concluding the site was on the line of a Danish retreat in AD 921, and that the Danes had met their end fighting a Saxon force under the command of Alfred's son Edward the Elder. To complete the image Wise decreed that the 'globe', the traditional local name given to the stand part of the Whiteleaf hill figure, should now

be known as the 'Altar' and the foundation was laid for the belief that this represented Calvary.⁷⁷

While some of Wise's findings may seem to us quite bizarrely reasoned, it is notable that the naturally decaying hill figure sites he made out to be Saxon heritage were regularly maintained. This was during a period when naturally robust Avebury megaliths were being destroyed with 'no less than four villages, two parish churches, and a demolished Chapel' having 'risen out of the Ruins'.⁷⁸

Wise died in 1767 with his reputation and findings remaining assured only where he had decided a site was Saxon. In his revision of Camden's *Britannia* published in 1789, Richard Gough endorsed Wise's view of the Uffington figure by stating:

This horse is with great probability supposed to be a memorial to Alfred's victory over the Danes at Ashdown.⁷⁹

Gough, however, reveals the strength of the preconceived longing to impose a Saxon heritage in the description of the Westbury figure in his 1806 edition:

an undoubted memorial of this important victory (at Ethandun), and similar to that by which Alfred commemorated his first great victory in Berkshire eight years previously . . . I am surprised this very learned investigator (Francis Wise) of these kind of monuments among us should doubt the antiquity of this horse which so exactly corresponds with the other both in execution and intention, and represent it as a modern make within memory. As I could find no such tradition when I surveyed it in 1772, he must have been misled to confound the scouring with the original making.⁸⁰

THE SAXON OLYMPICS

On the last occasion the Uffington White Horse was scoured in 1857, the ordinary people of the district came together to restore the figure as a precursor to a two-day festival. This festival, or 'pastime' as it was known, was recorded by Thomas Hughes in *The Scouring of the White Horse* (1859). Although written in novel form this describes actual events as Hughes witnessed them on his return to his home village of Uffington in 1857.⁸¹ The content of the festival was similar to Uffington feast, which Hughes described in the more widely known *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857).⁸² Through Tom Brown Hughes explains that although there was no longer any remembrance of

why the 'veast' had started; that it was more ancient than a statute feast; and was established in the churchyard on the wake or festival of the patron saint, and had remained on the same day ever since. The feast it seems still held many customary games in as traditional a format as anyone could remember, and these events were repeated in similar form at the revels that accompanied the scouring, including such as 'backwording' and wrestling, sack races, pole climbing, and grinning (gurning or grimacing) through a horse collar (Fig.3). Even the *Victoria County History* for Berkshire subscribed to the view that

the cudgel playing and other rural sports and festivities which always followed, may very well be the modern survivals of periodical religious gatherings when the inhabitants of the Vale of the White Horse met for religious rites or ceremonies.⁸³

The feast, however, was undergoing transition. The 'gentlefolk and farmers have taken to other amusements' bemoaned one of Hughes's characters. 'They don't either subscribe to the prizes, or go down and join the fun', he continued, further noting that the prizes were no longer 'enough to draw any very high talent from a distance'. What a contrast then Hughes paints of the revels accompanying the scouring of the White Horse, the impression of a dignified occasion exuded through such as the Lord of the Manor presiding over age old amusements, and folk from far and near attending in huge numbers to participate and partake of the spectacle. Hughes still reports signs of change, but in all promotes the scouring revels as a model of traditional consistency and grounds for continuing patronage. The basic difference between the success of the scouring revels and the root of the problems behind the feast it seems, 'arises from the further separation of our classes'. The scouring revels of a century before had also been shunned by the upper classes, but Hughes was aware that those revels had been transformed into unprecedented success and popularity through the sanction and presence of the élite. The popularity proving so infectious, it was the launch-pad for a stable of white hill horses carved across Wiltshire and further afield.

Wise recognised, much as Hughes would a century later, that twists of history had taken the customary practices of feasts and revels through an unfathomable maze.

The ceremony of Scouring the Horse ...which from time immemorial has been solemnized by a numerous



Fig. 3. The cover of Thomas Hughes's *The Scouring of the White Horse*, first edition 1859, showing examples of the scouring festival games, including climbing the greased pole, pig catching, sack races, and backwording.

concourse of people from all the villages round about...that the meaning of this custom has been so long forgot, is not at all to be wondered at, considering the convulsions, and changes, which the state of our nation has undergone, the ignorance that ensued, and the persons to whose care it has chiefly been left to keep it up. The same thing may be observed of other customs with great strictness observed by the vulgar, though they are unable to give any tolerable account of their origin, particularly that of Wakes, or Feasts of The Dedication of Churches . . .⁸⁴

Wise, however, focussed upon a replication of some imagined Saxon origins. Upon discovering the games, he not only placed a commemorative reason behind them, but he underlined their value, then called for the 'RESTORATION OF THE SAXON OLYMPICS'.

Since therefore this noble antiquity (the Uffington White Horse) is now explained, and consequently the reason for the Festival, it were to be wished, that, in order to prevent for the future its falling into oblivion, some care was taken of the regulation of the Games, and that they were restored to their ancient splendour, of which, without question, they are fallen much short.⁸⁵

Wise believed there would be no return to his imagined former times whilst the festival was in the hands of the ordinary people, and that this transformation could only be achieved by:

the countenance and presence of Nobility and Gentry; which would have a good influence upon the assembly, add decency to the meeting, and restrain the excesses of the populace.⁸⁶

Revels were not, however, the chosen holiday entertainment of the gentry. Popular culture was subject at the time to the recommendations of Henry Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares* (1725), that decided what should be patronised and what renounced; unsurprisingly revels where unsophisticated games such as shin-kicking were held were not to be recommended. The upper classes had their own customary sports and amusements. They had no heartfelt interest or sense of hereditary belonging in connection with the revels in the same way as ordinary people, and there was no attraction or motivation for them to attend. The upper class simply did not identify with the events and the reputations, as Hughes described in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*:

Benjy himself had won renown long ago as an old

gamester, against the picked men of Wiltshire and Somersetshire, in many a good bout at the revels and pastimes of the countryside. For he had been a famous backsworwardman in his younger days, and a good wrestler at elbow (arm wrestling) and collar (wrestling). Backsworwarding and wrestling were the most serious pursuits of the Vale – those by which men attained fame – and each village had its champion.

The autonomous organisation of the scouring revels by the ordinary folk of Uffington, it seems, may have developed from customarily impromptu and unstructured trials and tests. These can be imagined evolving from fun and games, during and after work in the fields. Racing downhill on the manger after a cartwheel epitomises the topographical rusticity of the scouring revels described by Hughes, and is an example of how even very tired working people will be tempted to utilise their environment and adapt equipment in some form of trial or measure of each other. Climbing the greasy pole and sack races are obvious adaptations from the working environment, and the custom of clothing as prizes perhaps developed from impromptu wagers by people who had nothing else with which to back a claim or offer as reward.

Festivals of games often arose from seasonal calendar rituals that had originally ensured labour collected at the right time and place to perform intensive tasks. These would include such as meadow mowing, waste clearance, or boundary marking. Effective completion of these collective tasks providing an opportunity for communal recreation and diversionary amusement, in addition to collective mingling. These social and recreational opportunities appear to be the reason at least in part behind the survival of these events after customary tenure and contract leases had superseded direct labour services.⁸⁷ This appears to be the case at Uffington. Paul Newman cites Thomas Cox stating in *Britannia* (1720), that scouring was conducted at or near midsummer, and completion of the work witnessed feasting and merriment at the end of the day.⁸⁸

Hughes describes the scene when the scourers had just finished work, 'sitting round a large can of beer which the Squire has sent down to them', and supposedly singing the 'Ballad of the Scouring of the White Horse':

The owld White Horse wants zettin to rights,
And the Squire hev promised good cheer,
Zo we'll gee un scrape to kip in zhape,
And a'll last for many a year.

Hughes underlined the fiction by stating immediately prior to this passage that this might be a joke,⁸⁹ and Plenderleath was amongst those recognising the modernity of this ballad, as was Flinders Petrie. There remained the suggestion, however, that the Lord of the Manor held his land in part under an 'obligation to feed and entertain the assembled company'. A modern tradition of sponsorship certainly dates from the enclosure movement, and subsequent to this residents in Cumnor were able to claim beer and bread from the incumbent at a festival, but the patriarchal patronage of scouring revels adopted by Craven is not the same as obligation.⁹⁰ Revels and similar events had a tradition of home brewing. Independent of any manorial obligation or religious ritual, festivals of games had, since the Restoration, been reliant on individuals bringing 'their own victuals and contributing some petty portion to the stock'.⁹¹ Once former ales, wakes, feasts and festivals were free of the church, however, entrepreneurial innkeepers started to sponsor festivals by deploying prizes in order to attract participants and spectators. Thus revels in many cases were held in the grounds of the inn, such as at the *Crown Inn* at Theale and the *Red Lion* at Basildon.⁹² Once established, stallholders were invited to set up in the grounds of the inn, just as they would at fairs and markets, and home-brewers followed suit as the crowds increased by opening unlicensed bush houses *en route* to the revel inn or fairground, as they did at Stockton and at Swindon.⁹³ Bush houses were notorious for riotous behaviour, however, and were eventually forced to stop trading or become licensed. Those that survived sometimes retained the title of 'bush' in their name as in the case at Hampstead's 'Old Bull and Bush', which may be recalled from musical hall song fame. This change in drinking habits was recalled by Hughes through the words of an elderly local in *The Scouring of the White Horse*:

Sir, a man medn't brew and sell his own beer now: and oftentimes he can't get nothing fit to drink at thaa'y little beer-houses as is licensed, nor at some o' the public houses too for that matter.⁹⁴

Through this novel Hughes also highlights the change in the tradition of 'prize attractions', which until 1776 had remained characterised by clothing, that would often be in the form of hats, gloves, and buckles. This remained the form for prizes not just for most revels, but all manner of competitions for the working class. Dating from 1715, 'Doggett's coat and badge race' is the oldest annual sporting event still held in England, and the winner of this boat

race on the Thames is still to this day awarded a badge and a coat. This is of particular relevance to the horse hill figures introduced later in the century as the badge motif is of the Hanoverian horse (Fig. 4), but the coat and badge prize also marks this race out as being for working boatmen.



Fig. 4. The emblem of Doggett's Coat and Badge Race. Reproduced with the kind permission of Brian Shuel.

Cash was the customary currency for wagers between gentlemen racing on horseback, which in time saw cups adopted and alongside junior events sponsored prizes of saddles, whips, and similar tack. A horse race exclusively for gentlemen of worship was inaugurated as early as 1610, and accompanied by a St George's Day pageant.⁹⁵ Horse races were mostly nomadic *ad hoc* matches, however, until 1711, when the course at Ascot is stated to have developed from a natural clearing Queen Anne first noticed near Windsor Great Park. The *Racing Calendar* was first published in 1729, and as organised racing had become established so newspapers regularly featured columns advertising racing meets offering prizes in the form of cups and cash, which appeared alongside advertisements for revels, where the prizes remained clothing as was customary.⁹⁶ Unsurprisingly then, the addition of horse racing to the Uffington scouring revels in 1776, saw prizes of a cup and tack appear alongside clothing awarded for the more traditional revels events. It was then only a matter of time before the tradition of offering cash prizes, developed in association with horse racing and other gentlemanly sports, spread to most other events at the scouring revels.⁹⁷ Monetary awards in association with sports other than racing were not unknown at the start of the nineteenth century, and included 'prize-fights' and backsword competitions. One handbill for 'Backsword Playing' to be held in the Square, Swindon in September 1808, offered 'Old Gamesters'

a prize of twelve guineas to the winner on the first day with three guineas to whoever came second, and three guineas to the best 'Young Gamester' (anyone who had never won a prize over 10s. 6d.), and one guinea to whoever came second. In addition the winner of each bout received 2s. and the loser 1s., with the bout being decided by drawing blood that ran at least one inch from an opponent's head.⁹⁸ Prior to this period the backsworders competed for some token of clothing, and at the end of a bout the declared winner would reverse their homemade weapons, which had a wicker hand-guard that usefully doubled as a basket for collecting coins, and held this out to the crowd for donations, customarily giving part of this 'prize money' to his defeated opponent. The change to bouts sponsored with cash prizes was therefore not as dramatic as Hughes appears to convey, by posing a character in his novel comparing a handbill of the 1776 scouring to the programme for 1857:

Our great grandfathers you'll see gave no money prizes: we scarcely any others.

The metamorphosis of plebeian cultural events under élite intervention has an extensive history, and includes Robert Dover's early seventeenth century transformation of the Chipping Camden cum Weston Whitsun Revels into the Cotswold Games. Unlike traditional revels these new games, as Ronald Hutton points out, were 'a new departure taking its model from ancient Rome and consisting of sports, with an emphasis on competition and prowess'.⁹⁹ Although not in any accentuated way some revels events also had elements of competition and skill, particularly wrestling and backword play. With the onset of sponsored prizes these events took on a regional focus. And as entering names on the day became the practice, with contestants travelling from afar, so a partisan competitive edge entered the games with the names of champions from distant shires becoming known because they regularly competed on what became a revels circuit. This soon led to shire teams travelling to revels as challengers, and a travelling spectator base developed that would also try their hand at the other events as the majority of games were such that anyone could participate, and the spirit of doing so deemed most important.

Until 1776, there was little in which the 'Nobility and Gentry' could participate and unsurprisingly they had been notable by their absence, despite Wise attempting to encourage their participation in his pamphlet of 1738. The addition of the horse race and cup introduced in 1776 therefore created a figurehead

which acted as a draw, and was an innovative departure in celebration of new ownership. This followed an estate survey the previous year, that was executed as part of an enclosure agreement, upon the completion of which in 1778, the Earl of Craven was awarded the land on which the figure stands. Elisabeth Craven had purchased Uffington manor in 1620,¹⁰⁰ but the land on which the White Horse stood was part of neighbouring Woolstone Down, and during the last years of scouring under manorial custom it seems this land was held by Lord Barrington.

That ancient piece of antiquity (in this neighbourhood) the White Horse was cleaned for many years by William, Lord Barrington, but the grounds on which the Horse is cut being allotted by the Commissioners for the Uffington inclosure 1775 to William, Lord Craven His Lordship has since that time cleansed it annually at His expense and has twice celebrated the Scouring of the Horse with many country diversions viz horse racing, ass racing, men running in sacks, men running down the steep part of the hill for a cheese, boys dipping in a tub of meal for a bullet etc. At both which sports there were computed to be upwards of 30,000 spectators. His Lordship gave a most elegant cold collation in a large booth to all the gentlemen of the neighbourhood who were present and likewise strong beer to the common people'.¹⁰¹

Amongst much of interest in this passage, what is particularly enlightening is that the White Horse was being weeded on an annual basis. Thomas Cox had stated as much in 1720,¹⁰² but with Wise thinking the scouring cycle driven by 'seed times and fallow', the length of this agricultural cycle took on Wise's vision of a reinstated Saxon Olympics:

If the times of solemnising this Festival, which has often been left to the discretion of the inhabitants, was fixed to some certain period, suppose a revolution of four years, as perhaps was first intended.¹⁰³

In part a legacy of Wise's Olympic dream, the traditional view of the Uffington scouring cycle has been an inexact seven-year interpretation based on scouring dates posed by Thomas Hughes. Only one occasion was recalled by Hughes prior to the new management event of 1776, and the idea that scouring was on a long cycle has been compounded by the episodic treatment of hill figures since that date. The common belief that scouring was maintained at roughly a seven-year cycle was reinforced by the apparent robustness of those figures which have remained visible despite irregular and

even abandoned care, thus suggesting that more regular maintenance was somehow unnecessary and therefore would not have been executed historically at any less a frequency. Given that the Shrivenham record states that scouring was annual, however, and clearly separates this weeding process from the longer cycle applied to the new form of celebratory revels, the yearly scouring carried out in this period appears to have been continuing the precedent reported by Cox. The introduction of direct labour by Lord Craven can then be recognised to have negated the precedent in terms of annual games, but not the annual scouring cycle. The efficiency of annual scouring was demonstrated at Marlborough, where scouring was ably executed each year by a small group of children. Certainly the most arduous task in connection with scouring, that of fetching and replenishing chalk, would be considerably lightened by annual weeding – the removal of overgrown areas would be less and the requirement for chalk on these occasions would be kept at a minimum. And although Morris Marples was amongst those led to believe by Wise and Hughes that scouring was seven-yearly, it seems he also had an inkling that it was not so infrequent when he stated:

One would have thought that an event which only occurred once every seven years could scarcely have aroused much opposition.¹⁰⁴

At Uffington scouring appears to have remained annual into the new century. Then at some point it halted and was executed only alongside celebrations, the occasion and frequency of which were held at the discretion and determination of the owner. With the loss of annual revels traditionally linked to scouring, any surviving traditions also became overrun. The addition of prominent events such as horse racing and cash prizes tended to overshadow the simple rustic traditions, and these customary events were transformed by a shift in emphasis. A carthorse race was introduced with a 'thill' harness as a prize. The winning rider would therefore not personally benefit from the award and would be racing to represent their employer. A dress code was very much part of this new ritual, with the insistence that carters entering races do so in smock frocks, for despite the terrible destitution surrounding the agricultural labourers their environment was being painted an Eden to avoid jarring the consciences of the spectator. Through prizes of smocks women were being liveried as if they were farm stock, and like the carthorses would run for something they would then wear to

work.¹⁰⁵ As traditional items of clothing as prizes shifted from tokens of individuality to branding in this way, it reflects how the scouring revels were transformed from communal recreation for the masses, into a spectacle to entertain the upper classes.

This attitude to rural workers spread through the agricultural improvement societies founded in the 1770s. Following the establishment of the Board of Agriculture in 1793 rural fairs became dominated by the comparison and testing of machinery by the Royal Agricultural Society.¹⁰⁶ The annual dinners organised for subscribing members of the agricultural societies started to accommodate their staggered arrival times by laying on entertainment throughout the day, such as ploughing matches ostensibly arranged to instil pride in agricultural workers. This was the acceptable face of watching the lower divisions at play, whereas the unacceptable face was disguised by the practice of wearing false beards and moustaches while watching organised dog fights.¹⁰⁷ But even the former drew criticism from those doubting the suggested benevolence and hierarchical paternalism. Mr J. Walter of Bearwood Estate inaugurating a harvest home in 1840 for his tenants and all their labourers to:

manifest his disapprobation of the associations which have been recently instituted for the alleged purpose of advancing the well being of the agricultural labourer . . . (by) seeking the aid of the many to save the pockets of the few.¹⁰⁸

This process was in its infancy three quarters of a century earlier, on White Horse Hill.

The Ceremony of the scouring and cleansing that noble monument of Saxon Antiquity the White Horse on the side of Cuckhamsley Hill in this county, was celebrated on Whit-Monday with great joyous festivity; besides the customary diversions of horseracing and foot races etc., many uncommon rural diversions and feats of activity were exhibited to a greater number of spectators than were ever assembled on any former occasion, upwards of 30,000 persons were present and among this most of the nobility of this and the neighbouring counties, and the whole celebrated without material accident. The origin of this remarkable antiquity variously related but most authors described it a monument to perpetuate some signal victory near the spot by some of our most ancient Saxon princes. The space occupied by this figure is more than an acre of ground.¹⁰⁹

The united belief that hill figures were Saxon and Christian forged the unity behind the reinvented

scouring ritual, and its increasingly legendary popularity was inveterately bonded to public consciousness. Hill figures and scouring no longer represented their own celebrated origin, but a long-standing feudal interrelationship born of the 'free' Christian English, the white horse coming to represent a mythical unity between England, monarchy, church, and all classes of people, passed down with continuity through the ages from a Saxon Christian beginning. The Anglo-Saxon ancestry projected on to the hill horse, complete with Alfred apices of liberty, law, defence, constitution, and chivalry born of heroic Christianity, was firmly rooted at the heart of English national identity.¹¹⁰ From this a reinvented tournament splendour developed that would later see Lord Wantage of Lockinge parade as Alfred the Great at his own revels. Meanwhile the Uffington scouring revels were to be found amongst the ancestry of the chivalric manly Christianity of the nineteenth-century Eglington Tournament, as discussed by Mark Girouard in *The Return to Camelot* (1981).¹¹¹ In terms of forerunners it preceded even the medieval styled tournament that Linda Colley recalls organised in honour of General William Howe, in 1778.¹¹²

The structure of the eighteenth-century scouring revels appears to have found particular favour with social organisers. For while not previously unknown, the format of this carousing open-air celebrity junket proved subsequently infectious in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The elaborately staged regalement of prominent people, while beer was laid on for villagers to join in the celebration, became an increasingly recurring theme. The closely structured format of this celebration was fashionably repeated throughout the centenary celebrations of 1788, and not only at each of the Uffington scouring celebrations that followed, but the pattern of hosting and displays of status were replicated, for example at meets during the spread of organised hunts.¹¹³ The Georgian élite was as delighted, as the later Victorians would be disturbed, by the size of the crowd, that was taken in these earlier times as a compliment and widespread agreement in mutual celebration.¹¹⁴ Scouring revels, then, had become an entity of patrician power, where the ruling elite measured their social, cultural, and economic superiority, and the landowners affirmed their position as hosts of the ritual as an event. The reinvented occasion of scouring at Uffington proved so popular among the upper classes that it seemingly gave birth to a new horse, cut more often than not in the same year, as can be seen from Table 1 below:

Table 1. The advent of chalk horses following scourings at Uffington 1776-1857.

Uffington Scourings	New Horse Figures
1776	Westbury (1778)
1780	Cherhill
1785	Pewsey
1803	Marlborough (1804)
1808	Osmington
1812	Alton Barnes
1838	Hackpen
1843	Devizes Snob (1845)
1857	Kilburn

Sources: Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859), pp. 106-117; Revd W.C. Plenderleath, *The White Horses of the West of England, With Notices of Some other Ancient Turf Monuments* (Calne, second edition 1892), pp. 18-36; Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures*, (London 1949).

FOLLIES

The new chalk horses were introduced during the period that eye-catching landscape features at Stourhead, a number erected coaxially opposite each other either side of the lake, were influential in extending the fashion for drawing attention to the extent of land ownership through conspicuous landscape features.¹¹⁵ In the year Capability Brown was appointed master gardener at Hampton Court, a possible forebear of the new chalk horse hill figures appeared not far from the Whiteleaf Cross. The Watlington White Mark is an obelisk shaped hill figure carved, remodelled, or scoured, perhaps by Edward Horne of Greenfield Manor, in 1764.¹¹⁶ Having been introduced to a background of fashionable follies and obelisks this figure was perhaps considered to have required no other inspiration, but in 1851 a story was recorded that the monument had been cut by the vicar of Watlington as a substitute as his church, the adjacent St Leonard's, didn't have a spire.¹¹⁷ As Rodney Castleden has pointed out, the mark is directly in line with the church and conforms to an expected shape and size, so the story cannot be ignored. There is additional mystery in the seemingly sudden appearance of a cross hill figure at nearby Wainhill. The Bledlow Cross had not been noted during Wise's visit, so was either missed or subsequently manufactured or restored. It was recorded for the first time in 1827:

A gentleman, who visited it a few days ago, and who is somewhat of an antiquary, had the curiosity to measure its dimensions, and to examine it very narrowly. He supposes it to have been made by the Saxons about the time the Whiteleaf Cross (from which it is not very distant) was formed...¹¹⁸

The *Calendar of Patent Rolls* with an entry dated 18 September 1350 features 'Henry atte Crouche of Bledlow' that could translate to Henry at the Crosse of Bledlow, which would suggest the Bledlow Cross to be older than the figure at Whiteleaf (Fig. 5). Although this remains the probable interpretation, it is intriguing that a John Crosse of Bledlow was High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1693, and there are Crosse family tombs in the floor of the nave of Bledlow church, a structure that dates from the thirteenth century. If Wise, and Stukeley who also visited the area, somehow missed the Bledlow Cross and it was truly ancient, the scouring or even the cutting of the figure could have been prompted by Wise's invented Christian battle triumph over Paganism.¹¹⁹ The proximity of the Whiteleaf figure could be a possible motivator, of course, but while this figure seems not to have inspired any apparent cutting or restoration of figures prior to Wise's publication of 1742, it is perhaps indicative that the Revd. Baker records that the connection between Oxford colleges and scouring at Whiteleaf remained current in his day, and had therefore spanned the period when the Bledlow Cross was cut or scourd.¹²⁰ This inevitably links the seminary students with any likely cutting or restoration, and in addition explains the lapse in care through the constant throughput of students and changing of scholarly focus. In connection with the new horse figures it is perhaps even more important to note that the Christian emphasis placed on hill figures remained as much to the fore as a Saxon identity at the time the new

horses were cut. This was a religious and Gothic focus that was seemingly amplified by the accession of George III.

An astonishing procession of interrelated unveilings followed the accession of George III, so that the English landscape and what travelled through it started to take on a new look. The year 1762 in particular witnessed not only the unveiling of the extraordinary state coach designed by William Chambers. In this same year Chambers would start a neoclassical make-over of the newly acquired Buckingham House, and also in this year Allan Ramsay's state portrait of George III was unveiled. Mirroring the unveiling of Alfred's Tower at Stourhead a Pagoda appeared at Kew. The Botanic Gardens had been founded in 1759, by Augusta, widowed mother of George III, in the vicinity of a newly erected ruined arch. In 1760, the year he acceded to the throne, George III inherited the estate from his grandfather, and in 1766 brought in Lancelot Brown to redesign the landscape into the new 'naturalistic parkland', deploying the ha-ha to form boundaries without encumbering views.¹²¹ Kew became popularised under George III, but nothing gained more popularity in his reign than the king himself. When George I died in Hanover in 1727 there was no clamour for the return of the body for a state funeral and no statue erected. George II fared no better, as his funeral was 'not well attended'. With ritual crowd structures proving a success at scouring festivals, however, the embryonic format would grow into public exhibitions associated with royal occasions launched by George III's unprecedented Jubilee celebrations of 1809.¹²²

Numerous landmarks were dedicated to George III, notably the chalk horse featuring the king in the saddle carved at Osmington in Dorset in 1808 and an equestrian statue that appeared on Weymouth Esplanade the following year, each of which were perhaps timed to be ready for the Jubilee celebration. It was later speculated that after patronising Weymouth regularly following his recovery from illness in 1789, the king no longer visited having taken offence at the hill figure, the chosen direction of which was interpreted as depicting him leaving the area. The royal visits ended in 1805, however, three years before the hill figure was cut, and the year after the figure appeared George III encouraged his daughters Amelia and Mary to take up residence in Weymouth, a move which hardly reflects umbrage.¹²³ It appears to have been overlooked that the king was by this time becoming blind and deaf,



Fig. 5. *The Whiteleaf Cross.*

and soon after became permanently insane. Little is known of the origins of the Osmington carving, but it could just as easily be translated as showing the king being able to leave the area fit and well enough to ride, having fully recovered after arriving ill and by coach. George III's recovery from porphyria 'madness' in 1789, was similarly celebrated in a dedication attached to the north side of the Ailesbury Column in Savernake Forest:

In commemoration of a signal instance
of Heaven's
protecting providence over these
kingdoms in the year
1789
by restoring to perfect health from
a long and
afflicting disorder their excellent and
beloved sovereign
George The Third.

This column was second-hand, having previously been raised in Hammersmith in 1760 by George Bubb Dodington in memory of his wife, and its re-use in 1781 was accompanied by a sycophantic dedication.

This Column was erected by Thomas
Bruce, Earl of
Ailsebury, as a testimony of gratitude to
his ever
honoured uncle Charles, Earl of
Ailsebury and Elgin, who
Left to him these estates, and procured for
him the
Barony of Tottenham, and of loyalty to
his most gracious
sovereign George the Third, who
unsolicited conferred
upon him the honour of an earldom, but
above all of piety
to God, first, highest, best, whose blessing
consecrateth
every gift, and fixeth its true value
MDCCLXXXI

The Ailesbury Column was erected in a landscape recently 'improved' by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, who was similarly employed by Lord Abingdon to create a rustic parkland at Rycote in the same year as the new Westbury horse was cut. Lord Abingdon's surveyor Mr Gee has traditionally been blamed for the erasure of the old landmark, but even the renowned Lancelot Brown recommended 'capability' and did not implement changes without detailed consultancy.¹²⁴ It therefore

seems unlikely that the agent would have taken it upon himself to cut, let alone design, a new figure, and certainly would not instigate work at considerable labour and expense without some form of direct instruction. Like the survey of Uffington carried out for Lord Craven in 1775 which saw scouring sponsored by Craven the following year, Mr Gee was carrying out a similar survey on behalf of Lord Abingdon, which as at Uffington was prior to enclosure. It seems wholly unlikely that someone employed in surveying would have had prior authority to instigate work on the scale of re-cutting the figure of the horse, and it seems rather more likely that not only the decision but also the idea originated with the fourth Earl of Abingdon, Willoughby Bertie (1740-1799). Not only was he obsessively enthusiastic about horses, horseracing, and started the Thame Hunt, but at the time of the new Westbury carving he was aesthetically overhauling his estates. Contrived landscapes were not just places to be seen, but places *in which to be seen*, so living at Wytham it seems likely that Lord Abingdon would at least be aware of the Uffington scouring of 1776, if not actually among the visiting county set attending it, and certainly if Abingdon's reputation in connection with horse racing is anything to go by, he would have found the prospect irresistible.

GEORGIAN HORSES

The Revd. Plenderleath thought that the stimulus behind chalk horses was the artist George Stubbs (1724-1806), and in the mid-twentieth century Morris Marples considered the new chalk horses 'inspired' by an extension of Stubbs' horse painting in combination with the fashion for follies.¹²⁵ They were joined in their thinking by Ralph Whitlock, who thought Stubbs 'indirectly responsible for the rash of white horses'.¹²⁶ No particular painting was cited or indeed any similarity specified beyond the 'realism' of the later figures.

During this period there was of course an ongoing passionate enthusiasm for bloodstock, horse-racing, and hunting. The desire amongst English patrons for horse portraits can therefore be considered a sway in the creation of chalk horses. The success Stubbs enjoyed during the 1760s was not, however, repeated during the new chalk horse period.¹²⁷ This success had built on the enthusiasm generated by Peter Tillemans (d.1734) James Seymour (d.1752) and John Wootton (c. 1682-1764).¹²⁸ Following this there is no known example of chalk horses appearing in landscape paintings

until late in the following century, the contemporary relationships of hill figures instead being reflected in engravings produced in relation to estate management and topographical travel that were subject to antiquarian interpretation. It then appears that there was no interaction on behalf of hill figures with paintings as there was in the case of follies and ruins, which simultaneously appeared in gardens and paintings with each form encouraging the other, as would be expected when in some way interrelated.¹²⁹ Nor was there any apparent attempt, when cutting a chalk horse in the eighteenth century, to include subsidiary figures in the form of a rider, or a groom, or even a huntsman with hounds, as demanded by the fashionable penchant reflected in contemporary painting commissions. Not until the following century was the only rider added to a chalk horse, and that rider was George III, an attachment to the reigning and at the time very popular monarch being perhaps pointed in this respect.

Although horse hill figures did not directly arise or extend from horse painting, that does not mean an absence of connections with the art. The outlines of each of the new horses were in all probability modelled on a prior source, and as the horses are not seemingly based on a classic shape the most likely contemporary source is perhaps horse painters such as Stubbs. Modelling an outline for a chalk horse on a pose is not of course the same as claiming that the painting providing inspiration, but there are reasons to consider an element of Stubbs' work in terms of inspiration in connection with the new horse figures. A possible primary influence was the plain backgrounds that increased the commanding image of the horse in a number of Stubbs' works of the 1760s. This would include *Whistlejacket* (1762), which is often cited as the first painting to feature a horse against a neutral background, unencumbered by tack or other figures. It would also include the illustrations in *Anatomy of the Horse* (1766), since being published it was more readily accessible than contemporary paintings. There is also a more specific case to be considered, in that the outline of the Westbury chalk horse when first carved in 1778 with its front feet together and full tail is uncannily close to the stance and outline of the main horse in the painting of c. 1762, *Whistlejacket and Two Other Stallions with Simon Cobb, the Groom* (Figs. 10-11).¹³⁰ Even if this painting was not on public display at the time it is of course possible that it was seen by Lord Abingdon, who had the Westbury figure carved, as his passion for racing was shared if not surpassed by the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham, who

commissioned Stubbs upon purchasing *Whistlejacket* following an infamous race, then immediately retired the animal to stud.¹³¹ Rockingham, twice Prime Minister during George III's reign, is said to have planned to have two other artists, each master in their particular discipline, complete the painting of *Whistlejacket* by Stubbs, each adding in turn the mounted figure of George III and the background landscape.¹³² For reasons unknown *Whistlejacket* as painted by Stubbs was never added to. It has been argued that the painting was originally planned as it is now seen, but a story arising from the impact of the painting on completion by Stubbs provides a possible explanation. *Whistlejacket*, a notoriously highly strung animal who reputedly could only be controlled by his groom Simon Cobb, is said to have glimpsed the realistic image and immediately attacked the canvas, forcing Stubbs to fend the horse off with his palette. If true this incident perhaps persuaded Rockingham to look at the canvas in a new light, and preserve it as it was. The year that the painting was completed, 1762, Rockingham was given the honour of naming the St Leger, and this was of course the year of many dedications, following George III's accession. The coincidence of this timing and legendary fame of Rockingham and *Whistlejacket* inevitably gave rise to stories linking this horse to the king, and there are reasons to consider this point alongside the origins of the 1778 Westbury White Horse.

Of the trend adopted by the new white horses of this period of facing left, Morris Marples suggested this was 'probably because that is what nine out of ten people would do if asked to draw a horse'.¹³³ While not an unreasonable consideration this ignores a tradition stretching back to John Aubrey, whereby horse carvings have been compared to the equine figures on early coins. When comparing the chalk horses of the modern period with contemporary coinage, it is instantly recognisable that not only do many of these coins depict a horse, but that it is specifically the Hanoverian horse which in every example of these coins faces left (Figs. 6-7). Verstegan's horse banner accompanying Hengist and Horsa also faced left, and the accession medal of George I shows the Hanoverian horse set against a conventionally orientated map and in the action of leaping from Germany to England (Fig. 8).¹³⁴ Thus the royal coat of arms depicts this horse in the same direction facing left, and this image was adopted for the currency. This image appeared too on loyalty plaques bearing the royal coat of arms which were

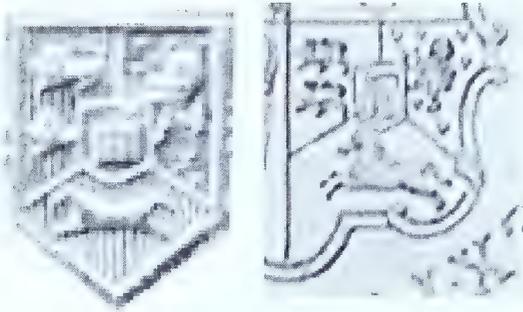


Fig. 6 (left). Centre detail from George III 1816 shilling.
Fig. 7 (right). Quadrant detail from George III 1770 half-crown (both coins reproduced with kind permission of Alan Aldridge).



Fig. 8. George I accession medal (reproduced with the kind permission of Christopher Eimer).

to be found in every church and a surviving example from the reign of George III can be found near the Westbury White Horse at Dilton Marsh. The symbol was adopted for the prized badge of the famous Doggett's coat and badge race, and there are of course numerous other contemporary tokens and medals with this same image. Dictated by this trait it is then unsurprising that chalk horses carved at this time faced left, and in respect of their design it should be recalled that the particular element focussed upon by Wise's tormentor Rusticus in his very public statement of mockery, was that the horse figure Wise was fêting in his pamphlet faced in the opposite direction to the Hanoverian white horse as it appeared on the royal coat of arms. Following this infamous episode, it would be an open invitation to

ridicule or fierce criticism if any of the new horses were carved in the opposite direction to the royal coat of arms. It is in addition evident from the one exception to horses facing left in this period, that the Osmington horse faced right clearly because in depicting George III on its back it was already identifying itself with the obligated connection in another way, so had no need to conform in terms of direction and could break with this particular tradition.

The first of the new chalk horses at Westbury was cut at the time of the king's fortieth birthday, and seven chalk horses are known to have been carved in England and Scotland during the reign of George III. By contrast, other than to mark the Regency within the time of George III, none was cut during the reign of his successor George IV, and only a few chalk horses appeared sporadically thereafter. The new chalk horses were perhaps therefore much more Georgian than previously recognised, and as James Ward's 1824 illustration of *Adonis* reminds us, a white horse was George III's 'favourite charger' (Fig. 9). By the time of George III's accession, the white horse had come not just to be synonymous with the House of Hanover, but to represent the king in person. This translation of the white horse as George III of course made more memorable those occasions where the king actually rode a white horse in public, such as when reviewing troops in Hyde Park on his birthdays, and when being used to pull Chambers's flamboyantly designed royal coach on state occasions. In these ways the white horse promoted the Hanoverians in the eyes of the public.¹³⁵



Fig. 9. *Adonis*, George III's 'favourite charger', by James Ward, 1824.



Fig. 10. Detail from *Whistlejacket and Two Stallions with Simon Cobb* (reproduced with the kind permission of the owners 'A Private Collection in England').

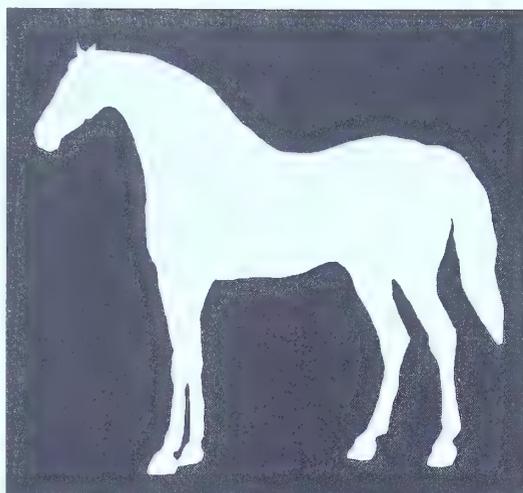


Fig. 11. Silhouette of *Whistlejacket* created from *Whistlejacket and Two Stallions with Simon Cobb* (reproduced with the kind permission of the owners 'A Private Collection in England').



Fig. 12. The Revd. Plenderleath's drawing of the *Westbury White Horse* in 1870.



Fig. 13. The *Westbury White Horse* prior to the restoration of 1873 (Photograph in WANHS Library).



Fig. 14. The *Westbury White Horse* changes shape following the restoration of 1873 that outlined the figure with 'kerb stones'.



Fig. 15. The resulting profile of the *Westbury White Horse* following restoration. The 'kerb stones' were removed in 1874, and grilles fitted to assist drainage in 1903. Concrete used in 1953 and 1957 has left it with a patchy and dirty appearance.

CAUSE AND CELEBRATION

Shortly after Lord Craven introduced the new form of celebratory scourings on 27 May 1776, the Declaration of American Independence was issued on 4 July with its detailed denunciation of George III as 'a tyrant unfit to rule free people', and October 1777 witnessed the disaster at Saratoga, where in the war against America approaching 800 were killed and 6,000 forced to surrender on terms. At this point France and Spain entered the war on the side of America.¹³⁶ The impact of the news that the seas were threatened by the combined fleets of Spain and France, made all the more profound through the timing and words of Thomas Arne's *Rule Britannia* (1755),¹³⁷ makes it tempting to connect the first new horse carving with these stirring contemporary events (Fig. 16).¹³⁸ It has certainly been noted that

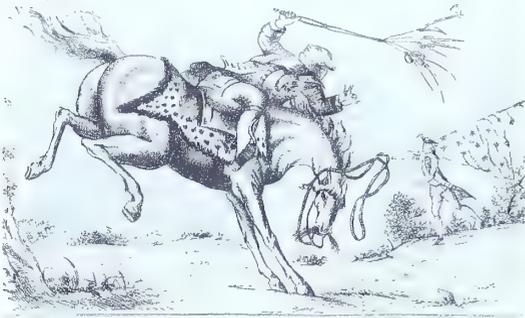


Fig. 16. The Horse America throwing his Master, published by William White, August 1st 1779 (Reproduced by courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division).

from the 1770s Britain's rulers increasingly took over and developed the evolving language of patriotism, with the government demonstrating a lead in presenting a united British nation from July 1776. Prior to this George III only sporadically bathed in the popularity he would enjoy after 1783, but, as Linda Colley argues, the realisation of an American Revolution, indeed the very idea of a war against 'erstwhile English Protestants' allied to the old and Catholic enemies France and Spain who threatened a siege, created an intense patriotic fervour that Colley sees reflected in the growth of the Society of Antiquaries between 1784 and 1807, when the membership more than doubled.¹³⁹

In view of this background, and in the knowledge that coronations are the only known commemorative reason associated with any Wiltshire hill figure,¹⁴⁰ it follows that the dates of scourings and new horse carvings could follow a pattern reflecting monarchy-centred patriotism. The shape and direction of the new chalk horses, resembling the Hanoverian horse, represented allegiance not only to George III, but also to Protestantism, as reflected in Benjamin West's 1778 depiction of William of Orange on a white horse at the 'Battle of the Boyne'.¹⁴¹ These new chalk horses, concentrated in the reign of George III, were also linked historically with monarchy through a believed association with Alfred the Great and ideas of an English nation. While it is a simple matter to find coincidental anniversaries to fit individual chalk horses, through such as the Cherhill Horse being cut in the year that the Epsom Derby was first run, with the Oaks dating from the year before,

Table 2. Chronology of patriotic events coinciding with Uffington scourings and the advent of new chalk horses 1776-1838.

Year	Event	Scouring	New Horse
1778	George III's fortieth birthday	1776	1778
1780	Twentieth anniversary of the accession	1780	1780
1783	Peace with USA	1785	1785
1802	Peace with France	1803	1804
1809	George III's Jubilee	1808	1808
1811	Prince of Wales made Prince Regent	1812	1812
1838	Coronation of Queen Victoria	1838	1838

Sources: Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859), pp. 106-117; Revd W.C. Plenderleath, *The White Horses of the West of England, With Notices of Some other Ancient Turf Monuments* (Calne, second edition 1892), pp. 18-36; Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures*, (London 1949); John Cannon (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford 1997).

it appears there is a single trend paralleling the Uffington scouring events and corresponds with the cutting of the new horses. The details are set out in Table 2.

Because in their design the new chalk horses pay homage to the Hanoverian horse, it is perhaps not a coincidence that each installation corresponded with dates of notable patriotic celebration; and as, excepting the first horse at Pewsey, the new horses were cut without initiating celebratory scourings the commemorative nature of the ornamentation was perhaps the most important element. Because the Uffington celebratory scourings, seemingly encouraging each equine carving in turn, foreshadowed or corresponded with expected celebratory events such as anniversaries and a coronation, while trailing events of unforeseen date such as declarations of peace and the Regency, this patriotic sequence appears all the more convincing.¹⁴² It is even unsurprising that this commemorative series, if deliberate, was discontinued and went unrecognised by the mid-nineteenth century, as the white horse movement can be seen to weaken alongside the failing health of George III. Although the Regency established in 1811 was perhaps denoted by a scouring at Uffington and a horse was cut at Alton Barnes,¹⁴³ the movement appears to falter with George III's death in 1820. Scouring at Marlborough continued until the death of the headmaster in the 1830s, but the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act 1829, which abolished the Test and Corporation Acts and enabled Roman Catholics living in Britain to lead full public and political lives, is alluded to by Hughes as in part the reason behind the lapse of scouring revels prior to 1838.

'You see it was a transition time,' said he (the parson); 'old things were passing away. What with Catholic Emancipation, and Reform, and the new Poor Law, even the quiet folk in the Vale had no time or heart to think about pastimes: and machine breaking and rick-burning took the place of wrestling and backword play'.¹⁴⁴

Hughes here separates a conscious decision by the landowners not to hold scouring revels during the period of Reform, from the direct action taken by 'quiet folk'. The suggestion is that scouring celebrations were not held because of a shift towards democracy, and the break in scouring revels was perhaps even longer and more pointed than Hughes makes clear. The newspaper report of the scouring in 1843 recalls:

The last revel held here was five years ago, whilst previous to that there had not been one held for a period of nearly thirty years.¹⁴⁵

The 'thirty years' cited by the *Reading Mercury* perhaps reflects a failure to find any references to scouring in the newspaper archive over this period, as it appears that prior to Victoria's coronation no official scouring had been held since the reign of George III:

... it seems that much interest has been excited in the Vale by the proposed revival on the 19th and 20th of this month of the rustic sports which formerly were held every 21 years on the 'cleaning' of this renowned steed; and which in the more primitive West Country days attracted a large concourse of gentle and simple from the neighbouring counties. Since the days of Fulwar Earl of Craven, the grandfather of the present nobleman, the revels have been disused.¹⁴⁶

This 'revival' of the Uffington festival in 1838 was revealed by the Earl of Craven to be a dual celebration of the arrival of a Craven heir and Queen Victoria's coronation,¹⁴⁷ revealing an outward symbol of royalist support. It is then perhaps no coincidence that the period in which scouring lapsed is characterised by the centrally organised and coordinated trends in national celebration that had emerged since George III's Jubilee, when the first large scale organised public celebration of royalty took place. The Court had demonstrated with the 1809 Jubilee and the coronation of George IV in 1821, that systematic centrally organised ceremonial state occasions could be managed in the interests of the monarchy and its interpretation of nation.¹⁴⁸ With public celebration of monarchy and nation becoming centrally controlled and widespread, the revels had perhaps outlasted their function in this respect.

After 1776, revels in association with scouring were no longer at the discretion of the people. The Earls of Craven and Abingdon each adopted a hill figure following estate surveys preliminary to enclosure,¹⁴⁹ but where Lord Craven continued customary scouring and introduced celebratory revels to coincide with occasions of his choosing, revels tended not to be instigated alongside the newly introduced horses. Exceptions to this rule include the Pewsey horse, which was consecrated with revels (but this did not continue following objections in relation to rowdiness), and the Marlborough horse, where revels took place annually in what can be considered an example of the now traditional school sports day. Had revels been in the power of the people

they almost certainly would have continued, as is evidenced in the writings of such as Thomas Hughes and Alfred Williams, and found also in newspaper reminiscence columns from the latter half of the nineteenth century into the inter-war period in the following century. These are typified by the remembrances of William Morris (of Swindon), in being littered with fond recollections of festivals and games, and even Professor Stuart Piggott proudly recalled his incitement to archaeology being the story of his grandfather attending when a boy the last scouring and revels as recorded by Hughes.¹⁵⁰ This enthusiasm combined with the fact that hill figure revels failed to return despite scouring making a comeback in the late nineteenth century, confirms how little sway the majority had in connection with heritage.

From the list of scouring dates Hughes discusses back to 1776, there is one date which does not coincide with any event of national celebration. This date also stands out from this list for having no new horse cut in that year, and in addition was not held at Uffington but at Seven Barrows, more than two miles from the white horse. Underlining this 1825 event as an anomaly is the newspaper report stating that no official event had occurred for thirty year prior to 1838. Evidently the 1825 event was not a scouring in the traditional sense, and yet Hughes made a point of including it and further comments that it was 'the largest gathering that had ever been'.¹⁵¹ Hughes poses questions to which he was unprepared to spell out the answers, his only suggestion being: 'Now you must find one out for yourself'.¹⁵²

It is apparent that the 1825 event took place without the co-operation or consent of Lord Craven, and the choice of a remote downland location and size of the crowd promotes the suggestion that this may have been an underground event organised by the ordinary locals. If it was a revels or pastime it was not attached to an official scouring – from local newspapers there was no apparent reason prompting such an event, and the only national event of note that precedes it is the Repeal of the Combination Acts 1824. Following this Act and another in 1825 there was an upsurge in trade union activity, and as benefits clubs and friendly societies had been covertly used for this purpose since 1799, it is possible that this was an early example of the soon to arise organised club days.¹⁵³

Had the locals not held their own celebratory revels in 1825, it seems likely that this generation would never have witnessed another. Hughes

mentions, 'machine-breaking and rick-burning',¹⁵⁴ and the *Reading Mercury* indeed stated that the revels had not been held since the days of Fulwar, William Lord Craven's grandfather. Fulwar played a prominent role in countermanding the Swing Riots. Chairing a meeting at the *Duke's Arms Inn*, Marlborough, on 22 November 1830, Fulwar took the lead by proposing the appointment of Special Constables and an application to Bow Street for an investigator. It appears the setting up of rewards on this occasion was also his suggestion, and a request for the deployment of troops he offered to write himself. Two days later Fulwar accompanied the Marlborough Troop of Yeoman Cavalry, swelled by some 200 mounted farmers, to Aldbourne to confront the crowd that had gathered in protest the previous day. The crowds did not materialize so it was decided, on whose authority it is not clear, to search from house to house. This resulted in over thirty people being arrested in Aldbourne and Ramsbury. Following this episode and in continuing opposition to protest, Fulwar joined the constabulary, sat as a magistrate, and was sworn in as one of those serving on the Grand Jury for the special assizes that crushingly reasserted the ruling élite's position and power.¹⁵⁵

With normal service for the élite resumed, the 1838 scouring revival was held and proved such a success that another followed in 1843. The previous year was known for the 'Plug-plot' riots and the general strike, but the news had been dominated by several attempts on Queen Victoria's life and the resulting Royal Protection Act 1842.¹⁵⁶ This unrest became an attempt to return to the Charter, and it was perhaps as much the failure of the second Chartist petition as the royal protection that launched the scouring revels of 1843.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST HERITAGE

Alongside a fading interest and the loss of contemporary Georgian identity, the image of the white horse was additionally pressurised through its fundamental association with Christianity, the traditional interpretation of which was now under sustained assault from knowledge arising from geological and archaeological discoveries.¹⁵⁷ This pressure gave rise to extraordinarily professed reasoning in connection with ancient remains by those desperate to explain reality within the bounds

of traditional faith. Just two years before the final scouring at Uffington the Revd. Baker described the Whiteleaf Cross as an 'almost spectral apparition of the sign of the Son of God'.¹⁵⁸ If a site could not be explained as Christian it held little interest, and was either a mere curiosity or was actually foreign and did not belong in England. This ascendancy of Christian and English heritage over anything considered foreign or non-Christian is illustrated by the order of seniority promoted in an early nineteenth century tour guide. In the *Hermit's Tour* (1826) 'in which the origin of the White-Horse, Abury, Stone-Henge, Silbury-Hill . . . is attempted to be ascertained', the Uffington White Horse features first in this listing promoting *the* ancient wonders where Stonehenge would have the ascendancy today.¹⁵⁹ Even as late as the debates raging over the introduction of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act in 1882, Stonehenge and Avebury were regarded as interesting oddities rather than homespun heritage. No-one denied Stonehenge and Avebury were wonders, but outside a minority they were considered foreign objects that did not belong in a Christian country. In being considered pagan and foreign, the stone circles were held subordinate to the Uffington White Horse that was believed to be Christian yet older and more important than Uffington church, the celebrated 'Cathedral of the Vale'.¹⁶⁰ The enthusiasm for remains believed to be both Christian and English whilst apathetic towards remains that were considered neither Christian nor English, was summarised in *The Scouring of the White Horse* by Thomas Hughes, in an exchange between an antiquary and himself that he describes entering in shorthand in his notebook:

One wouldn't care so much about it if it wasn't made by the Saxons and their great King. The Druids don't seem akin to us somehow . . .¹⁶¹

Believed steeped in Anglo-Saxonism and Christianity, hill figures were a cornerstone of England's historic identity,¹⁶² and as a result evidence in relation to the actual age of the Uffington horse had been ignored for hundreds of years. Even as late as 1846, William J. Thoms was suggesting that the Uffington White Horse was cut as a Saxon memorial on their conversion to Christianity.¹⁶³ Thoms, however, added a late postscript in the form of a letter from J.Y. Akerman suggesting the Uffington White Horse was of 'Celtic origin':

The figure of the White Horse at Uffington appears to

be one of the rudest of its kind, and so strongly resembles those on the more barbarous British coins, that I do not hesitate to class it with the same period.¹⁶⁴

Akerman's timescale would eventually be adopted, although that would not come to pass for at least another decade, as it would have to be absorbed alongside understanding in relation to theological anomalies. This delay was created by England having remained in a vacuum from advances in continental scholarship long after the end of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and subsequently failing to catch up with philosophical and theological movements in Germany that had long come to terms with historical anomalies thrown up between archaeological discoveries and literal translation of the Bible. Thus is highlighted one of England's great historic ironies in that, having adopted a Germanic national identity, England was isolated from the German scholars who had made important far-reaching advances, because few English people could read German.

The extended period of isolation from the continent resulted in a continued obsession with artificial theories. These were a source of intense frustration to Dr Robert Herbert Brabant, a retired medical practitioner living in Devizes, who much earlier in the century had conversed on the subject with such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Brabant, who could read German, had long been aware of the advance of German scholars and planned a study to overcome superstition and religious dogma and replace it with a form of early Positivism. To this end Brabant induced Mary Ann Evans, who could also read German, to live with him as a research assistant.¹⁶⁵ Brabant's invitation was perhaps a contrivance to pursue an intimate relationship, however, as he failed to advance his work and instead merely berated those who expounded theories contrived to fit with their ingrained beliefs. The relationship ended when Brabant's wife ejected Mary Ann from the house. Upon this Mary Ann immediately launched herself into a translation of David Friedrich Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* (1842), published as *The Living Jesus* in 1846.¹⁶⁶ Strauss had evaluated the gospel as if an ordinary historical account, and in doing so accentuated ambiguities and questioned accuracy.¹⁶⁷ By 1854 Mary Ann had also translated L. Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity*,¹⁶⁸ and through such translations England's intellectual isolation from the continent continued to thaw. In 1858, the year after the final scouring at Uffington, the Oxford academic Max

Müller was able to state of England and Germany that ‘in recent times the literature of the two countries had almost grown into one’.¹⁶⁹

Mary Ann Evans changed her name to George Eliot and, becoming a successful novelist, drew on her experiences in writing *Middlemarch* (1871). This novel is set in Coventry immediately prior to the Reform Act 1832, and features the fictional Revd. Edward Casaubon, who is obsessively consumed with obsolete researches as he cannot read German. The surname it appears was taken from Isaac Casaubon, the classical theologian buried in Westminster Abbey whose son Meric was the Saxonist prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral, and the early introduction of Casaubon in Eliot’s bestselling novel confirms that a contemporary audience was very familiar with both this time-warp character and the message of Positivism that is evident.¹⁷⁰

The quandaries troubling the first half of nineteenth-century England were somewhat illuminated when the term pre-history abruptly entered the English language in 1851.¹⁷¹ The evidence had mounted and was so irrefragable that in direct contradiction of centuries of Christian belief in England, an indefinite time period had to be added before English history officially began.

White Horse Revel. This famed revel is now approaching as it will be held at the latter end of the present month. There cannot be a place more celebrated for a rustic festival than White Horse Hill. It is a delightful rural spot, and from the summit of the hill an extensive view will be obtained over all the surrounding counties. The last revel held here was five years ago, whilst previous to that there had not been one held for a period of nearly thirty years. The amusements will be numerous and novel, all the old English pastimes being intended to form a prominent part in them. We understand that the contributions are liberal, and the prizes will be very good. The White Horse Hill is within two miles of Uffington, and about four miles from Faringdon Road and Shrivenham stations on the Great Western Railway.¹⁷²

With the arrival of the railway age the number of unearthened archaeological discoveries increased,¹⁷³ and as the white horse and its associated quaint rustic customs appeared more dated than ever, the scouring ritual had become seen by Hughes as an increasingly important way of retracing the near past and its echoes of times before. The scouring ceremony represented living history that was in danger of disappearing alongside the village feast, and as

Hughes expressed through Tom Brown, the nation was likely to ‘find some better substitute’.

Don’t let reformers . . . think that they are going really to lay hold of the working boys and young men of England by any educational grapnel whatever, which hasn’t some bona fide equivalent for the games of the old country ‘veast’ in it. Something to put in place of the back-swording and the wrestling. . . Life isn’t all beer and skittles; but beer and skittles, or something better. . . must form a good part of every man’s education.¹⁷⁴

Through his novels Hughes presented an argument, not just for the continued maintenance of the Uffington White Horse, but for a future utopian Christian English society that included holiday opportunities for ordinary people and the retention of games in a muscular Christian tradition. The Christian socialist movement, in which Hughes played a leading role alongside Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice, had collapsed in 1854, having been crushed between the forces of Conservatism and the forlorn hopes of workers’ leaders to return to the Charter. Later that year Hughes, Kingsley, and Maurice founded the Working Men’s College, and were assisted by the teaching by John Ruskin and Sir John Lubbock, who would become President. In 1856 Hughes completed *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*, and the following year returned home to Uffington, a meeting being held at the *Craven Arms* on 20 August to decide that in one month ‘a pastime be held on the white Horse Hill on Thursday and Friday 17th and 18th of September 1857’. While there is no doubt that the Earl of Craven entered into the spirit of the occasion, it is clear that the drive and organisation behind the 1857 scouring was a committee.¹⁷⁵ This was headed by Edwin Martin Atkins (1808-1859) who had directed an archaeological dig at Dragon Hill in 1852, but indicative of a quite different game being played to any revels event the committee also included the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, John Yonge Akerman, who is recalled as the writer of the letter to *Archaeologia* that would finally establish the accepted age of the Uffington figure amongst archaeologists.¹⁷⁶ The antiquary in Hughes’s novel of the scouring is apparently based on Akerman, the part of the scribe on the author of course, and it seems the squire was based on Atkins and the parson possibly on Hughes’s brother John, who was vicar of a neighbouring parish.¹⁷⁷ The novel format of the book has been seen as a source of frustration, as a straightforward report of events

accompanied by a traditional history would have been easier to interpret, but in addition to providing an accessible and readable account for the public, it allowed Hughes to disseminate to a wide audience what he felt had not been heard through a series of journals, including the recently failed *Christian Socialist*.¹⁷⁸

It may be found that the scouring of 1857 was not in origin Hughes's idea, but as an experimental exercise in Christian Socialist propaganda it undoubtedly was. This was an archetypal attempt to intervene between the church, which was endorsing religious collateral by safeguarding the position of the rich, and the increasingly organised working class, to ease hostilities and bring about a society based on the Kingdom of God.¹⁷⁹ The arguments are gently played out through the chapters of *The Scouring of the White Horse*, and 'The Sermon' attached by Hughes as an appendix provides a summary – albeit a long-winded one. Opening with a quote from *Leviticus* (xxiii. v. 1, 2.):

'These are my feasts,' said God to the nation He was educating; 'keep these feasts they are mine'. . .

Hughes argues through the parson that feasts were holidays, 'for the whole nation – for the rich and the poor', that the Queen's birthday was the only national holiday, and all the other feasts should be celebrated and kept as national holidays, including the main Christian festivals and local parish feasts. He further argues that these holidays should be celebrated as Christian and English. The Queen's birthday, he states, 'we keep as Englishmen but not as Christians', while Christmas, and Easter and Whitsuntide 'we keep as Christians and not Englishmen'. This would be achieved, the parson suggests, by a service being held in attendance at all these feasts, and this would in addition raise the tone of the occasion and make these holidays into occasions for forgiving and forgetting as well as moderation. Hughes, who doubled as the sparring master at the Working Men's College, did not of course overlook the part muscular Christianity had to play, and includes the argument that athletic sports teach preparedness, restraint, and endurance, whilst being noble and character forming.¹⁸⁰ He added the provisos that games should not be left in the hands of publicans, and that money prizes should be avoided.

Hughes's arguments were backed up a decade later, when the clergy of the Rural Deanery of the Vale of the White Horse (including Hughes's brother John) sent a letter to Lord Craven asking not only for the restoration of the hill figure but an

accompanying celebration that would also be 'conducive to the interests social and moral of the neighbourhood'.¹⁸¹ In some respects what Hughes was arguing for gradually came to pass. Thanks to his friend Sir John Lubbock Bank Holidays were introduced. Through his public school contemporaries codified games replaced such as backwording. The church popularised itself by adopting Harvest Festivals, and church fêtes maintained elements of tradition that might otherwise have been lost.

The original edition of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) was a plain volume without illustrations, owing to it being written by an unknown author. But the strength of its success saw Hughes's new novel, *The Scouring of the White Horse* (1859), launched as one of the lavish new Victorian illustrated and engraved books, another example of which was H.W. Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* (1855). These engraved books are much sought-after collector's items today and the first edition of *The Scouring of the White Horse* is a particularly attractive example of a lavish format that proved popular at the time, although when first published Hughes's book met with little success.¹⁸² Where *Tom Brown's Schooldays* continued its best selling success from launch through successive editions to become one of the greatest selling books of all time,¹⁸³ *The Scouring of the White Horse* failed to sell much beyond advance orders.¹⁸⁴ This was despite an advertising campaign which emphasised that this was the new novel written by the celebrated author of *Tom Brown*, and the added attraction that the new book was published in an innovative form (Fig. 17). Hughes's novel eventually found an increased popularity later in the century, which suggests that its initial lack of success may not have been so much due to the content as the timing of its publication. *The Scouring of the White Horse* was published in the same year as *On the Origin of Species*. Charles Darwin's book is often held aloft as representing a crest on the scientific wave breaking the ecclesiastical yoke, although this of course is a myth. The supposed Darwin Revolution, as is now recognized, did not reverse belief in Christianity at all, let alone overnight.¹⁸⁵ What did suddenly halt, however, was the obsession with origins that characterised archaeological enquiry in the first half of the nineteenth century, as this was tied to demonstrating the believed truth of Christianity. When the basis of religious truth was ultimately questioned, the quest for origins immediately plummeted and scouring disappeared in its wake. As Philip Schwyzer

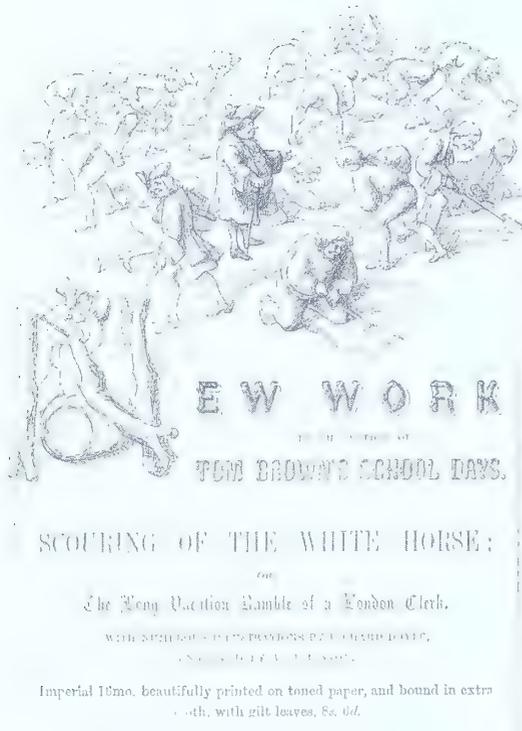


Fig. 17. Advertisement for Thomas Hughes's *The Scouring of the White Horse*, with one of Richard Doyle's illustrations of scouring from the book.

concluded in his incisive 'The Scouring of the White Horse: Archaeology, Identity, and "Heritage"',¹⁸⁶ the preoccupation with origins disappeared as the association with Christianity became increasingly compromised, 'by wider recognition of the similarity with images on British coins among archaeologists'.¹⁸⁷ Hughes's publication appeared at booksellers, therefore, just as such prior obsessions with origins and associated attempts to translate ancient monuments as Christian became outmoded.¹⁸⁸

The white horse was now victim to the attitudes of the ruling élite towards monuments suspected of being Celtic. Whilst believed Christian, the white horse supported the religious collateral maintaining the relative position of rich over poor. A Celtic Pagan monument served no purpose to the ruling élite, and if anything could be used in arguments that could constitute a threat. Illustrating the continued hostility of the influential electorate to ancient monuments in the decade following the final

scouring Sir John Lubbock, a prospective parliamentary candidate at the imminent election, was warned by his agent to delay publication of *Prehistoric Times* (1865), as the inevitable confrontation with traditional Christian approaches would see him lose votes. Lubbock ignored this advice and the subsequent drop in votes resulted in defeat. The electorate of 1865 was not ready to elect to Parliament anyone associated with ideas of prehistory,¹⁸⁹ despite Lubbock making clear that:

Many writers who have been by no means inclined to raise objections against the authority of the Sacred Scriptures . . . have felt themselves embarrassed by the shortness of the period (B.C.).¹⁹⁰

Lubbock was eventually elected in 1870 having immediate and rather surprising success in introducing Bank Holidays the following year, maintaining that if they had been called public holidays MPs would have too readily recognised what they represented and voted them out. By this time Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times* was on its way to becoming the bestselling archaeological book of all time. The future Lord Avebury was President of the Working Men's College and sponsored early closing legislation, but the distaste for monuments believed pagan and foreign remained to draw out his fight to establish ancient monuments protection.¹⁹¹

In the year that Bank Holidays were introduced *Middlemarch* was published, and Thomas Hughes presented an address to the Newbury and District Field Club on the 1000th anniversary of the Battle of Ashdown.¹⁹²

I am afraid I must now run the risk of shocking many of you by admitting the actual site of the battle is not so precisely ascertained as all good Berkshire folk have been want to believe....Nor am I sure, and this is perhaps greater heresy, that our White Horse was cut out of the hill after the battle. Indeed I incline to believe that it was there long before...

Hughes was now convinced that Alfred could not have 'spent an hour on this work in the crisis of 871',¹⁹³ but despite having indicated in the *Scouring of the White Horse* that his feelings would not be the same were the figure proved to be pagan, he clearly remained passionate about the figure, and its uncertain future troubled him deeply.¹⁹⁴ The Earl of Craven was by this time in receipt of letters from field clubs urging a return to scouring,¹⁹⁵ and the Newbury and District Field Club reported that he intended to instigate a scouring in the September of either that or the following year.¹⁹⁶ It did not take

place, but the reintroduction of scouring at other chalk figures did start in 1873. Westbury White Horse proved once again a benchmark, having last been scoured twenty years previously. Economic forces were brought to bear, and Plenderleath was asked if there was any objection to re-cutting the Westbury figure so as to enable it to be permanently outlined with kerb stones. His reply demonstrated disdain:

Mr Gee's horse appeared to me to enjoy the same security against injury causable to restoration as did Juvenal's traveller against loss by robbers when his purse was already empty.¹⁹⁷

The restoration was thus executed with approval, and the change in the outline and shape of the horse was dramatic (Figs 12-15). In the same year a more sympathetic scouring was reintroduced at Marlborough, the cost of the work being covered by an ageing Captain Reed, who claimed that as a schoolboy he had taken part in the creation of the figure. Wilmington Long Man was restored in 1874, then two years later the restoration of Cherhill White Horse took place, and the Kilburn Horse was restored in 1887. Amid these other restorations, further pressure to scour Uffington White Horse arose with the proposed unveiling of a statue of Alfred the Great at Wantage in 1877. It was perhaps this that caused the landowner to acquiesce, as a booklet published to accompany the unveiling announced that the Earl of Craven 'intends to revive the old custom'.¹⁹⁸ The scouring of a 'pagan and foreign' monument was still not acceptable, however, for the return of scouring, forecast in the commemorative *White Horse Hill and Its Surroundings*, was accompanied by a dismissal of Thomas Hughes's then recent conclusion that the hill figure was pre-Saxon, due to Alfred not having time to carve a monument, by retorting:

As if monuments of great victories on which depended the existence of nations had never been erected years after such battles were fought.¹⁹⁹

Despite the confidence conveyed in the commemorative booklet, scouring was still not reintroduced at Uffington. Twenty years had now passed since the last scouring, and it was a decade since the Bath Field Club complained that the horse was 'almost obliterated'.²⁰⁰ In 1880 Plenderleath reported the figure 'so overgrown with weeds as scarcely discernable from a distance', but only following the death of the 3rd Earl in 1883 did scouring at Uffington once again take place. As at Westbury, however, scouring at Uffington was not

as before, being neither of the old standard nor exacted with the old enthusiasm. The 1884 scouring at Uffington was carried out only begrudgingly, it seems, and another in 1892 was so inadequately executed that the figure was overgrown when visited by the British Association in 1894.²⁰¹ Hughes is alleged to have argued that the landowning family had believed itself relieved of any responsibility following the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act, but as can be judged from the example of Stonehenge in this same period, issues in relation to private ownership were not so straightforward.²⁰²

Following the colonisation of Salisbury Plain by the military at the end of the century, the white horses that survived on the hillsides of Wiltshire were joined by regimental badges carved during the Great War. The Fovant Badges all but faded in the inter-war years until Regimental Association funds and the goodwill of local workers intervened to maintain them. The restoration of these figures helped to renew enthusiasm for the white horses, and soon a new horse was cut at Pewsey 'for the coronation' in 1938. The Devizes 'Millennium' horse has now joined the stable, and breaking with the Georgian tradition is the only new horse in the county facing right.²⁰³ Rejoining the stable, the right-facing Tan Hill Donkey reappeared in the frosts of November 2004 (Figs. 18-19; see www.wiltshireheritage.org.uk).



Fig.18. The Tan Hill donkey rediscovered and photographed by Pete Glastonbury, November 2004.

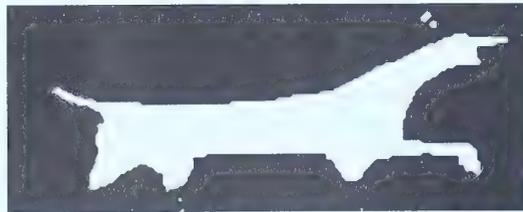


Fig.19. A suggested interpretation of the remains of the Tan Hill donkey, based on Fig. 18.

Restoration became *the* treatment for *all* old buildings during the twentieth century, with even common housing stock joining castles, churches, and country houses as nationally adopted built heritage. Yet prior to the nineteenth century, the *only* monuments to receive regular restorative attention were hill figures – maintained by the people for the people, this was heritage in which everyone could revel.

Acknowledgements

Writings on the subject by Rodney Castleden, Morris Marples, Paul Newman, and Philip Schwyzer have been of fundamental inspiration and as such can be regarded to have been leaned on throughout. For assistance with various drafts many thanks to Paul Connell, Neil Mortimer, Steve Poole, Philip Schwyzer, and James H. Thomas.

Notes

- ¹ This essay is drawn from a work in progress ‘The celebrated and the discounted of the English heritage landscape’.
- ² David Miles and Simon Palmer, ‘White Horse Hill’, *Current Archaeology* 142 (1995), pp. 372-8; D. Miles, S. Palmer, G. Lock, C. Gosden, and A. M. Cromerty, *Uffington White Horse and its Landscape: Investigations at White Horse Hill Uffington, 1989-95 and Tower Hill Ashbury, 1993-4* (Oxford 2003), especially pp. 76-7.
- ³ Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse* (Cambridge 1859, 1889 edition) pp. 130-133; Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures* (1949, Stroud 1981), pp. 55-9.
- ⁴ Revd. W.C. Plenderleath, ‘The White Horses of Wiltshire’, *North Wilts Church Magazine* (April – November 1880, June edition).
- ⁵ See Richard Gough (ed.), *Camden’s Britannia* (1806), p. 146, plate xiii, fig. 2.
- ⁶ There is no consensus in some instances regarding the dates for either the appearance of a chalk figure or times of scourings. The Osmington horse is an example, so the date adopted for the figure here is that dictated by an account appearing in the *Universal Magazine* (1808).
- ⁷ The dates are unknown.
- ⁸ There is a suggestion the Broad Town horse was carved earlier than 1864 as the Curator of the Imperial War Museum stated he had scoured this figure with a friend in 1863 and that at the time it had existed for around fifty years. See Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures* (1949, Gloucester 1981), pp. 98-9.

- ⁹ Appearing on a map of 1877 Ham Hill horse was cut c1868 by a Mr Wright on purchasing Ham Spray House, but the house was resold to the original vendor who allowed the hill figure to return to grass.
- ¹⁰ Revd W.C. Plenderleath, *The White Horses of the West of England, With Notices of Some other Ancient Turf Monuments* (Calne 1885), p. 32.
- ¹¹ Chalk was added to the Alton Barnes horse from a pit dug above the horse’s head in 1866 but as this blemished the spectacle and the scar was not repaired and never grassed over, this date has not been considered here as in the same vein of aesthetic maintenance as those executed prior to 1857. See Kate Bergamar, *Discovering Hill Figures* (Princes Risborough 1997), pp. 60-1. The Cerne Giant was restored in 1868, but as the owner was Lord Rivers, the figure was believed at that time Romano-British, and the clergy vociferously opposed the restoration, this sets the example aside. M.W. Thompson, *General Pitt-Rivers: evolution and archaeology in the nineteenth-century* (Bradford on Avon 1977); L.V. Grinsell, ‘The Cerne Abbas Giant: 1764-1980’. *Antiquity* 54 (1980), pp. 29-33; Martin Brown, ‘The Long Man of Wilmington and the Cerne Giant: some points of comparison’, in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: an Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999), pp. 143-4.
- ¹² Rockley Horse was seemingly carved to be seen from the Turnpike Road.
- ¹³ Revd W.C. Plenderleath, *The White Horses of the West of England, With Notices of Some other Ancient Turf Monuments* (Calne 1885).
- ¹⁴ I am indebted to Mark Hows for this information.
- ¹⁵ Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford and New York 1995), especially pp. 49-69.
- ¹⁶ Interestingly the pose struck by Verstegan’s ‘Woden’ is like that of the Cerne Abbas giant and the upper body position of Verstegan’s ‘Thor’ remarkably similar to the Wilmington Long Man. See Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of decayed intelligence, in antiquities concerning the most noble, and renowned English nation* (Antwerp 1605, London 1653), pp. 72-4.
- ¹⁷ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (2 volumes, London 1996-8), Vol. I, p. 439. A large number of manuscript copies of the *Brut* Chronicles survived most of which are in English. The *Brut* was printed in 1480 under the title *The Chronicles of England* by William Caxton. The text was supplemented in later editions (St Albans) with a history of Popes and ecclesiastical matters. Thirteen editions appeared prior to 1528. See Edwin Jones, *The English Nation: The Great Myth* (London 1998), pp. 38-9.
- ¹⁸ William Camden, *Remaines of a Greater Worke: Concerning Britaine, the Inhabitants Thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames Empresses, Wise Speeches, Poemes, and Epitaphes* (London 1605).
- ¹⁹ John Haywood ‘Inventing the Celts’, *BBC History*

- Magazine* Vol. 5. No. 11(November 2004), pp. 40-7; see John Haywood, *The Celts: Bronze Age to New Age* (Pearson Education 2004).
- ²⁰ Edwin Jones, *The English Nation: The Great Myth* (London, 1998), pp. 44-5.
- ²¹ The basis for this extends from the teaching of Raphael Samuel, but I have leant throughout on the insights of Graham Parry and Rosemary Sweet. F.J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino 1967); Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil* (Oxford 1952), *Analysts and Historians: Western Historiography from the VIIIth to the XVIIIth Century* (London 1977), pp. 118-22; cited in Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory I*, p. 439; Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford and New York 1995), especially pp. 37-57, 104-5, 194-6, 361; T.H. Aston (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford* (8 vols, Oxford 1984-2000), Vol.V, 'The Eighteenth Century', pp. 809-28; Angelika Lutz, 'The Study of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the Seventeenth Century and the Establishment of Old English Studies in the Universities' in Timothy Graham (ed.), *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (2000), pp. 1-82; both cited in Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: the Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London and New York 2004), pp. 189-229; Christopher Hill, *A Nation of Change and Novelty* (London 1990), pp.257-262; D.H. Farmer (ed.), 'Introduction', Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Harmondsworth 1990), pp. 22-3.
- ²² Edwin Jones, *The English Nation: The Great Myth* (London 1998), pp. 45-6; Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford and New York 1995), pp. 130-156. For an example of the adoption of James Ussher's definition of time see such as Revd. Richard Turner, *Universal History Ancient and Modern*, (London, 1787).
- ²³ It is interesting to note that the then parish church for Hilton at Fen Stanton is dedicated to St Mary Magdalene where those at Uffington and Cerne are dedicated to St Mary, and the church at Wilmington to St Mary and St Peter. Questions therefore arise over whether there was a particular desire in certain parishes, perhaps those associated with Saints sacked by the Reformation or those that had celebrations cancelled by Statute, to reinvent festivals through the adoption of some Gothic identity in order to continue their traditional parish holiday or feast that had become compromised in some way. I am obliged to Graham Jones for detailed discussion on this subject.
- ²⁴ Cited by Peter Furtado, 'National pride in seventeenth-century England' in Raphael Samuel, *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, Vol. I, History and Politics* (London 1989), pp. 44-56, who also cites Britannia first appearing on coins in 1665.
- ²⁵ And replaced in the Guildhall in 1708.
- ²⁶ Walter Charleton, *Chorea Gigantum: Or, The Most Famous Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly Called Stone-Heng, Standing on Salisbury-Plain, Restored to the Danes* (1663), as cited by Christopher Chippindale, *Stonehenge Complete* (1983, 2004 edition), p.61. Through the currency of poetry and the suggested association with ancient coronations this Gothic ascription would have had great appeal in Restoration England and been more likely to have gained popular status over the suggestion by Inigo Jones (1573-1652) that Stonehenge was 'a work built by the Romans'. Published after the death of Jones the Roman verdict it seems did not sway contemporary scholarly opinion and with John Webb's defence and argument against the Danish theory appearing in a massive and expensive book the idea was highly unlikely to lodge in popular memory. Inigo Jones and John Webb, *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly Called Stoneheng, on Salisbury Plain, Restored*, (1655); John Webb *A Vindication of the Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly Called Stoneheng, on Salisbury Plain, Restored*, (1665). See also Peter Beresford Ellis, *The Druids* (London 1994), pp. 255-60.
- ²⁷ Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London 1801, 1876 edition), pp. 342-7, 456-7; R.B.Dobson and J.Taylor, *Rhymes of Robin Hood: an Introduction to the English Outlaw* (London 1976), pp. 39-42, 147, 209, 223-36; Frederick William Fairholt, *Gog and Magog, the Giants in Guildhall, Their Real and Legendary History* (London 1859); both cited in Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory Vol.I*, pp. 29, 231; David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (London 1971), pp. 154, 207-9; Jennifer Westwood, *Albion: A Guide to Legendary Britain* (London 1981); both cited in Raphael Samuel, 'Epical History: the Idea of Nation' in *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain*, Alison Light with Sally Alexander and Gareth Stedman Jones (eds.), *Theatres of Memory Vol.II*, pp. 12-17, 67; David Morgan Evans, 'Eighteenth-century descriptions of the Cerne Abbas Giant', Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999) p. 117; Edmund Gibson (ed), 'Oxfordshire' in *Britannia* (London 1722); William Stukeley, 'The Pedigree of Robin Hood, Earl of Huntingdon' in *Palaeographia Britannica*, 1746, cited in Norman Davies *The Isles: A History*, (London and Oxford 2000) p. 334; Christopher Chippindale, *Stonehenge Complete* (London 1983), pp. 43, 61; Ralph Whitlock, *The Folklore of Wiltshire* (London 1976), pp. 36-76. This is not to over-simplify the convolutions of the Robin Hood stories or the importance in terms of trend-setting of Henry VIII's May Day expedition 'in green' in 1515. See A.J. Pollard, *Imagining Robin Hood* (Abingdon and New York 2004), especially pp. 74-81
- ²⁸ Raphael Samuel would frequently refer to this in his teaching, particularly citing and enthusing about Alfred Williams. See Alfred Williams, *Villages of the White Horse* (London 1913); Leonard Clark, *Alfred*

- Williams: His Life and Work* (Newton Abbot 1969); Ronald Hutton, *Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles: Their Nature and Legacy* (Oxford 1991); all cited in Raphael Samuel, 'Epical History: The Idea of Nation' in *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain (Theatres of Memory Vol.II)*, pp. 12-17. See also William Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (London 1724); William Morris, *Swindon: Reminiscences, Notes, and Relics of ye Old Wiltshire Towne* (Swindon 1885), pp. 115, 124-5.
- ²⁹ Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London 1801, 1876 edition), pp. 455-6. Note also that John Layer recorded c. 1640 the 'mighty portraiture of a giant which the scholars of Cambridge cut upon the Turf', cited in W. Lindsay Scott, 'The Chiltern White Crosses', *Antiquity* 11 (1937), p.104. Kate Bergamar suggests that the Shotover Giant seen near Oxford by Aubrey, 'not long before the Civil War', may have been produced on an undergraduates' favourite walk in competition to the Cambridge Gogmagog. Aubrey MS *Monumenta Britannica*, cited by Kate Bergamar, *Discovering Hill Figures* (Princes Risborough 1997), p.40.
- ³⁰ References to violence being perpetrated on outsiders in rural areas are commonplace, and seemingly continued up to and beyond the end of the nineteenth century. See David Morgan, 'The place of harvesters in nineteenth century village life' in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *Village Life and Labour* (Oxford 1975), pp. 37-9.
- ³¹ See Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714* (London 1961), pp. 73-77.
- ³² Cerne Abbas Churchwardens' Accounts 4th November 1694, Dorset County Record Office reproduced in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999), p. 72.
- ³³ *Thomas Baskerville Esq, of Sunningdale in Berkshire, his Journal of his travels over great part of England in the years 1677, 1678, folio*, cited in Francis Wise, *A Letter to Dr Mead concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly showing that the White Horse, which gives name to the great Vale or valley which it overlooks is a monument of the West Saxons, made in memory of a great Victory obtained over the Danes A.D. 871* (Oxford 1738), pp. 57-8; Sir William Dugdale, *The History of Warwickshire* (1656), cited in Paul Newman, *Lost Gods of Albion: The Chalk Hill-Figures of Britain* (Stroud 1997), p. 48; Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures* (London 1949, Gloucester 1981), pp. 211-2; Katherine Barker, 'Medieval Giants: Bible, history, heritage and landscape', in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999) p. 97; W.G. and P. Miller, *The Search for Britain's Lost Unique Hill-Figure* (supplemented edition 2004), pp. 6-8. Note that the coastal giants were destroyed by building shortly after the Restoration.
- ³⁴ Vivian Vale, 'Churchwardens and the other God' in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999) pp. 71-5. I am grateful to Vivian and Patricia Vale for their further assistance in this matter.
- ³⁵ Vivian and Patricia Vale, *The Parish Book of Cerne Abbas: Abbey and After* (Tiverton 2000), p. 29.
- ³⁶ David Cressy, 'The Fifth of November Remembered' in Roy Porter (ed.), *Myths of the English* (Oxford 1992), pp. 68-90.
- ³⁷ David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford and New York 1985), pp. 68-71; David Cressy, 'The Fifth of November Remembered' in Roy Porter (ed.), *Myths of the English* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 68-90; O.W.Furley, 'The Pope Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth-Century', *History* 45 (1959), pp. 16-23. The impact of the nature of the bloody assizes and the long drawn-out manner of the aftermath of the Monmouth Rebellion 1685 on the people of the south west is also an important factor here. See Ian Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution: governance and violence in eighteenth-century England* (London 1992), pp. 28-9.
- ³⁸ John Ball, son of John Ball of Yetminster Dorset, matriculated Wadham College June 1663 aged 16, graduated February 1666. See Joseph Foster (ed), *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (2 volumes, Oxford 1891-2), Vol. II; J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London 1716, revised edition 1854).
- ³⁹ T. Wainwright, *Notes on the History of Cerne Abbas* (Bridport, revised edition n.d.), p. 14, refers to material held in the university of Cambridge library; Stuart Piggott, 'The name of the Giant of Cerne', *Antiquity* 6. 22 (June 1932), pp. 214-16.
- ⁴⁰ Camden's *Britannia* cited by Timothy Darvill, 'The Cerne Giant: an English Hill Figure' in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999), p. 12.
- ⁴¹ Donald Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Harmondsworth 1965), p. 56.
- ⁴² Mary D. Jones, *Cerne Abbas: The Story of a Dorset Village* (London 1952), pp. 46-7.
- ⁴³ John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset* (London 1774), pp. 292-4.
- ⁴⁴ Edmund Gibson (ed), William Camden, *Britannia* (2 volumes, London 1722), Vol. I, p. 46.
- ⁴⁵ David Morgan Evans, 'Eighteenth-century descriptions of the Cerne Abbas Giant' in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999), pp. 108-124; Rodney Castleden, *The Cerne Giant* (Wincanton 1996), pp. 17-32.
- ⁴⁶ Contemporary handwritten note in the margin of the Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries 9 February 1764, cited by David Morgan Evans, 'Eighteenth-century descriptions of the Cerne Abbas Giant' in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on*

Trial (Oxford 1999), p. 110.

- ⁴⁷ Anonymous letter, *Royal Magazine* (September 1763), pp. 140-1, cited by David Morgan Evans, 'Eighteenth-century descriptions of the Cerne Abbas Giant' in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999), p. 109.
- ⁴⁸ Revd. Francis Wise, *Further Observations on the White Horse and other Antiquities in Berkshire* (Oxford 1742), p. 48.
- ⁴⁹ Revd. Francis Wise, *Further Observations on the White Horse and other Antiquities in Berkshire* (Oxford 1742), pp. 47-8. It should be noted that arguments exist for this original Westbury figure being far more ancient than Wise suggested. See Paul Newman, *Lost Gods of Albion: The Chalk Hill-Figures of Britain* (Stroud 1997), pp. 36-45; Rodney Castleden, *Ancient British Hill Figures* (Seaford East Sussex 2000), pp. 13-18.
- ⁵⁰ Revd. Francis Wise, *Further Observations on the White Horse and other Antiquities in Berkshire* (Oxford 1742), pp. 47-8.
- ⁵¹ As in the case of all but a few of the modern horse figures, the site of Westbury White Horse can be seen from the parish church, and whilst modern horses such as Cherhill and Marlborough appear to have been sited so as to be seen by those emerging from services, Uffington White Horse, which is of course older than St Mary's Uffington, can also be seen from the church tower despite clearly not being engineered from that spot. The sight of Uffington horse from the church could have proved provocative, however, and the figure perhaps owes its survival to affable adoption.
- ⁵² Morris Marples, *White Horses and other Hill Figures* (London 1949, Gloucester 1981), p. 69.
- ⁵³ Martin Bell and Ronald Hutton 'Not So Long Ago', *Current Archaeology* 77 (July 2004), pp 16-21; Cerne Abbas Churchwarden's Accounts, 4 November 1694, Dorset County Record Office reproduced in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999) p. 72. See also letter from Rodney Castleden, *British Archaeology* 79 (November 2004), p.35.
- ⁵⁴ Edmund Gibson (ed.), William Camden, *Britannia* (2 volumes, London 1722), Vol. I, p. 103. Duncan Edgell proposed May 1678, the 800th anniversary of the battle as the possible date for the inception of the figure. See D. Edgell, 'The Lost Horse of Westbury', *3rd Stone* (1999), pp. 27-30.
- ⁵⁵ In addition to records and accounts available to scholars the more accessible accounts include: Matthew Parker, (ed.) *Aelfredi regis res gestae* (London 1574); Robert Powell, *The Life of Alfred or Alored, the First Institutor of Subordinate Government in this Kingdome, and Refounder of the University of Oxford. Together with a Parallel of our Sovereigne Lord, King Charles, until this year* (London 1634); John Spelman, *The Life of Alfred the Great from Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford 1679); note also extracts from William of Malmesbury in print since 1596.
- ⁵⁶ David Watkins, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape, and Garden Design* (London 1982), pp. 445-466.
- ⁵⁷ *Cirencester Park* official guide (n.d.)
- ⁵⁸ Thomas Hughes, *Alfred the Great* (London 1874), p.115.
- ⁵⁹ Joanne Parker, *Representations of Alfred the Great in Nineteenth Century Literature*, unpublished PhD Thesis University of Leeds, School of English (2001), forthcoming Manchester University Press.
- ⁶⁰ Edmund Gibson (ed), William Camden, *Britannia* (2 Volumes, London 1722) I, dedication, cited in Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: the Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London and New York 2004), p. 189.
- ⁶¹ Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: the Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London and New York 2004), p. 208.
- ⁶² Francis Wise, *Annales rerum gestarum Aelfredi Magni* (Oxford 1722). Asser's text has in recent times been argued as a forgery written a hundred years after Alfred's death, see Alfred P. Smyth, *The Mediaeval Life of King Alfred the Great: A Translation and Commentary on the Text Attributed to Asser* (London, 2002).
- ⁶³ Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination: Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency* (London 1989), pp.136-9; Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: the Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London and New York 2004), pp. 189-229, especially p. 208.
- ⁶⁴ Bodl. MS Gough Maps 230, f.411r; see Stuart Piggott, *William Stukeley: An Eighteenth Century Antiquary* (London 1950), pp.115-6, 122-3, 138-9; Revd. Francis Wise, *A Letter to Dr Mead concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly showing that the White Horse, which gives name to the great Vale or valley which it overlooks is a monument of the West Saxons, made in memory of a great Victory obtained over the Danes A.D. 871* (Oxford 1738).
- ⁶⁵ Revd. Francis Wise, *A Letter to Dr Mead concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly showing that the White Horse, which gives name to the great Vale or valley which it overlooks is a monument of the West Saxons, made in memory of a great Victory obtained over the Danes A.D. 871* (Oxford 1738), pp. 25-32.
- ⁶⁶ No date is given for this book cited in L.V.Grinsell, *The Ancient Burial Mounds of England* (London 1936), pp.46-7.
- ⁶⁷ See Thomas Hughes, *Alfred the Great* (London 1874), pp. 72-4.
- ⁶⁸ H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Harmondsworth 1964), p. 131.
- ⁶⁹ Revd. Francis Wise, *A Letter to Dr Mead concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly showing that the White Horse, which gives name to the great Vale or valley which it overlooks is a monument of the West Saxons, made in memory of a great Victory obtained over the Danes A.D. 871* (Oxford 1738), pp. 26-7.

- ⁷⁰ See Maike Oergel, 'The redeeming Teuton: nineteenth-century notions of the 'Germanic' in England and Germany', in Geoffrey Cubitt (ed), *Imagining Nations* (Manchester and New York 1998), pp. 75-91.
- ⁷¹ Revd W.C. Plenderleath, *The White Horses of the West of England, With Notices of Some other Ancient Turf Monuments* (Calne 1885), p. 11.
- ⁷² Philaethes Rusticus (pseudonym), *The Impertinence and Imposture of Modern Antiquaries Display'd: or A Refutation of the Rev. Mr. Wise's letter to Dr. Mead, concerning the White Horse and Other Antiquities of North Berks, In A Familiar Letter to a Friend* (London 1740).
- ⁷³ Philip Schwyzer 'The Scouring of the White Horse: Archaeology, Identity, and 'Heritage'', *Representations* 65, (University of California Press, Winter 1999), pp. 42-62, especially pp. 48-50.
- ⁷⁴ North at first criticised Wise's stance in a letter to Willis Browne. See L.V.Grinsell, *White Horse Hill and Surrounding Country* (London 1938), pp. 6-7. British Museum; Lansdown MSS 721, letter c.1760 criticising Wise's *Letter to Dr Mead* and suggesting the horse was of Pagan Saxon origin.
- ⁷⁵ L.V.Grinsell, *White Horse Hill and Surrounding Country* (London 1938), p. 7.
- ⁷⁶ Revd. Francis Wise, *Further Observations on the White Horse and other Antiquities in Berkshire* (Oxford 1742), pp. 36-42.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 39-44. Matthew Parker, *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* (Oxford 1572).
- ⁷⁸ Revd. Thomas Twining, *Avebury in Wiltshire: The Remains of a Roman Work, Erected by Vespasian and Julius Agricola, During their Several Commands in Britany, a Short Essay* (West Smithfield 1723), pp. 3,4,7, 8 13.
- ⁷⁹ Richard Gough (ed.), Camden's *Britannia* (London 1806) vol. I, pp. 221-2.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 146.
- ⁸¹ Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859, Stroud 1989). His father, John, died in December 1857.
- ⁸² See Chapter II 'The Veast all editions Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, 1857. For earlier description of Church Ales, Wakes, and Fairs see Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England: Including the Rural and Domestic Recreations, Maygames, Mummeries Shows, Processions, pageants, and Pompous Spectacles* (London 1838), especially p. 371.
- ⁸³ *Victoria County History of Berkshire*, Volume I (1906), pp. 190-1.
- ⁸⁴ Francis Wise, *A Letter to Dr Mead concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly showing that the White Horse, which gives name to the great Vale or valley which it overlooks is a monument of the West Saxons, made in memory of a great Victory obtained over the Danes A.D. 871* (Oxford 1738), pp. 31-2.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 32.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 33.
- ⁸⁷ See 'Legal aspects of Tenural Changes' in Fryde. E.B., *Peasants and Landlords in Later Medieval England*, Stroud 1996, pp. 227-241. See also requirement for the Gangs Act 1867 in Christabel Orwin, and Edith Whetham, *History of British Agriculture 1846-1914* (London 1964), pp. 116-7.
- ⁸⁸ Cited by Paul Newman, *Lost Gods of Albion: The Chalk Hill-Figures of Britain* (Stroud 1997), pp. 25-6.
- ⁸⁹ Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859, Stroud 1989), pp. 51-2; Sir Flinders Petrie, *The Hill Figures of England* (1926); Revd. W.C. Plenderleath, *The White Horses of the West of England, With Notices of Some other Ancient Turf Monuments* (Calne 1885), p. 18. Hughes had taken an interest in working class prose not just through the shepherd Job Cork, but contemporary with the scouring was reading material by William Whitmore and later sponsored publication of his verse in *Gilbert Marlowe, and other poems* (1859). See J.F.C. Harrison 'Chartism in Leicester' in Asa Briggs (ed.) *Chartist Studies* (London 1959), p. 145.
- ⁹⁰ Berkshire Record Office: D/P 112/1/7 Shrivvenham parish register of baptisms 1781-2, 1782-1801; Morris Marples, *White Horses and other Hill Figures* (London 1949, Gloucester 1981), p. 55; Kate Bergamar, *Discovering Hill Figures* (Princes Risborough 1968, 1997 edition), pp. 45, 58; Nigel Hammond, *Rural Life in the Vale of the White Horse 1780-1914* (Reading 1974), p. 11.
- ⁹¹ Ralph Whitlock, *The Folklore of Wiltshire* (London 1976), pp. 40-44.
- ⁹² K.D.M. Snell, 'The Culture of Local Xenophobia' *Social History*, Vol. 28 Number I (January 2003), pp. 1-30.
- ⁹³ William Morris, *Swindon: Reminiscences, Notes, and Relics of ye Old Wiltshire Towne* (Swindon 1885), pp. 52-63, 19-131.
- ⁹⁴ Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859, Stroud 1989), p. 68.
- ⁹⁵ David Underdown, *Revel, Riot & Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford 1985), p. 69.
- ⁹⁶ Thomas Hughes notes that by the mid-nineteenth century Epsom and Ascot has 'swallowed up' the little country races' that used to race for a cup. See Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859, Stroud 1989), pp. 66-7
- ⁹⁷ This point is made by Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859, Stroud 1989), pp. 61-73.
- ⁹⁸ William Morris, *Swindon: Reminiscences, Notes and Relics of Ye Old Wiltshire Town* (Swindon 1885), Handbill p. 139.
- ⁹⁹ Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700*, Oxford 1994, pp. 164, 173, 194; David Underdown, *Revel, Riot & Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford 1985), p. 63-9.
- ¹⁰⁰ Jane Cooper and Sharon Smith, *The White Horse and*

the Village of Uffington (Uffington 2004), p.24.

- ¹⁰¹ Berkshire Record Office: D/P 112/1/7 Shrivenhham parish register of baptisms 1781-2, 1782-1801.
- ¹⁰² Cited by Paul Newman, *Lost Gods of Albion: The Chalk Hill-Figures of Britain* (Stroud 1997), pp. 25-6.
- ¹⁰³ Francis Wise, *A Letter to Dr Mead concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly showing that the White Horse, which gives name to the great Vale or valley which it overlooks is a monument of the West Saxons, made in memory of a great Victory obtained over the Danes A.D. 871* (Oxford 1738), pp. 33-4.
- ¹⁰⁴ Morris Marples, *White Horses and other Hill Figures* (Gloucester 1981), p. 55. However, see also Richard Pococke, *Travels through England 1747-60* (1889), pp. 143-5; Revd. John Hutchins, *A History of Dorset*, vol. 2 (1774 ed.), pp. 292-4, cited in L.V. Grinsell, 'The Cerne Abbas Giant: 1764-1980', *Antiquity* 54 (1980), pp. 29-33, especially p. 30.
- ¹⁰⁵ See Peter Worsley 'Village Economies' in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *People's History and Socialist Theory* (Oxford 1981), pp. 80-85. Note the deployment of smocks in paintings such as George Garrard's 'The Duke of Bedford presiding over a sheep shearing competition' 1811.
- ¹⁰⁶ See also *Stephen's Book of Farm Implements and Machines* (Edinburgh 1858).
- ¹⁰⁷ See details of rat and dog matches in *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette* 17 May 1825.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette* 16 September 1843, p.4, c.3.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette*, 22 May 1780, p.3 c.3.
- ¹¹⁰ A.Baker, 'On the Ancient Crosses incised on the Chiltern Hills', Buckinghamshire Record Society, *Records of Bucks* Vol. I, 1855, pp. 219-24; Revd. Francis Wise, *Further Observations on the White Horse and other Antiquities in Berkshire* (Oxford 1742); Maïke Oergel, 'The redeeming Teuton: nineteenth-century notions of the 'Germanic' in England and Germany', in Geoffrey Cubitt (ed.), *Imagining Nations* (Manchester and New York 1998), pp. 75-91.
- ¹¹¹ Mark Girouard in *The Return to Camelot* (New haven and London 1981), pp. 87-110.
- ¹¹² Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London 1992), p. 147.
- ¹¹³ John Aubrey was of course out hunting when 'discovering' Avebury in 1649, and being 'the Morrow after Twelf Day' this was a perhaps typical ad-hoc ride-out exercise where individuals turn up with their own 'couple' of hounds in the forerunner of meets with formed packs that became familiar from the end of the following century. The South and West Wilts hunt has a claim to being one of the oldest, alongside the Bilsdale, the Cottesmore dating from 1666, the Duke of Buckingham 1670, and the Quorn 1698, but hunting took on a new dimension with the selective breeding of foxhounds from the mid-eighteenth century, an altogether military organisation and social distinction emerging alongside the Middleton 1764, Sir Watkin William-Wynn's 1788, and the Warwickshire 1791 (David Tylden-Wright, *John Aubrey A Life* (London 1991), pp. 69-77; Richard Blome, *Gentleman's Recreation* (1681); David Itzkowitc, *Peculiar Privilege: A Social History of English Foxhunting 1753-1885* (Hassocks, 1977); both cited in Rupert Isaacson, *The Wild Host: The History and Meaning of the Hunt* (London 2001), pp. 60-74.) Enabled by the increasing tracts of land swallowed by the enclosure movement and the Game Act 1671 prohibiting most yeoman landowners from taking even something for the pot from their own land, the hunt facilitated the separation of the upper echelons from the lower classes in the three decades each side of 1800; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London 1992), pp. 152-170. The élite then rode and others followed, the separation enabling the hunt to survive the purges that swept away lower class pursuits such as cock fighting. See Emma Griffin, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes 1660-1830* (forthcoming Oxford 2005); 'The baiting game', *BBC History* (January 2005), pp.46-7.
- ¹¹⁴ Steve Poole, *The Politics of Regicide in England 1760-1850: Troublesome Subjects* (Manchester and New York 2000), p. 41; Nicholas Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford 1998), pp. 176-188; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London 1992), p. 224-6; see also Michael J. Flame, 'All the common rules of social life': the reconstruction of social and political identities by the Dorset gentry, c.1790-1834', unpublished Warwick Ph.D. thesis (1997); Anna V. Westermayr, 'Public festivities in England during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, 1789-1815', unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. thesis (2000).
- ¹¹⁵ Brian Edwards, 'A Gothic Entrance: the Society in Context' in James H. Thomas (ed.) *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society: the First One Hundred and Fifty Years* (Devizes 2003), pp.5-7.
- ¹¹⁶ Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures* (London 1949, Gloucester 1981), pp. 137-158; Rodney Castleden, *Ancient British Hill Figures* (Seaford East Sussex 2000), pp.19-21; Paul Newman, *Lost Gods of Albion: The Chalk Hill-Figures of Britain* (Stroud 1997), p. 158; Kate Bergamar, *Discovering Hill Figures* (Princes Risborough 1997), pp. 47-8.
- ¹¹⁷ Rodney Castleden, *Ancient British Hill Figures* (Seaford East Sussex 2000), p.21.
- ¹¹⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1827), XCVII, Pt. 2, p. 29, cited by Morris Marples, *White Horses and other Hill Figures* (London 1949, Gloucester 1981), pp. 156-157; text as quoted in Paul Newman, *Lost Gods of Albion: The Chalk Hill-Figures of Britain* (Stroud 1997), p. 167-8.
- ¹¹⁹ See Paul Newman, *Lost Gods of Albion: The Chalk Hill-Figures of Britain* (Stroud 1997), pp. 168-170; Rodney Castleden, *Ancient British Hill Figures* (Seaford, East Sussex 2000), pp. 29-33; A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton,

- The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* (Cambridge 1969); in W. Lindsay Scott, 'The Chiltern White Crosses', *Antiquity* 11 (1937), pp. 100-4. I am grateful to Bill King for tracing the Crosse family connection. See Holy Trinity Church Bledlow leaflet (Bledlow 1998, 2004 edition), also a Buckinghamshire County Council leaflet 'Swan's Way' (nd) that suggests Bledlow Cross 'was probably carved by a local landowner imitating the nearby Whiteleaf Cross in the late eighteenth century'. See also reference to Crosse family monuments on the genealogy website <http://www.genuki.org.uk/> which states of Bledlow 'In the parish church, which is of the earliest Gothic architecture, are memorials of the family of Crosse, who had a seat here, and held the rectorial manor under the provost and fellows of Eton College, to whom the rectory, which had belonged before to the abbey of Grestein, in Normandy, was appropriated in 1444. The vicarage is in the patronage of Lord Carrington, who has lately purchased the lease of the rectorial manor, (to which a part impropration is annexed,) and the advowson, of Mr. Whitbread. The latter bought this estate of the Haytons, who inherited by female descent from the family of Crosse'.
- ¹²⁰ Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures* (1949, Stroud 1981), p. 141-2.
- ¹²¹ See Ray Desmond, *Kew: The History of the Royal Botanic Gardens* (London 1995); Jeremy Black, *A New History of England* (Stroud 2000), pp. 164-6.
- ¹²² Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London 1992), pp. 218-229.
- ¹²³ Kate Bergamar, *Discovering Hill Figures* (Princes Risborough 1997), pp. 28-9; Stanley Ayling, *George the Third* (London 1972), p. 446.
- ¹²⁴ Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures*, (London 1949, Gloucester 1981), p. 72; The Marquess of Ailesbury, *A History of Savernake Forest* (Savernake 1962), pp. 82-7.
- ¹²⁵ Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures*, (London 1949, Gloucester 1981), p. 17, p. 23, p. 85; Revd W.C. Plenderleath, *The White Horses of the West of England, With Notices of Some other Ancient Turf Monuments* (Calne 1885), p. 7. This is not to overlook the influence of Colt Hoare describing the post-1778 Westbury White Horse as 'the blood kind' to contrast it with its predecessor, which he describes as 'the cart breed'. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, vol. 2 (1819), p. 54.
- ¹²⁶ Ralph Whitlock, *The Folklore of Wiltshire* (London 1976), p. 31.
- ¹²⁷ Venetia Morrison, *The Art of George Stubbs* (London 2003), pp.21-42, 169.
- ¹²⁸ Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester and New York 2000), pp. 203-7.
- ¹²⁹ Paul Newman makes the point that outside the Uffington horse, hill figures were not revered in the same way as 'henges and burial mounds'. See Paul Newman 'In defence of Antiquity' in Timothy Darvill, Katherine Barker, Barbara Bender and Ronald Hutton, *The Cerne Giant: An Antiquity on Trial* (Oxford 1999), p. 36. Beyond those engravings of the Uffington White Horse that appear elsewhere, other than a sepia aquatint of Cherhill Horse dated 1798 by J. Baker and a steel engraving of Westbury White Horse c 1860, the earliest painting found thus far is of Westbury White Horse 1892. See the Art Collection of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. See also Brian Edwards, 'A Gothic Entrance: the Society in Context' in James H. Thomas (ed.) *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society: the First One Hundred and Fifty Years* (Devizes 2003), pp. 5-26. See also Joseph Barnard Davis, 'The Kennet and Avon Canal at Honeystreet Wharf (1873-8)' in Richard Hatchwell, *Art in Wiltshire* (Devizes 2005), pp. 144-5.
- ¹³⁰ George Stubbs, 'First Anatomical Table: key', *Anatomy of the Horse* (London 1766), Tab. I.
- ¹³¹ The Jockey Club, *The General Studbook* Vol. I (1791).
- ¹³² Kenneth Clark, *Animals and Men* (London 1977), pp. 152-3.
- ¹³³ Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures*, (1949, Stroud 1981), p. 73. Note: A question remains whether Claude Glasses, which reverse the image and were popular during the Picturesque period, played a part in the direction in which new figures were cut.
- ¹³⁴ I am indebted to Steve Poole for bringing Neil Guthrie's work on these medals to my attention, and to Neil for taking the time and trouble to discuss this with me. I am indebted to Dr Paul Robinson for the point about loyal coats of arms.
- ¹³⁵ James Ward, *A Series of Lithographic Drawings of Celebrated Horses* (London 1824), plate II; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London 1992), p. 225.
- ¹³⁶ Linda Colley, 'Radical patriotism in eighteenth-century England' in Raphael Samuel, *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, Vol. I, History and Politics* (London 1989), pp. 169-187; *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London 1992), p. 225.
- ¹³⁷ Thomas Augustine Arne, *Rule Britannia* (London 1755).
- ¹³⁸ On 10 March 1778, the *Public Advertiser* reported comments by the Duke of Grafton in the House of Lords comparing the America of that time to: 'a generous Steed who had become a little restive, but might by the experience Manage of a good Horseman be easily brought to gentle Obedience; but when whipped, spurred and harassed, by a giddy wanton Rider, become insolent of Control, and disdained the Reins' [See *Public Advertiser* March 10, 1778, cited in Lester C. Olson, *The Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era* (Washington and London, 1991), pp. 246-7]. 'Reins' is evidently a pun on 'Reigns', and directly relates to the king (*Ibid* 245-8) and whilst George III did not enjoy widespread popularity in

England until 1783, a patriotic backlash was inevitable: Steve Poole, *The Politics of Regicide in England 1760-1850: Troublesome Subjects* (Manchester and New York 2000), p. 41-2. In the year following the first of the new hill carvings, 'The Horse America throwing his master' was published showing a white horse throwing George III, and prior to this the king had frequently been translated as a white horse in satirist caricature; Vincent Carretta, *George III and the Satirists from Hogarth to Byron* (Georgia 1990), especially figures 14, 38, 39, 45, 108, 122, 149.

¹³⁹ Linda Colley, 'Radical patriotism in eighteenth-century England' in Raphael Samuel, *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, Vol. I, History and Politics* (London 1989), pp. 169-187. A relevant source cited here is: John Frew, 'An aspect of the early gothic revival: the transformation of mediaevalist research 1770-1800', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 43, (1980), pp. 174-85.

¹⁴⁰ Hackpen Horse cut at Broad Hinton in 1838 and Pewsey 1937. Plenderleath originally stated the Hackpen Horse was cut in 1835 [see Revd W.C. Plenderleath, 'On the White Horses of Wiltshire and its Neighbourhood', a paper read to the nineteenth annual meeting of this Society 7 August 1872, *WANHM XIV* (1874), p. 28], but changed this to 1838 in his MS notes and later publication. Revd W.C. Plenderleath, *On the White Horses of the Wiltshire and its Neighbourhood* (1872), a lecture to WANHS with MS note; Revd W.C. Plenderleath, *The White Horses of the West of England, With Notices of Some other Ancient Turf Monuments* (Calne 1892), p. 31; both cited and in the possession of Morris Marples, *White Horses and other Hill Figures* (London 1949, Gloucester 1981), pp. 96, 105-6. See also correction by Revd. J.A Lloyd, *North Wilts Church Magazine* 156 (December 1880), p.1.

¹⁴¹ See also 'William III on Horseback' by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1701) at Hampton Court Palace. I am grateful to Steve Poole for this source.

¹⁴² The Marlborough Horse cut in 1804 may well have been instigated that particular year to commemorate the anniversary of the town's charter granted 600 years before by King John.

¹⁴³ This horse was reputedly cut to replace the Pewsey horse, that horse disappearing when scouring was halted following complaints about rowdiness.

¹⁴⁴ Hughes cites Catholic emancipation as among the reasons for a break in scouring revels. See Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859, Stroud 1989), pp. 142-3.

¹⁴⁵ *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette*, 16 September 1843, p.2 c.4.

¹⁴⁶ *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette*, 15 September 1838, p.3 c.5.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse* (Cambridge 1859, 1889 edition), p. 141.

¹⁴⁸ Colin Matthew 'Public Life and Politics' in Colin Matthew (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford 2000),

pp.120-124.

¹⁴⁹ The Earl of Buckingham was later required to scour and recut the Whiteleaf Cross by an Enclosure Act of 1829, see Kate Bergamar, *Discovering Hill Figures* (Princes Risborough 1968), p. 19.

¹⁵⁰ Alfred Williams, *Villages of the White Horse*, London Duckworth, 1913; 'The Days of Backswording' *North Wilts Herald* 20 January 1920. An inter-war romantic novel taking a scouring of a white horse at an imaginary location on the Marlborough Downs as its theme promotes the view that unlike the Uffington celebration their scouring was 'a little family affair', and that 'broadstick play was dying out' as 'young men were not so keen to get their heads broken as once they had been, which was a pity for it showed up their manliness'. See Vita Sackville-West, *Grey Wethers* (London 1923), p. 34. I am obliged to John Chandler for this source.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859, Stroud 1989 edition), p. 71

¹⁵² *Ibid*, p. 72.

¹⁵³ G.D.H. Cole, *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement 1795-1925* (3 Volumes, London 1925-7), Vol. II, pp. 42-5; Keith Laybourn, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (Stroud 1992), 20-5; A.L. Morton, and George Tate, *The British Labour Movement* (London 1956, 1979 reprint), pp. 46-8. The club days are mentioned by Hughes in 'The Sermon': Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse* (Cambridge 1859, Stroud 1989 edition), pp. 146-151

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859, Stroud 1989 edition), pp. 142-3; Kate Tiller, 'Rural Resistance: Custom, Community, and Conflict in South Oxfordshire 1800-1914' in Owen Ashton, Robert Fryson and Stephen Roberts (eds.), *The Duty of Discontent* (London 1995), pp.97-121.

¹⁵⁵ Note: the Grand Jury did not convict and there is no suggestion here of Fulwar being 'Judge, jury, and executioner'. The level of involvement is reminiscent of the case of John Benett and the Pythouse Riots. See Robert Moody, *John Benett of Pythouse: his life and ancestry at Norton Bavant and Pythouse c1450-1852* (Bristol 2003), pp. 183-7; *Benett of Wiltshire: the life of a county Member of Parliament 1773-1852* (forthcoming 2005). Brian Edwards, 'Village Labour: Allotments and Arson' and 'Avebury to Australia, Transportation and Emigration', *Wiltshire Folklife*, Number 30 (Spring 1995), pp. 21-35; Jill Chambers, *Wiltshire Machine Breakers: The Riots and Trials*, Vol. I (Letchworth 1993), pp. 31, 59, 85, 99, 235, 249, 271.

¹⁵⁶ John Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England 1700-1870* (New York 1979), pp. 262-266, 302; Steve Poole, *The Politics of Regicide in England 1760-1850* (Manchester and New York 2000), pp. 186-198.

¹⁵⁷ Michael Freeman, *Victorians and the Prehistoric: Tracks to a Lost World* (New Haven and London 2004), pp. 163-189, 228-232; Deborah Cadbury, *The Dinosaur Hunters* (Fourth Estate, London, 2000); Alan Cutter,

- The Seashell on the Mountaintop* (Heinemann 2003); Stephen Baxter, *Revolutions in the Earth: James Hutton and the True Age of the World* (Weidenfield & Nicholson, 2003); Jack Repcheck, *The Man Who Found Time: James Hutton and the Discovery of the Earth's Antiquity* (Simon & Schuster, 2003). A.N. Wilson, *God's Funeral* (London, 1999).
- ¹⁵⁸ Revd. Edward Duke, *The Druidical temples of the County of Wilts* (London and Salisbury 1846), pp. 64-5; Revd. A. Baker, 'Ancient Crosses incised on the Chiltern Hills' *Records of Buckinghamshire* Vol. I. (1855), p. 219.
- ¹⁵⁹ Felix MacDonagh, *The London Hermit's Tour to The York Festival in a series of letters to a friend*, (York and London 1826), p. 3; Michael Freeman, *Victorians and the Prehistoric: Tracks to a Lost World* (New Haven and London 2004), pp. 252-3. See also Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS, *Tractatus de mirabilibus Britanniae*; T.H. Ravenhill, *The Rollright Stones* (Little Rollright 1926); cited by Stuart Piggott, 'The Uffington White Horse', *Antiquity* 5 (1931), pp. 37-46.
- ¹⁶⁰ This church is ranked so highly it was thought by Pevsner one of the few individual buildings 'worth including' in his introduction to the Buildings of Berkshire. See Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Berkshire* (London 1966), p. 22.
- ¹⁶¹ Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse* (Cambridge 1859, 1889 edition), pp. vii-xii, 44.
- ¹⁶² See Maike Oergel, 'The redeeming Teuton: nineteenth-century notions of the 'Germanic' in England and Germany', in Geoffrey Cubitt (ed), *Imagining Nations* (Manchester and New York 1998), pp. 75-6.
- ¹⁶³ William J. Thoms, 'Some Observations on the White Horse of Berkshire', *Archaeologia* 31 (1846) pp. 289-296.
- ¹⁶⁴ See J.Y. Akerman's letter to William J. Thoms, *Archaeologia* 31 (1846) pp. 297-8; Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination: Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency* (London, 1989), p. 139.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ina Taylor, *George Eliot, Woman of Contradictions* (London 1989), pp 158-162; Frederick Karl, *George Eliot: A Biography* (London, 1995), pp 226-258.
- ¹⁶⁶ Frederick Karl, *George Eliot: a biography* (London 1995), pp. 65-122, 513.
- ¹⁶⁷ Paul Johnson, *A History of Christianity* (London 1976), pp. 375-6.
- ¹⁶⁸ See Marghanita Laski, *George Eliot and Her World* (London 1973), pp. 29-31.
- ¹⁶⁹ M.Muller, 'German Literature' *Chips from a German Workshop* (4 volumes, London 1870) III, pp 1-2, cited in Maike Oergel, 'The redeeming Teuton: nineteenth-century notions of the 'Germanic' in England and Germany', in Geoffrey Cubitt (ed), *Imagining Nations* (Manchester and New York 1998), pp. 88, 91.
- ¹⁷⁰ George Eliot MSS WANHS Boxes 190 and 191. For Casaubon see Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford and New York 1995), pp. 8, 26, 119 n., 152, 185; see also Isaac Casaubon, *Epistolae quot reperiri potuerunt* (London 1638); Meric Casaubon, *A treatise of use and custome* (London 1638).
- ¹⁷¹ This from Raphael Samuel, but see Daniel Wilson's *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851); Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination: Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency* (London 1989), p7; Christopher Chippindale, 'The invention of words for the idea of prehistory', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, Vol. 54 (1988), pp. 303-14.
- ¹⁷² *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette*, September 16, 1843
- ¹⁷³ This point is made by Michael Freeman, *Victorians and the Prehistoric: Tracks to a Lost World* (New Haven and London 2004), pp. 48-9. Freeman is also the author of *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (New Haven and London 1999).
- ¹⁷⁴ Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (London 1857), all editions Chapter 2, The 'Veast'.
- ¹⁷⁵ See Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse* (Cambridge 1859, 1889 edition), preface.
- ¹⁷⁶ J.Y. Akerman's letter to William J. Thoms, *Archaeologia* 31 (1846) pp. 297-8.
- ¹⁷⁷ See Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838-1886* (Cambridge 1986), pp. 17-18
- ¹⁷⁸ William Dale Morris, *The Christian Origin of Social Revolt* (London 1949), pp. 174-216.
- ¹⁷⁹ See G.D.H.Cole and Raymond Postgate, *The Common People 1746-1938* (London 1938), pp.316-7.
- ¹⁸⁰ See Brian Edwards, 'Cotton Wadding: Marlborough College and the Path to War', *WANHM* 94, (2001), pp. 75-87.
- ¹⁸¹ Berkshire Record Office D/RDV/1/1 Vale of the White Horse Rural Deanery Chapter Minutes 14 May 1867.
- ¹⁸² Both of these volumes are among the Robin de Beaumont collection in the British Museum. See Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books 1850-1870: the heyday of wood-engraving*, (Boston 1994).
- ¹⁸³ Edward C. Mack and W.H.G. Armytage, *Thomas Hughes, the Life of the Author of Tom Brown's Schooldays* (London 1952), pp. 109-111; see also centenary work G.W.B. Huntingford, 'The Scouring of the White Horse' in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 87 (I) 1957, pp. 105-14.
- ¹⁸⁴ Edward C. Mack and W.H.G. Armytage, *Thomas Hughes the Life of the Author of Tom Brown's Schooldays* (London 1952), pp. 109-111.
- ¹⁸⁵ Grant Allen, *English Worthies: Charles Darwin* (London 1888), pp 128-143; Peter J. Bowler, 'Darwinism and Victorian Values: Threat or Opportunity?' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 78, 1992, pp 49-60. Also in T.C.Smout, *Victorian Values* (Oxford 1992).
- ¹⁸⁶ Philip Schwyzer 'The Scouring of the White Horse: Archaeology, Identity, and 'Heritage'', *Representations* 65, (University of California Press, Winter 1999), pp. 42-62.

- ¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 61, fn 42.
- ¹⁸⁸ Thomas Hughes, *The Scouring of the White Horse*, (Cambridge 1859), preface.
- ¹⁸⁹ John Lowerson 'The Mystical Geography of the English', in Brian Short (ed) *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis* (Cambridge 1992), pp. 152-174.
- ¹⁹⁰ Sir John Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times: as illustrated by ancient remains and the manners and customs of modern savages*, (London and Edinburgh 1865, second edition 1869), p. 376 quoting 'Dr Prichard Research into the Antiquity of Mankind, Vol. V, p 553.
- ¹⁹¹ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven and London 2001), pp. 128-132.
- ¹⁹² Hughes who was now an MP was unable to attend and the address was read by the Chairman the Revd. Adams.
- ¹⁹³ Thomas Hughes, 'Address to Newbury Field Club, 1871', *Transactions Newbury District Field Club*, 1871, Vol. I, pp. 122-156.
- ¹⁹⁴ *The Times* 10 June 1871.
- ¹⁹⁵ Berkshire Record Office D/RDV/1/1-2 Vale of the White Horse Rural Deanery Chapter Minutes 1867.
- ¹⁹⁶ Report of 'The Excursion to White Horse Hill 6th June 1871', *Transcripts of the Newbury District Field Club* (I, 1871) pp. 148-151.
- ¹⁹⁷ *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine* XXV (1891), pp. 63-8. Juvenal was a Roman satirist.
- ¹⁹⁸ Anon, *White Horse Hill and Surroundings issued in Commemoration of the Unveiling of a statue of Alfred the Great at Wantage by H.R.H The Prince of Wales July 14, 1877* (Wantage 1877), p.10. I am indebted to David Stevens for assistance in connection with this source.
- ¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p.4.
- ²⁰⁰ Berkshire Record Office D/RDV/1/1 Vale of the White Horse Rural Deanery Chapter Minutes 1867.
- ²⁰¹ Tom Brown's School Museum, 'Uffington in 1860 and the history of the Craven Family', Exhibition Leaflet 2002; letter from Thomas Hughes August 18th 1894 cited in Morris Marples, *White Horses and other Hill Figures* (1949, Gloucester 1981), p. 65.
- ²⁰² Morris Marples, *White Horses and Other Hill Figures* (1949, Gloucester 1981), p.65; Christopher Chippindale, *Stonehenge Complete* (1983, London 2004), pp. 141-178. See also Michael Taggart, *Private Property and the Abuse of Rights in Victorian England: The Story of Edward Pickles and the Bradford Water Supply*, Oxford University Press 2002). From this it will be seen that it was not unlawful or considered unusual for the owner of private property to exercise property rights to the detriment of public interest. Pickles was the first to establish this.
- ²⁰³ In conversation with Peter Greed 22 June 2004, it emerged that the change of direction was purely to differentiate the new Devizes figure from the Snob horse. The recently opened Nursteed School has adopted the new Devizes horse as its symbol, and has cut a large flowerbed on a slope in the shape of a horse and outlined it with white bricks.

Tower Hill, Newton Toney, Wiltshire: Prehistoric Flints, an Early Eighteenth-Century Folly, and the Ordnance Survey

by *David J. Ride*

William Benson, a controversial politician and administrator of the early eighteenth century, erected a folly on top of Tower Hill associated with his new Palladian villa, Wilbury. The folly was a familiar landmark until it fell down or was demolished by 1839. Some of its component materials were used in the building of Newton Toney Church. The remainder were converted into a mound, atop which was sited an early Ordnance Survey triangulation point. The appearance of the folly is deduced from some of the masonry blocks remaining at the site, and from a small but assumed representative symbol on an early map. The origin of the fabric of the folly is discussed, particularly in relation to small buildings demolished by Benson at Amesbury Abbey. An English Heritage topographical survey of the hill suggests an encircling bank and ditch. An excavation is reported, aimed at determining the nature and date of this feature, during which a flint working industry mainly of the Early Bronze Age was discovered.

THE FOLLY

The builder

William Benson was a Whig Member of Parliament and High Sheriff of Wiltshire for 1710. He succeeded Sir Christopher Wren as Surveyor General of the King's Works, and then became Auditor of both Foreign Accounts and the Imprest, hence his later title of Mr Auditor Benson. (The Auditor of the Imprest was responsible mainly for the accounts relating to Ireland, Berwick and the Mint.) He acquired the Fiennes estate at Newton Toney, pulled down the old manor house and, in 1710, began building the first English Palladian villa, Wilbury House, which it is assumed was designed by the architect Colen Campbell and is illustrated in Campbell's book *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Benson rented Amesbury Abbey as a residence while the villa was being constructed. The Abbey was itself a Palladian house, built in 1660 by John Webb, a nephew and pupil of Inigo Jones; Thomas Hopper remodelled it

in 1834. Features of the Abbey were incorporated in the design of Wilbury House. Notable Whigs espoused Palladian architecture (as opposed to Baroque, which was favoured by Tories) as symbolic of their political stance (Stone & Fawtier Stone 1984). Further information on William Benson occurs in Colvin *et al.* (1976 pp 57-65), Eavis (2002) and in Stephens and Lee (1917). Wilbury House is itself described by Bold (1988).

As was customary for the period, Benson furnished his new estate with subsidiary architectural features: a temple, grottoes and a folly. The folly was built exactly two miles from the villa, on top of a hill, the highest part of his estate and at its far edge, now known as Tower Hill, or Folly Hill, 174m above the present Ordnance Datum (OD). From there, extensive views across Wiltshire and Hampshire are obtained – although tree cover now almost completely obscures the vista. Conversely, people for miles around, including other prominent landowners, over several generations, would have regarded the monument as a familiar, prominent

landmark: Benson's intentions ever were to impress and impose.

The folly formed an integral part of the overall design of Wilbury House because the long axis of the villa was built exactly at right angles to the line connecting the two buildings. Benson had the flexibility to site and orientate his villa in this way, remote from the original manor house; Lady Sarah FitzHerbert (née Sarah Perrin, whose great grandfather had held a copyhold at Newton Toney), writing in her diary of 1792, states that Benson pulled down the old house and built his villa a mile distant from the village (Derbyshire Record Office, D239M/10227), which appears to imply that the villa was not built on the site of the manor house. If the identification is correct, *The Victoria County History* for Wiltshire (1995 Vol XI p147) tends to confirm this fact, stating that the foundations of the manor house were exposed in the High Street of Newton Toney during construction of 'The Croft' in 1948. Rodwell (1997) reports recycled material in Wilbury's construction but writes: '... there is no suggestion that anything pre-1710 is *in situ*.'

Centrally placed, symmetrical axes, such as were marked by Benson's Folly, are common architectural features of grand country houses, with the 'station of view' visible through the front entrance. In the late eighteenth century, a later owner of Wilbury remodelled the house so that its rear became its front façade. Later still, an avenue was constructed on a reciprocal bearing to that of the folly; finally, an obelisk was erected on this new axis in 1897.

The folly was destroyed, or succumbed to gravity or the elements, in the nineteenth century. Tower Hill (NGR SU 2354 3823) is listed in the National Monuments Record as NMR No SU 23 SW 80/81.

Records of the folly

Hoare (1812 pp46-47) describes seeing the folly on a journey along the Portway. *The Victoria County History* for Wiltshire (1995 Vol XI) states that the folly had been demolished by 1817, for it is not shown on the Ordnance Survey (OS) map of that date; however, in contradiction, inspection of the map clearly shows a tower symbol on Tower Hill, and Norris (1997) has pointed out that the map of Wiltshire by Greenwood of 1819/1820 depicts the folly as a conventional tower symbol, too. However, Greenwood's map may have been a copy of the OS map (Chandler 1998). The folly is not included on the Tithe Commutation map for Newton Toney of 1839, which is large scale and would have included the monument had it stood then. Musty (1964)

comments that J and C Walker's map of Wiltshire of 1841 marks the site of the folly with a black square. A letter by a Canadian, Alma Dick Lauder, to her mother, written from Newton Toney Rectory on 15th May 1882 (Bourne Valley Historical Society 24/61), contains the passage: 'Yesterday we had a lovely walk to a place called Folly Hill near here, Beautiful beech woods and the fallen ruins of an old temple on the top of the hill.'

A resident of Newton Toney relates a remarkable piece of oral family history. Her great-grandfather, Richard Zillwood Cooke (born 1834), remembered going by horse and cart with his father, Robert (born 1800), to Folly Hill to fetch stones for the building of the new church at Newton Toney that opened in 1843/1844 (RCHME, 1987). In particular the stones of a spiral staircase were recovered (pers. comm. Mrs M Joan Hopkins 1997). This event occurred when Sir Alexander Malet owned the estate. The stair treads in St Andrew's Church, Newton Toney, conform in size, shape and material to a stone stair tread recovered at Tower Hill (see below); they are considerably more worn than expected were they contemporaneous with the church. Their undersides have now been relieved of their edges, which provides more headroom. There are eighteen treads, 30 degrees in segment, seven inches deep, with seven inch diameter newel-post sections at the narrow ends. They are built into a four-foot diameter stair well.

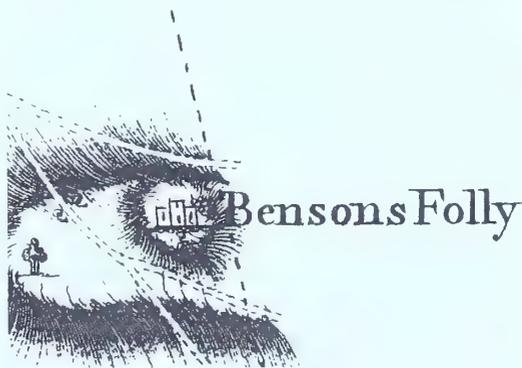


Fig. 1. Enlarged detail from Andrews and Dury's map of 1773

The folly occurs on the map of Wiltshire by Andrews and Dury published in 1773 as a tiny image about 3mm across, a tower flanked by two lower chambers (Figure 1). The image is too small to show detail, but is likely to be reliable generally because Andrews hoped to recoup his costs by selling his map to estate owners whose mansions and gardens he depicted with detailed accuracy (Crittall 1952). This

is the only known illustration of the folly, although a Miss Armstead, a former schoolteacher at Newton Toney who was born around 1900, claimed that her grandfather had seen an illustration of the folly, probably in an old magazine type of publication (pers. comm. Mr Tony Lyons, Newton Toney, 1998). Exhaustive searches for illustrations, by the author and Dr Keith Norris (Norris 1997), have been unsuccessful. Headley and Meulenkamp (1986 p67) write that 'Tower Hill used to be crowned by a circular brick structure', a statement that can be traced to the Wiltshire Buildings Record, but for which no authority can be found (pers. comm. Mr Roy Canham, Wiltshire County Archaeologist, 1998). Hussey (1965) also makes this claim.

The remains

Today, Tower Hill stands on Ministry of Defence land at Porton Down; on its crest is an oval mound of soil covered rubble, of sharp profile some twenty-one metres by fourteen metres and two metres high, the long axis of which is orientated closely ENE-WSW. The summit of the hill is much as described by Musty (1964 p182): 'The site is overgrown with scrub, but a recent examination of the top revealed blocks of stone. These are not of local origin (i.e. Chilmark) but probably came from the Bath area, possibly at the same time as the stone was obtained for Wilbury House.' Contrary to Musty's assertion, however, Wilbury House contains Chilmark-type stone, but not Bath stone (Rodwell 1997). Ten of the stone blocks have since rolled, or been rolled, down the hill and lie some thirty metres to the southeast. The stone of the blocks consists of a creamy silicious limestone with a few embedded fossil shells and has indeed been confirmed by Mr Roger Stephens, a conservation stonemason from Salisbury Cathedral, as Bath stone, probably quarried from a lower bed because it is dense (pers. comm. Mr Frank Blewett, 1998). A fragment of stone from the surface of the mound is of a less creamy colour and densely permeated by shards of quartziferous shells. Mr Stephens identified this fragment as Chicks Grove stone (possibly from the Tisbury quarries) and thus a species of Chilmark stone; it bears traces of mortar, and so could have been used as rubble, perhaps salvaged from the building of Wilbury House.

Two further masonry blocks were discovered buried in leaf mould on the summit of the hill. All the blocks are of a shape too distinctive to be reused readily elsewhere or too heavy to be lifted easily. The assemblage is consistent with being the remnants left after a salvage operation to recover re-usable dressed

stone, such as was performed by Robert Cooke in c.1840 (above). Other reusable material, knapped flint and brick, may have been removed at the same time, or subsequently.

The destruction of the folly

The precise sequence of ruination and demolition of the folly is not clear. The mound today is neat, but was strewn around with masonry blocks in 1964. Permission from Sir Alexander Malet to salvage building material was almost certainly accompanied by instructions to leave the site in a safe condition. Had the ruin been upstanding then, Sir Alexander is likely to have retained it as a picturesque feature, the distant focus of views from the south façade of Wilbury House. Such contrived, romantic vistas were in vogue at that time. In all likelihood, the picturesque ruin fell or blew down and possessed no further scenic utility. An analysis of exceptional weather in southern England (Davidson *et al.* 1993) covering this period of interest reveals severe gales in July 1822, November 1824, January 1828 and October 1836. The winter of 1836/1837 was particularly severe; it produced England's first recorded avalanche of snow on Christmas night, at Lewes in Sussex. Such a winter could account for the collapse, on an exposed hill, of a ruinous folly not already prostrate.

Support for the notion of a cultivated, ruined vista on Tower Hill comes from the presence of a Turkey oak (*Quercus cerris*) at the western end of the mound. This specimen is c.14m high and c.1.9m in girth one metre above the ground and is too young to have been contemporary with Sir Alexander Malet (according to Mitchell 1974, the Turkey oak was introduced into England in 1735). However, it has produced a seedling, now c.7m high and c.0.7m in girth, and could have arisen easily from a now vanished, earlier specimen. Prof Warwick Rodwell (pers. comm. 2003) relates this oak to a secondary phase of landscaping; Turkey oaks were planted outside the grotto at Wilbury in the nineteenth century. The initial occurrence of Turkey oaks, a southern European species, can only result from a deliberate planting of what was regarded as an ornamental tree. Isolated, mature Scots pines (*Pinus sylvestris*) flank the mound, another probable indication of a contrived skyline feature.

Origin of the fabric

According to Bold (1988 p133) the folly could have originally stood on the Amesbury Abbey estate, for

which Benson took the lease for 21 years in 1708 (WSRO 283/44). Quoting Bold:

On the south side of the house [i.e. Wilbury], a carved fragment, being half a four-centred stone doorhead, is inscribed '.... HIS TOWER 1600'. The resemblance is so close to the doorhead inscribed 'DIANA HER HOUS 1600' at Amesbury [on Dianna House] that it might be presumed that Benson removed it from Amesbury with the intention of re-using it, perhaps in the now vanished tower known as 'Benson's Folly'.

It is possible, Bold conjectures, that Benson bought the building which had been erected in 1600 for Edward Seymour, the Earl of Hertford (Stevenson 1995), the then owner of Amesbury Abbey. Diana House and Kent House, close to the A345 trunk road, Countess Road, on the eastern edge of the former Abbey estate, form a pair of seventeenth century lodges, each with a hexagonal wing or tower (Chandler and Goodhugh 1979). Kent House in particular has been much modified and extended. The stone fragment is now lost (pers. comm. Prof Rodwell 1998). That it was discovered at Wilbury House strongly suggests that it was taken there by Benson and that the building from which it came had been dismantled or modified. This is insufficient evidence, however, to conclude positively that Benson's Folly was once Edward Seymour's 'tower'. In 2001, the author examined Diana House at Amesbury, suggested as the folly's twin. Its masonry is completely different in style from the blocks on Tower Hill. However, the occurrence of the arch stone at Wilbury indicates that Benson was willing to dismantle and transport buildings for use elsewhere.

The terms of Benson's lease of Amesbury Abbey allowed him to demolish two summerhouses, and to replace the old gatehouse that stood near the (extant) George Inn in the High Street with 'a handsome and convenient gate', (although it appears that only one summerhouse was demolished, together with the gatehouse). The new gate opens on to Countess Road. The old entrance, through Abbey Lane, is shown as blocked up on Henry Flitcroft's survey of Amesbury of 1726 (Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office WRO 944/1). The former site of the gatehouse is not clear. The original driveway to Webb's house was flanked by his gate piers, still standing but relocated near the church. A medieval gatehouse would not have been acceptable as an entrance to a Palladian house, and 'near the George Inn' implies a different location from Webb's entrance, likely on a vanished driveway to the pre-Webb house that met the road near the

inn. For a discussion of features of Amesbury Abbey, see Kite (1899-1901).

The use of the folly as a triangulation point

The extensive views enjoyed by Benson from the folly are those sought by surveyors. On top of the mound is a small paving of bricks (Figure 2), seemingly taken from the debris, 680mm (2.7ft) square. Careful examination revealed that the bricks



Fig. 2. The brick paving atop the mound

rest on repositioned, massive stone blocks (presumably originally the foundations of the folly), and had been rendered flat and level with pieces of broken slate packing placed where necessary under individual bricks. Dr Norris (pers. comm. 1998) finds a triangulation point recorded on Tower Hill on the Ordnance Survey (OS) six-inch map published in 1883 and surveyed in 1876/1877. Although in Wiltshire, Tower Hill's triangulation point is described in the OS's guard book for Hampshire, Part 2 (National Archives PRO OS2/91 p628). The entry, dated 30th December 1865 reads: '**Name** Tower Hill, **Parish** Newton toney, **Nearest town** Newton toney village, **Type** 2.6 stone, **Description** A well known hill with wood on it where a monument once stood - But this has fallen down 1 lo. from Old Lodge house.' (The point lies one mile from the site of Old Lodge.) The OS guard book description does not identify the survey point positively as the mound with its brick platform; however, the latter is the only clearly defined existing feature visible and the highest point on the hill; it almost certainly marked the triangulation point, or covered it. It may be that the triangulation point was remodelled to its present form after 1865, but this seems an unlikely expenditure of effort on what was only a secondary or tertiary survey point, some of which consisted of ephemeral marks on trees or 'an isolated prominent bush'. (There is an entry in the

OS Wiltshire guard book for 'Wilbury Hall' (National Archives PRO OS2/255 p38); the point there was an arrow cut on a tree trunk.) Note that from 1968, at least, the OS has marked Tower Hill on its maps about 900m ESE of its true position, at a prominence that bears a modern trigonometrical point.

An accurate base line for the original OS survey was measured between a point near Old Sarum and Beacon Hill, east of Amesbury, by Captain Mudge in 1794 (Margary Vol IV 1981). The two end points are marked as 'Gun, end of base' on old OS maps, for vertically embedded cannons were used as markers. On recent editions of OS maps, only the southern end is so marked; a commemorative stone erected by Freemasons in 1967 also distinguishes it. Tower Hill is visible from both end positions of the line, and this would seemingly qualify it for inclusion in the Principal Triangulation of the British Isles begun in the 1840s; however, Seymour (1980) records that nearby Thorney Down (162m above OD) was used instead. (Although neither of the two geodetic triangles formed respectively by Thorney Down and Tower Hill using the Old Sarum base line is well-conditioned.)

The Old Sarum base line spans the longest terrestrial segment of latitude in England: 51.14° north, from St Margaret's at Cliffe in the east to Baggy Point in the west. It is also close to the (almost) longest meridian of longitude: 2° west, from the Isle of Purbeck to near Berwick-upon-Tweed. This meridian was the central one used by both the earlier Cassini and later Transverse Mercator projections of the OS. The choice of the Old Sarum base line was thus sound geodetic practice for it minimises the cumulative errors of triangulation over the widest possible area and is accurately represented on a flat map. However, these conditions of centrality are matched at Tower Hill, for its northern slope is also cut by the longest English segment of latitude, and it must remain a distinct possibility that William Benson envisaged that his measured axis of precisely two miles, from the folly to his villa, might have been used for a national or sub-national survey, thus awarding his creation a symbolic central rôle, an aspiration entirely consistent with his known character, which included a taste for the esoteric, and with his successful pursuit of the post of Surveyor. Benson's original villa, Wilbury, was surmounted centrally by a cupola that would have yielded a fine triangulation point at the other end of his putative, but practically too short, base line.

THE TOWER HILL SURVEY

In 1998, the Porton Down Conservation Group cleared of dense blackthorn scrub, brambles and nettles an area of some fifty metres square on the summit of Tower Hill. The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (now part of English Heritage) performed an earthwork survey of the hill (Figure 3) under the direction of David Field (Field 1998). Henry Stevens, of the Centre for Human Ecology and Environment, University of Southampton, conducted a 40m by 40m resistivity survey at a resolution of one metre (Stevens 1998). The Porton Down Conservation Group photographed and made measured drawings of the remaining masonry blocks.

The earthworks

In addition to the mound, the survey shows a small, sub-rectangular enclosure some 40m by 35m demarcated by a simple scarp up to 5m wide and one metre high. This feature has been given the name of Tower Hill Enclosure by English Heritage and the National Monuments Record Number NMR SU 23 SW 81. The following account is based on the EH report. In the southwest there are remnants of a ditch c.0.5m wide and c.0.2m deep, together with a shallow, sinuous counterscarp. On the hillslope south of the enclosure is a large, shallow scoop or depression, 10m by 9m and up to 0.5m deep, while at the foot of the same slope lies a linear bank c.0.3m wide by 0.2m high. Further west, this bank possesses a corresponding ditch. A shallow scarp some 3m wide lies parallel to it.

A series of shallow banks, each c.0.5m wide by c.0.3m high, form sub-rectangular enclosures on the summit. Too small for 'Celtic' fields, they appear to form small garden units. Certainly, lilac (*Syringa vulgaris*) occurs in front of the folly, and privet (*Ligustrum vulgare*) abounds there. Both plants form perpetuating colonies and suggest – the lilac in particular – that gardening once occurred there. In the northeast a 15m length of bank c.0.5m wide and c.0.9m high forms a strong feature that appears to overlie a wider, shallower feature on the same alignment. It is aligned towards the northeast but its extremity is masked by dense vegetation, and its purpose remains obscure. In the north lies an oval depression some 6m by 3.5m and 0.2m deep, itself within a larger depression that mimics its form. This lies parallel to the linear bank noted above and appears to face Wilbury House. The feature may

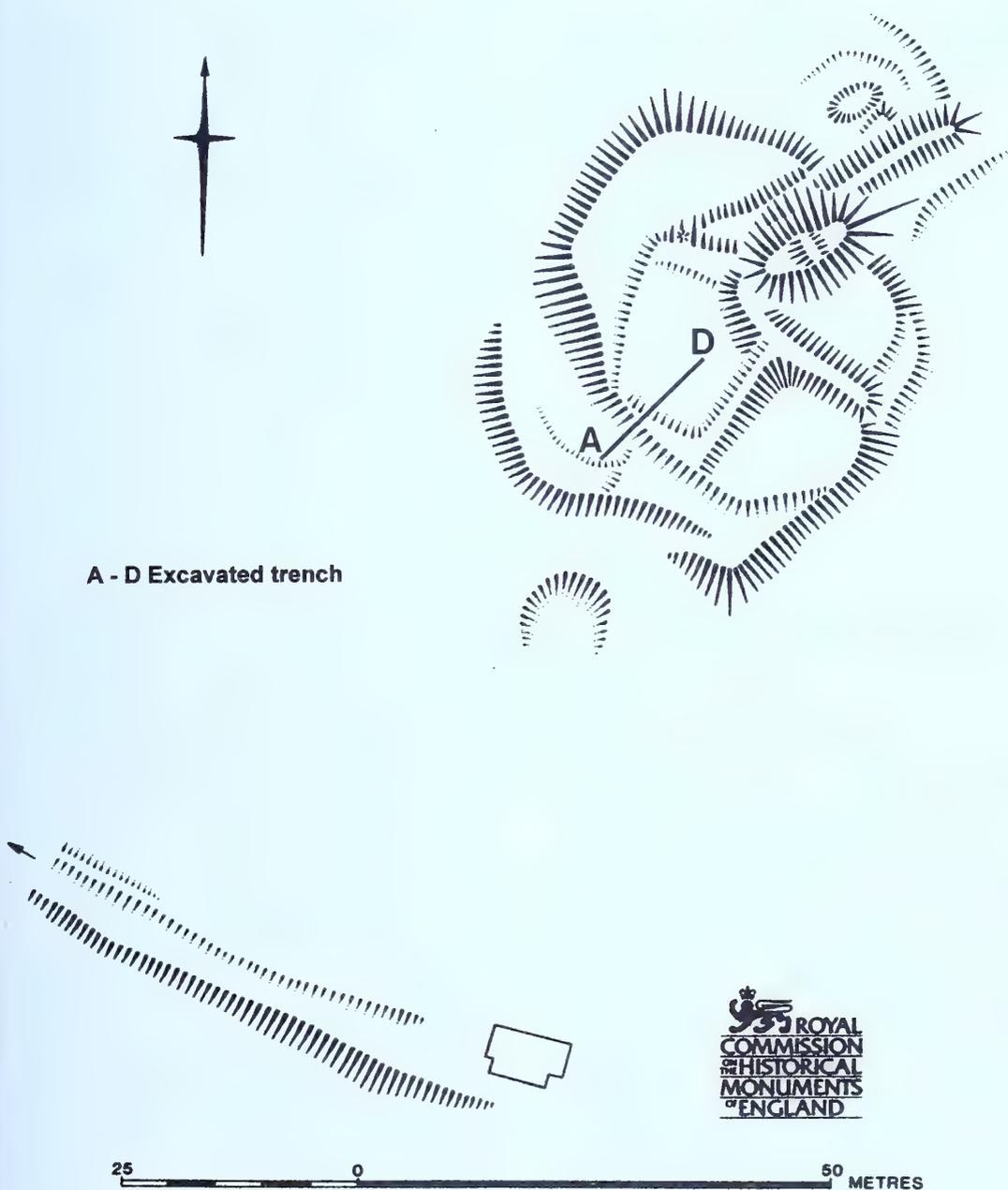


Fig. 3. Earthwork survey of Tower Hill (Copyright English Heritage. Published with permission)

represent the remains of a pond. Such a feature would require puddling with clay, but as discussed below, clay is present on Tower Hill.

The oval mound, composed of earth, brick, tiles, stone and flint rubble, overlies both the enclosure and the system of banks on the summit. (No systematic examination of the mound's interior was

made; its composition is suggested by material on its surface.) Finds of flint flakes knapped with a metallic hammer suggest building flint was worked close to the mound.

Only archaeological excavation offers the possibility of determining the age and nature of the individual earthworks.

The geophysical survey

The soil resistivity survey revealed a high resistance anomaly at the core of the oval mound (probably the relocated foundation blocks), flanked by low resistance readings representing the shoulders of the mound. A further high resistance anomaly lies to the southwest of this and appears to represent a wall. In the south, a low resistance feature representing a ditch, gully or other negative feature appears to correspond with the enclosure ditch noted above. Finally, a general rectilinear pattern of high resistance on a northeast alignment appears to reflect the range of sub-rectangular features noted in the earthwork survey. The survey report (Stevens 1998) concludes:

Had it been possible to double the size of the survey, the folly and associated features would have benefited from a higher definition and greater contextualisation. Despite these points there is little doubt that elements of the folly can be detected. Similarly it appears that the structure is sitting in a rectilinear earthwork pattern, possibly representing a garden area associated with the folly, or perhaps pre-dating this structure and relating to an earlier pattern of land use on the hill.

The stone blocks, their description and interpretation

The ten masonry blocks at the foot of the slope were designated by letters A through K (omitting I). The blocks discovered in leaf litter near the mound were designated L and M. Notable blocks are illustrated in Figure 4. The design of the folly used Imperial Units, and these are quoted when clearly appropriate to the dimensions of finished blocks; otherwise, metric units are employed in their descriptions.

Block A, the smallest, bears the incised number 18, or 81, and could be from ancillary masonry, a bounding wall, say; but its number suggests instead that it was a component of the main building. It is complex in shape, with a corner rebate on one side and on another a curved rebate (radius two feet) which forms a tenon. On one face there is a coarse herringbone pattern of mortar-keying incisions, and it is furnished with dowel holes at one end. It is interpreted as part of a coping course to a wall. The curved tenon could have fitted under a bull's-eye window or a curved balustrade. The dowel holes would have secured it with pegs to the adjacent coping-stone.

Four blocks (C, D, G and M) appear to be rectangular, but the undersides could not be

examined owing to their heaviness and partial burial in the soil. Two (C and G) are 320mm thick with faces 450mm wide and at least 480mm long; block D is 460mm by 540mm by 670mm. Block M, which is incorporated into the foot of the mound, is roughly rectangular, 650mm by 450mm, with its upper face flat but rough; one long side is fair-finished. Similar types of large blocks were found under the brick platform on the mound, but these have not been lettered.

Blocks E and H display simple rectangular mouldings and ogee edges on two sides – one has its moulding stopped on one edge – indicating that they were corner components. Traces of mortar on the face with the stopped moulding suggest that the block was bonded to a return course at ninety degrees. These blocks most likely bore the walls of the folly, resting directly on foundation blocks like C, D, G and M.

Block J (Figure 5) formed the massive (700mm by 330mm thick) central component of a simple pedimented arch with an apex of 135° and an arch radius of four feet. It has a much-weathered boss above the arch that must have formed a decorative representation originally, perhaps, of an oak tree. Below the boss and within the apex of the pediment is a through hole, slanting from back to front. This block was almost certainly from the central doorway to the central tower. The through hole is a drainage feature, and asymmetrical fixing holes and recesses on either side of it suggest that it carried a suitably naturalistic or fantastic creature with an appropriate orifice – a cascade or gargoyle intended to drain the central section of the roof. Positioning the water spout over the door is consistent with the fantastical nature of follies, and would have appealed to William Benson's hydraulic predilections, for he claimed to have designed the curious waterworks in the gardens of Herrenhausen (a palace of the Electors of Hannover) for George I (Colvin *et al*, 1976). (Eavis (2002) argues persuasively that the designer was not Benson but a Reverend Thomas Holland of Amesbury.) However, Rodwell (pers. comm. 2003) considers Block J to have formed part of a water feature, having discovered similar examples at Wilbury. This is a reasonable alternative interpretation, but it is a puzzle if a large section of a water feature should exist on a remote hilltop.

Three blocks (F, B and K) also exhibit 135° exterior angles. F and B each possess one such corner and a sector of a concave curve with a radius of three feet in both cases. Block F is thicker (400mm) than block B (260mm). This latter block contains a 50mm

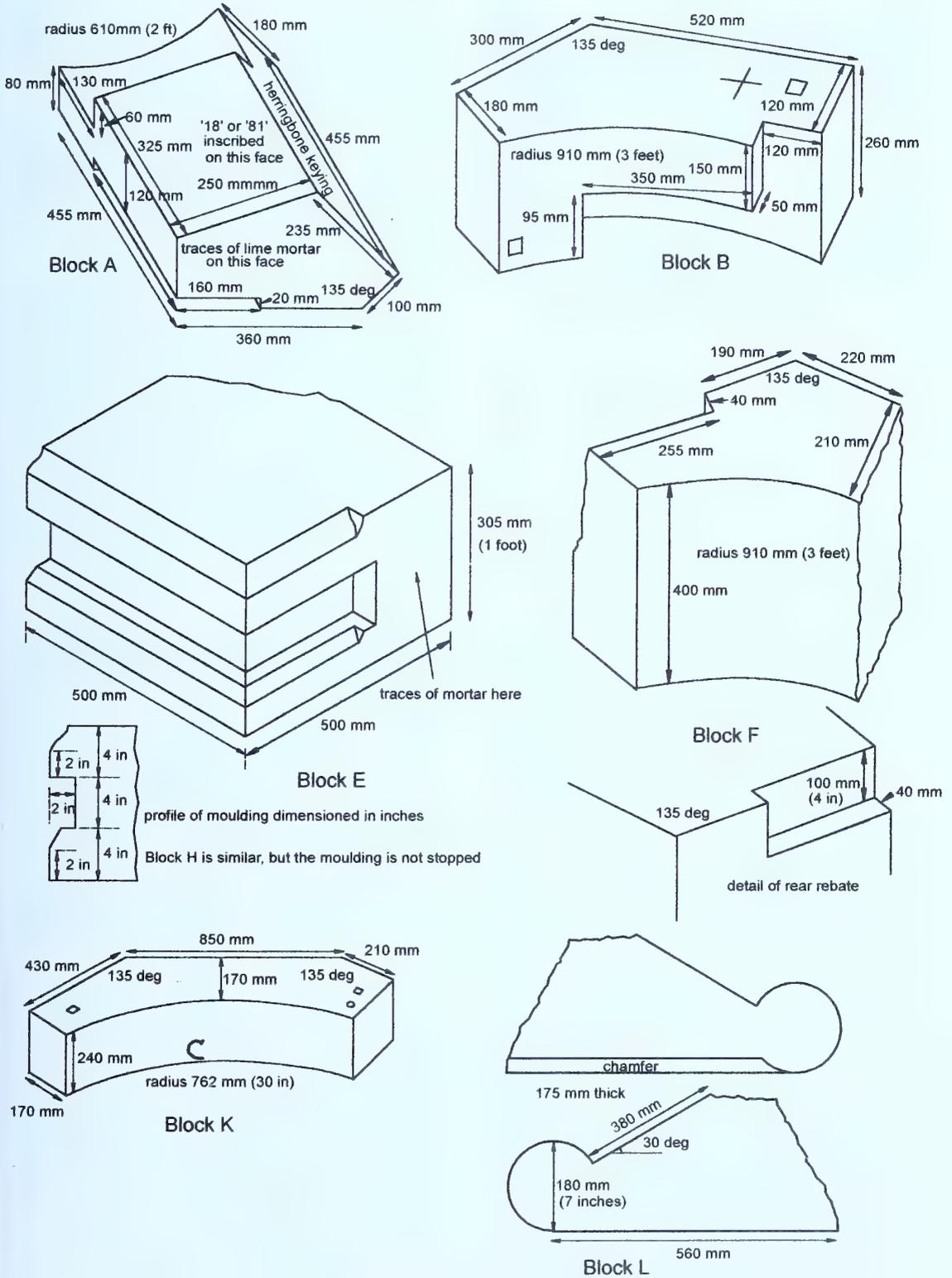


Fig. 4. Sketches of some of the masonry blocks



Fig. 5. Block J, the keystone of the arch

deep rebate that spans only one side of the sector. Block K has two 135° angles and a curve with radius 2½ feet (762mm). The letter 'C' is inscribed on the curved face and there are rectangular dowel or cleat holes on a face at right angles to this surface. (The faces with the rectangular holes and letter have scabbed off and were reassembled from fragments lying nearby.) Blocks F, B and K are clearly components of semi-octagonal towers, one with an internal radius of three feet (blocks B and F) and the other with a radius of 2½ feet (block K).

Block L is a tread from a spiral staircase and its dimensions are such that it exactly fits into the rebate in block B, which displays part of the rebate for the next step in the sequence. The position of an underside chamfer (a safety feature) on one edge of block L indicates that the staircase turned clockwise as one ascended. Block L was not removed from the site for use elsewhere because it is broken.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION

A surface scatter of worked flint flakes indicates prehistoric activity on Tower Hill. David Field of English Heritage examined fifty seven of these, gathered at random, and comments (pers. comm.):

Most were heavily patinated waste pieces often bearing striking platforms. Only one tool is present, a long flake which has retouch along one edge and abrasion along the other, indicating a backed knife, and amongst the assemblage there is a tendency towards blade-like flakes indicating an earlier Neolithic date. While there are twenty-three secondary flakes with cortex remnants, only one primary flake was recovered. A single two-platform flake core was also on a cortical

piece. The high proportion of cortical pieces suggests that the flint source is nearby and indeed it is likely that there were outcrops of flint seams around the shoulders of the hill.

Neolithic features exist locally: one group of Neolithic flint mines lies 1500m to the ENE at Martin's Clump, and another 2300m to the south at Easton Down (Barber *et al.* 1999; Stone 1931; Ride 1998).

Aims

The restricted resources available to the Porton Down Conservation Group determined the limited but important aim of trying to settle by archaeological excavation whether the enclosure (NMR SU SW 81) surrounding the summit of Tower Hill was a prehistoric enclosure or an eighteenth century garden feature. A trench one metre wide and 14.5m metres long was excavated by hand across the putative bank and ditch at the position indicated in Figure 3 where these features appeared most pronounced.

Geology of the site

Tower Hill stands on the Upper Chalk formation of Southern England. However, the chalk sequence has recently been redefined (Bristow *et al.* 1997). With this new taxonomy, three members of the Upper Chalk are exposed on Porton Down (Ride and Hopson 2001 contains a map of the exposures there). The uppermost, the Tarrant member, is firm enough to mine safely and contains flint nodules of knappable quality. Below this lies the Newhaven member, a soft, friable chalk with finger-like flints unsuitable for knapping purposes. Below the Newhaven member lies the Seaford, hard, porcellanous beds resistant to mining activities. The Neolithic flint mines at Martin's Clump and Easton Down (above) both lie wholly on the uppermost Tarrant member, and each extends – at least in one direction – to the limit of its exposure. No flint mining activity has been observed on the Newhaven and Seaford members at Porton Down. The crest of Tower Hill forms a small outcrop of the Tarrant member. On the surface, above about the 168m contour, occur substantial patches of weathered clay of the Reading beds (clay-with-flints). Below this contour, the clay has largely been removed by periglacial action, weathering and ploughing, leaving only a remnant soil component of the characteristic yellow and brown chert pebbles typical of the Reading beds. The Icknield series of soils that cover

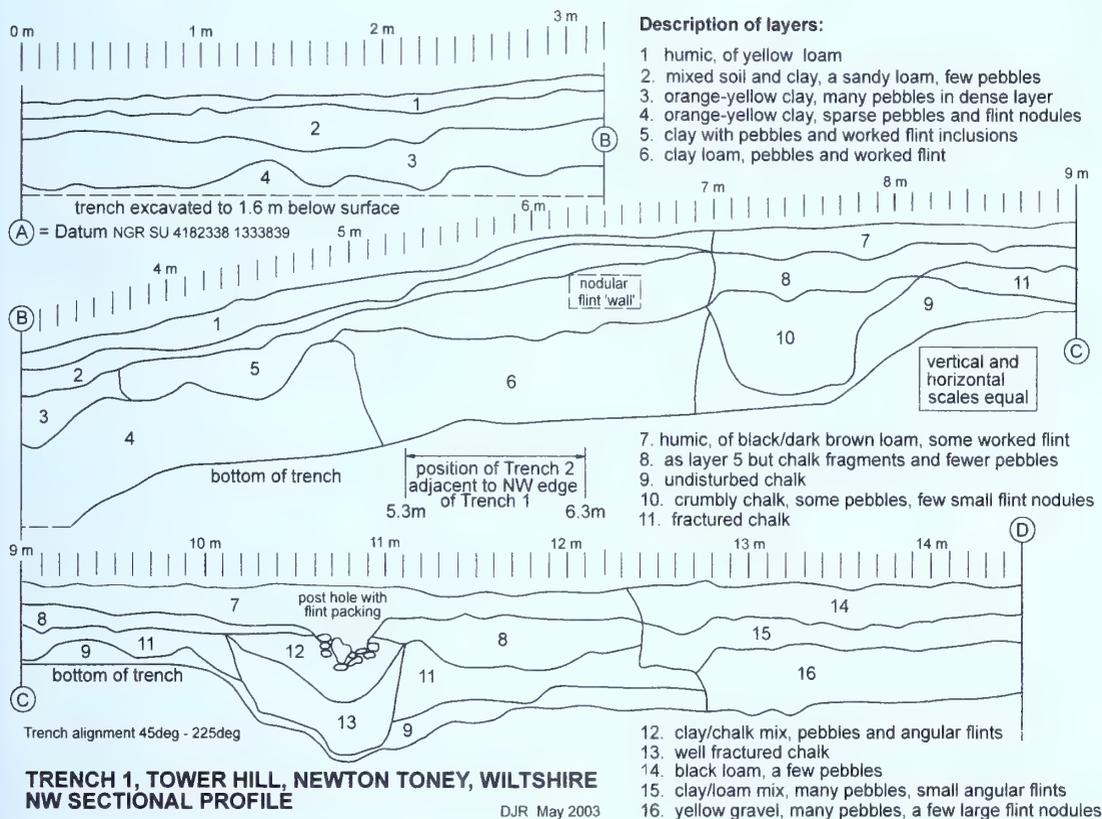


Fig. 6. Trench 1, Tower Hill, north-west sectional profile

the surrounding plateau are largely absent on the southwestern scarp of Tower Hill; wind erosion has removed the topsoil and prevented the formation of leaf litter beneath the beech trees. Only on the summit of the hill has dense blackthorn scrub allowed the accumulation of a rich, black topsoil; elsewhere soil has accumulated in small depressions.

The trench

The profile of the trench (designated Trench 1) is given in Figure 6. The lower part of the trench sectioned the putative ditch, wholly of stiff orange clay of the Reading beds to a depth of 1.6m with characteristic embedded pebbles, more or less evenly distributed, and a few flint nodules (most pebbles are small, typically below 30mm in length, but isolated specimens can exceed 200mm). Gradual erosion of the clay has resulted in a dense, even capping of pebbles, intact in the depression originally conjectured to be a ditch, indicating a lack of disturbance. This deposit is a Quaternary distribution of Palaeocene Tertiary material probably from a solution hole in the chalk (pers. comm. Mr

Peter Hopson of the British Geological Survey, who examined the site, 1999). Further upslope, the pebble layer had been breached; the material in the section was mixed with pebbles and worked flint flakes over a thickness of 0.2m to 0.3m. Upslope lay a mixed loamy layer containing many worked flint flakes and cores; the appearance was of a filled-in depression or pit, 2m wide, with extensive knapping activity on top of it. Further upslope, large flint nodules, many of them cores, had been carefully laid together to form a low wall, step or revetment, some 0.3m wide by 0.2m deep, lying at 30° to the trench. The pit, or scrape, was separated from another pit by a few centimetres. This second pit appeared shallow, but the trench may have cut the edge of a deeper feature. Beyond this pit, which contained only broken chalk and a few small flint nodules, the ground appeared undisturbed for a further two metres. There then appeared in the section a collection of large flint nodules interpreted as packing around a substantial post; no trace could be found of the post, but the humic soil here had been thoroughly mixed by earthworms and other soil organisms. Two

discontinuities that need explanation appear in the section (Figure 6), running vertically through the excavated layers. That at 7m from datum forms clear boundaries between layers 1 and 7, and between layers 6 and 9, but the change from layers 5 to 8 is more diffuse. The discontinuity between 12.4m and 12.8m is formed by clear breaks in the layers below the humic soil whose components, layers 7 and 14, form an ill defined vertical boundary.

An area one-metre square (5.4m to 6.4m from datum, designated Trench 2) was excavated to a depth of 0.4m adjacent to the northern edge of the trench where the great abundance of worked flint and the 'revetment' were observed. This excavation confirmed the continuation of the flint packing and revealed many more worked flint flakes and some cores, which disappeared abruptly from the section at a depth of 0.4m.

The finds

Flint

38.37kg of worked flint was recovered. All obvious flint flakes were retained, as were the cores, but not those built into the 'revetment': there were too many of these to archive and none was particularly diagnostic of technique, having the odd flake removed from them. One prismatic core 60mm in length exhibited long parallel flake scars. The flakes are tabulated in Table 1; the counts include fragments. Forty-eight complete blade flakes (length to breadth ratio exceeding 3:1) were recovered, including delicate blade flakes, typically 25mm by 5mm, consistent with the pattern of flake scars on the prismatic core; in total, fifteen obvious tools were found (Figure 7): a waisted tool 90mm; four awls or borers; four scrapers; and six fabricators of different patterns. There were also six flakes with obvious notches. Several burnt flint flakes and nodules were found. No core tools were recovered, but thinning flakes and pressure flakes occurred in the assemblage suggesting that core tools were manufactured. The great majority of unworked flints from the excavation came from the Tarrant member of the Upper Chalk, but some Newhaven flints were present. Knapping of Reading bed flints and pebbles occurred, and one pebble had been used as a pot-boiler. Martin Green reviewed the assemblage; he concludes that, although blade flakes were present, they occurred in such small numbers, 2.7% of all tertiary flakes, the bulk of the material is later than the Mesolithic period (although the prismatic core is morphologically indicative of a potential early origin

and it displays a relatively deeper patination than most other cores recovered). Martin Green noted that the high ratio of borers to scrapers, 4:4, was consistent with assemblages of Early Bronze Age flint from Cranborne Chase, and that on a qualitative basis the Tower Hill assemblage was indistinguishable from them. However, the ratio of tools to total flints was 0.36% (or 0.51% if notched flakes are included) and this is considerably lower than assemblages from Cranborne Chase where the figure is nearer 10%. The waisted tool is remarkably similar to one from Cranborne Chase, even to the distribution of cortex, and is firmly diagnostic of the late Neolithic period.

Pottery

Two sherds of medieval or post-medieval green glazed earthenware were found, 8.4m from datum, in layer 7; they are similar to the locally produced Laverstock ware (Musty *et al.* 1969). One small (21mm × 11mm) sherd was found 0.25m from datum in layer 2, identified by Lorraine Mephram of Wessex Archaeology as Romano-British greyware.

Bone

One fragment of bone 50mm by 30mm and 7mm thick was discovered in the fill of the larger pit. It appears to be part of a cranium, but of what animal is uncertain.

Other

Pieces of tile, brick, slate and lime mortar were recovered from the topsoil in the trench up to 20m from the centre of the folly mound. These almost certainly derive originally from the folly. Several gun-flint cores of the old English pattern (Fowler 1992; Fowler, in Ride 1998) were found in the topsoil of the trench, but many more examples lie scattered on the surface of Tower Hill.

Molluscan data

Owing to root penetration and animal burrows, it was not considered worthwhile to sample for molluscs or other environmental indicators, principally because of the potential for significant contamination and mixing. However, the absence of *Pomatias elegans* was notable. This snail occurs in abundance locally in loose and disturbed contexts, as observed by the author during excavations of Neolithic flint mines, a Bronze Age cremation cemetery and an Iron Age ditch (Ride 1998, 2001) all of which contained chalk rubble and flint nodules. The absence of *P. elegans* on Tower Hill may be attributable to local micro-climate and habitat, or

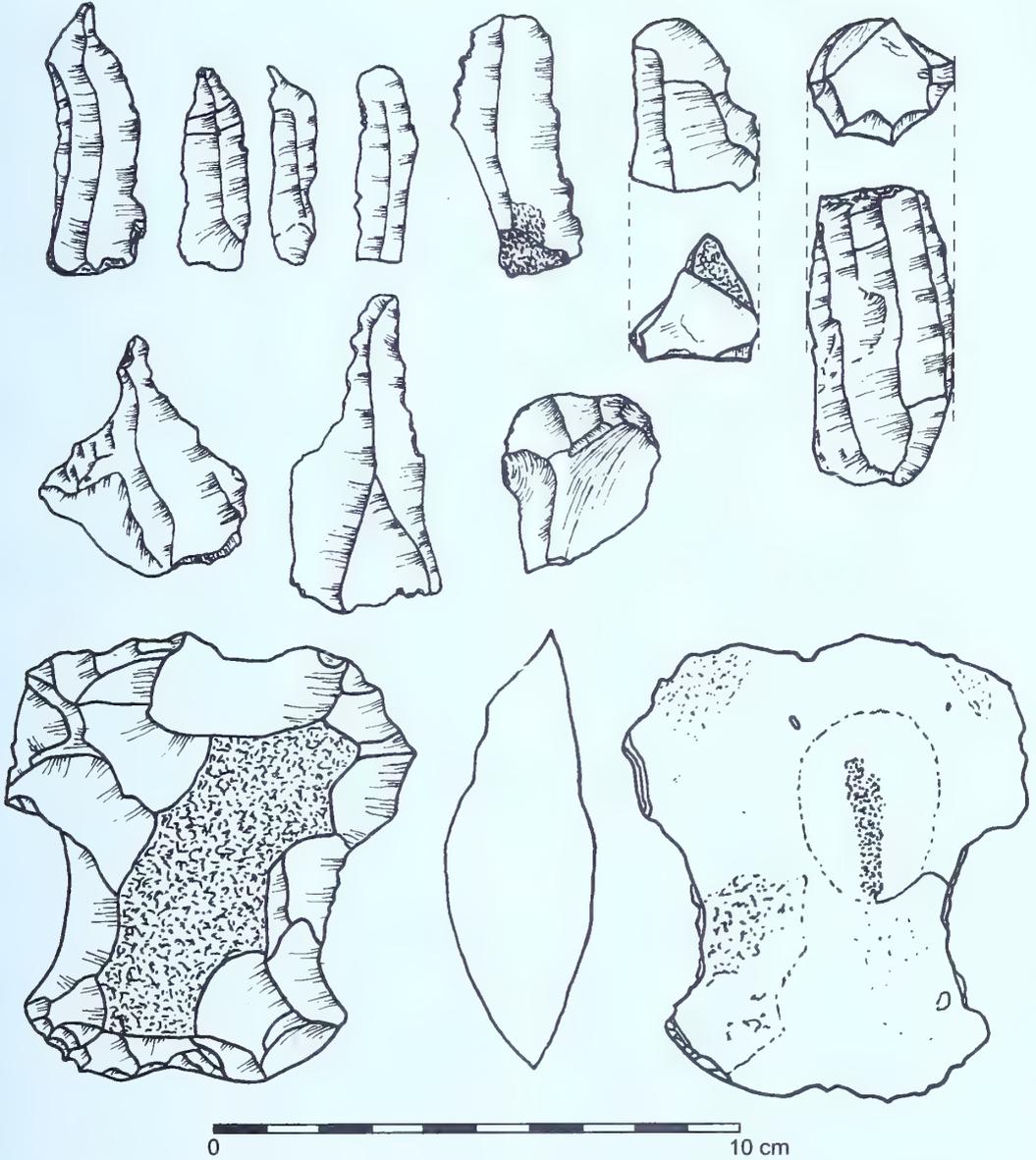


Fig. 7. A selection of worked flints from the site. The cylindrical core is top right; the waisted tool is at the bottom

simply to a persistently patchy distribution of the species (pers. comm. Dr Michael Allen, Wessex Archaeology, 2003).

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The folly

The folly was of great architectural importance for William Benson, for it determined the orientation

of Wilbury House (which lay at right angles to the line joining the two buildings). It also determined the location of the house, if significance is attached to the exact distance of two miles that separates them. His folly may have been intended to up-stage his neighbours, the Eyre-Matchams, whose lands reached to Tower Hill and whose forebear, Giles Eyre, had built in 1604 a prominent, hexagonal folly (known now as the Pepperbox) some 13km to the south, visible from Tower Hill. A gatehouse type folly on Tower Hill would have visually suggested that

Benson's estate continued into his neighbours' property.

The stone blocks remaining on the site enable a design for the folly to be envisaged. The central tower was most likely rectangular, at least ten feet in width (eight feet of arch with a foot or more of jamb either side). The semi-octagonal flanking chambers were unequal in width; the larger included a spiral stone staircase of at least nineteen steps (eighteen at St Andrew's plus one at Tower Hill). This conjecture is consistent with the illustration of the folly on the Andrews and Dury map of 1773, and fits with the notion that it was a re-erected gatehouse from Amesbury Abbey, known to have stood there and been dismantled during Benson's tenancy. Supporting evidence for this design comes from Wilbury House, where the addition of semi-octagonal pavilions to the façade facing the folly, most likely around 1790 (Rodwell 1997) when the folly was still standing, can be interpreted readily as a deliberate attempt to imitate or reflect its elevational aspect.

There is topographical and botanic evidence that the folly was surrounded by laid out gardens.

The description of the folly in the Wiltshire County Council's Buildings Record as 'a circular brick structure' is not consistent either with the masonry remains or with the illustration of Andrews and Dury; its source cannot be traced. The folly was standing, perhaps partly ruinous, in 1817 (OS map evidence), but was demolished by 1839 (Tithe Commutation map evidence). Its spiral staircase was built into the new church at Newton Toney around 1841/1842; some of its other masonry was probably used in the church, too, for it was a free, ready and authorised source. Some time after its fall or demolition, the rubble remaining from the folly after building material had been salvaged from it was gathered into a neat mound and a brick plinth carefully levelled on its summit, supported by massive stone blocks; this was almost certainly the nineteenth century OS triangulation point.

In building his folly, Benson was conforming to a powerful landscape convention by placing it as a vista at the end of an axis: by erecting it on Tower Hill, he was yielding to his weakness for self-aggrandisement.

The excavation

The excavation showed that *at the position of the trench* the indication for an encircling bank and ditch can be attributed to a depressed geological feature, a clay-filled solution hole in the chalk, and to an elevated

line of deliberately placed flint nodules upslope of it which produced a pronounced scarp. The interface between the Tarrant member of the Upper Chalk and the Newhaven member is marked everywhere by breaks of slope; on Tower Hill this interface may account for some of the earthwork-like features recorded on the survey. The ground was disturbed in the prehistoric period, evidently by flint extraction, and exhibits clear evidence for intensive and accomplished knapping activity, which appears to have taken place on top of a partially filled-in flint digging, and elsewhere. The author observed (but did not report) a similar practice where an isolated knapping incident had occurred in a partially filled mine at Martin's Clump (Ride 1998). The flint mine on Tower Hill had been excavated adjacent to the solution hole filled with clay, some of which had been dug away, perhaps with the unfulfilled expectation that it would consist of only a thin layer, as occurs elsewhere on the hill. Consequently, the backfilling of clay and pebbles became mixed with waste worked flint material. The profile suggests that another flint working was dug immediately adjacent to its neighbour; such crowding was observed at Martin's Clump, to the extent that breakthrough occurred below ground in one case. Indeed, the existence of a closely sited shaft is necessary to explain knapping activity over a filled-in pit, assuming economy of effort in backfilling. However, flint 'mining' on a scarp includes quarrying at points where the roughly horizontal seams of flint outcrop. Neat, circular shafts, such as occur on the nearby plateaux, may be the exception. The untidy nature of such quarrying presents problems with an unequivocal interpretation of the exposed section, notably through the jumbling of stratified elements.

The bulk of the material recovered from Tower Hill is probably of Early Bronze Age date, but there are elements present that are typical of the Mesolithic or Early Neolithic. The late Neolithic waisted tool was found in the upper layers of the 'ditch', away from the main knapping area, and is viewed as a product of a different phase of knapping, or as an import. Indications are that the site was exploited from Mesolithic times up to the Early Bronze Age.

Comparison of the statistics between Trench 1 and Trench 2 in Table 1 shows a remarkable consistency of knapping technique. The proportions of primary, secondary and tertiary flakes to the totals is very similar between trenches; also, Trench 1 produced on average 123 flakes per kilogram of total flake material compared with 119 for Trench 2. Core weights averaged 94g in Trench 1 and 80g in Trench

2. This consistency leads to the supposition that a single, experienced craftsman was at work in the area excavated using one source of material. No date can be ascribed to the post-hole.

Clearly, the site retains great prehistoric research potential, despite heavy disturbance by the folly builders and the construction of the mound. Unfortunately, the issue of the putative enclosure's date remains unsettled.

	Trench 1			Trench 2		
	Number	% of Total	Weight (kg)	Number	% of Total	Weight (kg)
Primary	155	5.16	3.15	56	5.5	1.42
Secondary	1533	51.08	16.85	665	56.3	7.26
Tertiary	1313	43.75	4.41	464	38.2	1.24
Burnt	9		(included)	6		(included)
Totals	3001		24.41	1185		9.92
Cores	25		2.36	21		1.68

Table 1. Numbers and weights of flint flakes and cores from the excavation

Acknowledgements

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‘Noyfull Fowles and Vermyn’: Parish Payments for Killing Wildlife in Wiltshire, 1533 – 1863

by *Douglas Anderson*

For over 300 years parish authorities were required by law to make payments for the killing of most wild birds and animals. An Act to deal with corvids in the reign of Henry VIII was followed by a much more comprehensive Act against many birds and animals in the reign of Elizabeth I. This article is concerned with the implementation of these Acts as recorded in parish records. It examines the kinds of birds and animals for which bounties were paid, and therefore which were present in the county during those centuries, and how the targeting and intensity of the persecution changed. Some light is cast on the distribution of animals within Wiltshire and especially of species that became extinct in the county, such as polecats and pine martens. The article notes the variations in the spellings of the names of birds and animals in the records and further examines who was rewarded, and the costs of implementation. Finally it considers the extent to which these Acts were responsible for the undoubted decline of wild life of the county that had occurred by the time of the First World War.

Today the English pride themselves that they are a nation of animal lovers and there are not only societies devoted to the protection of animals and birds in general, but many others devoted to the protection of individual species. Yet for nearly three hundred years it was official government policy to kill off almost all wild animals and birds, except those reserved for sport. By an Act of 1566 the churchwardens of every parish were required to raise a rate in order to make payments to those who killed a whole range of animals and birds.

The policy had begun in 1533 at a time when food was in short supply and rising in price. Henry VIII's government was about to embark on the major political and religious changes that were to bring about the rejection of the authority of the Pope. It therefore desperately wished to maintain national unity and avoid social unrest like the large-scale demonstrations that had occurred in 1525. Consequently the government began to take steps to protect food supplies against competition from wildlife and in February the parliament of

landowners passed an act against bird pests. ‘An Acte made and ordeyned to dystroye Choughes, Crowes and Rookes . . . [that] do yerely dystroye, devoure and consume a wonderfull and mervelous great quantiie of Corne and Greyne.’ (24 Henry VIII cap 10, Lehmborg 1970, 173). The 1533 Act stipulated that every parish was to provide and keep in repair a crow net and maintain a bait ‘with Chaffe or other things for that purpose.’ The owner or tenant of the land on which such birds were caught was to pay ‘iid. for every 12 olde Crowes, Rookes or Choughes.’ The Act was careful to emphasise that the law was not to be used as a pretext for taking the pigeons or doves that were the property of gentlemen. The responsibility for providing a net fell on the churchwardens.

In 1566, in the reign of Elizabeth I, against a background of rapidly rising food prices, the pressure on wildlife was stepped up and extended to animals as well as birds. The 1566 Act “for the Preservation of Grain” included a whole list of the “Noyfull Fowles and Vermyn” which were now to be killed (8 Eliz

cap 15). Nineteen different birds, regarded as 'noyfull', that is harmful, and thirteen animals were named. The payments were now to be made not by the landowners or their tenants, but by the churchwardens and to be paid from a rate raised for this specific purpose. Despite the title of this Act it is clear that its authors were targeting any bird or animal competitors for the available food supply, whether it was grain, poultry or fish, as the terms of the Act make clear. A reward was to be paid not only for crows, rooks and choughs, but for various birds of prey, ravens, magpies, jays, starlings, woodwalls (green woodpeckers), finches, herons and even kingfishers. Those who produced unbroken eggs were also to be rewarded. The amounts of the rewards varied between a penny for twelve starlings' heads or six crow's eggs up to four pence for the head of an osprey or heron.

A similar tariff was listed for those wild animals now described as 'Vermin.'

For the Heades of everie Foxe or Gray [badger] twelve pence.

And for the head of everie Fitchers [Polecat], Polcatte, Wesell, Stote, Fayre Bade [probably marten cat] or Wylde Catte one penny.

For the Heades of everie Otter or Hedgehogges two pence.

For the Heades of everie three Rattes or Twelve Myse one peny

For the Heads of every Moldewarpe or Wante [both names for Moles] one half penny.

The heads and eggs were 'to be burned, consumed, or cut in sunder before churchwardens.' Again it was emphasised that nothing in the Act was to interfere with the breeding of hawks, herons, doves or conies (rabbits). Doves and rabbits were only supposed to be kept by gentlemen and presumably herons could only be taken where they were not required as prey for gentlemen's falcons. Deer and hare were already reserved for the pleasure of gentlemen for their principal sport of hunting. The only other wild animals present in the countryside at that time which were not covered by the Act, therefore, were red squirrels and very small mammals like dormice, voles and shrews.

The Act was renewed in 1572 and again in 1598, during the famine years at the end of the reign, and only finally repealed in 1863. If the churchwardens of every parish had consistently enforced the provisions of this Act, very little wildlife would have survived down to the present. In some parishes large numbers were indeed slaughtered.

THE SOURCES

Since a separate vermin rate never seems to have been collected, payments for vermin were included in the accounts of the churchwardens and this article is based on a study of the surviving churchwardens' accounts of historic Wiltshire in record offices. As well as the churchwardens' accounts in the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, the accounts of four parishes formerly in Wiltshire but now in Gloucestershire and two historic Wiltshire parishes now in Hampshire have been examined in the record offices of those counties. Apart from a study of the implementation of the Acts in neighbouring Hampshire (Anderson forthcoming), no study of the implementation of the Vermin Acts for a whole county seems to have been made since the work of Brushfield for Devon (Brushfield 1897) or Elliott for Bedfordshire (Elliott 1936). These earlier studies were also not concerned with the social and economic background of the Acts' enforcement or based on statistical analysis.

There are several problems in trying to draw conclusions from these parish records. There were 270 parishes in Wiltshire according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, but there appear to have been over 300 parishes and chapelries in which accounts were kept by the early nineteenth century. Of these 82 seem to have no surviving churchwardens' accounts at all for the relevant years. The churchwardens' accounts of 224 parishes were examined. However, some accounts only have totals of expenditure and sometimes, where payments for vermin are made, they are lumped together as 'Varments' or 'Vermins heads' or under the description 'Vermin Bill.' Very few parishes have long runs of accounts and some only have accounts for a very short period of time so that for any one period only a much smaller number of churchwardens' accounts survive. This can be seen in Table 1, which also shows the number of accounts that include vermin payments.

Occasionally, as at Chippenham, extracts are included in Victorian parish histories from early churchwardens' accounts that no longer survive (Daniel 1895). In some counties from the eighteenth century vermin payments were also made, not by the churchwardens from the church rate, but by the overseers of the poor from the poor rate. In Wiltshire this seems only to have happened in four parishes, where both sets of payments were recorded in the same book, and especially where, such as at

Table 1. Number of parishes with surviving churchwardens' accounts and number which include vermin payments 1566-1853.

Period	1566- 1599	1600- 1624	1625- 1649	1650- 1674	1675- 1699	1700- 1724	1725- 1749	1750- 1774	1775- 1799	1800- 1824	1825- 1863
No of parishes with accounts	8	11	15	24	30	48	69	94	123	164	162
Parishes with vermin payments	1	1	6	14	26	42	61	76	110	138	142
% with vermin payments	13%	9%	40%	58%	87%	88%	88%	80%	89%	84%	85%

Manningford Bruce, the same people were both churchwardens and overseers of the poor (WSRO 950/19). Though overseers' accounts have been studied for parishes where there are few or no surviving accounts of the churchwardens, or where there are no vermin entries in the latter, this did not yield any more examples of payments. However, despite all the limitations of the accounts, a study of the payments made in the 203 parishes awarding bounties for named vermin allows some interesting conclusions to be drawn. Since the month when payments were made is often not given, the year quoted will be that of the end of the accounting year, which was usually at Easter.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACTS

As the table shows in Wiltshire, as in most counties, there are very few vermin payments before 1650. Since the original purpose of the Acts had been to preserve food for the human population it might seem strange that payments begin to be more common at a time when that population had ceased to grow and even declined a little between 1655 and 1685, (Wrigley and Schofield 1981, 575). However the improved production of cereals in the seventeenth century meant that there was now a surplus of grain, which farmers needed to be able to harvest and export if they were to pay their rents, so that landlords in turn could pay their taxes (Thirsk 1997, 26). Also since grain prices were dropping, some farmers were turning to fruit, animal or poultry production and the interests of these farmers also had to be considered (Jones 1972, 110). The rapid increase, from the 1640s, in the printing of cheap books and pamphlets, accompanied by an improvement in literacy allowed a vociferous campaign against vermin (Spufford 1981). In publications like *A Necessary Family Book* of 1688, vermin were indeed defined as being all creatures

that were competitors for food (Fissell 1999, 4). Writers like J. Mortimer in *The Whole Art of Husbandry* (1707) urged farmers to campaign against vermin. Foxes were 'very prejudicial' and 'Crows, Ravens, Rooks and Magpies ... great annoyances to Corn' (Hoppit 2000, 357). In the early eighteenth century, of course, as population growth resumed, the importance of food production continued to be emphasised.

Most parishes eventually obeyed the law in the sense that in only 21 parishes with surviving accounts were no vermin payments ever paid and many of these only have accounts for the last years of the Act, when opposition was growing. However in many others the killing of only a few of the animals listed in the Elizabethan Act was ever rewarded. This can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Number of different kinds of animals and reptiles appearing in vermin payments in parish records 1625-1863.

Kinds of animals	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
No. of parishes	2	4	7	19	28	27	25	30

The same is true of birds, where only eight parishes paid for any other birds than sparrows. Though it is usually said that payments were only made in rural parishes, it must be remembered that country towns were themselves rural until the late eighteenth century. For example payments were made occasionally in both parishes in Devizes and in all three parishes in Salisbury.

'NOYFULL FOWLES'

'Noyfull birds' seem to have come off fairly lightly in Wiltshire in comparison to some other counties and even neighbouring Hampshire, but payments were made for corvids, finches, raptors and sparrows. The 1533 Act had required parishes to provide a crow

net, and at Salisbury there were clap nets that were sometimes lent out (Swayne 1896 xxxiii). However the word 'crow' seems to have been used for both crows and rooks. The word 'scarecrow' for both human and artificial bird scarers dates from the same century and illustrates the point, for 'scarecrows' were clearly designed to frighten the more sociable rooks which eat and nest together and have a much more vegetarian diet than most carrion crows. In Melksham in 1639 there was a payment of 10s. 6d. for 'a Rouk nett' (WSRO 1368/55). A few years earlier in Mere 'the heades of seaven dozen of Rookes taken with a nett' were rewarded with 2s. 4d. (WSRO 2944/44). The number of rooks captured suggests that the nets were more effective than commentators have sometimes allowed. At Steeple Ashton in 1675, in the single surviving account for the second half of the century, 82 dozen rooks were killed and at Stockton rooks were killed over a six-year period with six dozen destroyed in 1687 and nine dozen in 1688. (WSRO 1547/16, 303/7). In Berwick St John there were payments in the years 1694, 1696 (when 13 and a half dozen were killed) and 1702 (WSRO 1764/25). A fifth parish where rooks were targeted in the seventeenth century was Monkton Deverill, where rooks continued to be killed up to 1725 (WSRO 1180/44). Why the payments then cease in the county is not clear. Possibly the capture of rooks for rook pie, at a time when many birds were eaten, made further inducements unnecessary. The only parish where crows are recorded seems to be one hundred years later at Britford, where 'croes' were killed for a few years after 1827 (WSRO 1919/10). The smaller numbers suggest that they were indeed crows.

The word 'choughs' in the Act almost certainly referred to jackdaws, as well as the birds still called choughs. This is supported by an entry at Box in 1730 when over 100 'choafs' were killed with a reward of a farthing a bird (WSRO 1719/2). 'Jacks' or 'daws' are the birds, which appear most often in the accounts, apart from sparrows, and were sometimes killed in large numbers. Five dozen were killed at Maddington in 1772, in an eleven-year period at Winterbourne Stoke between 1798 and 1808 a total of 306 were eliminated and 578 were destroyed in four years at Stockton between 1736 and 1739 (WSRO 1336/70, 1968/11, 203/7).

Sometimes payments were made to stop jackdaws doing damage in churches. In 1696 in Mere ten shillings was paid 'for lasts and lasting of the Bell window to keep ye Jacks out from felting of the bells' (WSRO 2944/44). The same problem was occurring over a hundred years later at Hannington, where 'the

making of 4 Frames to the Tower of the Church to keep jackdaws out' cost £1 5s. 2d. (WSRO 1815/13). Elsewhere other birds were the problem. At Stratford sub Castle in 1676 one shilling was paid 'to keep ye pidgeons out' (WSRO 1076/19). At Monkton Deverell the 'mending of ye porch door to keep out pigeons' cost 8d. and at Warminster in 1701 'destroying ye sparrows in ye church' cost 2 shillings (WSRO 1180/44, 2144/71).

The popularity of fruit growing from the sixteenth century led to an attack on finches. That bullfinches are the greatest destroyers of buds among European birds was already recognised in the Act of 1566, which had laid down that a penny could be paid "For the head of every Bulfynche, or other Byrde that devowreth the blowth of Fruite." When the Melksham accounts resume in 1740 there were payments for nine years for large numbers of bullfinches by their other contemporary name – whoops' or 'hoops'. In 1740 alone 184 were killed (WSRO 1368/56). Bullfinches and Chaffinches were also killed in large numbers at Semley for eight years from 1804. Uniquely in Wiltshire, an entry in that parish for 1805 also records a payment of 10s. 6d. for '63 dozen Green Linnets, Chaffinches, Yellowhammers and Tomtits' (WSRO 1831/18).

Birds of prey appear occasionally among vermin payments. At Manningford Bruce a 'furskite' [hen harrier] was killed in 1721, two 'bussards' in 1723 and '6 haks' [hawks] in 1724. Each bird fetched 2d. (WSRO 950/19). Kites were recorded at Urchfont in 1709 and 'hawkes' at Bramshaw in 1815 (WSRO 645/10, HRO 55M83PV1). Sparrows were being paid for in a dozen places in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and in 88 parishes a hundred years later, though, as discussed below, it is not always certain which birds are being described.

'VERMYN'

As has already been noted there are very few vermin payments before 1650. For the sixteenth century the only surviving payments seem to be at Mere. In 1577 the churchwardens 'paied for the head of a Badg' or gray'. In 1580 they 'paied to Mr Leonard Chafin mans for ii Foxes heads' and in 1584 'paied for ii grayes heads' (WSRO 2944/44). In the first half of the seventeenth century payments have been found in seven parishes, mostly in the 1630s. and 1640s. Another fox was killed at Mere in 1624 and one at Winterslow in 1626, while in Warminster in 1629 there was a payment for 'Gray heades' and in 1632

six shillings was 'laid out for Gray heades and fox heades' (WSRO 3353/32, 2144/71). There were also the first payments for polecats, 18 were killed in one year at East Knoyle, and four otters, two being killed at Melksham (WSRO 1618/46, 1360/57). There was also, at Chippenham in 1625, the first payment in a churchwardens' account for moles, though the bailiffs accounts of the town record 'killinge of moalles' from 1610 (WSRO 473/400; Daniel 1894, 161, Goldney 1889, 200).

For the second half of the seventeenth century more accounts survive from Wiltshire, again in common with all counties, and payments were being made in more parishes. As Table I shows, from 1675 payments were being made in over 80% of parishes. In late seventeenth-century Wiltshire there are vermin payments in 26 parish accounts and there are a larger number of vermin entries in them. The largest number of bounties was paid for foxes and polecats, but there were also an increasing number for hedgehogs, stoats and sparrows.

During the eighteenth century foxes continued to be the species for which rewards were paid most widely in Wiltshire and in 20 parishes they were the only animals for which any payments were ever made during the whole period of the Acts' enforcement. As all readers of churchwardens' accounts will know, one of their delights is the idiosyncratic spelling adopted by different writers, and often by the same writer, and this seems particularly true of the spelling used in churchwardens' accounts for vermin. Thus foxes appear under the disguise of 'focks' at Hilmarton, 'fokes' at Yatesbury, 'fokeses' at Grittleton, 'foax' at Charlton. The spelling may sometimes also be an indication of local pronunciation. Sometimes details are given of the age and sex of the animals killed. This is particularly true of Limpley Stoke, one of the parishes where most foxes were killed. Here the heads of large numbers of foxes were rewarded between 1747 and 1827 and the accounts always record whether the foxes were young or old, but also sometimes whether the adults were 'dog' or 'bich' foxes (WSRO 1457/8). Occasionally the vixens are described by the interesting name of 'foxcats' and on one occasion there is a payment for '3 old foxes, 3 yong foxes and 7 foxcubs'. In half a dozen parishes it was obviously thought worth while to make payments for foxes 'ketchd' in neighbouring parishes. At Limpley Stoke in 1810-11 foxes were recorded as having been killed in Farley wood, Freshford, Avoncliffe wood, and Midford. In each case a named person had provided a certificate that the claim was genuine. The large

payment of 2s. 6d. was made at Christian Malford in 1698 for 'stopping the foxes holes' and the sum of 1s. at Hullavington in 1709 for 'stopping the fox hole' (WSRO 1710/32, 1622/20. These probably predate fox hunting on horseback in these parts of Wiltshire, but a payment at Horningsham in 1810 shows a determination not to be cheated by the hunt. 'Paid John Coles junior for a fox that was ketch at Bidcombe and killed after by the hounds 1 shilling' (WSRO 482/14).

Badgers, like foxes, were singled out in the 1566 Act for the largest reward of 1s. Why this should be so is hard to understand. Badgers may flatten crops in making tracks. They may also consume the grain of wheat and oats, and less commonly barley, but this only happens in the few weeks prior to harvest. Nevertheless they certainly seem to have been disliked for a while. J. Mortimer's book of advice to farmers in 1707 described them as 'almost as pernicious' as foxes. Perhaps an additional incentive for killing them, apart from the large reward, was that the grease of badgers was believed to have medicinal properties for treating rheumatism and other ailments. However, though badgers were killed in a total of 30 parishes, in half of these it was only on one occasion. The only parishes where they were killed regularly were Hilmarton, where 14 were killed in 1738, and Market Lavington (WSRO 796/30; 2101/13). Interestingly, parish records bear out the conclusions of an article in this journal on the distribution of badgers in Wiltshire in 1966 (Gillam 1967 146, 152). Most parishes with records of badgers are on Upper and Lower Greensand and the Chalk and there are few records from the east of the county. From the start the animals appear as 'badgers' or 'greys' or 'grayes', and occasionally, in the eighteenth century, as 'bagers' or 'bagers.'

Fish-ponds had been very common in the middle ages and fish days continued for a time after the Reformation as a means of encouraging the availability of ships and sailors in time of war. Butchers were still not allowed to kill any flesh during Lent and the sick had to be given special permission to eat meat during that time of year. By an Act of 1562 not only every Saturday, but every Wednesday was to be kept as a fish day. The inclusion of so many animal and bird fish-eaters in the 1566 Vermin Act – otters, ospreys, herons, kingfishers, cormorants and shags – is therefore understandable. Fish days did not continue after the 1688 Revolution, but fish-ponds continued to be a feature of gentlemen's estates and fish from rivers a source of food for other social groups, and so the persecution

of otters continued. In Wiltshire otters were killed in 28 parishes, all except two on the Salisbury and Bristol Avons and their tributaries. They were killed especially on the upper reaches of the Salisbury Avon at places like Fittleton and Manningford Bruce and on the upper reaches of the Wylye (WSRO 2331/17, 950/19). During the second quarter of the eighteenth century payments for otters occur in no less than a quarter of the surviving records. One possible additional explanation for the persecution of otters was a growing interest in the sport of angling with fishing lines made from horsehair, in addition to the traditional catching of fish with nets.

Another member of the mustelids, second only to the otter in size in this family, but no longer present in Wiltshire, is what is now called the pine marten. Pine trees used to be much less common in the county and the animal was not specially associated with pine trees and was known as the marten cat, marten or martin. J.G Millais in his *Mammals of Great Britain and Ireland* (1904-6) claimed that 'they were exterminated as long ago as the seventeenth century in Wiltshire' (Hony 1917, 18). John Aubrey had indeed lamented in the latter part of that century that 'such a pretty little beast' had disappeared from north Wiltshire (Aubrey 1847, 59). However, Aubrey admitted that in the south 'in Cranbourne Chase and at Vernditch there are some martens still remaining' and churchwardens' accounts show that he was too pessimistic, even about his own area of the county. Martens were killed in no less than 28 parishes after 1695, including two in that year in Berwick St John (WSRO 1764/25). Plotting the distribution of marten payments on a map shows a clear concentration in West Wiltshire. No less than 26 of the parishes lie in a band from Stanton St Quintin, in Aubrey's own area, down to West Knoyle. Payments were made in five urban parishes: Chippenham, Calne, Melksham, Bradford and Warminster. Martens were killed in smaller numbers than most animals, perhaps partly because they are mainly active at night and rarely seen in daytime. In eleven parishes only one animal was killed and in eight more only two. Aubrey, however, did record two factors that were already putting the marten under threat – hunting and deforestation. The marten, he wrote, is 'a deep chestnutt colour . . . and the furre is much esteemed . . . upon these disafforestations the martens were utterly destroyed'. Dead martens were usually rewarded with 1s. or 6d.

Another animal, already mentioned, that was not present for most of the twentieth century in

Wiltshire, but which, it is clear from parish records, used to be very common, was the polecat. They are recorded in 107 of the parishes that have records and were the animals most commonly killed after foxes. Polecats, twice the size of stoats or weasels, often live in proximity to farm buildings and are efficient killers of protected species like rabbits and young domestic poultry. The Elizabethan Act had specified a penny for the head of a polecat, but churchwardens were aware that, with inflation, such destructive beasts needed a larger recompense and polecats usually fetched 4d., and in the nineteenth century sometimes 6d. They were probably also disliked for the strong smell they release from their anal glands when threatened. That smell is second only to that of skunks, which belong to the same family, hence another of the polecat's names – the foulemart or foul marten. Variations of the name in Wiltshire accounts are poltcat, poulcatt, poolcat, powlcat and pocat.

Stoats also appear in the records, though less regularly than polecats. Usually they were known as 'stotes', 'stootes' or 'stots'. Weasels or 'wissels', though almost the same size as stoats appear much less often and were only caught in four parishes before the nineteenth century.

In some parishes large numbers of hedgehogs were also killed. There was a widely held belief in rural England that hedgehogs drank milk from the udders of recumbent cows. In fact a cow would no doubt object violently if a hedgehog tried to do so. The story probably originated because when a cow's udder is full, especially after a night's grazing, milk oozes out as it lies down on the grass before milking and a hedgehog will avail itself of the milk there. A cowherd or dairyman seeing the hedgehog slurping up the milk as he came to fetch the cows may well have jumped to the wrong conclusion (Morris 1983, 115). Dead hedgehogs were usually rewarded with 4d., twice the recommended payment in the Act. However at Semley in 1784 'Will Masters being a poor fellow for 6 heghogs' was paid only 1s. (WSRO 1831/18). The name 'hedgehog' is spelled in a delightful number of ways. Over 30 different spellings of the name appear in Wiltshire accounts including haghog, highog, hoghog, hehog, headhog, hedgehock, hedgooge and eggog.

Moles were described by John Worlidge of Petersfield (Hampshire) in 1687 as 'a pernicious Enemy to Husbandry by loosening the earth and destroying the Roots of Corn, Grass, Herbs and flowers . . . and also by casting up hills to the great hindrance of Corn, Pastures etc.' (Freelby 1983). However only

three payments were made for moles in Wiltshire accounts before 1778. In that year at Chirton the molecatcher was paid 'for catching 7 Dozen and a half of moles at 3d. each' (WSRO 511/27).

The most surprising omission from the payments made in most parishes is that of the most harmful of all vermin, mice and rats. The Elizabethan Act authorised payments for their extirpation, but they rarely appear in parish records in any county. By the second half of the eighteenth century the new and more destructive brown rat was being recorded in Wiltshire. Gilbert White recorded in 1787 that a remote farmhouse at Fyfield in Hampshire, near the Wiltshire border, was 'much annoyed with Norway rats'; and about the same time Montagu in his *Natural History of Wiltshire* included sections on the 'Norway rat' as well as the 'rat' (Greenoak 1985, 203, Dillon 1990, 216). Montagu also notes that a decline of the black rat was resulting from the introduction of the brown rat and the rat payments that do occur in three parishes in Wiltshire are likely to refer to brown rats. In Newton Tony large numbers of rats were killed for most of the 1790s at a cost of 2d. each, for example 282 in 1795 (WSRO 1794/7). In Melksham much smaller numbers were killed between 1799 and 1803 at the same cost (WSRO 1360/57). Though the accounts for the parish do not survive, a correspondent in *Notes and Queries* noted that in Corsham in the 1820s rats were paid at a rate of 1d. each, though their tails only were required to be brought' (J.K. 1852, 68). Presumably in most places rats were killed by full time, itinerant rat catchers.

A payment that was not authorised by the Acts, but which would certainly not have been questioned, was that for killing mad dogs. In 1673 in North Bradley occurs the payment 'Paid for killing a mad dog one shilling' (WSRO 523/15). The amount, as in one of the two Hampshire parishes where rabid animals were killed, suggests that dogs were equated with foxes.

Another unauthorised payment was made in one parish for squirrels. Uniquely at Chippenham in 1750 three squirrels fetched 9d. (WSRO 811/217). These were, of course, red squirrels. The more populous and destructive grey squirrel was not recorded in the county until 1929 (Dillon 1997, 63) That this is the only example of such a payment in Wiltshire, and there were none in neighbouring Hampshire, suggests that red squirrels were not regarded with any great hostility as vermin.

The most entertaining payment was one made at Long Newton during the hot summer of 1820.

On June 5th a total of 27 wasps were paid for at cost of 1d. a wasp – at a time when sparrows only fetched 1d. for four birds (GRO P229CW2/1).

To give an idea of the large size of these payments, in 1655 Wiltshire farm labourers and shepherds of small flocks earned only £3 per year and, as readers of *A Shepherd's Life* may remember James Lawes, the subject of the book who was born in 1800, never earned more than 7s. per week before 1860 (Cunnington 1932, 291; Hudson 1910, 43).

HOW THE KILLING OF WILDLIFE CHANGED

If these were the creatures killed in Wiltshire as revealed in the parish records, it is worth considering what changes occurred in the targeting of animals and birds over the two and a quarter centuries for which there is sufficient evidence. Table 3 shows the changes in the killing of the larger 'vermin' in parishes. It must be emphasised that it does not show the total recorded number of animals and birds killed, because the fragmentary nature of the records for many parishes means that the figures would have little meaning.

As described above, the scale and intensity of the killing of wildlife grew during the late seventeenth century and this level was maintained during the eighteenth century, as Tables 1 and 3 show. In a few parishes payments only began to be made in the nineteenth century. For example records survive at Sherrington from 1678, but the first payment was in 1806 (WSRO 1508/7,8). This increase in the level of persecution may partly reflect the

Table 3. The number of parishes with records of vermin payments and the kinds of wildlife killed in those parishes between 1625 and 1863.

Parishes	Foxes	Badgers	Otters	Marten Cats	Pole Cats
1625-49	15	6	4	1	0
1650-74	24	10	3	1	0
1675-99	30	19	9	1	1
1700-24	48	30	14	8	4
1725-49	69	46	10	18	10
1750-74	94	47	7	16	6
1775-99	123	60	8	9	14
1800-24	164	42	1	2	6
1825-63	162	10	0	0	0

accelerating growth of the human population in the second half of the eighteenth century and therefore the fear of food shortages, especially in the war years. It may also reflect the increasingly poverty of the rural population of Wiltshire, particularly clear in the writings of William Cobbett, during the post-war depression of the early nineteenth century, and the need for poor families to increase their income by killing vermin (Cobbett 1967, 337).

One change is the reduction in the proportion of parishes where foxes were killed in the second half of the eighteenth century, due to the rise of fox hunting. Though there had been hunting of foxes in the south of Wiltshire by Lord Arundell of Wardour castle in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, regular fox hunting in Wiltshire, as in other counties, only began in the second half of the eighteenth century (VCH IV, 372). The hunting of foxes was gradually replacing that of deer and hare as the number of deer declined, the hunting of carted deer was seen as less appealing, and (though more slowly) hare hunting was becoming less fashionable. As fox hunting spread foxes ceased to be regarded as vermin, but rather as a species to be preserved for the hunt. It has been suggested that one parish where the link is very clear is Box (Shaw Mellor 1936, 350). Large number of foxes are recorded from the beginning of the accounts there in 1723. However in 1762 the Badminton hunt turned exclusively to fox hunting and in Box, which was in the huge Badminton hunting 'country' no foxes were killed after 1781. The accounts of three other parishes in the same area may reflect the same event. In North Wraxall, Shorncote and Long Newnton the only payments made from the beginning of the accounts were for foxes, but in those parishes payments abruptly cease in 1772, 1777 and 1778 respectively – and in two cases payments were switched to killing sparrows (WSRO 1170/2, GRO P407VE2/2, P229CW2/1). On the same subject of the preservation of foxes the 10th Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton in the south of the county, lamented bitterly to his son in a letter in 1787 that:

Mr Groves has complained of your keeper killing foxes. I have given strict orders that none should be destroyed. Seagrim says you have ordered them to be killed secretly; if you did, I must say you did very wrong, and your character will suffer for so doing. A pretty free conversation about you at one of the hunting dinners, I was told of (Herbert 1950, 327).

Nevertheless it is clear that, though in some parishes foxes were being left for the huntsmen, in

others they continued to be destroyed as vermin and fox payments only tailed off after 1825, the last being made at Calne in 1842 (WSRO 2176/4).

Polecats continued to be killed up to the 1840s, with the last payments at Compton Bassett in 1840 and at Durnford in 1843. The increase in the killing of marten cats may reflect the increase in surviving records, though perhaps deforestation, which reached its peak in England in the eighteenth century, made it less easy for them to hide or there may have been more intensive hunting. The hunting parson William Chafin in his *Anecdotes of Cranbourne Chase*, written in 1818, declared that marten cats 'are nearly extinct; their skins were too valuable for them to be suffered to exist' (Chafin 1818, 42). The last recorded killing of martens were at Holt in 1811 and at Compton Bassett in 1816.

Otters were also under increasing pressure. The last killing of otters in Wiltshire parish records were in Melksham in 1808 and in nearby Holt in 1811. As with foxes, payments for badgers were becoming less common even during the eighteenth century. Possibly they were more in demand for badger baiting. The last badger was killed at Heytesbury in 1823.

It seems that in general a greater variety and, in a few cases, larger numbers of animals and birds were being killed from the second quarter of the eighteenth century. While it is difficult to know how far apparent changes reflect the increasing number of surviving records, research by the author in other counties in Wessex seem to reflect these trends (Anderson forthcoming).

The killing of hedgehogs clearly became much more widespread and intense in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A reason for this may be the growing interest in shooting at this time and the

Table 4. Smaller animals, snakes and 'sparrows' killed in parishes between 1625 and 1863.

Parishes	Stoats	Weasels	Hedge-hogs	Moles	Adders	Sparrows
1625-49	15	0	0	0	1	0
1650-74	24	0	0	2	0	0
1675-99	30	5	0	14	0	0
1700-24	48	13	0	18	0	0
1725-49	69	14	2	23	1	1
1750-74	94	20	2	39	1	0
1775-99	123	24	0	42	4	1
1800-24	164	21	4	33	4	6
1825-63	162	11	2	10	4	4

fear that hedgehogs would eat the eggs of game birds like partridges and pheasants. Weasels also begin to appear occasionally among the victims, with the last payment for eight 'wissells' being made at Edington in 1848 (WSRO 1650/16).

More moles were also being killed. In South Wraxall the molecatcher was paid £5 in 1814 and in Compton Bassett in 1837, £4 4s. was spent on 'moal catching' and in both parishes payments continued for ten years (WSRO 1288/28, 1722/11). In Dauntsey the payments continued over 25 years until 1860 (WSRO 1608/21). Payments for killing moles continue after the repeal of the Vermin Act and perhaps reflect the growing pressure on space in churchyards in the nineteenth century as a result of the growing human population.

Another unauthorised payment that was made occasionally from the eighteenth century was for adders or more usually 'vipers' or 'vipours'. The only parish where adders were killed in east Wiltshire was at Chute, just across the border from a group of three parishes in Hampshire, where adders were also killed. Otherwise payments were only made in north-west Wiltshire, in nine parishes from Luckington down as far as Poulshot. Apart from a single payment in 1742 at Whaddon, where the killing of two adders cost one shilling, and another single payment at Poulshot in 1786, adders were only rewarded in the nineteenth century (WSRO 669/7, 1551/29). At North Wraxall adder killing was rewarded for 43 years from 1818, at Yatton Keynell for 44 years from 1810, at Colerne for 45 years from 1802 and at Chute for no less than 52 years from 1802 (WSRO 1170/2, 2236/9, 1188/4, 627/17). Payments varied from 6d. an adder at Colerne to 3d. at South Wraxall (WSRO 1188/4, 1288/28). The contributor to *Notes and Queries* in 1852 recorded that in Corsham not only were vipers killed at a rate of 6d. each, but 'slowworms or blindworms' brought a reward of 3d.. (J.K. 1852, 68).

The most striking point, however, that emerges from the churchwardens' accounts from the second half of the eighteenth century is that most parishes began to pay for 'sparrows' and for very large numbers of them. Indeed, in 40 parishes such payments were the only ones ever made. From the nineteenth century payments also began to be made in five parishes for birds' eggs. One possible reason is that the numbers of small birds in England had been increasing. While there always had been many hedges, their number was undoubtedly growing during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a result of the protracted enclosure movement.

The breaking up of open fields and common land into smaller hedged fields clearly provided more opportunities for nesting birds. Modern comparative studies of those few parishes where the open fields have survived and neighbouring enclosed parishes have shown the much greater density of birds in the latter. The new farm buildings out in the fields also provided new shelter. As the *Journal of a Naturalist* recorded in 1829, the house sparrow 'becomes immediately an inhabitant of the new farm house in a lonely place or new enclosure.' (Jones 1972, 119). Elsewhere the new coverts for hunters of foxes and shooters of game also provided more habitats as did the building of canals. Apart from more cover, the increase in the amount of grain being grown and stored also provided them with more food. Possibly in one or two places the attack on their predators helped them to flourish.

Whatever the reason, huge numbers of 'sparrows' were killed. Whether these were all sparrows, however, must be doubtful. The term 'birds heads' is quite common. In Heytesbury 'small birds and vermins' and in Teffont Evias 'sparrows and small birds heads' were rewarded (WSRO 2350/18, 1254/10). In Semley, as already noted, other small birds are named. The most telling evidence comes from the letter to *Notes and Queries* already quoted. In 1852 the writer recalled:

I shall never forget, when a boy, and my father was churchwarden the trick the young lads and boys used to play in order to palm off other birds' eggs and young birds for sparrows. One young rascal actually painted the eggs very cleverly to imitate the sparrows, till I discovered it. Young birds of all kinds were brought, and many dozens paid for that that were not sparrows; as it was impossible to tell the young bird of many of the hard billed kind from sparrows. At last the parish gave up paying for the eggs or young birds, but gave 1s. per dozen for the heads of old sparrows, and vast numbers were brought in throughout the winter; and then attempts were made to substitute other birds' heads, which were in many cases paid for. The next year the parish agreed to pay for the whole birds, so that no deception could be practised. When the New poor Law came into operation [1834], all these payments were stopped (J.K. 1852, 68).

Sparrows are usually recorded in dozens, though sometimes only the total payment is written down. When this happens it is because a separate sparrow account was being kept. Occasionally these survive among parish bills as at Steeple Ashton in 1834 (WSRO 730/99). In Warminster in 1829 the

sextoness Betty Pearce claimed £5 7s. 4d. for no fewer than 4,836 sparrows (WSRO 2144/71). Large numbers were also being destroyed elsewhere in the early nineteenth century so that perhaps up to a quarter of a million birds were being killed in Wiltshire every year.

WHO BENEFITED FROM THE PAYMENTS?

Though the names of the recipients of vermin payments are sometimes given, details about them are much less frequent. Occasionally the huntsmen of local landowners were paid. At Little Somerford in 1747 'Esquire Sheppards Huntsman for killing a fox' was paid 2s. 6d. and, curiously, in the same year at Box Mr Spurrin's huntsman was paid 3s. for killing three foxes in 1747 (WSRO 1149/16, 1719/2).

Sometimes there is an entry 'to a man for a fox's head' showing that strangers as well as parishioners might be paid. Sometimes it is clear that the payments were being made to children. At Nunton there were many payments to 'small boys' for sparrow killing, as well as 'to Newman's maid' (WSRO 783/19). At Stratford-sub-Castle payment was made to 'the gypsy boy for 2 headhogs and 2 dozen spares' [sparrows] (WSRO 1076/190). It has been suggested that such payments were a way for children to earn pocket money, but at a time when adult wages were so low it was more likely that they were supplementing the family income. Churchwardens' families could also do well out of the system. At Whaddon in 1738 'our own boy' and at Grittleton in 1751 'my own boys' were the recipient of the bounty (WSRO 669/7, 1620/17).

Those who were rewarded were not, of course, the only ones who benefited. In a rural parish at least, the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, chosen by the vestry from the substantial householders, were themselves likely to have been farmers. It looks suspiciously like a case of churchwarden farmers in some parishes using the church rates to finance the protection of the crops and stock of themselves and fellow farmers. In Poulshot in 1786 Farmer Gilbert was one of the churchwardens and of the 17 items of his outgoings 12 were vermin payments (WSRO 1551/29). At Mere in 1696 and 1710 Farmer Jupe was paid for vermin heads and Henry Jupe, perhaps a relative, for 'stote and polcats heads' (WSRO 3944/44). In 1757 Farmer Vince was paid at Chirton for a 'Polt Cat' (WSRO 511/26). Sometimes payments were made to

farmers' employees. Farmer Milsom's man was paid 1s. for a fox at Melksham and Farmer Chandler's man received the same bounty at Hullavington, while at Longbridge Deverill in 1753 Farmer Henton claimed for two foxes, his son for three dozen sparrows and his man for a total of four foxes, five greys, three polecats and a stoat (WSRO 1368/56, 1622/70, 1020/25). Studies of individual parishes may show that many other recipients were also farmers.

THE SCALE OF PAYMENTS

The amount of attention devoted to the killing of 'noyfull foules' and 'vermyn' varied enormously between parishes. In some the accounts show that the churchwardens were mainly concerned with their religious duties providing for the church services and maintaining the church. In many others the secular duty of rewarding the killing of vermin seems to have been higher on their list of priorities. At Yatesbury in 1767 over three quarters of the items of expenditure were on vermin (WSRO 1122/12). In Maiden Bradley in 1806 of the 41 payments 29 were for vermin and at Durnford in 1831 the numbers were 72 out of 81 (WSRO 18/13, 1985/11). As, during the early nineteenth century the killing of animals was becoming less common, the spending was even more dominated by payments for sparrows, with occasionally page after page of some churchwardens' accounts devoted solely to payments for sparrow killing.

The proportion of the church rate spent on vermin varied enormously, but again could be high. In the eighteenth century at Box one third of the total was spent in 1737 and one quarter in 1742 (WSRO 1719/2). In the nineteenth century a half of the total was spent in this way at Yatesbury in 1805, a third at Corsley in 1823 and at Fovant payments for sparrows still made up over a quarter of the total expenditure in 1846 (WSRO 1122/13a, 1179/11, 1475/23).

It would not be surprising if this was another reason why there was growing opposition to church rates and their use (Chadwick 1966, 81). In the 1830s 51 parishes ceased to pay for sparrows or other vermin, another 40 parishes in the 1840s and 23 discontinued the practice in the 1850s. Nevertheless twelve were still paying in the 1860s, five of them after the repeal of the Act in 1863, the last being a payment for 15 and a half dozen sparrows at Alderton in 1870 (WSRO 1078/9). By this time, however, sparrow clubs had often been formed to keep down the numbers of sparrows.

HOW FAR WERE THE VERMIN ACTS THE CAUSE OF THE DECLINE IN WILTSHIRE'S WILDLIFE?

While it is probably a false impression that there were always more animals and birds in any stretch of countryside in the past than there are today, there were certainly far fewer of some species by 1914, while others had disappeared. The blame can probably not, however, be laid at the door of zealous churchwardens. As has been shown, there were a few parishes where the Acts appear to have been wholly ignored, in others the level of persecution varied from period to period and in very many others only some creatures were ever killed. This varied level of persecution meant that there were always reserves of wildlife in neighbouring parishes that could re-colonise those parishes where there were intensive periods of persecution. Even when a whole range of animals was killed over a long period, as at Longbridge Deverill, the fact that payment could continue to be made over a long period of years implies that the wildlife population was able to support such a level of culling. This seems to be true even of the huge number of 'sparrows' that were killed. The churchwardens can only perhaps be blamed for speeding up the disappearance of marten cats and possibly polecats. These are the same conclusions that emerged from the author's study of the accounts of Hampshire (Anderson forthcoming).

The real reason for the decline in the numbers of wildlife in every county is almost certainly the appointment of gamekeepers (Langley and Yalden 1977, 113, Jones 1998). Gamekeepers had begun to be appointed in the late seventeenth century and, very occasionally, they appear in churchwardens' accounts. In the 1690s the gamekeeper of Longleat was paid 1s. for a fox's head by the churchwardens of Horningsham (WSRO 482/14). Between 1757 and 1762 Mr Talbot's gamekeeper was paid for killing two foxes and two otters at Melksham and in 1763 Sir Edward Baynton's gamekeeper was paid for two foxes at Chippenham (WSRO 1368/55, 811/217). The records of the licensing of gamekeepers show that by 1800 there were already over 200 licensed gamekeepers in Wiltshire. At first lesser gentlemen and yeomen were appointed as the gamekeepers, but during the early nineteenth century, with improved firearms and the rise of the sporting estate for game birds such as pheasants and partridges, gamekeeping

became a full time job. The process of enclosure also encouraged the fencing in of estates and the eradication of vermin within them. The new breed of gamekeepers was much more ruthless and efficient and there was no longer any need for churchwardens to offer rewards. As W.H. Hudson expressed it so eloquently in *A Shepherd's Life*:

The curse of the pheasant is on all the forests and woods in Wiltshire, and all wildlife considered injurious . . . from the sparrowhawk to the harrier . . . from the little mousing weasel to the badger; and all the wildlife that is beautiful, or which delights us . . . must be included in the slaughter (Hudson 1910, 187).

The increasing activity of gamekeepers in killing animals would also help to explain the switch of parish vermin spending to payments for killing 'sparrows'. It has also been observed that ornithology at this time was almost synonymous with egg and skin collecting (Tubbs 1968, 197). The nineteenth century was also the period when no big house or museum was complete without its collection of stuffed animals and birds as the advertisements for 'Animal and Bird Stuffers' in *Kelly's Directories* show. This all put additional pressure on Wiltshire wildlife. After the First World War there was a rapid decline in the number of gamekeepers and collectors, but in the second half of the twentieth century indiscriminate use of pesticides caused even more destruction. Happily in the twenty-first century the tide has begun to turn. With the recovery of otters and the return of the polecat, for example, we can now welcome the growing presence in Wiltshire again of what were once denounced as 'noyfull fowles and vermyen.'

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References

Abbreviations

GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
WSRO	Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>

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Gloucestershire Record Office: P186CW2/1, P229CW2/1, P251CW2/1, P407VE2/2.
 Hampshire Record Office: 55M83PV1, 9M66/PW1
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The Symbolic Move to New Sarum

An Investigation into the Move from Old Sarum to New Sarum using Two Contemporary Sources

by *Christian Frost*

This paper attempts to show that the move from Old Sarum to the current site of Salisbury should be seen as a symbolic endeavour as well as a pragmatic reality. In order to do this the study will concentrate on two contemporary accounts which describe the intention to move, and the desire to complete the translation, to the new site. In expressing their sentiments the two writers borrow heavily from the Bible, in both form and content, suggesting that whatever the political and environmental reasons were for proposing the move, the resulting events were seen as possessing immense symbolic significance.

The survival of any contemporary text which relates to the nature of medieval cities is rare but in the case of Salisbury there are two documents which provide some insight into the attitudes of the men, particularly the clergy, to the translocation of the cathedral and city. The first is a letter by Peter de Blois written sometime between 1182 and 1206¹ commenting on the decision of the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral at Old Sarum to move the cathedral. The second is a poem by Henry d'Avranches written c.1225-6 to commemorate the movement of the cathedral and town.

Peter de Blois was not a minor figure in the twelfth century.² He was born in Blois c.1135 the son of a noble family of Brittany. During his long life he travelled and studied all over Europe, studying theology in Paris c.1162 – 67, and at one time was held prisoner by the anti-pope Victor IV at the time of Pope Alexander III (1159-81), managing to escape without having 'bowed his knee to Baal'.³ He also spent some time in the Sicilian court,⁴ which at the time was one of the most intellectually active in Europe because of the preponderance of Arabic texts held there. He probably returned to Paris to resume his teaching career in about 1170. He was a canon at

Rouen by 1172 and by 1176 a canon of Chartres when John of Salisbury was bishop, followed by some time at the Papal court. He was also a friend to Henry II amidst a court where Richard of Ilchester⁵ was a significant adviser.

The first reference to Peter de Blois in England is in 1175 when he was acting as chancellor to the Archbishop of Canterbury Richard of Dover (Becket's successor in 1173) with the first certain reference as the Archdeacon of Bath in 1182. Whilst he became the Archdeacon of London in 1202 he continued to use his title from Bath until 1206. His last letters were written in France where he died in the spring of 1212. He had some knowledge of medicine, was an authority on canon and civil law and quoted with apparent knowledge of the Latin classics, especially Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, Juvenal, and the historians Livy and Suetonius, but his lasting legacy is in his letters and poems which are published in Migne Vol 207.⁶

The letter in question, Epistle 104,⁷ was addressed to the Dean and Chapter of the church of Salisbury when Herbert Poore was Bishop (and probably Richard Poore was Dean.) It is Herbert Poore who is generally credited with the conception

of moving the cathedral, receiving sanction for the move through the aid of the then archbishop, Hubert Walter.⁸ But the initial idea, as well as the later successful relocation, may be more down to the determination of Richard Poore. This possibility is suggested by the main record of the developments leading up to the actual move written subsequently by William de Waude, when dean, where he compared Herbert to the children of Ephraim who, 'being harnessed and carrying bows, turned themselves back in the day of battle.'⁹ So, by addressing his letter to the dean and chapter, Peter de Blois was perhaps indicating where the real energy was situated in the chapter at the time. If this was the case, it was certainly not an unusual occurrence that the main functions of the cathedrals were organised and implemented by the deanery to allow the bishop more freedom to pursue his greater national and international duties. But whether this was the case or not, the contents of the letter suggest the true magnitude of the proposition.

After the usual introductory greetings de Blois congratulated the chapter for their proposal to move the cathedral down to the valley. He then made reference to the quality of the environment on the hill which was 'at the mercy of the wind, barren, dry, deserted and mean',¹⁰ sentiments which recur later in the poem by d'Avranches as well as in the Papal Bull¹¹ which sanctioned the move in the first place. Then there followed a series of biblical references which shed some light on the religious significance of the move, the first of which related to the oppressive tower of Siloe. Interestingly there is only one reference to this tower in the Bible and that is in Luke 13:4 as a part of a parable where Jesus describes the need for the people to settle with God and repent without delay. Failure to do this would, according to the account, lead to events such as the massacre of Galileans by Pilate or the undermining of the tower next to the pool of Siloam which led to the death of eighteen people. These historical events described in the Bible, implied as acts of God, were seen as a result of the corruption of man, just as the deteriorating situation in Sarum with respect to the garrison was viewed as result of the corruption and abuse of power exercised by the crown. And hence the prospective move to the land below the old hill at Sarum would result in the salvation of the people.¹²

The letter continued on the theme that they would be successful in this feat because they had awoken the spirit of Othniel, one of the Old Testament Judges who had led the tribes to victory against the Edomites. The section of the Bible within

which this reference appears is one of recurring cycles of sin, punishment, repentance and deliverance which had obvious political resonances in England in the latter part of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth.

Having established the reason and mechanism of the move he then described its significance, comparing the new town to the settlement by the river Jordan led by Elisha the prophet suggesting, as he stated later in the letter, that 'the time of the prophets has returned'. It may seem strange that such an event could be elevated to that status but it is easy to forget that at this time millenarianism was rife throughout Europe with Joachim de Fiore (1130/5–1201/2) writing about the coming of the Age of the Spirit. And, even if these millenarian texts were not present in Salisbury or England at this time, the international credentials of de Blois, and the other clerics associated with Salisbury at this time, would have meant they were aware of these international sentiments. After all, it was Richard Poore who was instrumental in bringing the Franciscans to England and it was amongst their ranks that such millennial heresies were the most prevalent – albeit in their most extreme form in a Franciscan minority nearly a century later.

Next de Blois described the negative portents of the hill by association with Mount Gilboa, the scene of the death of Saul – the first of the Kings – and his sons, including Jonathan. This whole episode related to events in I Samuel when the Philistines captured the Ark of the Covenant from the Israelites. After an initial victory the captured Ark was eventually taken to Ashdod and placed in the temple of Dagon next to a statue of the god, which was later found 'fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord'.¹³ Again here the negative aspects of the castle keep, seen to be a representation of 'arrogance and catachresis'¹⁴ are associated with the pagan or anti-Christian cultures in the Bible. The reference to Mount Gilboa in relation to the Ark of the Covenant is more difficult. It may be that de Blois, for whatever reason, wrote *Gelboe* instead of *Gabaa* which is the place mentioned that the Philistines took the Ark after the defeat of the Israelites – translated into English as 'up on the hill'.¹⁵ Otherwise the reference is very obscure as the Ark never actually was captive on Mount Gilboa. It is possible that the reference is an indirect one to the final camp of the Israelites led by Saul before their defeat at the hands of the Philistines. This would have some significance as following this episode David, after years of exile, returned to Israel and became the first King of all of

the tribes. The association of David with Jesus has always been a key aspect of the interpretation of the Old Testament so this reference could be – in relation to Mount Gilboa – a direct reference to the corruption and madness of the current regent (probably King John) – much as Saul is thought to have betrayed his original covenant with such atrocities as the slaughter of the priests of Nob¹⁶ – associating David with King John's successor, Henry III. Either way the reference is clearly not favourable to the comparison with Old Sarum but at the same time suggested the possibility of reconciliation with the monarchy after the termination of the current ruler.

In the next section de Blois suggested, by association with Noah's Ark, that the original foundation of the cathedral in the town of Old Sarum had a purpose but that the reasons for its placement in its current setting were no longer relevant. Here the ark stranded in 'the mountains of Armenia' is perhaps more of a rhetorical device completing a neat antitheses and anaphora¹⁷ with the use of *arca* in both sentences. This settled he goes on further to describe the actions involved in the foundation of the new town based on an account in Joshua where the boundaries were first described by the Lord and then the land was divided up by lots amongst the nine and a half tribes.

All the inhabitants of the hill country . . . them will I drive out before the children of Israel: only divide it by lot unto the Israelites for an inheritance, as I have commanded thee.¹⁸

This is a critical text, especially amidst the period immediately following the Third Crusade. At a pragmatic level, the gift of land by God which was to be divided by lot builds on the scene presented in Numbers 26:53 with the description in Joshua 13 giving particular boundaries for the inheritance. This association both elevates the proposed move into the realms of Old Testament myth as well as linking Salisbury with New Jerusalem and the beginning of the age of Judges and Prophets leading ultimately to the Kingdom of David where *sacerdotium* and *imperium* were inextricably linked. It is here, within the letter that he stated, 'I see that in our days the times of the prophets have returned'.¹⁹ This is no idle claim but a deep seated belief in the nature of reality as experienced in the medieval world:

For the reality was not that the heavenly world was as real as the earthly world, it was that they formed one world, in an inextricable mixture which caught men in the toils of a living supernatural.²⁰

The letter continued by associating the building of the cathedral with the construction of the Temple of Solomon, cataloguing a series of events which create a vivid picture of the act of building itself, turning the quantifiable description of II Kings 6 and II Chronicles 3 into a human endeavour. But the relationship with Jerusalem was not only limited to the Temple because the episode of Nehemiah related to the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem itself, thus again bringing the whole move, including the town, into the biblical forum.

The reader is then thrust into the visionary world of Ezekiel 40, written at the time of the exile in Babylon. Ezekiel described a man whose appearance was like that of brass who showed him a new temple building. This section of the Old Testament revealed the recognition of heavenly Jerusalem when the prophets, attempting to protect the faith after the loss of the temple on earth, began to describe the faith more in terms of personal responsibility. It continued to be a faith of revelation but in the context of a covenant without a specific location, a desire which ultimately found its fulfilment in the coming of Christianity.

The next reference was the only piece to come from the New Testament and is a direct quotation from the First Epistle General of John where he says that 'the whole world lieth in wickedness'.²¹ The last reference is also a direct quotation but this time from Haggai 1:2: 'It is not yet the time for the house of the Lord to be built'.²² These last two quotations are self-explanatory and combine with another two earlier direct quotations from Psalms 121 and 83.²³ Both of these are pilgrim's Psalms and the first is one of the fifteen Gradual Psalms or Song of Ascents associated with pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They were named thus because they were thought to relate to the fifteen steps up to the Temple mentioned in the Mishnah. The second Psalm is considered a kindred Psalm to 121 because of its expression of tenderness for Sion, both these psalms and the other two direct quotations providing a clear indication that the building of New Salisbury would have been seen as a portentous event, perhaps even creating a local focus for indulgences, pilgrimage and penance.

If the whole letter is then considered in sequence there is discernable a clear pattern in which the move of the city and cathedral from Old Sarum is described in a series of settings from Genesis to the Exile in Babylon. The whole letter is, therefore, a compact history of the Chosen People, and through these references it traced apposite themes which provided the impending developments at Salisbury the

symbolic weight of all of the Old Testament. As he stated in the letter:

For my spirit paints a certain pleasing picture for me of life as it was in the days of old, . . . And so my spirit is revived again and my body seemed to be rejuvenated, because I see that in our day the times of the prophets have returned.

* * *

The second example, the poem by Henry d'Avranches,²⁴ is an altogether different piece of writing and its two hundred and ten lines contained much more than just biblical references. A full analysis of the poem, however, is beyond the scope of this paper. Rather, concentration will be placed on the articulation of the biblical themes present within the poem in respect of the analysis of the letter by de Blois.

D'Avranches (1190/99 – c.1260) was a court poet and, like Peter de Blois, had spent much time abroad as well as in England with his career spanning the decades between 1214 and 1260. He was born to a Norman family in the last decade of 12th century but was probably educated in Germany. By 1214 he may already have been writing for King John, but by 1219 he was definitely in England writing for ecclesiastical patrons which he continued to do until about 1227 when his mentor Peter des Roches fell from royal favour and d'Avranches left on the Sixth Crusade with Frederick II.²⁵ He appeared in the Papal Curia in 1232 and 1234 and possibly again in the Court of Emperor Frederick II in Germany 1235. By then he was referred to as the 'Dean of Maastricht, . . . caught in the disorders in the diocese of Liège of 1238 and [he] soon returns to the Papal Curia, with the story of the loss of his deanery and a castle'.²⁶ He wrote for King Louis IX of France before returning to the employ of his former pupil Henry III in England in 1243 where he remained for the next seventeen years. Whilst there are some gaps in the records which suggest an absence from England between 1245-50 and 1253-55 he probably died in the service of the King around 1260. The survival of his work is explained by the collection assembled by Matthew Paris who rated him highly. During his life the list of his patrons was impressive including several archbishops – Bourges, Canterbury, Cologne, Mainz and Trier and bishops of Angers, Beauvais, Chichester, Clermont, Durham, London, Norwich, Salisbury, Spoleto and Winchester. During his period of service with the King he was the thirteenth century equivalent of the Poet Laureate – although that title

was not used for an established role until the seventeenth century.

References within the poem suggest that it was written after the move in 1220 because the old cathedral is described as falling into ruin after lack of repairs.²⁷ Also, it referred to Richard Poore as Bishop and no other bishop past or future was mentioned. This places it before Poore's move to Durham in 1228. This fact is stressed again by the poem which stated that a man who sees the cathedral completed will be lucky. As d'Avranches is known to have left England in 1227 it suggests that he was near Salisbury at this time before leaving the country. If the poem is placed in the context of his other works, such as the poem which was commissioned for the commemoration of the translation of the tomb of Thomas Becket in 1220,²⁸ its genesis can be placed more accurately. The Becket poem was written close to, but after, the actual event because the menu for the banquet following the translation was described within the poem. The Salisbury poem does not mention any banquet or the actual consecration of the three altars nor does it mention the translation of the remains of the three bishops, including Osmund, from Old to New Sarum, which occurred on Trinity Sunday in 1226, so it is likely that the poem was commissioned for an event around the date of the consecration itself held on 28 September 1225, but definitely before 14 June 1226.

The poem consists of two hundred and ten lines of heroic verse in elegiac couplets. Unfortunately, the translation in the *WANHM* does not do this feat any justice, even though a true poetic translation of it would probably be equally indigestible to the modern reader. The poem has many facets including some interesting scholastic themes and structures but here the focus is on the sense of biblical resonance which the poem portrays. It is not, in this regard, as clearly structured as the letter of Peter de Blois, but d'Avranches was not a cleric and was, therefore, not so conversant with the contents of the Bible nor the rhetorical tradition of biblical learning. However, the poem does have other virtues which we need to assess in order to extract any historical significance from the poem. This can be done by first understanding something of the literary form, which will facilitate unravelling the paradigmatic themes which surrounded the pragmatic events. Thus viewed, the poem should reveal more than other more pragmatic texts which tend to concentrate on the facts rather than the poetic vision, because, in a poem the reasons are likely to be amplified above the facts; they constitute the reality of the text.

The poem begins much in the same way as Peter's letter with a reference to the hill as Mount Gilboa and a description which tallies with the version in the Papal Bull. Here the account is simple because there was not the association of the Ark with Mount Gilboa which was in de Blois' letter, just the deserted, sterile landscape and its association with the battle of Saul and the Philistines. But the Ark of the Covenant did appear in a line which situated it in the temple of Baal. This would again relate to the incident I Samuel described earlier when the Philistines took the Ark and placed it in the house of Dagon. This fragment of the poem – lines 37 and 38 – combined with lines 11 and 12 and a few others have been attributed to Peter de Blois because of the similarity of their content to his letter. This opinion, propagated by William Camden²⁹ and copied by many chroniclers since, missed the clear poetic metre which undoubtedly situates the origins of the phrases in d'Avranches' poem rather than in the letter.

Beyond these specific references to places in the Bible, the form as well as the content carried the meaning. What d'Avranches described was a vision of the move within the context of eschatological order placing the ground, 'in a well watered valley',³⁰ also close to Paradise, experientially:

If Adam had come here when driven out of Paradise, he would have preferred exile to his native Eden. . .

It may be that Paradise was more beautiful than this place, but, because the latter is close at hand, it seems better to us. Experience shows us that even a place of exile may be more pleasing than Paradise itself, when it is near and familiar. It is experience which makes things pleasant.³¹

This section, coming at the end of the poem, linked the early biblical themes with the scholastic interest in the relationship of the body and experience and hence to the aspects of sacred mediation extolled in the poem's middle section. The description of the perception of paradise and its nearness to everyday existence, relates back to the earlier section of this paper discussing the apocalyptic form of the accounts of the prophets and their need to describe the continuing presence of the covenant within the historical reality of the loss of Jerusalem. It means that the sentiments expressed in this poem are not just those of someone describing a series of pragmatic future events as if in a chronicle, but a description revealing their symbolic significance within the

mantle of the unfolding of God's plan. In this sense the poem borrows much from the Book of Isaiah in the way it creates a vision for the new town and crumbling of the old. This might be more difficult to argue if it was not known that he had a copy of de Blois' letter which is wholly biblical in its vision. But given this setting a selection of fragments which illustrate the point can be examined.

The first indication of this sentiment in the poem begins with the reference to the overthrow of Jericho and Babylon in lines 41 to 44:

. . . Sion was enslaved in
Jerico, and Jerusalem captive in Babylon.
Both Jerico and also Babylon, however, were
Overthrown. It was then that Sion and Jerusalem
were seen to be transformed. Each at
first was in misery, each in its turn later was
full of joy.³²

In this section, the transformation of Jerusalem was referred to. This 'transformation' relates directly to the account of the transformation of earthly to heavenly Jerusalem described, in part, in the Book of Isaiah. Isaiah was written in three stages. In the first part of the book, Isaiah contemplated the immorality and laxity of the people and their impending punishment by God as well as the coming of a sign from God:

Isaiah. 7:14. Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.³³

The second section concentrated on the suffering servant to Yahweh who would bring forth salvation. In Christian terms this is interpreted as the suffering of the one who comes, but it could also refer to the nation of Israel collectively. The final section of Isaiah was a group of oracles from the period of the restoration of Jerusalem covering aspects of ritual life in the city but infused with the hopeful sentiments in the creative goodness of Yahweh expressed in the second section, Deutero Isaiah. One of the most influential sections of symbolic language in the Old Testament was Isaiah's call to prophecy described as a visionary experience in the Temple:

Isaiah 6:1 In the year that king Uzziah died I saw also the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.

2. Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings. . .

3. And one cried unto another and said: Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.

In this scene Isaiah was elevated from the earthly to the heavenly temple, from sacred space in profane time to sacred space in sacred time, from the particular to the universal. In a poem covering the translocation of Salisbury, the point of using Isaiah as a guide was its relationship to the destruction of the Old Jerusalem and the recognition of the heavenly city and temple within which God dwells. The covenant written on tablets had given way to a covenant written in the heart. In this sense, the model for the city became the heavenly exemplar, not the earthly model. The description of the heavenly city mirrors the hope of salvation and the establishment of order following the coming of Immanuel. This sentiment was clearly displayed by the constant merging of comparable sections from the poem and Isaiah. This began with line 45:

Presul enim zelo domini meliore Ricardus
Arsit, ut eximeret libera colla iugo.
A laicis equidem clerum dimouit, eorum,
Vincula dirumpens proiciensque iugum.

Translated as:

For Bishop Richard and his zeal for the
Lord burned to free the necks of the clergy
from their yoke. He separated them from
their tyrants, broke their chains and freed
them from their bondage.

Compared with Isaiah 9:4³⁴

Iugum enim oneriseius et virgam umeri eius
et sceptrum exactoris eius superasti sicut in die
Madian.

Translated as:

For thou hast broken the yoke of his
burden and the staff of his shoulder,
the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian.

Then there is a section on the body and the senses, a description of the need for water to nourish the body physically as well as a reference to the sacred quality of water as 'it cleanses from guilt and sin and drives away the plagues of devils.'³⁵ This clear reference to the baptismal function of water as described in Romans 6:4 is a good example of how d'Avranches continuously oscillated between the physical and metaphysical reality of nature. In line 134 'The Valley is a safer place, for he who has nothing below him need fear no harm'³⁶ can be found resonances of Isaiah 40:4 'Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low'. And then in line 151 'There the hind was not afraid of the

bear nor the stag the lion, The lynx feared not the snake nor the roe the wolf,³⁷ can be seen the influence of the prophetic language of Isaiah 11:6:

The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb
And the leopard shall lie down with the kid;
And the calf and the young lion and the fatling
together;
And a little child shall lead them.³⁸

Finally, with reference to Isaiah 51:3 the sentiments at the heart of the poem from line 143 to line 176 are revealed, describing the singing of the birds and the cultivation of flowers in their prophetic context:

For the Lord shall comfort Zion:
he will comfort all her waste places;
and he will make her wilderness like Eden,
and her desert like the garden of the Lord;
joy and gladness shall be found therein,
thanksgiving, and the voice of melody.³⁹

Thus there is the linking of the move to a description of Earthly Paradise. This shift of language into a more prophetic text, as opposed to the more prosaic text in de Blois's letter, sits well within the description of events as a part of an unresolved present. The poem, in the same way as Isaiah, reveals the dialectic of revelation where recall of past events of the Bible blends into a call in the present. D'Avranches uses his skills of reasoning to try to understand the proposition in scholastic terms but was ultimately forced to use the prophetic form to express the symbolic factors inherent in the move. It could be argued that in order to speak of any future event one must speak in a 'prophetic' manner, but that misses the point that there is a difference in the way this type of prediction is *read* now from the highly symbolic way it was *experienced* then. The descriptions are not apocalyptic, they do not come from God, but they are prophetic by their association with the language and form of the Bible. The text of the poem, like all prophetic texts which describe the teleological destination of the Christian, was linked fundamentally to man's perceptual horizon as it attempted to explain the symbolic significance of pragmatic events in this world. Truth, after all, is not always best represented by fact. The use of Isaiah in this poem is, therefore, an interesting postscript to the letter of Peter de Blois. The compacted history of revelation and the continuing existence of the Chosen People presented in the letter was given, in the poem, a final metastatic layer of prophetic hope.

Whilst the destruction of the old city was understood as a necessity in both pieces, the primacy of Osmund as the founder of the institution at Old Sarum was clearly held on to by the chapter as a key to the foundation of the new city, even though Osmund was not named in either of the examples investigated here. This is clear from the work of Peter Kidson⁴⁰ where he relates the geometrical setting out of the new cathedral to the geometry of the old, which was left to deteriorate⁴¹ on the hill of Old Sarum. Kidson's observations, when seen in the perspective of the accounts looked at here, suggest that whilst the vision and planning of the chapter were focused on the new site, the closely related internal geometrical relationships between the two cathedrals were intended to forge a deep structured relationship between the new site and cathedral with the previous foundation of Bishops Osmund and Hereman.⁴² This idea is further reinforced by knowledge of the contemporary capitular attempt to secure the canonisation of Osmund which was later abandoned, only to be finally successful in 1457.⁴³ In trying to establish Osmund as the local Saint, Osmund was destined to become, to some degree, the *omphalos*⁴⁴ of the order of Sarum. This great sense of historical continuity, evident in both the buildings and the texts investigated here, suggests significant links with the past as marks of the future development. They were in a position to undertake the transposition of the sacred foundation because of its success as an institution, not because of its failure. The move was precipitated by external forces not by internal ones and, as such, the success which enabled the move to be contemplated at all was largely due to Osmund's wisdom, insight and energy.

In the reverberation of the conflict of *sacerdotium* and *imperium* under King John, Old Sarum could easily have deteriorated, as was the case in other places during the interdict, and no future city of Salisbury would now exist on either site. The momentum established at a critical time in ecclesiastical history allowed not only for the development of Salisbury as a religious centre but also as a highly articulated and centred development of a new secular cathedral close engaged with a new city. In a real sense, Augustine's vision of a lived worship was a critical part of this vision.

As a final reinforcement of this interpretation the last four lines of the poem where d'Avranches begins to describe the main parties involved in the creative

act of the translocation can be considered:

Let the King give the materials, the Bishop his
aid, the masons
Their skill, all thee are needed for the work.
For in this great work will be seen the charity of
the King
The love of the Bishop and the faith of the
craftsmen.⁴⁵

This section of the verse echoes I Corinthians 13 completing the prophetic setting by placing the king at the centre of the realisation of the project:

13:2 And though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. . .

13:8 charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away

9. For we know in part, and we prophesise in part.

10. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.

11. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man I put away childish things.

12. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

13. And now abideth in faith, hope and charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

If the king were present at the recitation of this poem – he arrived at the site of the new cathedral four days after the consecration of the altars in 1225⁴⁶ – it would be difficult for him to refuse such a symbolic call for help set out in such a manner. To refuse the request would be a negation of his duties as the *imperator* because the poem is a public appeal to the necessity of charity within his primacy in the sacred hierarchy. Amongst these high ranking clerical circles Henry III would have had to acquiesce; after all, the will of God could not be stultified by that of man.

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Notes

- ¹ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300 VII Bath and Wells*. Compiled by Diana Greenway. (Univ. of London, 2001), p. 28
- ² 'Peter of Blois, a minor poet, but a man of great importance in his day.' F.J.E Raby *A History of Christian Latin Poetry*. (Clarendon Press 1953), p.309.
- ³ *Dictionary of National Biography*. ed. Sidney Lee. Vol XLV (London 1896), p46ff
- ⁴ He would have known of Adelard of Bath (born c. 1080) who was a key figure in the previous generation of English medieval scholars but it is unlikely that they met as de Blois only arrived in England around 1175. However his travelling to Sicily would have made him aware of his illustrious antecedent in Bath prior to his arrival in England.
- ⁵ Richard of Ilchester was later Bishop of Winchester (1174-1188) and father of the illegitimate brothers Herbert and Richard Poore who were to become Bishops of Salisbury, 1194 – 1217 and 1217 – 1228 respectively.
- ⁶ *Patrologiae cursus Completus Vol 207- Petri Blesensis opera omnia 1855*.
- ⁷ For a full rendition and translation of Epistle 104 See Appendix 1
- ⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*. ed. Sidney Lee. Vol XLVI (London 1896), p106
- ⁹ W.H.R.Jones, *Register of St Osmund Rolls Series 78*. Vol II.1884. p.xci.
- ¹⁰ '... ille ventis expositus, sterilis, aridus, desertus, angustus.'
- ¹¹ '...vixque sufficient ad tecta ecclesiae reparanda, quae frequenter ventis invalescentibus dissipantur.' *Register of St Osmund Rolls Series 78*. Vol II. (1884) pp. 5 and 6
- ¹² Interestingly enough the reference to Siloam, which is predominantly referred to in the Bible because it is a source of water for the irrigation of the local land, may suggest that at the time of this letter they were already discussing the use of the water courses within the new plan.
- ¹³ I Samuel 5:3.
- ¹⁴ '... in superbia, et in abusione erecta est.'
- ¹⁵ I Samuel 7: 'venerunt ergo viri Cariathiarim et duxerunt arcam Domini, et intulerunt eam in domum Abinadab in Gabaa.'
- ¹⁶ I Samuel 22.19.
- ¹⁷ Both these devices are common in rhetorical prose.

The two sentences in question are consecutive: 'Captiva erat in monte illo Sarisberiensis Ecclesia, sed et olim capta et captivata erat *arca* Domini ab allophylis in monte Gelboe . . . Certe *arca* Noe, quae generis humani residuum quandoque salvaverat, postquam inter montes Armeniae resedit, nullis usibus apta fuit.' The anaphora relates to the repetition of the word *arca*, the two phrases juxtaposing the Ark in two contrasting circumstances, firstly as the imprisoned Ark of the Covenant and secondly as Noah's Ark. The antithesis is revealed in the way that one *arca* is searched for and the other discarded, much like Old and New Sarum.

- ¹⁸ Joshua 13:6
- ¹⁹ '... diebus nostris video prophetarum tempora rediisse.'
- ²⁰ J. le Goff. *Medieval Civilisation*, (Oxford, 2001), p.165
- ²¹ I Jo. 5:19: '... et mundus totus in maligno positus est.'
- ²² Agg 1:2: '... populus iste dicit nondum venit tempus domus Domini aedificandae.'
- ²³ All Psalms are given the Latin Vulgate Numbering.
- ²⁴ For the Henry d'Avranches Poem see *WANHM* Vol LVII (June 1958 – Dec 1960), p.242.
- ²⁵ Josiah Cox Russell. Master Henry of Avranches as an International Poet. *Speculum* III (1928), p.35
- ²⁶ Ibid. p.36
- ²⁷ Line 138
- ²⁸ See J.C. Russell. *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches relating to England*. (Med Acad. of America 1935).
- ²⁹ William Camden *Britannia Newly Translated into English with large additions and Improvements*. Gibson, (London 1695), p. 91
- ³⁰ Line 145-6: 'Est in ualle locus nemori uenatibus apto contiguous ceber fructibus uber aquis.'
- ³¹ 191ff: 'Huc si uenisset expulsus de paradise, Exilium patie preposuisset Adam.' 197ff: 'Esto quod ille décor exuberet amplius iste, Sentitur melius res habitude probat. Res habitude probat quanto uicinior ergo, Exilio tanto gratior iste locus. Delicias dulces facit experientia pene, Conditurque bonum cognitione mali.'
- ³² '...In ierico captiua syon erat, in Babilone, Ierusalem, ierico cum Babylone ruit. Inde syon cum ierusalem mutata uidetur, Vtraqua mesta prius utraque leta modo.'
- ³³ In the Hebrew text it is a 'young woman' not necessarily a virgin who bears the child Immanuel meaning "God is with us."
- ³⁴ See also Isaiah 14:3 and the section on Othniel in the de Blois letter.
- ³⁵ 101: '... culpam uiciumque, Euacuat, pestem demoniumque fugat.'
- ³⁶ 'Tucior est uallis, nec enim timet ille ruinam, Qui nichil inferius quo moueatur habet.'
- ³⁷ 'Non ibi dama timet ursum ceruusue leonem. Non linx serpentum, capreolusue lupum.'
- ³⁸ See also Isaiah 65:25: 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together . . .'

- ³⁹ 'consolabitur ergo Dominus et Sion, consolabitur omnes ruinas eius, et ponet desertum eius quasi delicias, et solitudinem eius quasi hortum Domini, gaudium et laetitia inveniatur in ea, gratiarum actio et vox laudis.'
- ⁴⁰ Thomas Cocke and Peter Kidson, *Salisbury Cathedral: Perspectives on the Architectural History* (HMSO Books, 1993).
- ⁴¹ In fact this deterioration was accelerated by the clergy, fearful of a resistance to move to the new site who gave permission for the old cathedral stones to be used in the construction of the new Close wall.
- ⁴² Hereman's original foundation at Old Sarum after the council of London in 1174-5 moved all cathedrals to urban seats was only a short while before his death in 1178. Therefore it is Osmund, his successor, who is seen as the more influential character in the framing of the new situation. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300 IV Salisbury* Compiled by Diana Greenway. (Univ. of London. 1991), p. 1.
- ⁴³ The panegyrics used for this successful application for canonization were, in part, the documents which were put together for the original application urged on by Richard Poore in his last letter as Bishop of Salisbury in 1228. *Dictionary of National Biography*. ed. Sidney Lee. Vol XLVI (London 1896), p106ff.
- ⁴⁴ The point of symbolic origin of the foundation, its centre and its origin.
- ⁴⁵ 'Rex igitur de topes, presul det opem, lapicide dent operam, tribus his est opus ut stet opus. Regis enim virtus facto spectabitur isto, Presulis affectus artificumque fides.'
- ⁴⁶ *Register of St Osmund Rolls*, Series 78, Vol II, (1884), p.cxxi.

Appendix. Translation of Epistle CIV by Petri Blesensis

To the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Salisbury.

THEME – The canons of Salisbury are to be congratulated for considering to bring down their Church from the hill to the plain. To beloved lords and friends, the dean and chapter of the Church of Salisbury, may Peter de Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, greet you most cordially. I was glad when they said unto me,¹ that you intend to move the seat of the Church of Salisbury. Moreover, I congratulate you on this proposal wholeheartedly. For that place was at the mercy of the wind, barren, dry, deserted and mean. The tower was there as if in Siloam,² which crushed the local people from the burden of extreme servitude; but they have awoken the spirit of Othniel,³ so that he may throw off the yoke of tyrannical oppression from the people of God, he

himself has incited the aspiration for the monumental task of your patron. As once the sons of the prophets, following the advice of Elisha,⁴ descended from the imperial and barren place to the river Jordan, so that they might build and make more spacious and suitable dwellings for themselves there.

But the church of Salisbury was captive within that hill, and like the arc of God in mount Gelboe⁵ was once a prisoner enslaved by foreigners, the tower next to it like Dagon⁶ of old erected in arrogance and catachresis; if only with the rupture and ejection of the earlier idol the sentence could have been removed. The Arc of Noah,⁷ it is true, which, seeing that it had saved the last of the human race, later resided amidst the mountains of Armenia, being suitable for no further use. Let us therefore in God's name [with favourable portent] go down on to the level, where the valleys will yield much corn, where the fields will become especially fertile, where each person, beneath their own fig tree, will be inspired by their own life, and a day in thy courts will be better than a thousand.⁸ While concerned, I consider and judge the heart of your bishop prudent, and his hand strong, a man of honour, also I consider the meekness of the clergymen, as well as the remembrance of future times and the monument in perpetuity before my soul fails the longing for this time, and melts away. For my spirit paints a certain pleasing picture for me of life as it was in the days of old, when God most high was dividing the tribes, when He was separating the sons of Adam, setting the boundaries of the dwellings next to a number of other sons of Israel; just as under Joshua⁹ and Caleb the land of Canaan was given to the twelve tribes and distributed through the use of rope lots. And so my spirit revived again, and my body seemed to have been rejuvenated, because I see that in our days the times of the prophets have returned. My spirit relates to me of that jubilation of the people, both common and famous, when under Darius, the temple was built, and when under Artaxerxes the walls were repaired by Nehemiah,¹⁰ and the fire that, after many years being tended and nurtured, concealed in thick water in a well, rekindles for the holy offering. I recall the man in Ezekiel, whose appearance was like the appearance of brass, and with a line of flax in one hand, and a measuring reed in the other hand,¹¹ measured the length, breadth and height of the building, the walls, doors, halls, lintels, altars, tables as well as the Holy of Holies and the chambers and windows. I appear to see Solomon fretfully exhausted over the building of the temple, Hiram providing the wood, and the quarrymen, stonemasons,

bookkeepers and porters pressing on to make a more elaborate building. Because of this therefore our Darius, lord and king to this development which, without doubt and with ready favour he agreed was a building of dexterous God in Heaven, and consented that it could be built. I beg, that your hand should get to work as quickly as possible. For we do not know which future the days may bring. The world lieth in wickedness,¹² and the devil, realising in advance the inestimable fruit of this translation, is bringing around all his cunning arts of obstruction to everybody.

And as such the work ought to be urged on as quickly and as vigorously as possible, let there be no disappointment with delays. Let not that turn out for you, the prophet blaming the treacherous people saying: 'The people are saying this: "It is not yet the time for the house of the Lord to be built."' ¹³

I, on the other hand, in particular was considering vis-à-vis the votes for the division of the dwellings, but the teaching of someone greater, and the law of obedience, bring me away from the proposal, unwilling and struggling.

Notes

¹ Psalm 121

² Luke 13:4: 'Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem?'

³ – and who elevated the spirit of Othniel. Judges 3:9: 'And when the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel, who delivered them, even Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother.' (against the Baalim)

⁴ II Kings.6:2 prophet Elisha – 'Let us go, we pray thee, unto Jordan, and take thence every man a beam, and let us make a place there, where we may dwell. And he answered, Go ye.'

⁵ I Samuel 4: Philistines decide to capture the Ark. 7: in Mountain for 20 years in Abinadab's place (son of Saul). II Sam:6 Saul now dead, David King, brings the Ark to His royal City. II Sam:7.2: 'That the king

said unto Nathan the prophet, see now, I dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains. . . 7 In all the places wherein I have walked with all the children of Israel spake I a word with any of the tribes of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people of Israel, saying, why build ye not me an house of cedar? . . . 13, He shall build a house for my name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I Kings 4.

⁶ I Samuel 5:2 When the Philistines took the ark of God, they brought it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon (father of Baal). Generally Baal meant God, so Baalim means 'the gods'. Later Biblical texts suggest an interpretation as the heathen god(s). Canaanite god of fertility and rainfall

⁷ Genesis. 8 – reference to the abandoning of the ark once the flood was over. They could then come down from the mountain and inhabit the plain

⁸ Psalm. 83 ,11: 'quia melior est dies una in atriis tuis super milia.'

⁹ Joshua. 13,14

¹⁰ After the initial permission to rebuild was given by Cyrus Is.44:26 Neh.2:17: 'Then I said unto them, Ye see the distress that we are in, how Jerusalem lieth waste, and the gates thereof are burned with fire: come, let us build up the wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach. (after some complaint it was completed in 52 days under Nehemiah's instruction after he had been allowed to leave the court of Artaxerxes.' II Mach.1:19-22. Nehemiah rescues the holy fire from its hiding place and miraculously relights the sacred fire with 'thick water' (in crassitudine aquae).

¹¹ Ez. 40:3 (*gazophylacia* = chamber): 'And he brought me thither, and, behold, there was a man . . . whose appearance was like the appearance of brass, with a line of flax in his hand, and a measuring reed; . . . and he stood in the gate.' The remaining words are a summary of the remaining aspects of the chapter.

¹² I Iohan.5:19: 'scimus quoniam ex Deo sumus, et mundus totus in maligno positus est.' ('And we know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness.')

¹³ Agg. 1.2: 'haec ait Dominus exercituum dicens populus iste dicit nondum venit tempus domus Domini aedificandae.' (Haggai. 1.2: 'Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, This people say, The time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built.')

The Development of Trinity Chequer: Excavations at the Anchor Brewery site, Gigant Street, Salisbury

by *Bruno Barber*

with contributions from *Rowena Gale, Pat Hinton, Sheila Hamilton-Dyer, Rachel Every, Jacqueline I. McKinley, Lorraine Mephram, and Nicholas A. Wells*

During an excavation on the site of the former Anchor Brewery, five phases of medieval and post-medieval urban development were identified. Initial construction on the Gigant Street frontage is unlikely to pre-date c. 1250, but it is only after a 14th century redevelopment that a row of six two room, probably single-storey cottages, of timber framed construction, founded on masonry dwarf walls, can be clearly defined. The building plans were remarkably static over time, with only minor internal changes visible in the archaeological record, the most significant of which might relate to the addition of a second storey. Food and other remains from a series of hearths, floors and middens contribute to an understanding of these low status vernacular buildings, typical examples of the housing enjoyed by the majority of the population.

INTRODUCTION

Following desk-based research (Wessex Archaeology 1999) and evaluation (Figure 1, Trenches 1–5; Wessex Archaeology 2000a–d) on the site of the former Anchor Brewery, an archaeological excavation was carried out on the western side of Gigant Street, Salisbury (centred on NGR 414702 129870, Figure 1). Work was undertaken in advance of a phased programme of residential development, with further work following the accidental disturbance of human remains during the digging of a service trench and a final phase of evaluation (Figure 1, Trench 6; Wessex Archaeology 2001a). The excavation was focused on the Gigant Street frontage and it was anticipated that evidence of the early development of this part of the city, particularly during the 13th and 14th centuries, would be recovered.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Current understanding suggests that the core of New Sarum (Salisbury) was laid out in or around 1219 (RCHME 1980, xxxii–vii). Pre-existing topographical constraints led to the adoption of a street pattern based on a slightly irregular grid and a town plan characterised by sub-rectangular blocks, known, from at least the early 17th century, as ‘chequers’ (*ibid.*, xxxviii). The detailed chronology of the development of the town grid and its network of watercourses and drains is not known (Haslam 1976, 51).

The site lies in the eastern part of Trinity Chequer, named after Trinity Hospital (founded c. 1379, *VCH* 1989, 357) on the southern side of the

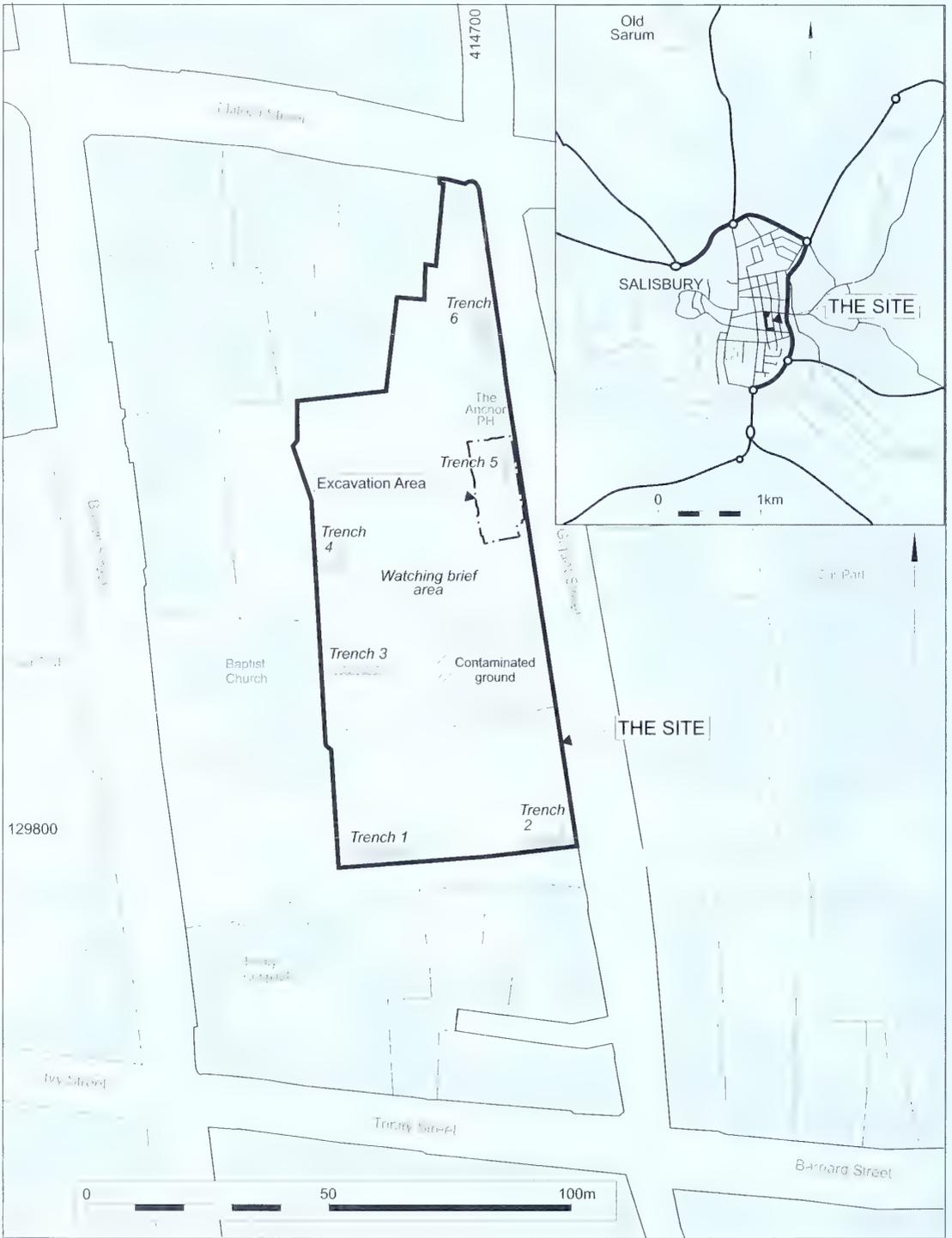


Fig. 1 Anchor Brewery Site: Site location, showing evaluation trenches and excavation areas

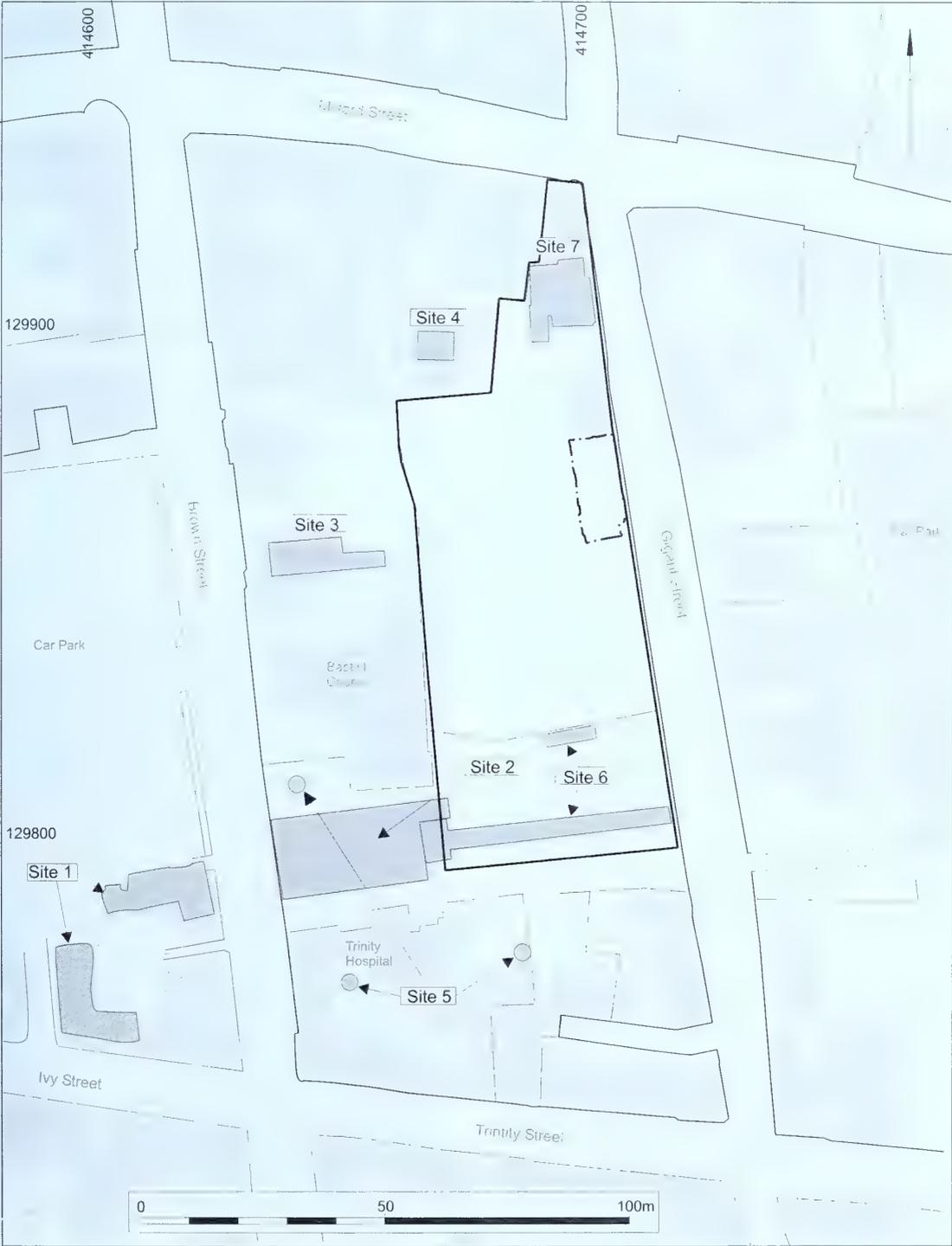


Fig. 2 Anchor Brewery Site: Previous archaeological sites in the vicinity (the location of sites 2-6 are approximated)

chequer. The site is bounded to the east by Gigant Street (documented from 1320) and to the west by the presumed route of the Town Ditch, which flowed from north to south through the centre of the chequer (RCHME 1980, xxxv). A shallow watercourse is thought to have flowed along the centre of Gigant Street (*ibid.*, xxxiv).

Despite the considerable number of small-scale archaeological interventions within Salisbury's medieval core (Hawkes 1990), many are still unpublished, and the archaeology of the city remains little known. Similar concerns have been raised repeatedly, and various research priorities suggested (Haslam 1976, 51–3; Borthwick and Chandler 1984; Rawlings 2000, 57). A significant demonstration of the potential for archaeology to contribute to an understanding of the development of the medieval town was the publication of excavations at Ivy Street/Brown Street (Figure 2, site 1) in the south-eastern part of Antelope Chequer immediately west of Trinity Chequer (Rawlings 2000). A synthesis of Salisbury's medieval archaeology, however, can be found in this volume of *WANHM*.

Several unpublished small excavations had demonstrated the potential of the site. To the west, at 47–51 Brown Street (Figure 2, site 2) three medieval buildings were recorded, with a sequence apparently spanning the 14th to the 19th century. At the east end of this site were two masonry phases of the Town Ditch (*WANHM* 1990; Wessex Archaeology 1992, 18–30). At 39 Brown Street (Figure 2, site 3) seven structural phases spanned the 13th–16th centuries (*ibid.*, 12–14). To the north of the site, at the Elim Chapel (Figure 2, site 4) floors and beam slots indicated two phases of a probably 13th century building (Wessex Archaeology 1997; Butterworth, this volume). To the south, trenching on the Brown Street Car Park site (Figure 2, site 5) exposed several phases of medieval buildings (Wessex Archaeology 1992, 8–11). In the southern part of the Anchor Brewery site itself, a small excavation (Figure 2, site 6) produced a rather confused record, which has been reconstructed as two phases of medieval buildings on the Gigant Street frontage followed by several post-medieval rebuildings (Wessex Archaeology 1992, 15–16). A survey of all previous records suggested that, where undisturbed by modern construction, stratified archaeological sequences between 0.5 and 1.5m thick should be expected on the Anchor Brewery site.

Since the Anchor Brewery fieldwork was completed, a further site within Trinity Chequer has been excavated. At 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street

(Figure 2, site 7), evidence for the medieval and later development of the north-east corner property of the chequer was recorded (Currie 2002; Currie and Rushton this volume). Although medieval documentary sources refer to this corner property (*ibid.*), there are understood to be no sources for the properties on the east side of Gigant Street (J. Chandler pers comm).

THE EXCAVATION

The archaeological potential of the Anchor Brewery site was apparent from previous work in the vicinity (above). The main impacts of past development on archaeological deposits were expected to be the foundations of the Anchor Brewery itself (late 18th–20th century). Further impacts would have been caused by the piers of a raised access road, built in



Fig. 3 Anchor Brewery Site: View of excavation in progress, looking south-east. Building 1 lies in the foreground, and in the background are modern buildings fronting the east side of Gigant Street

1973 at the southern edge of the site, for a never completed car park scheme. A series of evaluation trenches was planned in advance of residential development to clarify the survival of archaeological deposits and the extent of modern disturbance.

Evaluation Trenches 1, 3 and 4 (Figure 1) were excavated along the west side of the site, but no significant medieval or post-medieval deposits were identified. Trenches 2 and 5 (Figure 1), along the Gigant Street frontage, revealed well stratified medieval deposits, although those in Trench 2 had been severely truncated by modern activity. Trench 5 revealed apparently intact medieval and post-medieval structural sequences. The area to the north of Trench 2 was inaccessible due to hydrocarbon contamination (indicated on Figure 1). On the basis of the evaluation, it was clear that the greatest potential impact of the development on the archaeology of the site would be on the Gigant Street frontage, particularly in the vicinity of Trench 5.

The area to the north of the Anchor Inn (a building of 16th century origin: RCHME 1980, 113) was not available for evaluation until after the main excavation was complete. Trench 6 (Figure 1) revealed good medieval structural survival (Wessex Archaeology 2001a), and formed part of the area subsequently excavated by CKC Archaeology (Currie 2002; Currie and Rushton this volume).

Following demolition of the brewery buildings and before excavation commenced, the area lay at approximately 45.6–45.9m OD. Overall the site was level, with no significant slopes.

A single trench, measuring approximately 20m by 9m was excavated in the area immediately south of the Anchor Inn, against the Gigant Street frontage, with its long axis parallel with the street (Figures 1 and 3). Recent and later post-medieval deposits were removed by machine but modern features were left in place where their removal would damage surrounding archaeology. All excavation of the medieval buildings and associated deposits was by hand. Deposits pre-dating the buildings were examined in a number of smaller hand-excavated trenches.

Post excavation analysis has identified a number of periods of activity:

- natural deposits (period 0)
- medieval (periods 1–3)
- late medieval/Tudor (period 4)
- post medieval (period 5).

Within each period, activity has been broken down into a number of land-use units Buildings (B1–6), Structures (S1–2), and Open Areas (OA1–4).

GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The site lies on the floodplain of the River Avon, at a height of *c.* 45.6m OD, 1.5m above and *c.* 500m north of the present river. The topography of the Salisbury area includes: the river Avon and its tributaries (rivers Nadder, Wylde and Bourne) flanked by steep, often wooded, valley sides; chalkland; and to the south-east, acid soils over clays, sands and gravels (Marren 1992). The drift deposits in the vicinity of the site consist of Valley Gravel, which overlies deeply buried Upper Chalk (Geological Survey sheet 298, drift).

Valley Gravel (light yellowish-green sandy gravel) was only recorded in the south-west of the site (Trench 1), at 44.96m OD. Elsewhere the lowest deposits reached in excavation were alluvial gleyed soils typical of the river valleys in the region and probably of Holocene origin. Within the main area of excavation this alluvium was recorded as a general layer of greenish grey-brown, silty clay (553), occurring to a maximum height of 44.84m OD, and more than 0.40m thick, and assumed to overlie gravel. The occurrence of alluvium in the east of the site, below the height at which Valley Gravel was recorded in Trench 1 suggests that the area is crossed by one or more former tributary streams of the River Avon.

Overlying the alluvium in parts of the excavated area, a 0.15m thick deposit of grey brown silty clay (552) may represent a buried soil forming in drier conditions (see Figure 4). It is assumed that these deposits represent the conditions pertaining at the time New Sarum was founded. The site would appear to have been level, but low lying and damp, perhaps prone to flooding (see below).

GROUND PREPARATION AND EARLY LAND-USE (PERIOD 1: *c.* 1220–*c.* 1250)

The earliest evidence of human activity on the site consists of a series of dumps of rammed crushed chalk, gravel and clay, some separated by thin bands of organic material (Figure 5) in Open Area 1, which raised the ground surface across the area of excavation to around 45.08m OD. These dumps are interpreted as evidence of ground preparation in advance of construction on the eastern side of Trinity Chequer. A typical sequence was examined *in situ* by

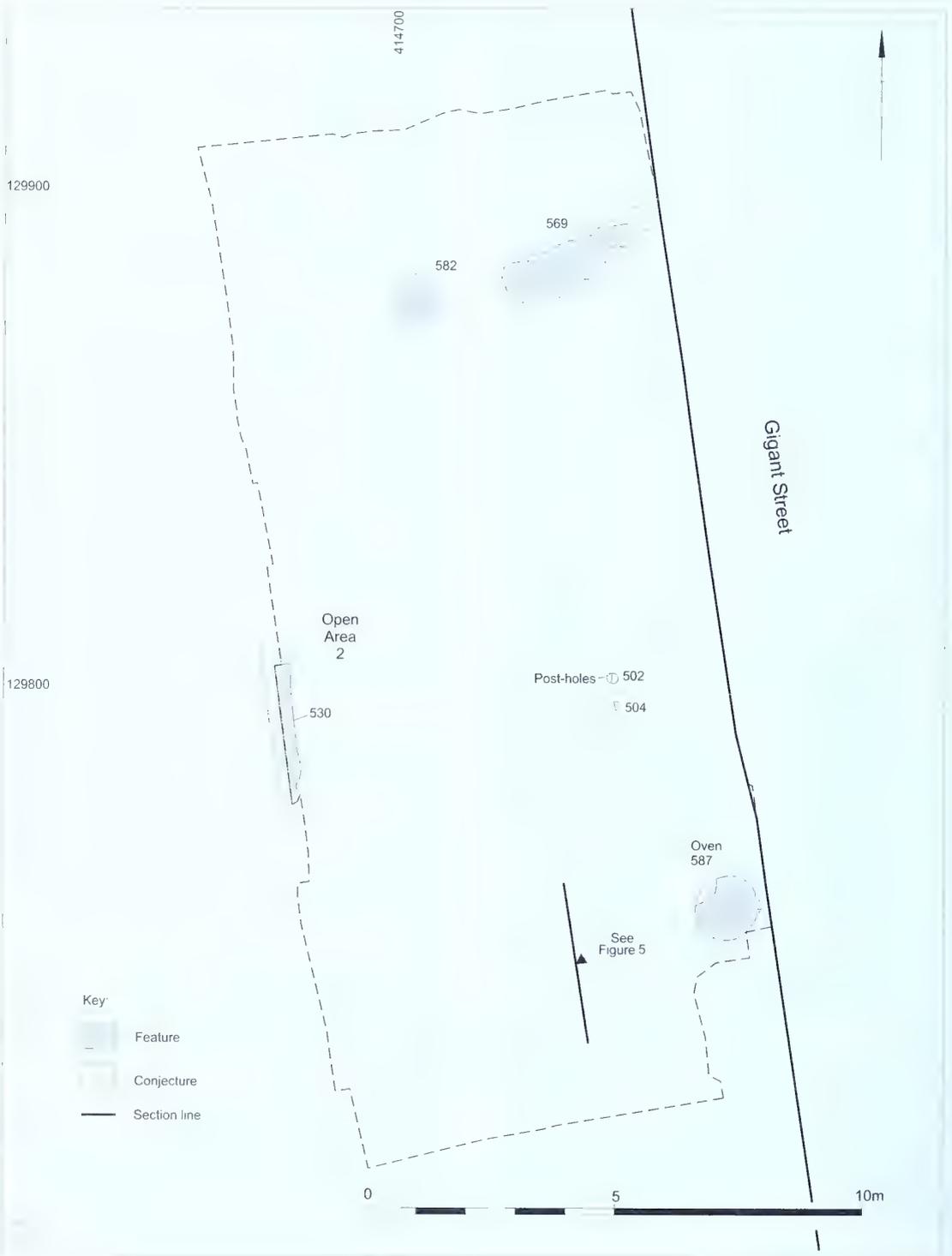


Fig. 4 Anchor Brewery Site: Plan of period 1

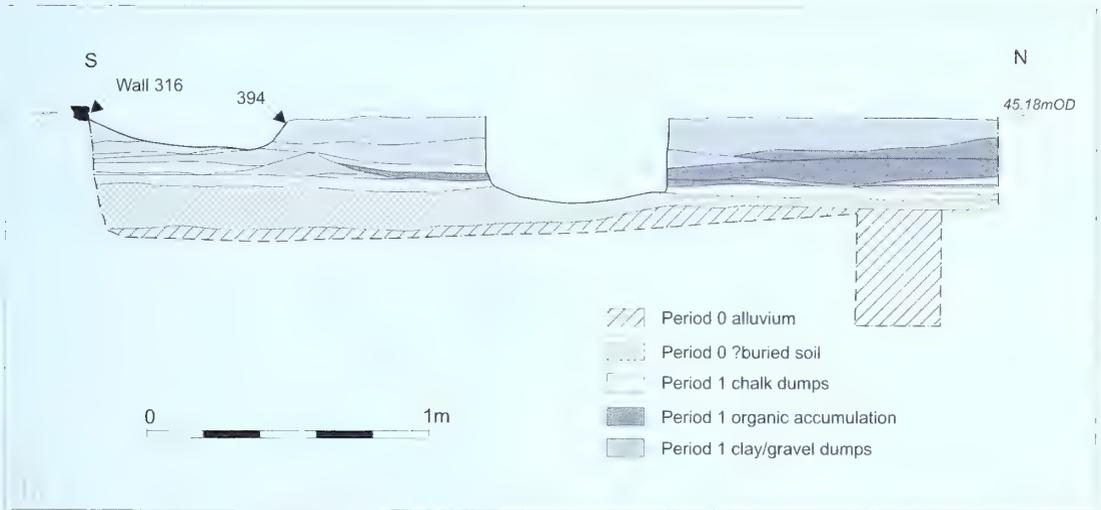


Fig. 5 Anchor Brewery Site: Section through period 1 make-up deposits

Michael J. Allen, who commented that the organic bands consisted of anthropogenic humic matter settling in puddles and pools of water and were not evidence of flood events. The use of rammed chalk, however, shows it was recognised that the low-lying nature of the site required groundworks in advance of any significant development.

Several features appear to be broadly contemporary with this period of ground preparation (Figure 4), including a soak-away (582), an irregular pit or gully (569), and a possible north-south oriented gully (530), 0.20m deep. This gully may have been a boundary feature, and shares its alignment with Gigant Street, which is assumed to have been laid out during this period. The presence of two post-holes and a circular tile hearth or oven (587) within the dump sequence indicates that the ground preparation process was intermittent, as well as hinting at the presence of unrecognised temporary structures, possibly squatter occupation on a vacant plot of land.

Dating evidence for period 1 is poor. The ditch and soak-away can be broadly dated to the 13th or 14th century on the presence of Laverstock coarsewares, while the presence of a inturned or 'West Country' dish (see Figure 15.5) in one of the dumps (555) supports a date in the early-mid 13th century. On historical grounds, no development is likely to have occurred prior to *c.* 1219. A typical section through the ground preparation deposits is illustrated in Figure 5.

INITIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GIGANT STREET FRONTAGE (PERIOD 2: *c.* 1250–*c.* 1350)

This part of Trinity Chequer may have remained empty for *c.* 50 years. The pottery assemblage (Mephram, below) suggests that the first buildings were not built before the mid 13th century, somewhat later than in the south-east of Antelope Chequer (Rawlings 2000). The first period of structural development appears somewhat ephemeral, though this may be due to the effects of later construction. It is apparent that this period saw the earliest development of the Gigant Street frontage (Figure 6).

Building 1

A sill wall (515) of mortared flint nodules was built along the Gigant Street frontage. Founded on a layer of mixed gravel, the wall survived up to 0.5m wide and only two courses deep. A gravel surface occupied the northern part of the building, possibly indicating a passage through the building from Gigant Street to the 'backlands' behind the property. The remainder of the building, presumably the main ground floor room, had a beaten earth floor. In the centre of this room, a small area of burnt clay (534) surrounded by a sub-circular arrangement of stake-holes probably indicates an oven. Apparently

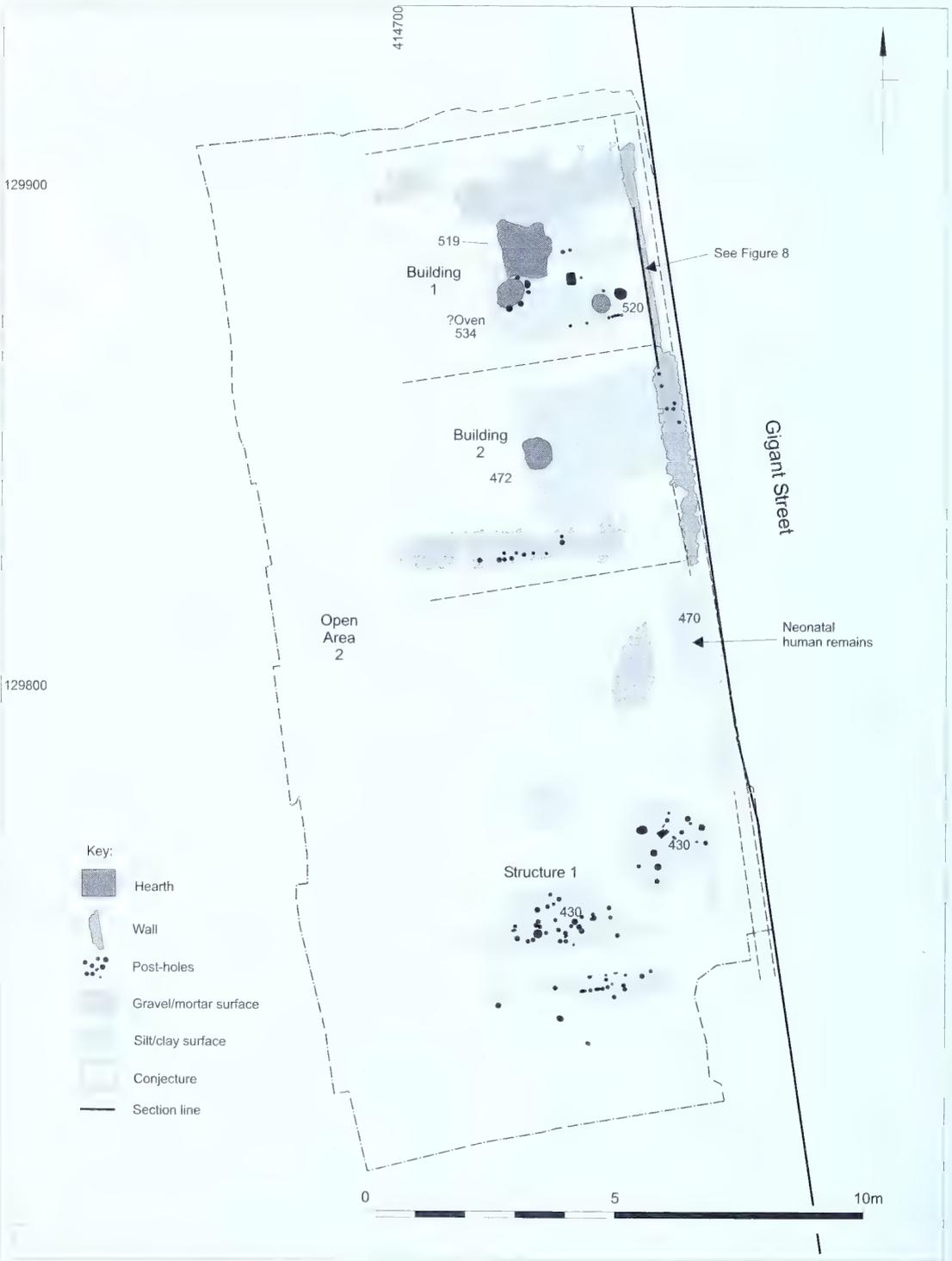


Fig. 6 Anchor Brewery Site: Plan of period 2

contemporary was a hearth denoted by a square area of burnt tile (519), with traces of a flint cobble kerb surviving to the south-east. Another small, circular, tile hearth (520) lay in the south-east corner of the building. This feature produced a few charred cereals and legumes, potentially deriving from the preparation of food, as well as evidence for heathland plants (Hinton, below). A number of post and stake-holes presumably represent internal fittings.

No party walls could be defined, but later walls and robber trenches might easily have removed these. They may have been sill walls like the main frontage or entirely of clay and timber construction. The position of hearths is taken as confirmation that B1 and B2 were of similar size to the more clearly defined period 3 buildings, that is at least 4.20m wide internally. There was no evidence for the depth of the building, or for any details of its superstructure, which is assumed to have been timber framed.

Building 2

The frontage wall (515) continued without a break, suggesting B1 and B2 were constructed as part of a single operation. The upper surface of the masonry was cut by a number of stake-holes, possibly indicating the positions of pegs securing a timber frame on to the sill-wall. A chalk and gravel surface along the presumed southern wall of the building is interpreted as the harder-wearing floor of a passage through the building. A clay surface was the only evidence for the floor of the main ground floor room, with a single, sub-circular, pitched tile hearth (472). The building is assumed to have been of identical dimensions to B1. The only evidence for the depth of the building is provided by the extent of the possible passage floor, which suggests an internal depth of some 5.70m, although caution is indicated, as the hard floor may have continued beyond the rear of the building as a path.

Structure 1

Wall (515) may have continued to the south forming the frontage of a continuous range of buildings, but if so no clear evidence of this survived. Structure 1 refers to all structural deposits and features south of B2, which must relate to further poorly surviving buildings fronting on to Gigant Street.

A beaten earth floor (470) contained the disturbed remains of a neonatal human, not recognised during excavation. Although the infant may have been exposed or still born and interred in

the waste-ground of OA1 in period 1 (see below), the ascription of the human remains to the floor layer suggests it was more probably a victim of still birth or peri-natal death and buried beneath the floor of S1. The remaining floors of S1 consist of gravel and clay surfaces. Field records note the presence of decayed straw in clay floor (430). Arrangements of stake-holes up to 0.1m deep and a few small post-holes cut this floor, and may relate to internal furnishings or partitions.

Open Area 2

The 'backland' behind the frontage buildings is known as OA2. No deposits or features have been assigned to period 2 in this area on the basis of ceramics. It seems likely, however, that midden deposits (278) behind B2, and (384) behind S1/B4 (see period 3, below) began forming in period 2, perhaps as early as the mid 13th century (see below). These middens probably contain the bulk of the surviving evidence for the activities carried out on the street frontage. Dumping of domestic refuse is confirmed by the fact that c. 65% of the wheat from the site came from a single sample from midden (384).

Discussion

Period 2 saw the organised development of the Gigant Street frontage. It seems likely that the entire frontage was developed in a single operation, although it is accepted that survival is poor and there is no clear evidence for the area north of B1, while the form of S1 is a matter of conjecture. The construction of a number of small, similar units might be evidence for speculative development of property for rent by a single landowner. Internal arrangements within the buildings are little known, although the position of the hearths might preclude the existence of back rooms such as developed in period 3, and presumably indicate a single storey construction, open to the roof. There are no clear signs of craft or commercial activities, and the finds are of essentially domestic character. Use of heathers and gorse/broom in the B1 hearth is unusual, but may be a cheap fuel, or burnt domestic waste rather than a sign of a specialised use (see below). The heathland plants from hearth (520) may indicate the exploitation of drier habitats away from the immediate valley floor used for grazing and is potential evidence for the existence of commons (Gale, below).

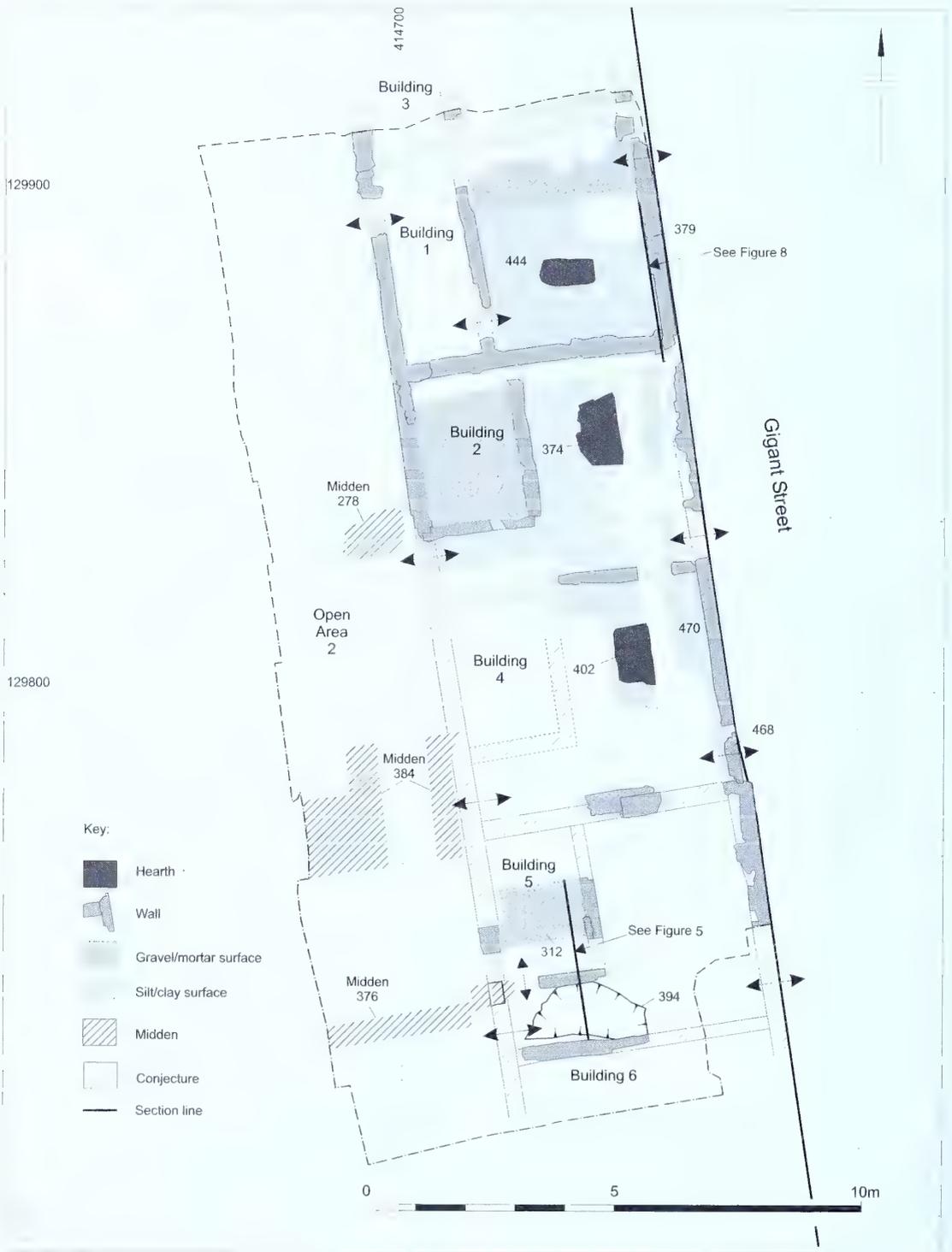


Fig. 7 Anchor Brewery Site: Plan of period 3

Ceramic dating generally supports a mid 13th–14th century date, on the basis of Laverstock-type wares. There are a few difficulties. A single sherd of North Devon gravel-tempered ware from the floor of S1 is surely intrusive. The late 14th and 15th century coins from contexts assigned to the early part of this period on stratigraphic grounds must be intrusive (Wells, below, nos 4 and 5). Both come from areas where the insertion of later structural elements had caused considerable disturbance. Small amounts of intrusive pottery also occur in layer (529), which underlies the earliest frontage wall of B1 and B2 (Mepham, below). The presence of a single sherd of Donyatt white-slipped ware in B1 hearth (519) may suggest that use of the period 2 building continued into at least the middle of the 14th century.

REDEVELOPMENT OF THE GIGANT STREET FRONTAGE (PERIOD 3: c. 1350–c. 1450)

Buildings established in period 2 were rebuilt in period 3. The entire Gigant Street frontage within the area of excavation was lined with buildings of a common plan possibly for the first time (Figure 7).

Building 3

Fragmentary walls indicate a building 5m deep internally, divided into two rooms. The floor of the large front room survived as a compacted and laminated series of clay and silt layers (488) 0.06m

thick. The front and back walls were of mortared flint, while the internal room division was built in flint and chalk rubble. The party wall between B3 and B1 was represented by a post-medieval robbing cut.

Building 1

More extensive survival in B1 shows a building 5m x c. 4.20m internally and a two-room division is apparent. The position of doorways is conjectural. The frontage wall (379) survived to a maximum of 0.4m above the floor and was built of irregularly coursed flint and chalk rubble with several blocks of diagonally pitched tile and dressed flints visible in the elevations (Figure 8). Occasional Hurdcott stone (Greensand) ashlar occurred irregularly, but particularly at wall junctions.

Along the north side of the building was 'floor layer' (393) presumably corresponding to a harder wearing surface of the 'passage' against the south wall of B3. The main room would thus measure c. 3.2m x c. 3.00m. Its floor was represented by laminated layers of clay, silt, mortar, and ash (425), with two phases of rectangular pitched tile hearth in the centre of the room (Figure 9). No floors survived in the rear room, which was 1.6m deep internally, and may have occupied the entire width of the building.

Building 2

Two phases of building were apparent. The earliest (Figure 10) included evidence for an early form of the back room (c. 2.85m x c. 1.6m) formed by a

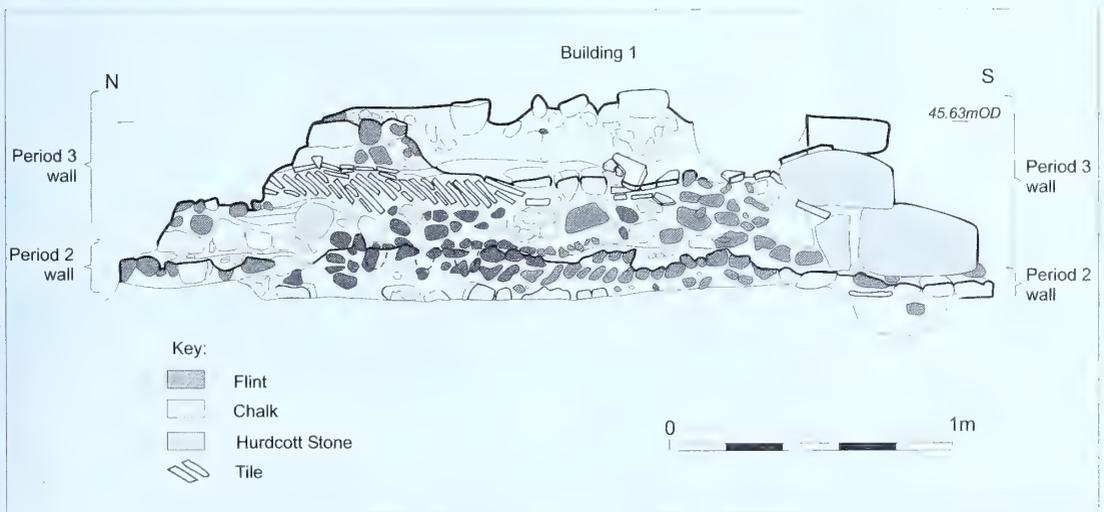


Fig. 8 Anchor Brewery Site: Internal elevation of the frontage wall of Building 1, periods 2 and 3

partition founded on stakes (411), reinforced by a post at the corner. Postholes (391, 431) may indicate a partition closing off a passage along the south wall of the property, giving access from frontage to 'backland'. The main room and 'passage' were

floored with beaten earth (381), the former contained a central pitched tile hearth (382).

The later phase (Figure 7) saw the replacement of the partition defining the rear room with masonry – a random uncoursed footing of tile, flint and chalk rubble. It is possible the rear wall of the property was rebuilt at this time (268). The rear room was floored in compacted chalk and mortar (334), the front room in beaten earth (360), with a central pitched tile hearth. The floors contained frequent trampled organic debris, including cereals, hazelnut shell, charcoal and fish bone.



Fig. 9 Anchor Brewery Site: View of two phases of pitched tile central hearth in Building 1 (period 3), 1.0m scale

Building 4

Building 4 had suffered extensive truncation, but significant details survived, including two phases of a pitched tile central hearth, a beaten earth floor and the frontage wall, which was pierced by a worn threshold (468) of flint and sandstone rubble. The

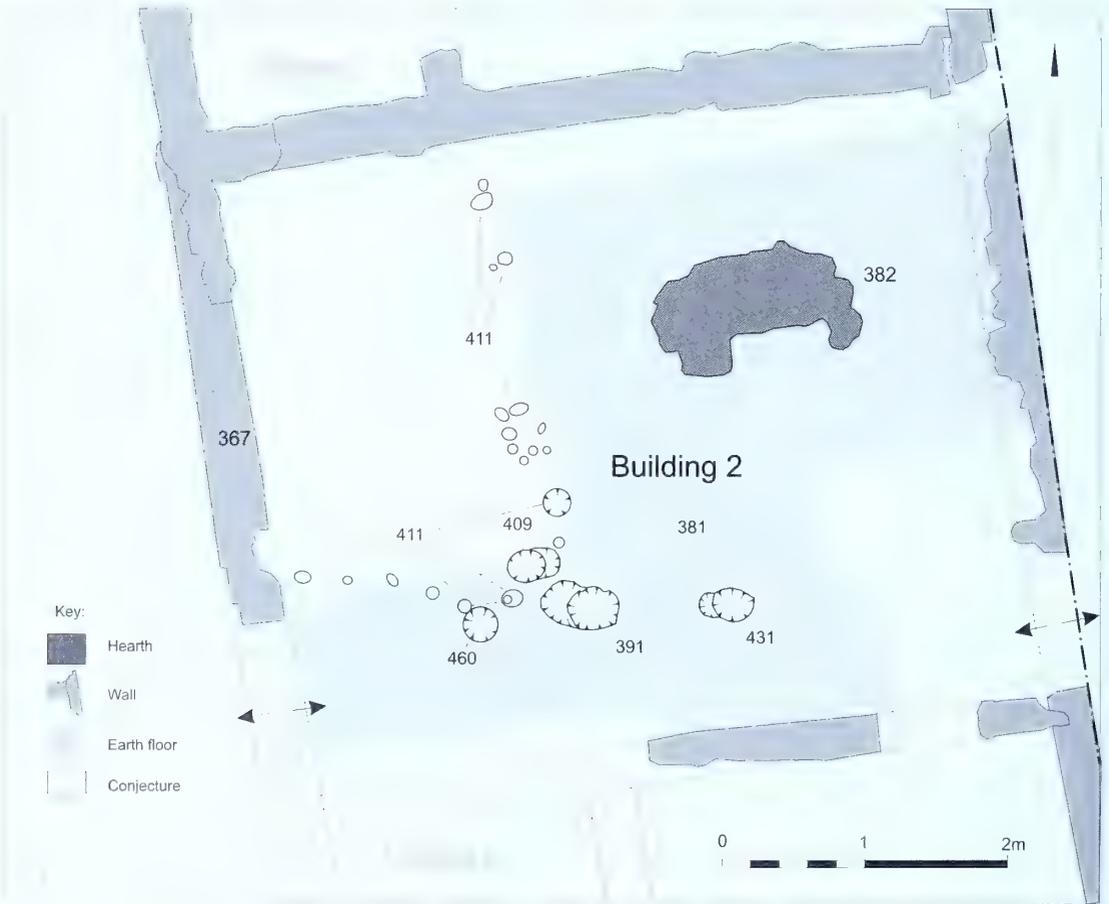


Fig. 10 Anchor Brewery Site: Detail plan of the early phase of B2 in period 3

exclusive use of birch as a fuel in hearth (402) is not typical of the site, and may suggest a specialised activity (Gale, below).

Building 5

Little survived of B5, but it was evidently constructed to a similar plan as B2. The rear room had a floor surface of compacted clay and small chalk fragments (312). Traces of the entrance into the rear room from the passage survived as a gap in the masonry. The passage was marked by a shallow linear depression (394), recorded as a drain but perhaps a result of erosion. In this depression accumulated a silt containing a range of food and other plant remains (Hinton, below). It was subsequently covered with a floor of compacted mortar.

?Building 6

Building 6 is purely conjectural. No excavation took place below post-medieval dumped deposits south of the south wall of B5. A possible southern limit of this range of buildings may be indicated by the area of contaminated ground (see Figure 1), where a watching brief on clearance of the hazardous material noted two east-west oriented ditches up to 0.75m deep running back from the street frontage (Wessex Archaeology 2000a, 6). However, the ditches are undated and may date from the early stages of medieval development.

Open Area 2

Assigned to period 2 are various midden deposits, typically recognised as greyish-brown silty clays with considerable quantities of pottery, oyster shell, bone, and plant food remains, representing dumped refuse lying behind the presumed back doors of the frontage buildings. Behind B2 lay midden (278), behind B4 lay midden (384), which notably produced the greatest number of charred cereals on the site (see below). Behind B5 lay midden (376). These deposits may have begun to form in period 2. A further midden lay behind B1, where a 'garden soil' (210) is assigned to period 5, but contains substantial amounts of 13th and 14th century material (see below).

Discussion

The whole row of buildings described here as B1–6 are archaeologically visible for the first time in period

3. They may all have existed in period 2, but this cannot be clearly shown. The main developments in this period consist of the adoption of the two room and passage arrangement, with a central hearth in the front room, and the use of masonry sill walls for the whole structure. Dating is not helped by the presence of single sherds of 15th/16th century wares in several contexts, mostly wall footings and rubble deposits which were loose and disturbed. The majority of the pottery assemblage is made up of Laverstock wares of mid 13th–14th century date, much of it presumably residual. The central tile hearth without any stack presumably implies that the buildings remained open to the roof and were of single storey construction, although it is possible that the masonry partition of the rear room could have carried a sleeping platform or mezzanine arrangement. The almost identical development of the individual buildings may indicate common ownership of the row.

LATER MEDIEVAL/TUDOR ALTERATIONS (PERIOD 4: c. 1450+)

The basic structure of the range of buildings was retained from the previous period and, although the evidence is more fragmentary, a common pattern of development is indicated (Figure 11).

Building 3

A single clay/mortar surface (490) is the only evidence for continued use of this building, most of which lay beyond the northern limit of excavation.

Building 1

Period 4 is marked by the reordering of arrangements within the front room. The division of the passage from the front room was formalised by the insertion of a partition in clay and timber (380). The partition was interrupted, presumably by the entrance from the passage into the front room. A post-hole containing a post-pipe (329) 0.25m in diameter may represent the position of a door jamb. The alignment of the partition was continued by a flint, Hurdcott stone and chalk rubble footing (469), which formed the back for a new pitched tile hearth (477), placed in the north-east corner of the front room. The repositioning of the hearth is thought to indicate the

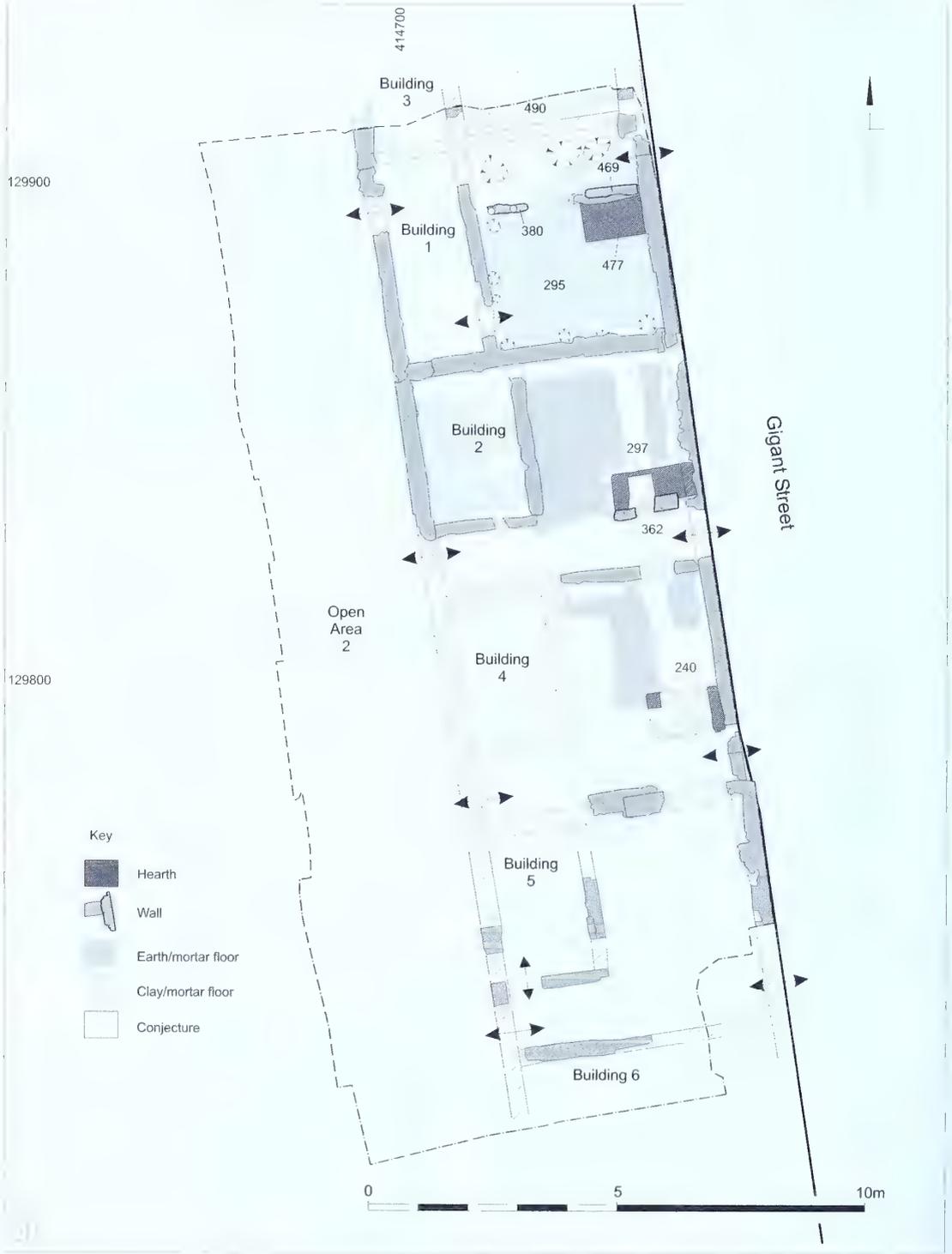


Fig. 11 Anchor Brewery Site: Plan of period 4

addition of an upper storey. Surfaces are represented by compacted layers of clay, incorporating small chalk fragments in areas of heavier wear, such as the passage (293).

Cutting the latest floor layers was a series of irregularly spaced post-holes along the north and south walls of the building and against the wall of the rear room. These were up to 0.33m deep, and where undisturbed suggested vertical posts around 0.25m in diameter. Whether they represent scaffolding related to repairs to the superstructure, or attempts to support joists of the postulated upper storey, is uncertain. The large post-holes in the corridor could represent a staircase, but this would have restricted space in the corridor. These post-holes did not find parallels in the other buildings.

Building 2

As in B1 and B4, the centrally placed hearth was abandoned and a new tile hearth (297) constructed in the south-east corner of the room. A masonry footing (362) formed the fireback and partitioned the passage from the main room. A layer of beaten earth and ash represents the floor of the main room. A mortar surface in the rear room may have been a floor or sub-floor, probably the former as it was cut by an irregular pattern of stake-holes, which presumably represent activity or fittings within the room.

Building 4

What little evidence survived indicates that B4 developed similarly to B1 and B2. The main features identified were a new pitched tile hearth (240) in the south-east corner of the main room, and a series of associated beaten earth and mortar surfaces.

Buildings 5 and 6

No activity can be ascribed to period 4 in the area of B5 and B6. Survival was poor in these areas, and disturbance considerable. It is assumed that the period 3 buildings remained in occupation, as they can be shown to have existed in period 5 (below).

Open Area 2

There is no clear evidence for the use of the area immediately behind the buildings in this period. No pits or other cut features are present, and there is no dated material to suggest that the deposition of extensive midden deposits continued.

Discussion

The basic plan of the period 3 structures was retained. The abandonment of the centrally placed hearth is a consistent feature of this period. It may simply have created a larger, more efficient and comfortable work or living space in the main room, but its position probably also indicates the adoption of a two storied arrangement, assuming a stack was carried on the frontage and backing walls. The post-holes lining the inside of the front part of B1 might be interpreted as supporting a stair to an upper floor and its joists, but were not identified in the other buildings. Most of the pottery assemblage consisted of residual medieval wares (and, possibly, non-diagnostic late-medieval pottery), although occupation deposits associated with the passage and hearth of B1 produced a few 15th and 16th century sherds (early redware and Verwood-type earthenware).

SUMMARY OF THE POST-MEDIEVAL SEQUENCE (PERIOD 5)

The more recent parts of the archaeological sequence on the site had suffered from extensive disturbance and fragmentation by foundations and other features of the Anchor Brewery. These later developments are reported in summary.

The last clearly recognisable period of development of B1-6 is illustrated in Figure 12. There is no evidence that substantial alterations were made to the period 4 structures. Surviving internal surfaces remained of earth and mortar, although within B1 a few areas were roughly surfaced with reused roof tiles, perhaps suggesting heavier wear or a change of use. The position of the hearths did not change, but various minor alterations and repairs were made, mostly to their edging. Building 1 was provided with a new threshold of flint, Hurdcott stone and limestone (292). In the rear room of B5, a masonry footing of chalk tile and flint (216) placed against the rear wall of the building may be the foundation of a stair or a setting for some heavy internal fitting. Hop seeds came from occupation (288) within the passage of B5, and provide possible evidence of brewing within the building, although they may be intrusive from the later Anchor Brewery (see below). To the rear of the buildings, an undated flint and chalk wall footing (S2), aligned differently

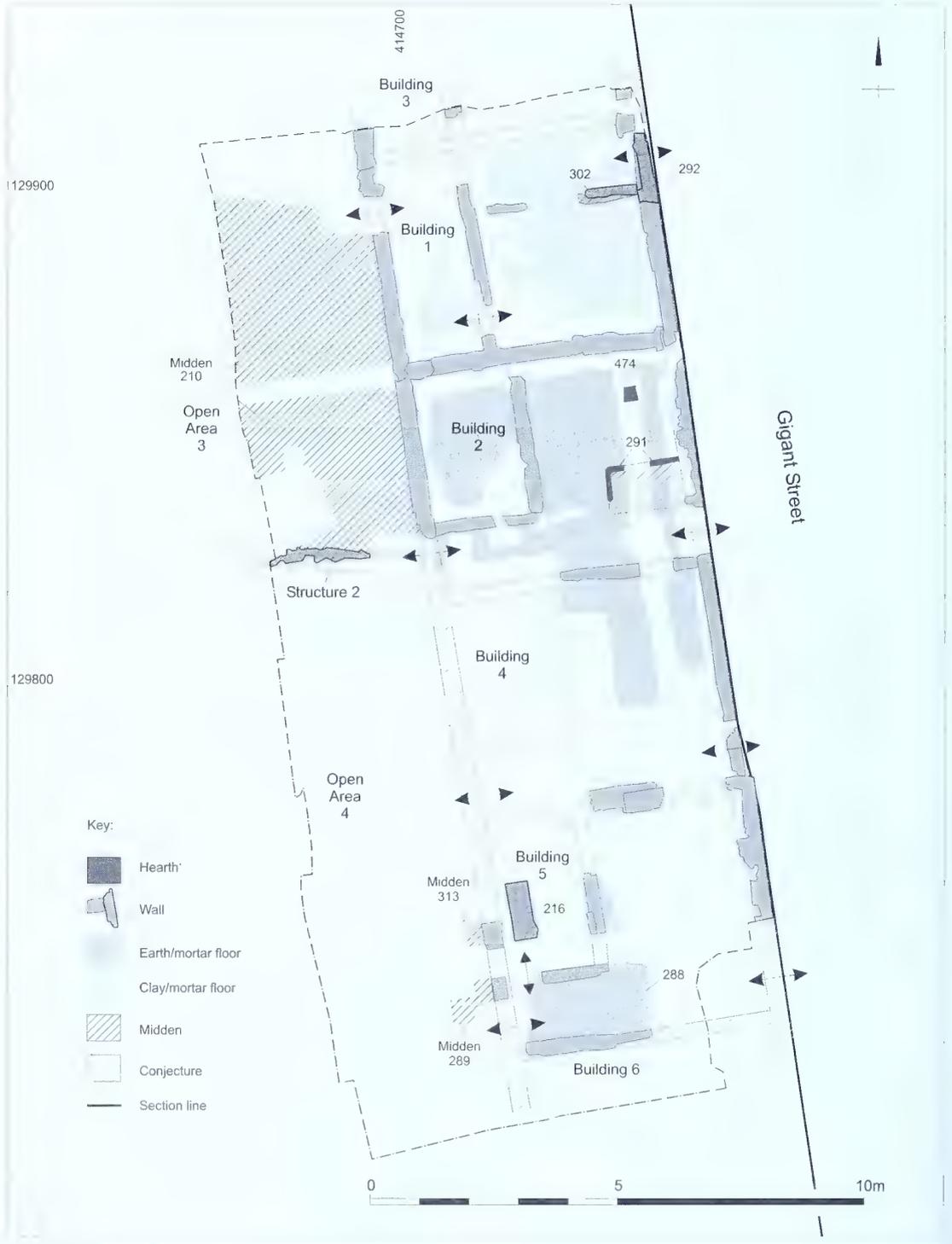
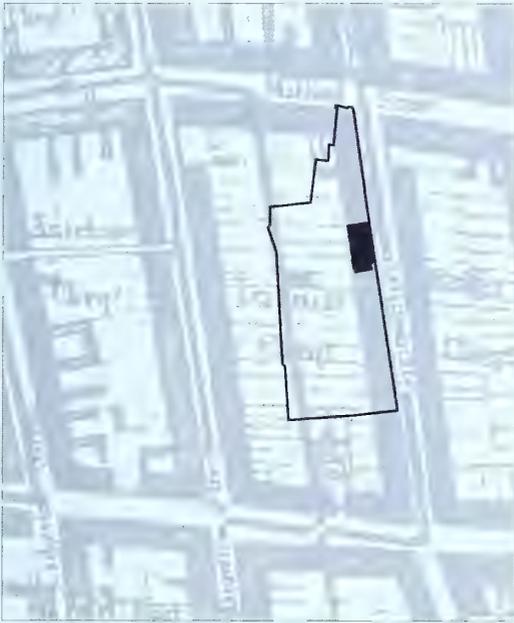
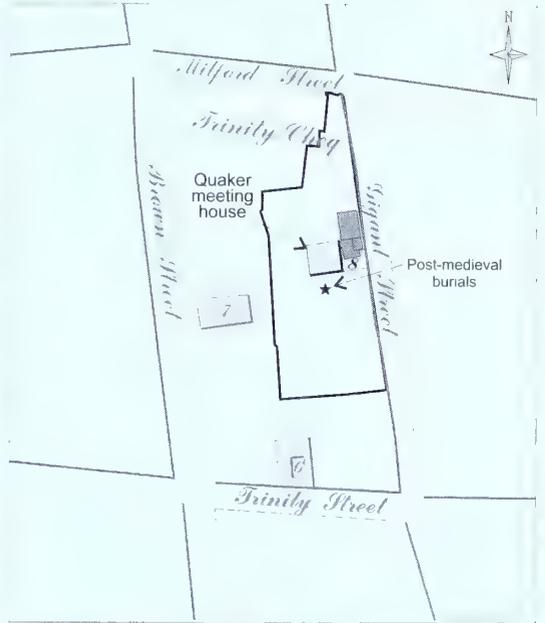


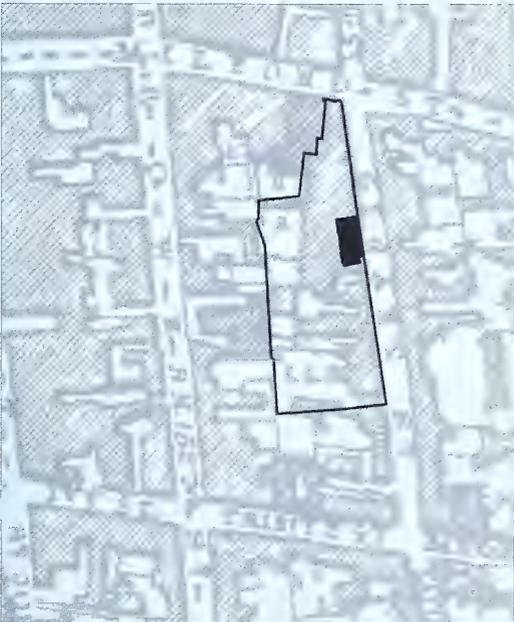
Fig. 12 Anchor Brewery Site: Plan of period 5



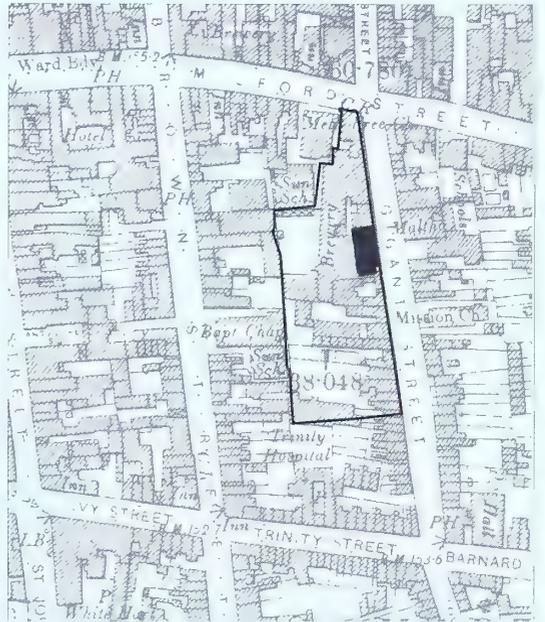
Naish 1751



from George Oakley Lucas 1833



Ordnance Survey 1879



Ordnance Survey 1900

Fig. 13 Anchor Brewery Site: Cartographic regression: Naish 1751; George Oakley Lucas 1833 (also showing position of excavated 18th century burials); Ordnance Survey 1879; Ordnance Survey 1900

to other property boundaries and assigned to this period on stratigraphic grounds, divided the former OA2 into two open areas, OA3 and OA4.

Evidence for function was limited as it was in previous periods. A tile lined box (474), 0.42m square

and 0.13m deep, apparently set into the floor of the main room of B2 may have been an ash trap beneath a no longer extant hearth or oven, since it was truncated. Its ash fill (473) contained charred cereal and other food remains (see below) and a jeton dated

1553–70 (see below). No pits occur in the excavated part of the ‘backlands’ areas, and there is no obvious difference between OA3 and OA4. A number of medieval midden deposits (210, 289, 313) were disturbed in this period, probably by the formation of garden soils which incorporated post-medieval pottery, possibly from the frontage buildings.

Many period 5 contexts are disturbed and poorly dated although most appear to be of late 16th to 17th century date. Garden soil (210) in OA3 includes 18th century Staffordshire-type mottled ware. The excavated period 5 buildings illustrated in Figure 12 may have survived as late as the mid-18th century, although the only evidence of this is the 1751 edition of William Naish’s map of Salisbury (Figure 13). While this may not show building arrangements entirely accurately, it does show a shallow range of properties along the Gigant Street frontage, with narrow east-west aligned tenement divisions. An 18th century stone lined cess pit (709, not illustrated), which must relate to a privy in the backland area, was found during the watching brief on the Quaker burial ground, below.

LATER DEVELOPMENT

Later deposits and features were rapidly removed and not recorded in detail. A tanning pit, a number of brick and concrete walls, surfaces, and a well were noted. Most relate to the development of the Anchor Brewery in the 19th and 20th century. These features are not illustrated in this report, but details can be found in the project archive. The expansion of the Anchor Brewery buildings over the site is illustrated by the 1879 and 1900 Ordnance Survey maps reproduced in Figure 13.

The Quaker burial ground

Just to the south of the main area of excavation, on the Gigant Street frontage, lay a Quaker meeting house with a burial ground attached. This was licensed in 1712/13 (*VCH* 1984, 157), and probably remained in use until 1827 (*VCH* 1989, 136). The number of individuals buried in the cemetery is unknown, and to date documentary evidence has been found for only four burials, interred between 1772 and 1784 (Baker 1906, 152–3). The location of the meeting house can be fixed by

reference to George Oakley Lucas’s map of Salisbury published in 1833 (Figure 13), and by the fact that its site is documented (J.Chandler, pers. comm.) to have become first an infant school (shown on the 1854 Board of Health plan WRO G23/701/1PC), and then a Temperance Hall. The exact position of the burial ground was not known, but assumed to lie in the open ground between the meeting house and Gigant Street shown on the 1833 map.

After the completion of the excavation, a watching brief was held on the machine excavation of service trenches for the new development. Although most of the route was devoid of significant archaeological deposits, two inhumation graves (703, 706) were recorded immediately south of the expected position of the meeting house (see Figure 13). The graves had been previously disturbed by construction work associated with the Anchor Brewery, probably in during the 1940s (local people reported that bodies had been moved, S. Webster, pers comm). The excavated burials are discussed in more detail below.

The more intact grave (703; Figure 14), of an adult male, was cut into a refuse pit whose fill (711) produced a pottery assemblage dated to the late 17th–early 18th century. The grave contained a single break lead coffin and traces of an outer wooden shell with elaborate handles, of a type prevalent from the mid 18th–mid 19th century (Reeve and Adams 1993, 78–83). No other dissenters’ burial grounds are known in the immediate area, and there seems little doubt that these interments were part of the Quaker cemetery. These findings suggest the cemetery lay to the south of the meeting house.



Fig. 14 Anchor Brewery Site: View of 18th century inhumation burial exposed during watching brief, 0.5m scale

POTTERY

by *Lorraine Mephram*

The complete pottery assemblage from the Anchor Brewery site comprises 2966 sherds (44,326g), all of medieval to post-medieval date. This includes 2542 sherds (32,712g) of medieval date which have been analysed in detail and are discussed here. This report focuses on the chronological implications for the site, and other information gained as a result of comparing this assemblage with other quantified assemblages from Salisbury (Mephram 2000).

Analysis of the medieval assemblage has focused on a detailed examination of fabric and vessel form, following the standard Wessex Archaeology recording system (Morris 1994) and utilising the previously published type series created for the assemblage from Ivy Street/Brown Street site (Mephram 2000). This type series is centred on the Laverstock-type products, which dominate the medieval assemblages of Salisbury and the surrounding region; other wares are present only in very small quantities. Fabric totals are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Anchor Brewery Site: Pottery fabric totals (medieval contexts)

<i>Fabric type</i>	<i>No. sherds</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
LAVERSTOCK-TYPE FINEWARES		
E420	144	1852
E421	378	5170
LAVERSTOCK-TYPE COARSEWARES		
E422a (quartz <1 mm)	35	783
E422b (quartz <0.5 mm)	511	7771
E422c (quartz <0.25 mm)	1346	15,391
<i>sub-total</i>	<i>1892</i>	<i>23,945</i>
OTHER FABRICS		
Kennet Valley chalk-tempered	3	26
West Wiltshire types	43	992
Flint-tempered (unknown source)	1	11
Bristol type	2	23
Donyatt white-slipped	3	14
Cheddar E	1	1
Coarse Border Ware	3	38
'Tudor Green'	31	106
Early Verwood	39	523
Imports	2	11
<i>sub-total</i>	<i>128</i>	<i>1745</i>
OVERALL TOTAL	2542	32,712

Post-medieval pottery has been quantified by known type where possible (e.g. Crockerton-type earthenware, Raeren stoneware), although certain broad types of unknown source (e.g. coarse redwares, stonewares) have not been subdivided here. Vessel forms have not been recorded for post-medieval wares, although the presence of less common forms has been noted. All data have been recorded on an Excel spreadsheet held in the project archive.

The medieval assemblage

Laverstock-type ware

Analysis has confirmed the primacy of the local Laverstock industry during the medieval period. Just under 95% of the total medieval assemblage (by weight) is composed of Laverstock-type coarsewares and finewares. Table 2 shows identifiable vessel forms by fabric; a summary of the vessel type series employed is given in Table 3.

The coarsewares (E422) are subdivided into three sub-types (a, b and c) on the basis of quartz inclusion size, with E422a at the coarser end of the spectrum. This subdivision may be somewhat arbitrary, but serves to illustrate broad chronological trends within the Salisbury assemblages, from coarser wares to finer variants, corresponding to the development from 'scratch-marked wares' to 'developed scratch-mark wares' (Musty *et al.* 1969, 105). The coarseware assemblage from Anchor Brewery is biased towards the finer variant E422c (approximately two-thirds of the coarseware assemblage by weight); the coarsest variant (E422a) is present only in very small quantities and is likely here to represent largely a residual element within the assemblage. However, residual early material does not occur exclusively in the coarsest fabrics; four possible sherds of 12th century tripod pitchers (identified on the basis of combed and applied decoration) are all in fabric E422b.

Apart from the possible tripod pitchers, most of the vessel forms identified (see Table 2) find parallels among the kiln assemblages from Laverstock (Musty *et al.* 1969), which now have a revised chronology of early 13th–early 14th century (Musty *et al.* 2001, 138–9). These include a range of jars (some handled), bowls and dishes (including 'West Country' dishes: Figure 15.5), skillets (Figure 15.2 and 9), possible curfews, a costrel and a tripod-footed cauldron. Forms which are not found at Laverstock include large coarseware jugs, possibly tripod-footed, smaller, rounded coarseware jugs and lid-seated jars, some handled. The large coarseware jugs (of which the best

Table 2. Anchor Brewery Site: Vessel form by fabric type (medieval contexts)

Form		Finewares		Coarsewares		
		E420	E421	E422a	E422b	E422c
Jar	Jar 1	-	-	-	4	8
	Jar 2	-	-	-	5	12
	Jar 3	-	-	-	1	2
	Jar 4	-	-	-	21	85
	Jar 9 (lid-seated)	-	-	-	1	-
Handled jar	Handled jar 5	-	-	-	-	3
	Handled jar 6	-	-	-	1	3
	Handled jar 7	-	-	-	-	3
Bowl/dish	Bowl/dish 2	-	-	-	1	3
	Bowl/dish 3	-	-	-	6	4
	Bowl/dish 4	-	-	-	4	1
	Bowl/curfew 5	-	-	1	2	8
	'West Country' dish	-	-	-	1	-
	Lateral handled bowl	-	-	-	-	1
	Skillet	Skillet: handles	-	-	-	-
	Skillet: pulled lips	-	-	-	-	3
Jug	Fineware jug: rims	3	16	-	-	-
	Fineware jug: handles	8	18	-	-	-
	Fineware jug: strut	-	1	-	-	-
	Fineware jug: baluster (bases)	3	2	-	-	-
	Coarseware jug: rims	-	-	-	4	8
	Coarseware jug: rounded (profile)	-	-	-	-	1
	Coarseware jug: handles	-	-	-	7	12
Misc. vessels	Costrel (lug)	-	-	-	-	1
	Cauldron (foot)	-	-	-	1	-
	Bottle	-	1	-	-	-
	Bird whistle	-	1	-	-	-
TOTAL		14	39	1	59	164

example comes from midden (384): Figure 15.10) possibly represent examples of a transitional form between the 12th century tripod pitchers and the 13th century jugs (Musty *et al.* 2001, cat. 81), while the squat, rounded jugs (again the best example, with red painted decoration, comes from (384): Figure 15.11) probably fall beyond the later end of the known Laverstock sequence, in the 14th century (*ibid.*, cats. 92, 118). Lid seated jars are likewise a later form, not appearing before the 14th century (*ibid.*, cats. 28, 30; Figure 15.1).

The finewares derive mainly from glazed jugs. In the absence of reconstructable profiles, any close dating of these vessels within a 13th–early 14th century date range must be tentative, and is based largely on decorative technique and handle form, although a few baluster bases (late 13th or early 14th century) are present. Examples of all the main Laverstock types can be identified, from the earliest types (horizontal combing and strap handles),

through the mid/late 13th century types (ring-and-dot stamps, stamped pads, trailed slip motifs and rod handles) to the latest examples with complex decoration (pads, prunts, slipped lattice). However, the bulk of the fineware sherds are undecorated (excluding stabbed and slashed handles, only 40 sherds carry decoration of any sort). The scarcity of evidence for the classic highly decorated Laverstock jug types is quite marked, but a similar pattern has been observed on other Salisbury sites (Mephram and Underwood 1990), suggesting that many of the jugs in use during this period may have been undecorated. It is also possible that some represent a later component, corresponding to the decline in the use of decoration during the 14th century.

Other forms in fineware fabrics include a bottle, possibly reused, with a post-firing perforation (Figure 15.13), and a whistle (Figure 15.14), the latter an uncommon form not paralleled at Laverstock – medieval examples are often in the form of birds.

Table 3. Anchor Brewery Site: Summary of Salisbury (medieval) vessel type series

<i>Form</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Jars (all profiles rounded)</i>	
Jar type 1:	Everted, long, slightly thickened, rounded rim; everted at c. 90° to body; orientation of rim varies from flared to almost horizontal, to give either a rounded or more upright (convex) body profile (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, fig. 7, rim type I).
Jar type 2:	Everted long, slightly thickened, rounded rim as Type 1, but with slight lid-seating. Equivalent to Laverstock rim type II (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, rim type II).
Jar type 3:	Everted, long, thickened & slightly moulded rim, sometimes with slight lid-seating, & more noticeable neck zone than Types 1 & 2. Broadly equivalent to Laverstock 'rim type III (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, rim type III/IV).
Jar type 4:	Everted, short simple rim, squared, sometimes with groove along top to give almost bifid profile (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, fig. 10.38).
Jar type 9:	Lid-seated jar (Musty <i>et al.</i> 2001, cats. 28, 30).
<i>Handled jars and related forms</i>	
Jar type 5:	Jar with flattened everted rim & strap handle(s) (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, fig. 9.31).
Jar type 6:	Jar with a type 4 rim, slightly concave to produce slight lid-seating, with strap handle(s) springing from rim, possibly a cauldron (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, fig. 11.48).
Jar type 7:	Jar with bifid rim, with strap handle(s) springing from rim (Mepham and Underwood 1990, ill. 6)
<i>Bowls and dishes</i>	
Bowl type 2:	Flared or slightly rounded bowls with thickened or everted rims (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, 52–4)
Bowl/Dish type 3:	Shallow rounded bowls or dishes with thickened rims, often with decoration (e.g. stabbing) on top of rim (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, fig. 12.55–7); some may be handled
Dish type 4:	Shallow dish, flared or slightly rounded (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, fig. 12.59–63)
Bowl/curfew type 5:	Large, thick-walled, flared bowls or curfews with thickened rims (Musty <i>et al.</i> 2001, cats. 260, 261)
Dish type 6:	Inturned or 'West Country' dish; acute base angle & upper half as jar (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, fig. 11.41–4).
<i>Skillets</i>	
Skillet	Profile as dish type 3, with attached straight rod or straight tubular handle; may have pulled lip; often with stabbed or slashed decoration on rim and handle (Musty <i>et al.</i> 1969, 49, Musty <i>et al.</i> 2001, cats. 40, 41)

Other wares

Other wares are scarce within the medieval assemblage, but derive from a geographically wide range of sources. The most common types within the earlier medieval assemblage (13th/14th century) comprise sandy, calcareous (chalk-tempered) and fine, micaceous wares which can be paralleled amongst the range of wares found in Warminster and which are taken to be products of the Crockerton industry (Smith 1997). These have a wide date range in the Warminster area from the 11th century right through the medieval period; there are few diagnostic sherds at the Anchor Brewery site beyond a couple of jug strap handles, probably of 13th century date. Other non-local coarsewares include chalk-tempered Kennet Valley wares (possibly from the Marlborough area) and whitewares from the Surrey/Hampshire

border. Products of the latter industry were reaching Salisbury from around the middle of the 14th century, although never more than sporadically (Musty *et al.* 2001, 137). Perhaps most interesting is the occurrence of a single small, highly abraded sherd of Cheddar fabric E (Peacock 1979), a 10th–early 12th century ware not so far recorded from Salisbury but found in Saxo-Norman contexts at Wilton (Andrews *et al.* 2000).

Other 13th and 14th century finewares came from the Bristol area and the Donyatt production centre. Neither type has previously been identified from Salisbury. The Donyatt ware has a probable date range in the latter part of the 14th century, and its appearance in Salisbury coincides with the expansion of the industry at that time (Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988, 393). Perhaps more

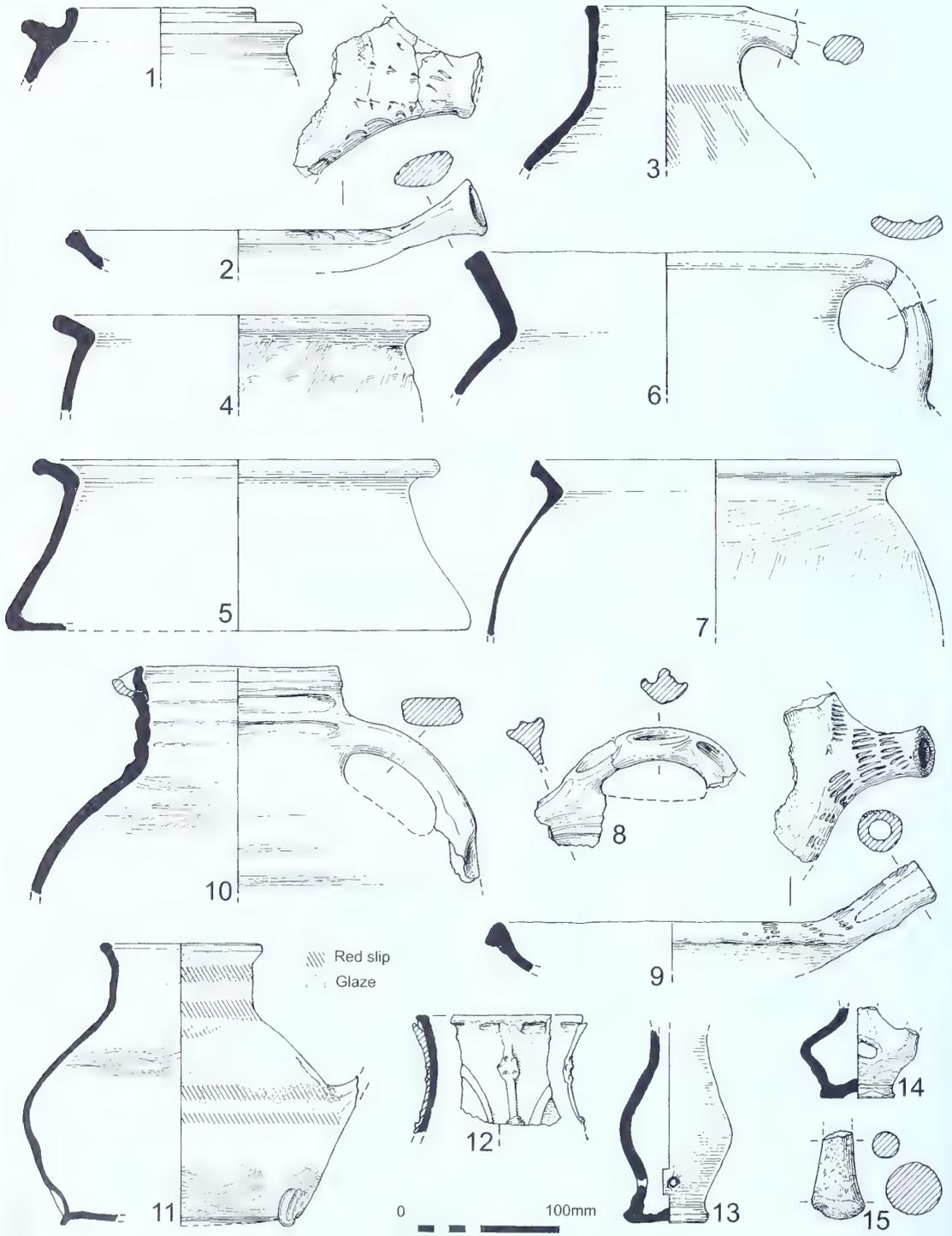


Fig. 15 Anchor Brewery Site: Selected ceramic vessels

interestingly there are two sherds which can be tentatively identified as Continental imports, probably from the Saintonge area; these are plain, glazed wares in a very fine, white-firing fabric. Imported wares have so far been only rarely recorded in Salisbury, despite the strong commercial links between Salisbury and the port of Southampton (Musty *et al.* 2001, 137; Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 17).

In later medieval contexts unglazed sandy wares occur of a type identified elsewhere in Salisbury as possible early Verwood wares, from the east Dorset industry (Mephram and Underwood 1990; Mephram 2000). Alternatively, given the similarity in colouring and quartz inclusions to the Laverstock wares, these could represent a later phase of pottery production in the Salisbury area. Also present in small quantities in later medieval contexts are sherds of 'Tudor Green' ware.

Catalogue of illustrated vessels (Figure 15)

1. Lid-seated jar rim; fabric E422b. PRN [Pottery Record Number] 145, period 5 gully fill 193.
2. Skillet handle; incised decoration; E422b. PRN 91, period 5 pit fill 169.
3. Decorated jug; red painted slip; E421. PRN 801, period 2 post-hole fill 512, within B2.
4. Jar type 1; E422b. PRN 841, organic layer 555 within period 1 dumps.
5. 'West Country' dish; scratchmarked; pre-firing perforation just above base; E422b. PRN 844, organic layer 555 within period 1 dumps.
6. Coarseware jug; applied strip down handle; E422a. PRN 839 organic layer 555 within period 1 dumps.
7. Jar type 4; E422c. PRN 569, period 3 midden deposit 384.
8. Lateral handled bowl; E422b. PRN 603, period 3 midden deposit 384.
9. Skillet handle; stabbed decoration, partial internal glaze; E422c. PRN 607, period 3 midden deposit 384.
10. Coarseware jug; partial glaze; E422b. PRN 551, period 3 midden deposit 384.
11. Coarseware jug; red painted decoration, scratchmarking, partial glaze; E422c. PRN 564, period 3 midden deposit 384.
12. Decorated jug; applied strips & prunts; applied pads on rim; E421. PRN 537, period 3 midden deposit 384.
13. Bottle; post-firing perforation just above base; E421. PRN 532, period 3 midden deposit 384.
14. Whistle; spout, rim & handle missing; E421. PRN 548, period 3 midden deposit 384.
15. Rod handle reused as pestle; glazed; E421. PRN 542, period 3 midden deposit 384.

Table 4. Anchor Brewery Site: Pottery from post-medieval contexts

<i>Fabric</i>	<i>No. sherds</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
E600: Redwares (unspecified sources)	47	422
E611: Border Ware	6	116
E620: Crockerton-type earthenware	20	297
E640: Verwood-type earthenware	287	9464
E636: N. Devon gravel-tempered ware	1	65
E606: Staffordshire-type mottled ware	2	9
E730: Tinglazed earthenware	16	440
E785: Raeren stoneware	6	214
E790: English stonewares	16	317
E805: White saltglaze	1	14
E740: Industrial wares	4	45
E750: Creamware	11	127
E751: Pearlware	4	15
E759: Jackfield ware	1	49
E830: Porcelain	1	9
E850: Bone china	1	11
TOTAL	424	11614

The post-medieval assemblage

The range of post-medieval wares observed here (Table 4) is similar to that seen on other Salisbury sites (e.g. Mephram 2000). The regional coarseware market was dominated by the Verwood industry of east Dorset from at least the 18th century, and this is reflected in the Anchor Brewery assemblage. Other coarseware types identified – Border Ware, North Devon and Crockerton types, and other unsourced redwares, are likely to date largely from the period before this near monopoly took place, and this is confirmed by their occurrence with sherds of 16th century Raeren stoneware. Other pre-industrial wares (17th/18th century) comprise English stonewares, tinglazed earthenwares, probably all English, and Staffordshire-/Bristol-type mottled ware.

Ceramic sequence and chronology

Apart from the single sherd of Cheddar fabric E, the earliest identifiable pottery from the site comprises a handful of possible 12th century tripod pitcher sherds, but these all occur as residual material in later contexts; there is no stratified pottery earlier than the 13th century. The stratigraphic sequence extends from a pre-building phase (period 1), through the construction, occupation and modification of B1–6 along the Gigant Street frontage (and the use of OA2–

4 to the rear) from the medieval period through to perhaps the mid 18th century. Pottery was recovered in varying quantities from the buildings although, as observed on other sites in Salisbury, the interior areas were relatively unproductive of pottery (or other artefact types), these presumably being disposed of mainly in the middens to the rear, the Town Ditch, or beyond the town limits. One large midden deposit (384), mostly of 13th–14th century date, was excavated to the rear of B4, with a second, smaller deposit (278), all 13th/14th century in date, behind B2. Pottery was also incorporated within garden soils to the rear of B1 and B2 (such as layer 210), but these deposits are more mixed, including both medieval and post-medieval material.

Pottery from the earliest stratified levels relates to activity on the site preceding construction of the dwellings along the Gigant Street frontage. Sherds incorporated in the soil build-up layers beneath B5 include Laverstock coarsewares in vessel forms datable to the early to mid 13th century (Figure 15.4–.6). The start of the building sequence in period 2 is poorly dated. Pottery from the layer (529) underlying both B1 and B2 is of generally 13th–14th century date (36 sherds). The presence in this context of a single sherd of glazed Crockerton-type ware and two sherds of Surrey whiteware (Coarse Border Ware), unlikely to be earlier than the mid 14th century, points to a problem of disturbance/intrusion. This is further illustrated by the appearance of later 14th and early 15th century coins in contexts which on stratigraphic grounds must fall early in period 2.

The only reasonable ceramic sequence from the buildings was observed in B1. That the use of the earliest building (period 2) continued into the latter part of the 14th century is confirmed by the presence of a single sherd of Donyatt white-slipped glazed ware from one of the hearths (519). Other pottery from this period comprises Laverstock-type coarse- and finewares, with few diagnostic forms (jar type 4, skillet). The following building phase (period 3) produced more Laverstock wares (jar types 1, 2, 4, bowl/curfew, cauldron, decorated jugs), but also a single sherd of 15th century ‘Tudor Green’ ware from a partition wall (361), which may be intrusive, as the footing was disturbed by a later robbing trench. However, in the next phase (period 4) the presence of ‘Tudor Green’, early redwares and early Verwood wares along with residual medieval wares suggests a date range of 15th to 16th century. The latest phase (period 5) produced Raeren stonewares, later Verwood type earthenwares and tinglazed earthenwares, with a potential date range of 16th–18th century.

Outside the buildings, three large pottery groups warrant further comment: midden deposits (384) and (278), and the group from garden soil (210). Both midden deposits were associated with buildings, located immediately behind B1 and B2 respectively. The largest group came from (384) (854 sherds; 10,897g). All but three sherds (all of Crockerton type medieval wares) are in Laverstock-type wares. Vessel forms include jars of types 1, 2 and 4 (Figure 15.7), bowls and dishes of type 3, skillets (Figure 15.9), a lateral-handled bowl (Figure 15.8), heavy-rimmed bowls or curfews, coarseware jugs (Figure 15.10 and 11), decorated fineware jugs (Figure 15.12) and two uncommon forms – a bottle and a whistle (Figure 15.13 and 14). One fineware rod handle appears to have been reused, perhaps as a pestle (Figure 15.15). There are a few sherds of possible 12th century tripod pitchers, but the date range for the bulk of the group appears to span the period from around the middle of the 13th century into the early part of the 14th century. Midden deposit (278) is of very similar character and date range, although considerably smaller (62 sherds; 856g), including Laverstock-type wares in jar forms (types 2 and 4), handled jars, bowls and dishes (types 3 and 4), skillets, decorated jugs and a handled jar. Given their position, these midden deposits ought to correspond to the earliest phases of B1 and B2.

A similar range of material was recovered from garden soil (210) (315 sherds; 3724g) – decorated fineware jugs, jars of types 1, 2 and 4, handled jars (types 5, 6 and 7), bowls and dishes (types 2 and 3), skillets. This group also included a single sherd of imported Saintonge ware. Most of this group could be dated as 13th to mid 14th century, but there are a handful of later (15th/16th century) sherds – ‘Tudor Green’, early redware and early Verwood ware, perhaps indicating an earlier midden disturbed by the formation of a garden soil in period 4 or 5.

OTHER FINDS

Ceramic building material

by Rachel Every

A total of 6859 fragments (457,854g) of ceramic building material (CBM) was recovered, largely from demolition deposits and floor layers. Most consists of roof tile fragments, including flat peg tiles, ridge tiles and possible louvers. The bulk of this material is likely to be medieval, but use of the roof tiles continued into the post-medieval period and many

Table 5 Anchor Brewery Site: Ceramic building material types (medieval contexts)

Type	Sub-type	No. frags.	Weight (g)
Roof	flat (peg) tile	3544	244,099
	nibbed tile	4	823
	hip tile	1	166
	curved tile	14	4376
	ridge tile	17	2742
	?louver/finial	6	367
Floor	plain floor tile	5	1693
	decorated floor tile	2	412
Brick/hearth tile	brick	59	16,332
	hearth tile	88	20,583
TOTAL		3740	291,593

may have been reused in later structures. The tile from medieval contexts only has been quantified by type (Table 5).

Tile from 50 stratified medieval contexts has been subjected to fabric analysis. Seven fabrics were identified (details in archive), of which at least one can be compared to the products of the Laverstock kilns. The fabrics are irregular and handmade, with varying frequencies of quartz sand, prominent iron oxides and occasional flint inclusions, several are noticeably pale-firing (pale pink to buff). Such fabrics are commonly found in south-east Wiltshire and west Hampshire; a number of possible local sources for roof tiles are documented from the late 14th century, including Alderbury, Mottisfont and Tytherley (Hare 1991). Alderbury, 5km from Salisbury, is the closest known potential source, and was producing roof tiles at least from the mid 14th to the late 15th century (*ibid.*, 89). In the Salisbury area flat tiles were manufactured separately from ridge tiles and more elaborate roof furniture, which were made alongside pottery vessels at centres such as Laverstock (Musty *et al.* 1969).

The assemblage consists largely of peg tiles, with paired rounded perforations. These were recovered from building and demolition layers across the site. A small proportion is glazed, the glaze covering the bottom third of the tile. In addition, four nibbed tiles came from the period 1 oven (587) in the south of the site. This is one of the earliest features on the site and these tiles have not previously been encountered from Salisbury.

A single example of a hip or valley tile, a curved triangular tile used to cover the hip or valley of the roof, was found. Hip tiles, as made at Laverstock, generally have a single perforation at the apex while

valley tiles are unperforated (Musty *et al.* 2001) – this example is incomplete and lacks the apex.

A small number of curved tiles and ridge tiles (Figure 16.1) were identified, most of which are partially glazed with knife cut crests. These were recovered from layers associated with hearths in B2, floor layers in B1, and pit (290), B2 post-hole (513), the passage of B5 (394) and B1 hearth (519).

Two fragments of more elaborate roof furniture were identified, probably deriving from finials (decorative elements used on gable ends and elsewhere on roof ridges), in a fabric comparable to Laverstock-type fineware pottery fabrics. One fragment, from a layer associated with B1, has applied, finger-impressed decoration, but the original form is uncertain. Other fragments came from a layer in the south of the site, comprising a cylindrical element and a spherical element, both probably deriving from the same object (Figure 16.2 & 3). These objects have been extensively discussed by Dunning (e.g. 1968), and other examples are well known across central southern England, including Salisbury (Musty *et al.* 2001, cats 307–9) where examples are in the form of a cylinder surmounted by a ball, as seems to be the case here.

Floor tiles are less common in the assemblage, and were recovered from five medieval contexts. No complete examples were recovered. Three tiles are decorated, of which one carries a legible design (Figure 16.4) so far unknown among Wessex tiles.

A small number of hearth tile fragments were recovered from post-medieval hearths. One near complete example was recovered from a period 5 repair (336) to the hearth in B1. The earlier, medieval hearths were all constructed with pitched flat roof tiles.

Coins and jetons

by Nicholas A. Wells

Ten coins/jetons of the Roman, medieval and post-medieval periods were found, ranging in date from AD 313 to 1586. Three are silver, the remainder copper alloy.

1. SF33, period 5, B4, floor (215). Æ2 Nummus. Rev: SOLI INVICTO COMITI, mint: Trier, AD 313–15, diam 20mm, wt 3.1g (Bruun 1966, Trier 40).
2. SF113, period 5, OA3, garden soil (210). Edward III long cross penny, 3rd (Florin) coinage, mint: London, AD 1344–51, diam 19mm, wt 1.4g (North 1991, 1114).
3. SF68, period uncertain, B2, wall repair (268). Long cross halfpenny, mint: uncertain, AD 1279–1377, diam

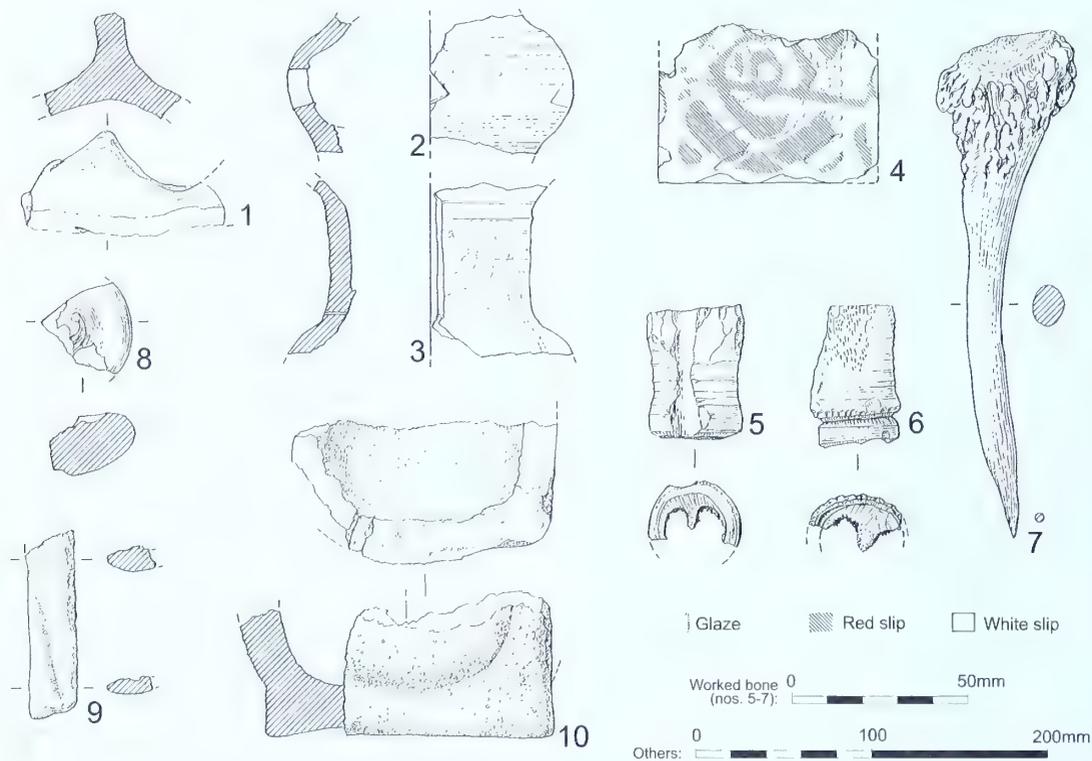


Fig. 16 Anchor Brewery Site: Selected other finds: ceramic building material, stone, and bone

- 15mm, wt 0.8g.
4. SF138, period 2, B1/2, wall (515), intrusive. Jeton. Rev: rampant lion/Four lis in ornamental tressure, mint: uncertain, c. AD 1344–1400, diam 27mm, wt 9.2g (Mitchiner 1988, 255 var).
 5. SF110, period 2, B2, make-up (385), intrusive. Henry V halfgroat (2d). Rev: long cross, mint: Canterbury, AD 1413–22, diam 18mm, wt 1.7g. Heavily clipped, hence low wt.
 6. SF29, period 5, B1, make-up (200). Jeton. Rev: orb/ship type, mint: Nuremburg, c. AD1525, diam 21mm, wt 1.2g (Mitchiner 1988, 189).
 7. SF30, period 5, B1, make-up (200). Jeton. Rev: lion rampant/straight cross fleuretty type, mint: Flanders?, early 15th century, diam 29mm, wt 4g (cf. Mitchiner 1988, 784–9).
 8. SF36, modern drain (127). Jeton. Rev: shield of France/arcuate cross fleuretty type, mint: Tournai, 15th century, diam 27mm, wt 3.8g.
 9. SF200, period 5, B2, ash fill of tile structure (473). Jeton. Rev: rose/orb type of Hans Schultes, mint: Nuremburg, c. AD 1553–70, diam 24mm, wt 1.7g (Mitchiner 1988, 1363). Two opposing dimples pressed into the obverse.

10. SF69, modern brickwork (110). Jeton. Rev: rose/orb type of Hans Krauwinkel – RECHEN+ PFENIG+ NVRENBEB. Mint: Nuremburg, AD 1580–86, diam 24mm, wt 1.3g (Mitchiner 1988, 1486–89).

None of the coins and jetons is particularly unusual – the assemblage is typical for any urban medieval site. The small size of the assemblage precludes any attempt at a statistical analysis and the dangers of using coins as dating evidence in medieval sites has been well explored (e.g. Archibald 1988). Jetons are even less reliable because they were not used as coins but as reckoning counters (Grierson 1975, 162–5). Although their designs were based on original coins, subsequent mass production at a variety of centres meant that the lettering often became blundered. A secondary function was as gaming pieces. Copies of earlier types were prevalent and any jeton assemblage could be evidence of accounting, gaming – or both.

The Roman coin most probably functioned as a reckoning counter/gaming piece rather than a coin though it has been theorised that such curios did circulate as low denomination coinage (Dyer 1997, 40) during the medieval period. Similarly jetons may

have functioned as some form of token coinage before the official introduction of bronze coinage in the 17th century (Archibald 1988, note 3) but there is no archaeological or literary evidence for this.

Metalwork

by Rachel Every

The copper alloy assemblage comprises 66 objects, mainly of pins and other clothing-related accessories. Most were from layers within the buildings, especially B1. They include 19 generally small, round headed pins, probably used for fastening clothes, or possibly as hair pins (Margeson 1993, 11); one pin/needle; 11 lace ends or 'aiglets' dating from the 15th century onwards; 8 twisted wire eyelets (Figure 17.1) used as clothes fasteners from the 15th century and 3 buckles, one of which has decoration on one side with traces of white metal plating. A small fitting, perhaps from a belt, with perforations at both ends and grooved decoration (Figure 17.2), a cast pellet bell of early post-medieval type (Moorhouse 1971, 59; Figure 17.3) with a rounded suspension lug and a small rectangular perforation on the side and a possible spatula (Figure 17.4) similar to spoon-probes of Roman sites (Crummy 1983, fig. 65, cat. 1931) were also recovered. The remaining objects include miscellaneous fragments of strip, sheet, rod, ring and wire.

A total of 363 generally very corroded iron objects was recovered. These are mainly nails (254 examples), recovered mostly from floor layers associated with B1, with smaller quantities from B2 and B4, together with a small number of other structural items, including three U-staples, a ring and hook, and a stake 'shoe'. Two 'D'-shaped buckles, a type very popular in both medieval and post-medieval times (Margeson 1993, 32), 7 possible blades, a chisel from a modern well (109) and a possible knife were also recovered as well as miscellaneous and undatable sheet, strip and rod fragments, or unidentified objects

Five fragments (122g) of lead, comprising three waste/offcut fragments, one rod and a possible decorative fitting were found in layers associated with buildings. In addition, the remains of one severely damaged post-medieval lead coffin were recovered.

Bone, glass and stone

by Rachel Every

Four worked bone objects were recovered: two possible handle fragments (period 5 or later; Figure 16.5 and 6) an awl made from a red deer antler from a period 4 posthole (333) in B1 (Figure 16.7), and a sawn red deer antler off-cut from the period 3 midden (278) behind B2. This last is potential evidence of on-site bone-working, albeit on a very small scale.

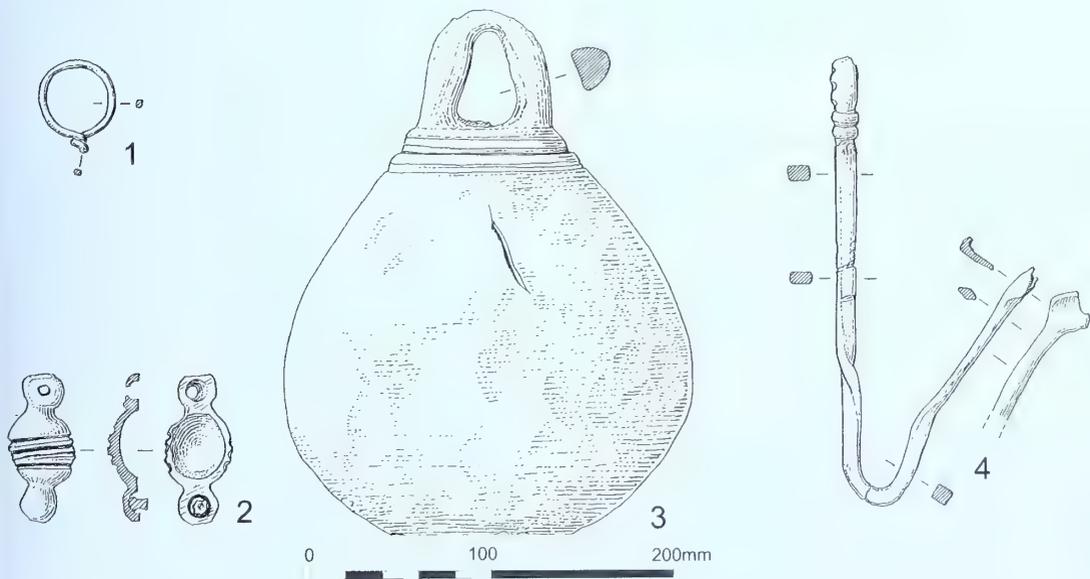


Fig. 17 Anchor Brewery Site: Selected metal objects

Glass, mostly post-medieval bottle glass, with a small amount of modern window and vessel glass, was recovered from various features across the site in small amounts (158 fragments). A period 5 cess pit (709) contained a minimum of two possible mallet/cylindrical type bottles, dated *c.* 1725–80 (Abrahams 1987). The only glass object present is a fragment of a linen smoother (Figure 16.8), a relatively uncommon medieval object. This came from a layer of possibly medieval garden soil (407) to the north of the period 3 midden (384), and has been heavily burnt. The object would have been used after the weaving process to smooth the fabric and produce the characteristic shine (Margeson 1993, 138). A comparable object has been recovered from Old Sarum (Wessex Archaeology 2000f).

Seventy-six fragments of stone, weighing 14,489g, were recovered from building and demolition layers across the site. Portable objects consist of micaceous schist whetstones, three flint hammerstones, a fragment of a limestone mortar (Figure 16.10) and a small, roughly spherical, perforated chalk object, possibly a spindlewhorl.

Architectural fragments recovered, mostly in Hurdcott stone, comprise a single ashlar cylindrical moulding, a door jamb, a door pivot, and four fragments of window tracery. All were found in residual contexts or reused as rubble. Some of these, particularly the window tracery, probably derive from more substantial buildings elsewhere in Salisbury or Old Sarum. The remaining stone building material includes a small amount of floor/roof tile in limestone and slate.

HUMAN BONE

by *Jacqueline I. McKinley*

Human bone from the remains of two inhumation burials, one an un-enclosed deposit of probable 13th century date (470) and an 18th century deposition (701) made in a wood-lined lead coffin (not sealed at time of excavation), was received for analysis. Bone was recovered from one other 18th century burial during excavation (703) but insufficient for analysis.

Age was assessed from the stage of skeletal and tooth development (Beek 1983; McMinn and Hutchings 1985), the length of immature diaphyses (Bass 1987), and the patterns and degree of age-related changes to the bone (Brothwell 1972; Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). Sex was ascertained from the sexually dimorphic traits of the skeleton

(Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). Stature was estimated in accordance with Trotter and Gleser (1952; 1958). Other measurements were taken where possible in accordance with Brothwell (1972, 79–81 and 85–7). A record of morphological variations was made following Berry and Berry (1967) and Finnegan (1978). Full details are held in the archive.

A summary of results is presented in Table 6. The following comments concentrate on the 18th century burial (701). The bone was all in good condition. Much of the bone from burial (701) – which still had fragments of the coarse cloth shroud and degraded wood lining adhering to the bone in places – was stained dark brown, presumably due to the proximity of the degrading wood. As a result of disturbance the skeletal remains were incomplete.

The stature of the adult male was estimated from the only full surviving long bone (the humerus) at 1.73m (*c.* 5' 7 3/4"). This is within the range and close to the mean obtained from the contemporaneous cemeteries at Spitalfields, London (Molleson and Cox 1993) and Holy Trinity, Coventry (McKinley 1999), of 1.68/1.70m (5' 6") and 1.72m (5' 7 1/2") respectively. The figures are not dissimilar to those from earlier British populations.

The adult male dentition showed evidence for heavy and extensive periodontal disease (gum infection), particularly in the distal alveolus. Calculus (calcified tartar) deposits were mild-moderate. Of the 32 socket positions six had suffered *ante mortem* tooth loss (rate 19%), predominantly of the anterior maxillary teeth. Small occlusal carious lesions were observed in two of the 18 remaining teeth (rate 11%; maxillary molars). Apical abscesses were recorded in four sockets (12%).

The rate of attrition was very low with only moderate polishing of the occlusal surfaces and no exposure of dentine, suggesting a much younger age for this individual than was implied by other skeletal evidence. These low attrition rates and the presence of occlusal caries lend support to the individual having consumed the type of diet discussed by Whitaker (1993) of soft foods containing refined carbohydrates and possibly refined sugars – though the probable general availability of the latter discussed by Molleson and Cox (1993, 46–7) should be considered.

The discomfort of an impacted 'wisdom' tooth, erupting at 90 degrees with its biting edge butting the neighbouring tooth (see Table 6), is something with which many will be able to sympathise. The only consolation for this individual is likely to have been that given the poor state of the rest of his

Table 6. Anchor Brewery Site: Summary of human remains

<i>Context</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>% survival and skel. elements</i>	<i>Age/sex</i>	<i>Pathology</i>
470	13th century	c.15% s.a.u.	neonate	
701	18th century	c.30% s.a.u.	adult ?male c.35–55 years	<i>Ante mortem</i> tooth loss – 5 maxillary; abscess – 3 maxillary, 1 mandibular; caries – 2 maxillary; periodontal disease; calculus; calcified thyroid cartilage; osteophytes – C6-7 bsm, T6-7 bsm; pitting T3-4 & T7 rib facet, T6 articular process, right sterno-clavicular; Schmorl's nodes – T6-9; morphological variation – heavily impacted mandibular left M3, right M3 rotated 90°, chipped mandibular left P2, accessory rootlet left M2

Key: s.a.u.l. – skull, axial skeleton, upper limb, lower limb; C – cervical; T – thoracic; M – molar; P – premolar

dentition, the discomfort of multiple abscesses and untreated caries, his impacted molar may have been of little consequence.

The spinal lesions (Table 6) are indicative of episodes of acute back strain rather than sustained heavy loading, though some may relate to age-related wear or the early stages of osteoarthritis (Rodgers and Waldron 1995). Signs of soft tissue calcification probably also relate to the ageing process.

The context of the neonatal remains is open to question (see period 2, S1, above). Newborns that died before they could be baptised could not be buried in consecrated ground and there was often a specific area set aside for them adjacent to the main burial place delineated by a ditch or wall. Several possible factors may have been instrumental in this child's deposition. If it occurred in period 1, it may have been an unwanted live birth subject to exposure in a relatively unoccupied area. The child may have died at or soon after birth and the mother, possibly trying to hide the fact that she had had the child, may have concealed its body. If interred in period 2, it may have been deliberately buried beneath the floor of S1. The 'shroud fee' charged for 'official' burial may have been prohibitive for the parents of so young a being which neither they nor anyone else had come to know and which had not been baptised before it died.

The 18th century burial appears to have been made in the small burial ground attached to the Quaker meeting house on Gigant Street (above, period 5). Four interments made in the burial ground between 1772 and 1784 are documented (Baker 1906), with that of Mr. James Moore, a retired clothier of 'an advanced age' and 'a man of fortune and good character' on 17th October 1778,

representing the only male. It is not known how many burials were made at the Quaker burial ground, which appears to have been very small (see Figure 13). With such limited evidence, the identity of burial (701) must remain unknown. The age range attributed to the individual is very broad. There is some evidence to suggest the individual may have been wealthy – possibly enjoying (or not, given the state of his teeth) a sugar-rich diet of processed foods. He was clearly not subject to heavy manual labour though he had experienced some back strain.

ENVIRONMENTAL EVIDENCE

A series of bulk soil samples (average size c. 10 litres) was taken and processed by standard flotation methods (flots on 0.5mm mesh and residues retained on 1mm mesh). Following assessment of the flots samples were selected for the analysis of charred plant remains and charcoal and the relevant remains were sorted and extracted from the residues.

Plant remains by Pat Hinton

Eight samples selected for analysis of plant remains were examined with a binocular microscope at 7–40x magnification. Totals of very small fragile items such as moss stem fragments and heather and bracken parts were estimated. The plant taxa are listed according to preferred habitat or probable source in Table 7. All are represented by seeds (which term includes caryopses, achenes etc.) unless

Table 7. Anchor Brewery Site: Plant remains

Land-use Feature type/no.	B1		B2		B5		OA2			
	Hearth 520	Layer/floor	Floor	Struc- ture 474	Cut 394	Layer 316	Mid- den			
Period	2	4	5	3	5	3	5	3		
Context	518	295	223	360	473	366	288	384		
Sample	1053	1044	1023	1051	1048	1038	1031	1039		
Sample volume (L)	7	5	10	9	10	10	7	9		
Cultivated:cereals										
<i>Triticum</i> cf. <i>aestivum</i>		bread wheat	3	-	-	-	3	-	5	8
<i>Triticum</i> sp. – grains		unspecified wheat	4	2	1	3	2	3	3	32
		– rachis fragment								1
<i>Hordeum</i> cf. <i>vulgare</i>		hulled barley	14	-	-	3	-	2	?1	5
cf. <i>Avena</i> sp.		oats	16	-	-	3	-	-	?1	-
Cerealia indet. – grain frags. (ml.)		indeterminate cereals	0.75	<0.5	<0.5	1.0	0.5	<0.5	<0.5	0.5
?Cereal/?organic – fragments (ml.)			0.5	0.5	0.75	<0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Cultivated: legumes										
cf. <i>Pisum sativum</i>		pea	1	-	-	-	?1m	?1m	-	-
Cultivated/wild/imported										
<i>Humulus lupulus</i>		hops	-	-	-	-	-	-	c.100u	-
Arable/ruderal/grassland plants										
<i>Chenopodium album</i> L.		fat hen	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
<i>Stellaria media/neglecta</i>		common or greater chickweed	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
								1m		
<i>Fallopia convolvulus</i> Á.Löve		black bindweed	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
		– testa frags.								
<i>Rumex</i> sp.		dock	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>Malva</i> cf. <i>sylvestris</i>		common mallow	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
<i>Brassica</i> cf. <i>nigra</i>		black mustard	-	-	-	-	-	1m	1	-
cf. <i>Brassica</i> sp.		cabbage/turnip etc	-	-	-	-	-	5m	?1m	?2m
cf. <i>Potentilla</i> sp.		cinquefoil	-	-	-	-	-	1m	-	-
<i>Vicia hirsuta/tetrasperma</i>		hairy or smooth tare	-	-	-	-	-	?2	1	1
<i>Vicia</i> cf. <i>sativa</i>		common vetch	2	-	-	-	?2	-	-	1
<i>Vicia/Lathyrus</i> sp.		vetch/vetchling	3	-	-	-	?1m	1	-	?2m
<i>Trifolium</i> sp.		clover	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
<i>Fabaceae</i> indet.		pea family	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Conium maculatum</i> L.		hemlock	-	-	-	-	-	1u	-	-
cf. <i>Apium graveolens</i> L.		wild celery	-	-	-	-	-	1m	-	-
<i>Plantago lanceolata</i> L.		ribwort plantain	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Galium aparine</i> L.		cleavers	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Anthemis cotula</i> L.		stinking chamomile	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Tripleurospermum inodorum</i> (L.) Sch.Bip		scentless mayweed	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cf. <i>Carex nigra</i>		common sedge	-	-	-	-	-	1m	-	-
<i>Carex</i> sp.		sedge	-	-	-	-	-	1m	-	-
<i>Festuca/Lolium</i> sp.		fescue or rye grass	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
<i>Poaceae</i> indet.		indeterminate grasses	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Heathland										
Musci spp. – stem fragments		mosses	c.50	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
<i>Pteridium aquilinum</i> (L.) Kuhn		bracken	10	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
<i>Calluna vulgaris</i> L.		heather, ling	c.100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		– flowers & seed capsules								
		– leaves	c.75							
<i>Erica cinerea</i> L. – flowers & capsules		bell heather	c.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		– leaves	c.25							
cf. <i>Erica tetralix</i> – leaves		cross-leaved heath	c.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Calluna/Erica</i> sp. – seed			1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Danthonia decumbens</i> (L.) DC		heath grass	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Woodland/scrub

<i>Corylus avellana</i> L. – nut shell frags.	hazel	8	-	1	6	8	7	-	5
<i>Rubus fruticosus</i> agg.	bramble	-	-	-	-	-	1u	-	-
<i>Fragaria vesca</i> L.	wild strawberry	-	-	-	-	-	2m	-	-
<i>Prunus</i> cf. <i>spinosa</i> – stone fragment	blackthorn, sloe	1m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cf. <i>Malus sylvestris</i>	crab apple	-	-	-	-	-	-	1m	-
<i>Sambucus nigra</i> L. – testa frags.	elder	1u	-	-	-	-	5u	1u	5u

Miscellaneous

unidentified seeds		2	-	-	?1m	-	2m	-	1m
unidentified fragments		2m	-	-	2m	3m	2m	-	3m

Key: u = uncharred; m = mineralised; all others are charred

otherwise stated. The condition of some of the seeds, particularly mineralised, is such that identification is to comparative level only and these are listed as 'cf'. Nomenclature and order accords with Stace 1997, and scientific names are used only at first mention.

Charred cereals, mostly not well preserved, were found in all contexts and hazel (*Corylus avellana*) nut shell fragments in all but two. Mineralised seeds and unidentifiable fragments were present in five contexts and uncharred, but apparently contemporaneous, seeds in four.

Building 1

The period 2 hearth (520) produced many cereals, seeds and other plant parts. A few cereal grains in better condition can be identified as wheat (*Triticum* sp.), including bread wheat type (*Triticum* cf. *aestivum*) and more as hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and oats (*Avena* sp.), in almost equal quantities. There was no obvious sign among the sufficiently well preserved barley of the characteristic twisted grain of 6-row barley and there are no diagnostic floret parts to indicate whether the oats are cultivated or weed species. As in the other contexts there are numerous small fragments, probably of cereals, but possibly other organic matter.

There are few legume seeds. One almost complete at 5.0mm diameter is within the range of pea (*Pisum sativum*) but there is no trace of the hilum to confirm. A smaller seed may be common vetch (*Vicia sativa*) and there are also a few cotyledon fragments. Other charred parts are from plants of fields, other open disturbed places and heathland.

A small proportion of the flot but numerically dominant are flowers, seed capsules and leaves of ericaceous plants. Most are very small and incomplete but among them are the typical flowers and globose seed capsules of heather/ling (*Calluna vulgaris*) and the more cylindrical capsules of bell

heather (*Erica cinerea*). Leaves include those of heather, mainly as shoot tips, the less tightly inrolled leaves of bell heather and some slightly broader with a few hairs suggesting cross-leaved heath (*Erica tetralix*). There are many intermediate fragments of flower parts and leaves but the majority of flowers appear to be ling. Pinnules of bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and fragile moss stem fragments, some with the branching habit of mat-forming species, are very likely to have come from the same acidic heathy area. Heath-grass (*Danthonia decumbens*), included in the same sample, is typical but will also grow in infertile calcareous soils.

Also from the hearth are a few mineralised, or possibly partly mineralised, items. One is most like a fragment of *Prunus* sp. fruit stone. The fragment, 4.3 x 3.3mm, is a small part of the hilum, the stoutest part of the endocarp, with very little surviving on either side but blackthorn/sloe (*Prunus spinosa*) seems to provide the closest match. Another smaller detached fragment could possibly be part of its embryo or seed. A third item, mid-brown, irregular but roughly spherical and c. 1.5mm in diameter, may be a seed but is unidentified.

Two floor samples contained few traces of charred plant remains. A period 4 floor (295) had few identifiable remains and included fragments of grey chalky material sometimes with incorporated fragments of charcoal, bone, shell and gravel. These pieces are brittle and easily broken and are not typically mineralised. A period 5 floor (223) included only one poorly preserved grain of wheat and several small unidentifiable cereal fragments. Other pieces may be cereal or other charred organic matter.

Building 2

The few charred remains from the period 3 floor (360) include wheat, barley, oats and hazel. Less than 1ml of small vesiculated fragments are presumed to be cereal, and a few other charred pieces may well be

part of a larger mass of cereal or other organic matter. Three items are mineralised; one possibly a seed.

In contrast to the period 2 hearth in B1, only wheat grains, three of bread wheat type and others identifiable only to genus, were identified in the ash fill of the period 5 tile-lined feature (474). A few cereal and other possible organic fragments include some of tarry or coal-like appearance, parts of a larger mass. There are a few charred seeds and nut shell fragments and further evidence of heathland plant usage in four bracken pinnule fragments, and a moss stem tip with leaves.

This hearth sample also included three mineralised seeds with matt fawn surface. One showing an amorphous pale cream opaque interior is probably part of a vetch or pea cotyledon. (cf. *Vicia sativa* or *Pisum sativum*) the other is more lenticular in shape, c. 3mm in diameter with a dark patch on the circumference, which may relate to the hilum. This is likely to be a small *Vicia* or *Lathyrus* species. The third is an incomplete fragment.

Building 5

Material accumulating in a medieval erosion hollow or drain (394) in the passage contained charred wheat and barley, weed seeds and hazel nut fragments and also the greatest number of mineralised seeds and fragments. Some of these are dull, cream-coloured and opaque, others lighter and amber-like and some are fragmentary, possibly damaged before mineralisation. Tentatively identified seeds include chickweed (cf. *Stellaria*), Cinquefoil (*Potentilla*), wild strawberry (*Fragaria vesca*), and grasses (Poaceae). Small (c. 1.5–2mm) spherical items, featureless except for a small circular perforation in two are possibly seeds of small vetches or cabbage, mustard etc. (*Brassica* spp.). One larger item (c. 5.0mm, more or less plano-convex with cream opaque external surface but yellow-brown amorphous internal structure suggests a cotyledon of pea or vetch. Unidentified are two spherical possible seeds, <2mm., with light brown surface and shiny jet-like crystalline fill. One is fused with fragments of chalk and bone. More certainly identified are wild celery (*Apium graveolens*), a bi-convex seed of common sedge (*Carex nigra*) and a trigonous seed of another *Carex* sp. and, by its pronounced reticulate surface, black mustard (*Brassica* cf. *nigra*). There are also uncharred, and possibly not recent, seeds of hemlock (*Conium maculatum*), bramble (*Rubus fruticosus*), and elder (*Sambucus nigra*).

Charred material from a post-medieval (period 5) occupation layer (288) in the passage is similar to

that from the other buildings and includes bread wheat, probable hulled barley, oat, two weed seeds and indeterminate fragments of cereal and other organic material.

Mineralised items include a probable pip of crab apple (*Malus sylvestris*). The surface is dull light cream and cracked in parts showing glimpses of the light brown inner seed. Another, c. 2mm, dull grey-brown and more or less spherical could be cabbage, mustard etc. (*Brassica* sp.) but is not typical. A few very small (<1mm) shapeless fragments, may be seeds but are impossible to identify, two are dull cream and opaque and could be bone. A fragment of elder testa is uncharred but its brittle texture suggests that it is of similar age.

Found only in occupation deposit (288) are about a hundred uncharred seeds (strictly achenes, or nutlets) of hop (*Humulus lupulus*), (ident. Mark Robinson). The outer seed coats are missing and most have split and are empty. Two intact specimens were broken and seen to contain a dark grey-black embryo, which contrasts with the white embryo in recent comparative seeds. This is most likely the result of several centuries' degradation, or possibly later treatment of the hops such as boiling during beer brewing, when they are added to the wort as flavour and preservative. Although the deposit was generally well sealed there has been subsequent disturbance and it is possible, particularly in view of the later use of the site, that the seeds are later intrusions.

Open Area 2

The midden (384) behind B4 produced the greatest number of identifiable charred cereals, predominantly wheat, some barley but no oats and few charred weed seeds, all presumably deposited refuse. There are several mineralised fragments, unidentifiable as seeds, and five uncharred elder seeds.

Interpretation: charred remains

The charred cereals, seeds and other organic material scattered from hearths, and thus originating in human activity, have the potential to illustrate plant usage. Totals in Table 7 probably under-represent the frequency of the charred cereal species since there are unidentifiable fragmentary grains and probably more included in the larger pieces of amorphous organic matter. Wheat, present in all samples, was probably the major cereal for human consumption, as bread, as an addition to pottages and so on. Barley and oats, which both out-numbered wheat in period

2 (B1 hearth) may also have been used as human food, and barley also for brewing. Oats grown separately or as a combined crop with barley (dredge corn) may have been intended, perhaps with the addition of vetches, as feed for draught animals.

Some of the charred wild plant seeds may have entered the site with the cereals but are too few to provide much information about original field conditions. The earlier stages of crop processing would be unlikely in an urban setting. Fat-hen (*Chenopodium album*), chickweed, black bindweed (*Fallopia convolvulus*), cleavers (*Galium aparine*) and stinking chamomile (*Anthemis cotula*) are commonly reported field weeds but only the last has less general preference and is characteristically a plant of heavy clay, although it can grow on lighter soils. Others such as scentless mayweed (*Tripleurospermum inodorum*) and dock (*Rumex* sp.), will also occur as ruderals in other open disturbed ground or waste places. Small tares (*Vicia* cf. *hirsuta/terasperma*), clovers (*Trifolium* spp), ribwort plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*) are common grassland plants and could possibly have been introduced with hay.

The nut shell fragments are more likely to represent consumed hazelnuts gathered from woodland or hedge rather than inadvertently introduced with fuel. The leafless stem fragments of the branching moss must have been closely associated with the heathland plants where this mat-forming type of moss is common.

Interpretation: mineralised seeds

Mineralised seeds, probably also exploited, potentially provide additional information about local conditions. The seeds preserved by mineralisation include those naturally shed by plants growing locally or, in the case of edible fruits and seeds, perhaps eaten or discarded. Preservation by this means, that is the replacement of organic material, usually by calcium phosphate, may occur when seeds have lain in appropriate conditions such as calcareous soils, in deposits rich in bone, or very characteristically, in cess pits or other places with human or animal faecal material. Appropriate conditions for and the processes of mineralisation are discussed by Carruthers (2000). At this site the period 3 passage in B5, which produced most mineralised material, and midden (384), were probably relevant. Fragments of chalk, shell, mammal, fish bone, and pottery scattered with the charcoal in occupation layers and hearths indicate busy areas of various activities, and probably somewhat squalid conditions, where human and/or

animal excreta might well be present.

The condition of some seeds means that identification is not always completely certain and they are discussed with this reservation. Mineralised seeds of edible fruits such as apple, sloe, strawberry and possibly black mustard and wild celery could have been shed locally from hedgerow and ditch-side, but where found within buildings are more likely to have been discarded or consumed and excreted. Wild celery is more commonly, but not exclusively, found in brackish conditions nearer the coast, but its availability is confirmed by its presence in a similarly dated cess pit in a neighbouring Chequer (Rawlings 2000, 42). Chickweed, sedge and grasses may have been growing in the vicinity. On a medieval urban domestic site there may have been animals present, and both mineralised and charred weed seeds might have been components of hay, in which case they could be considered with the possible use of barley, oats and vetches as possible scatterings of fodder.

Interpretation: uncharred seeds

The age of the uncharred seeds is questionable but elder and bramble are resilient and are commonly found. They may well be from consumed fruit but these seeds are also eaten and scattered by birds. Hemlock is a very poisonous plant, but with some medicinal value, which grows very commonly in both damp and dry places and in rough grassland.

The native hop is a plant of damp woods or hedges but was cultivated in Anglo-Saxon times and increasingly grown, and imported, from the early 16th century (Thirsk 1997). The age of the hops in this deposit is uncertain since there have been opportunities for later intrusions into this mixed deposit and hops may well have been present at and around the site, associated with both the 16th century *Anchor Inn* and the 19th century *Anchor Brewery*.

Charcoal

by Rowena Gale

A series of samples from floors, layers, hearths and other contexts from B1-2 and B4-5 produced large quantities of charcoal. This material almost certainly derived from fuel debris. Seven samples from hearths and floors were selected for detailed analysis to indicate the type of fuel used and to assess the character of local fuel resources (Table 8).

Charcoal fragments measuring >2mm in radial cross-section were considered for species

identification. The condition of the charcoal varied from firm and well-preserved to poor and friable. Intact radial segments of roundwood were relatively infrequent. Standard methods were used to prepare the samples for examination (Gale and Cutler 2000). The anatomical structures were examined using incident light on a Nikon Labophot-2 microscope at magnifications up to x400 and matched to reference slides of modern wood. Where possible, the maturity of the wood was assessed (i.e., heartwood/sapwood) and stem diameters and the number of growth rings present were recorded. Charred stems may be reduced in volume by up to 40%.

Classification follows that of *Flora Europaea* (Tutin and Heywood 1964–80). Group names are given when anatomical differences between related genera are too slight to allow secure identification to genus level. These include members of the Pomoideae (*Crataegus*, *Malus*, *Pyrus* and *Sorbus*), Leguminosae (*Ulex* and *Cytisus*), Salicaceae (*Salix* and *Populus*) and Ericaceae (*Calluna* and *Erica*). Where a genus is represented by a single species in the British flora this is named as the most likely

origin of the wood, given the provenance and period, but it should be noted that it is rarely possible to name individual species from wood features, and exotic species of trees and shrubs were introduced to Britain from an early period (Godwin 1956; Mitchell 1974). The taxa identified are presented in Table 8.

Building 1

A small period 2 fire pit (520) was lined with blackened tiles. The sample mainly consisted of numerous fragments from thin ericaceous stems (heather or ling, *Erica* sp. or *Calluna* sp.), of which charred flowers and seed capsules were also found (see above), but also included 3mm diameter stems of gorse (*Ulex* sp.) or broom (*Cytisus* sp.), oak (*Quercus* sp.) roundwood (e.g., diameter 20mm, 6 growth rings) and hazel (*Corylus avellana*). A few fragments of oak heartwood were also recorded, together with poorly preserved fragments, probably holly (*Ilex aquifolium*) and ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*).

Charcoal was recovered from an earth floor/occupation deposit (295) in the period 4 main room,

Table 8. Anchor Brewery Site: Identified charcoal

Land-use	Period	B1		B2		B4	B5
		2	4	5	3	5	3
Feature type/no.	Hearth	Floor	Occupation	Floor	Hearth	Hearth	Occupation
Context	518	295	223	360	473	404	288
Sample	1053	1044	1023	1051	1048	1042	1031
<i>Acer</i>	Maple	-	-	-	1	-	-
<i>Betula</i>	Birch	-	1	15	8	1	37
<i>Corylus</i>	Hazel	2	8	8	7	1	25r
Ericaceae	Heather/Ling	23r	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Fagus</i>	Beech	-	26	2	-	1	-
<i>Fraxinus</i>	Ash	cf. 1	4	4	2	-	3
<i>Ilex</i>	Holly	cf. 1	-	-	-	-	-
Pomoideae	Hawthorn, Apple etc	-	4	-	6	3	-
<i>Prunus</i>	Blackthorn	-	1	2	1	1	-
<i>Quercus</i>	Oak	12h, 8r	5h, 2r	41h/u, 23r/s	4s, 3u	15h, 1s	18h 10s
Salicaceae	Willow, Poplar	-	1	3	-	-	5
<i>Ulex/ Cytisus</i>	Gorse, Broom	2r	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Ulmus</i>	Elm	-	1	-	-	-	-

Key.

h = heartwood;

r = roundwood (diameter <20mm);

s = sapwood;

u = unknown maturity

The number of fragments identified is indicated

and from an ash spill (223) from period 5 hearth (345). The range of species identified was more or less similar in both samples, and included oak (*Quercus* sp.) heartwood and narrow roundwood, birch (*Betula* sp.), hazel (*Corylus avellana*), beech (*Fagus sylvatica*), ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*), the hawthorn/*Sorbus* group (Pomoideae), blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*), willow (*Salix* sp.) or poplar (*Populus* sp.), and elm (*Ulmus* sp.) (Table 8).

Building 2

Organic debris occurred throughout the period 3 floor layer (360). The charcoal included birch, hazel, ash, the hawthorn/*Sorbus* group, blackthorn and oak. The range of species was very similar to that in B1. Similar species, with the exception of ash and the addition of beech, were also identified from the ashy fill of the period 5 box-built tile structure (474) (Table 8), which may have lain beneath an oven or hearth.

Building 4

The period 3 hearth (402) in the centre of the main room was constructed from pitched tiles. Associated charcoal was relatively frequent and identified as birch.

Building 5

Charcoal was recovered from an occupation layer (288) within the period 5 passage. Although abundant, the charcoal was poorly preserved and sediments had permeated throughout the woody tissues. The sample included roundwood from birch, hazel, the hawthorn/*Sorbus* group and willow and/or poplar (Salicaceae). The intact remains of willow/poplar rods measured 10mm in diameter. Oak heartwood and sapwood from large wood was also present.

Interpretation

The frequency of the hearths had led to speculation that they may have been used for light industry; however, no artefactual evidence to support this view was recovered. Since some medieval industries employed specific types of fuel, such as faggots for commercial bread-making, as opposed to charcoal for gold or silver-smithing and iron-working (Blair and Ramsay 1991), it was anticipated that the identification of the fuel residues might clarify the problem. Charcoal was relatively frequent both in the hearths and in ashy floor deposits. Food remains including charred cereal grains and bone (including fish) were also present.

Charcoal recovered from *in-situ* contexts within hearths will have accrued from the most recent episodes of use or may relate to a single (final) firing event. In contrast, charcoal samples from the floor deposits are likely to include scattered fuel debris that may have accumulated over a period of time. The domestic or commercial use of the hearths for food preparation seems most likely, especially as some also contained an abundance of charred cereal grain. It is possible, though, that industrial ovens, kilns or open fires in artisans' workshops served a dual purpose, which included cooking. The absence of associated slag or hammerscale suggests that these deposits were not related to iron-working.

Interesting anomalies were noted from two hearths. Residues from period 2 hearth (520) consisted almost entirely of thin ericaceous stems (heathers), although narrow stems from gorse or broom and oak roundwood (diameter 20mm), and possibly ash and holly were also present (Table 8). Both heather and gorse burn fast producing an intense, although short-lived, heat (Edlin 1949; Lucas 1960) and the addition of oak heartwood would have extended the life of the fire. In the medieval period, heather was also valued for bedding, fodder, brooms, thatch, packing, dyeing and ropes (Edlin 1949) and, once discarded, much of this material was probably assigned to the hearth. Although not suitable for bedding, gorse is equally versatile and was particularly popular for firing bread ovens since it produced little ash (Edlin 1949; Lucas 1960). Broom was also used as fuel and, in the 16th century, was recommended for smoking fish (Tusser 1984). The use of heather as fuel in B1 could implicate some specialised use of the hearth, but could equally relate to burnt artefactual remains or the exploitation of cheap fuel from the commonland to the east of Salisbury (see below).

A further example of the selective use of wood species as fuel was illustrated by the period 3 hearth (402) in B4, which appears to have been fired exclusively with birch. The use of a single species in this hearth stands in contrast to evidence from the other buildings, from which multiple species were recorded. The charcoal here was rather comminuted but relatively abundant. Birch wood burns quickly emitting an intense although short-lived heat source and makes good quality charcoal (Lines 1984) and, despite the absence of supporting evidence, it could be argued that the properties of birch fuel were sought and used for a specific activity.

The charcoal from the period 5 floor (223) of B1 may have originated from the associated hearth (345),

whereas charcoal from period 4 floor (295) was from one of the hearths in the front room of the building. A wide range of taxa was identified including oak, hazel, birch, beech, ash, the hawthorn/*Sorbus* group, blackthorn, willow or poplar and elm. This charcoal probably represents the aggregation of fuel debris over time. The frequency of beech in the floor debris is interesting since beech was scarce or absent from other contexts examined. Charcoal residues indicated that hearths (520) and (345) were fired with different types of fuel, perhaps related to temporal differences in use.

A more general use of wood fuel from multiple species was indicated in B2 and B5. Fuel residues here were fairly similar in character and included oak, hazel, birch, ash, maple, beech, the hawthorn/*Sorbus* group, blackthorn and willow/poplar (Table 8).

Environmental evidence and fuel resources

The heathlands south-east of Salisbury, previously kept open by common grazing, now support rich woodlands, including ancient pollarded beeches which are virtually absent from the chalklands (Marren 1992). By the medieval period, woodland was relatively sparse in Wessex and was mainly preserved through woodmanship (Rackham 1986). Coppice woods to the east and south-east of Salisbury may originate in the medieval period or earlier.

The huge demand for building materials and fuel in 13th century Salisbury was probably provisioned from local woodland. The extensive felling of mature trees, controlled and managed by church or manorial estates, maintained the structure and character of local woodlands. Charcoal residues from hearths and floors of the excavated buildings were generally too fragmented to assess the use of coppiced or pollarded wood, although the oak heartwood suggests an origin from wide poles or cordwood. In all probability, a high percentage of the fuel used in the town would have been obtained as faggots or cordwood from managed woodland.

The charcoal deposits indicate that fuel used in these buildings was obtained from a wide range of woody species, including shrubby taxa such as gorse/broom and heather. The frequent use of acid-loving species suggests that fuel was often provisioned from outlying woodlands and heaths to the east and south-east of Salisbury. Hedge prunings, such as blackthorn and hawthorn, may also have contributed to fuel stocks.

Environmental evidence from elsewhere in Salisbury is sparse for the medieval period. Although there was insufficient charcoal to warrant analysis

at the adjacent Ivy Street/Brown Street site, the plant remains included shoots, leaves and stems from several ericaceous species – *Erica tetralix*, *E. cinerea* and *Calluna vulgaris* (Hinton 2000). Fruits from woody species included hazelnuts, wild cherry, sloe/bullace, raspberry, blackberry, crab or cultivated apple, grape and fig (*ibid.*). Some of these may have been cultivated locally in orchards, but there was no evidence of the use of fruit tree prunings amongst the fuel deposits at the Anchor Brewery Site.

Animal bone

by *Sheila Hamilton-Dyer*

The assemblage amounts to just over 3000 fragments. Almost 1500 fragments from 81 medieval and Tudor contexts were selected for detailed analysis and just over 1000 fragments from 42 mainly post-medieval contexts have been scanned and described. Following an assessment of the hand collected bone (Mant 2000) and further stratigraphic analysis, three groups of material were defined:

1. Just over 11.5kg of animal bone from the larger assemblages and the most secure contexts were selected for detailed analysis (below).
2. A further 2kg of bone was scanned to check for unusual or other notable specimens.
3. The remainder was rejected as being too recent in date, or from disturbed contexts.

Species identifications were made using the author's modern comparative collections. All fragments were identified to species and element with the following exceptions. Ribs and vertebrae of the ungulates (other than axis, atlas, and sacrum) were identified only to the level of cattle/horse-sized and sheep/pig-sized. Unidentified shaft and other fragments were similarly divided. Any fragments that could not be assigned even to this level have been recorded as mammalian only. Recently broken bones were joined where possible and have been counted as single fragments. Figures in this report prefixed 'n' refer to number of bones, rather than individuals. Tooth eruption and wear stages of cattle, sheep and pig jaws were recorded following Grant (1982). Measurements follow von den Driesch (1976) in the main. Withers height calculations of the domestic ungulates are based on factors recommended by von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974). Full metrical and other data is available in the project archive.

The specimens derived from hand collection number 1364; a further 866 were extracted from sieved samples (Table 9). The condition of the bone

is generally good, even excellent and of an ivoryed appearance in some cases. A few fragments show evidence of charring. The majority of the remains are from periods 2-4 with the largest group from the period 3 midden (384) behind B4. These medieval/Tudor periods have been analysed mainly as a single group as the amounts involved are generally rather small. The small assemblage from period 5 contexts is analysed separately.

The medieval/Tudor assemblage (periods 2-4)

Hand collection recovered 1164 specimens with an additional 680 from sieved samples (Table 9). Just under 40% (n = 713) were identified to species. Bones of cattle, sheep and pig dominate the hand-collected material (Table 9) while fish remains were frequent in the sieved samples (Table 9). Other taxa include horse, fallow, rabbit, cat, small mammal and birds. Most of the unidentified mammal remains are pieces of limb shaft, ribs and vertebrae; these are highly likely to belong to the main domestic mammals forming the bulk of the identified bone. The majority of the contexts offered few bones; 65% of contexts offered less than ten fragments, while just one, midden (384), offered more than 100.

Main domestic ungulates: The bones of cattle, sheep and pig occur quite evenly in the hand-collected assemblage, though not always in the same contexts (Table 9). Overall the bones of cattle are slightly more frequent (n = 165; 38.6%) than those of sheep (n = 162; 37.9%), with pig less common again (n = 101; 23.6%) (Table 9). Midden (384) contained a higher proportion of cattle bones (n = 48:34:15; 49.5%:35%:15.5%) than the overall totals. This is probably for two reasons; the large bones of cattle are less likely to be trodden unnoticed into floors and other occupation contexts and they are also less likely to be removed and destroyed by scavengers when thrown on the midden.

Most anatomical elements are represented, with an expected bias against small or fragile bones and in favour of the sturdiest ones. Elements of the foot are the most commonly recorded cattle bones; they are more numerous than other elements, fuse early and are tough and easily recognisable. Foot bones are slightly less frequent in the sheep and pig collections, almost certainly by reason of relatively small size. These very small context groups do not show any concentrations of a particular element.

Table 9. Anchor Brewery Site: Summary of the animal bone by period: hand collected and sieved

	No contexts	No of animal bone by period: hand collected and sieved										Total bones	Frag Wt (g)						
		Horse	Cattle	Sheep/ goat	Pig	Fallow	Cattle- size	Sheep- size	Mammal	Rabbit	Cat			Small mammal	Fowl	Other bird	Id fish	Fish	
PERIODS 2-4 (MEDIEVAL - TUDOR)																			
hand	67	4	164	149	91	2	222	262	123	20	3	0	47	45	14	20	1164	1260	10084
%		0.3	13.9	12.8	7.8	0.2	19.1	22.5	10.6	1.7	0.3	0	4.0	3.9	1.2	1.7			
% ident.		0.7	30.2	27.7	16.9	0.4	-	-	-	3.7	0.6	0	8.8	8.4	2.6	-	537		
MDA			40.3	37.1	22.6												402		
sieved	13	0	3	13	10	0	3	25	375	1	0	2	6	21	120	101	680		
%		0	0.4	1.9	1.5	0	0.4	3.7	55.1	0.1	0	0.3	0.9	3.1	17.6	14.9			
% ident.		0	1.7	7.4	5.7	0	-	-	-	0.6	0	1.1	3.4	11.9	68.2		176		
MDA			11.5	50.0	38.5												26		
PERIOD 5 (POST MEDIEVAL)																			
hand	14	0	18	24	8	0	26	51	4	5	0	0	13	11	4	36	200	2190	1484
%		0	9	12	4	0	13	25.5	2	2.5	0	0	6.5	5.5	2	18			
% ident.		0	21.7	28.9	9.6	0	-	-	-	6	0	0	15.7	13.3	4.8		83		
MDA			36	48	16												50		
sieved	4	0	0	2	3	0	1	8	70	1	0	0	3	9	54	35	186		
%		0	0	1.1	1.6	0	0.5	4.3	37.6	0.5	0	0	1.6	4.8	29	18.8			
% ident.		0	0	2.8	4.2	0	-	-	-	1.4	0	0	4.2	12.5	75	-	72		
MDA			0	40	60												5		

Key: MDA = % distribution of main domestic animal species

Table 10. Anchor Brewery Site: Fish bone by period: hand collected and sieved

	No. Shark/ contexts ray	Conger	Eel	Herring	Cod	Haddock	Ling	Whiting	Hake	Gadid	Cyprinid	Mackerel	Scad	Flatfish	Unid. fish	Totals
PERIODS 1-4: (MIEVIAL - TUDOR)																
P1-2 hand	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
P2 hand	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
P3 hand	7	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	17	27
P4 hand	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
Sub-total	12	2	3	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	20	34
% ident.		5.9	8.8	0	5.9	2.9	0	2.9	0	0	0	0	0	14.7	58.8	14
		14.3	21.4	0	14.3	7.1	0	7.1	0	0	0	0	0	35.7		
P1 sieved	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
P2 sieved	1	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	10
P3 sieved	4	1	3	6	55	-	-	4	-	-	-	3	1	1	52	126
P3-4 sieved	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	19	27
P4 sieved	3	-	8	10	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	5	26	54
Sub-total	11	2	5	16	73	1	0	5	1	2	0	7	2	6	101	221
% ident.		0.9	2.3	7.2	33.0	0	0.5	2.3	0.5	0.9	0	3.2	0.9	2.7	45.7	
% ident.		1.7	4.2	13.3	60.8	0	0.8	4.2	0.8	1.7	0	5.8	1.7	5.0		120
Total fish	4	8	16	73	2	2	0	6	1	2	0	7	2	11	121	255
percent	1.6	3.1	6.3	28.6	0.8	0.8	0	2.4	0.4	0.8	0	2.7	0.8	4.3	47.5	
percent id	3.0	6.0	11.9	54.5	1.5	1.5	0	4.5	0.7	1.5	0	5.2	1.5	8.2		134
PERIOD 5 (POST-MEDIEVAL)																
hand	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	36	40
% ident.		0	0	0	0	0	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	90	
% ident.		0	25	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	50		4
sieved	4	0	20	25	1	1	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	2	35	89
% ident.		0	22.5	28.1	1.1	1.1	0	3.4	0	1.1	1.1	0	0	2.2	39.3	
% ident.		0	37.0	46.3	1.9	1.9	0	5.6	0	1.9	1.9	0	0	3.7		54
Total fish	8	1	20	25	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	4	71	129
% ident.		0	0.8	15.5	19.4	0.8	0.8	2.3	0	0.8	0.8	0	0	3.1	55.0	
% ident.		0	1.7	34.5	43.1	1.7	1.7	5.2	0	1.7	1.7	0	0	6.9		58

A few of the cattle bones represent calves but most are of adult or sub-adult animals. Animals over 42 months are represented but 57% of the bones of this age class were still unfused at death (recorded in the archive). Jaw fragments were rare, just three, and there were only three loose teeth.

The majority of the sheep limb bones are fused; there are a few of lambs under the year but most bones are of animals at least two or three years old. The four jaws with teeth all have full adult dentition but are not of aged animals.

While most of the pig bones are from sub-adult animals, as expected, there are a few of neonates. None of the bones is from an animal beyond 36 months.

Most of the 162 ovicaprid remains could not be further distinguished but 41 could be positively identified as sheep using the methods of Boessneck (1969) and Payne (1985) whereas none was of goat; it is likely that most, if not all, of the remains are of sheep.

Butchery marks were observed on 25% of the cattle bones, 15% of the sheep, and 13% of the pig bones. The smaller joint size of these animals requires less butchery for useful sized portions. Much of the butchery had been carried out using cleavers or similar implements, although there are a few knife marks from skinning and foot removal. A good number of the cattle-sized and sheep/pig-sized vertebrae had been chopped axially. The ribs were also often chopped. Quite a few of the cattle-sized limb shaft fragments are likely to have resulted from stews and marrow extraction but show no clear chop marks.

There were some measurable bones in this small collection; the most frequent of those are of sheep (recorded in the archive). The sheep are rather small, in keeping with other material from medieval Salisbury and other sites in southern England. In fact one of the metatarsi is extremely small and slim; although slightly damaged it can have an estimated withers height of no more than 0.472m. This bone was recovered from the period 3 midden (384) behind B4.

Minor species: Horse is present, but only as three loose teeth and a slightly eroded peripheral metapodial. There are no dog bones but a coprolite was recovered from the gravel surface (508) of B1 (period 2), and several bones show gnaw marks. One of the fowl bones had been punctured by a smaller carnivore, almost certainly a cat, and two incomplete cat bones were recovered from inside B1 and B2. Two mouse-

sized vertebrae were recovered from midden (384).

Apart from an antler tip and an unfused calcaneum of fallow deer there are no remains from animals of the hunt. There are quite a number of rabbit bones, but these will have come mainly from managed warrens. Some of these have cut marks and this, together with stratigraphic position, counts against intrusive remains.

Bird bones are quite frequent ($n = 119$ bones and fragments), more common than those of pig. The majority of those assigned to species are of domestic fowl ($n = 53$). Bones of goose (probably domestic) number 13 and there are five duck bones, either of domestic birds or of the ancestral mallard. The remaining two bones are of sparrow-sized passerines from a sieved sample.

Fish and sieved samples: Bone was recovered from 13 sieved samples and totals 680 specimens (Table 9). Numerically mammal remains form over half of the total, but most of these are tiny fragments of unidentified bone. Some are freshly broken pieces of other bones, some are probably chips of bone from kitchen and plate waste and others may have passed through the human digestive system. The identified ungulate specimens ($n = 26$) are mostly sheep and pig, in contrast to the hand-collected material. Many are small elements rarely collected by hand. There are some bird bones, a rabbit bone and two mouse-sized vertebrae but the remainder of the material is fish remains ($n = 221$), 120 of which have been identified to species. Just 34 fish specimens were found by hand collection.

Of the total number of fish remains, half could be identified to taxon with at least 12 species represented (Table 10). Numerically the remains of herring ($n = 73$) are by far the most frequent fish, followed by eel ($n = 16$). All the other species occur in small quantities with the most frequent being flatfish ($n = 11$). The tail of a small plaice was recovered intact from the period 3 floor (425) of the front room of B1. When comparing the frequency of occurrence, herring is still the most common species, appearing in seven contexts. Conger and flatfish occur in five contexts, while shark/ray, mackerel and flatfish occur in four. All the other species were less frequent. The eel and herring have small bones and both of these species were recovered only from the sieved samples. A few herring and eel vertebrae were crushed in the manner suggestive of human consumption (Jones 1984; 1986).

The eel remains are of small fish and were, therefore, probably from the local waters rather than

the sea. The other species are all marine and would have been traded through Southampton (Hamilton-Dyer 2000; Coy 1996).

Of some interest are the fish bones from the period 2 post-hole (513) in B2, which was filled with hearth rake-out. In addition to a few bones of eel, herring and mackerel there are two lateral processes of conger vertebrae. These have been sliced away from the vertebral centrum and exactly match those recovered from the *Mary Rose* (Hamilton-Dyer 1995; Coy and Hamilton-Dyer forthcoming). It is suggested that these result from the slicing of conger into three thin fillets, probably for smoking. That carts of conger were sent to Salisbury from Southampton in the 15th century is evidenced by the Brokage Books (Stevens and Olding 1985). In 1477 congors were also sent to St Swithins Winchester, Newbury, and Andover. The 1444 volume has congors taken to Gloucester (Coleman 1961) and in 1527 barrels of conger were sent as far as London.

The post-medieval assemblage (period 5)

The selected material, all from the earliest period 5 deposits, amounts to less than 400 specimens, of which 200 have been identified. The remains of cattle, sheep, pig, rabbit, bird, and fish are present (Table 9). Dog is indicated indirectly by gnaw marks on some of the bones. The sample is rather small for much analysis but there are some bones of specific interest.

A sawn sliver of cattle metatarsus shaft and four other sawn cattle bone shaft fragments were found in floor make-up (196) in B5. These do not clearly fall into a particular category of worked bone but are perhaps offcuts from manufacture of handles or other implements.

The only complete cattle metacarpus, from B5 floor make-up (205), gives an estimated withers height of 1.25m. This bone is very slim and probably from a female. There is also a very small sheep metacarpus offering just 0.50m from a stakehole (256) in B2. An exceptionally small metacarpus was present in a post-medieval pit at Ivy/Brown Street (Hamilton-Dyer 2000). The few values for post-medieval, or probably post-medieval, material show no sign of the larger animals reported from some sites (O'Connor 1995).

The presence of three cut, left-side, pelves of rabbit from the floor (309) of the passage of B2 are suggestive of jointing. The bird bones are mainly of domestic fowl but one coracoid did not quite match the other galliform bones from the site and is a better

match for pheasant. A duck bone comparable with wigeon and one bone of a sparrow-sized passerine are also present.

The fish remains are few, but of at least nine species (Table 10). Only flatfish bones were found in more than one context. There are two species not found in the medieval material, although they do occur elsewhere in Salisbury. A single pharyngeal of a chub (estimated as c. 0.2m long) is the only representative of the freshwater cyprinids from this site, from an occupation deposit (223) in B1. The cleithrum of a large ling is also the only bone of this species, but it was recovered from a cleaning layer (196).

DISCUSSION

by Bruno Barber, Rowena Gale, Sheila Hamilton-Dyer, Pat Hinton and Lorraine Mephram

The Anchor Brewery excavations have made a substantial contribution to the growing body of published archaeological evidence for the development of the eastern side of Salisbury (Rawlings 2000; Currie and Rushton this volume). This site is significant as it is one of the first to be excavated in Salisbury where a sufficient depth of archaeological deposit survived to allow the recovery of a detailed, phased sequence of development along a substantial length of the medieval and post-medieval street frontage.

The primary site preparation phase (period 1) incorporated evidence of early activity, including a possible oven. This might indicate opportunistic use of available land, or perhaps an unrecognised phase of ephemeral buildings. These may have been subsidiary to a hypothetical property on the north-east corner of the chequer, served by the dovecote excavated at 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street (Currie and Rushton this volume). Gigant Street and the Town Ditch are assumed to have been early features, but neither could be investigated on this site.

The first formal development of the street frontage did not occur until period 2, suggesting that this eastern chequer was not part of the earliest development of Salisbury. This might support Chandler's conjectural reconstruction of a gradual development of the street grid c. 1230–60 (1987, 24–30, fig 4c). The date of the earliest structures is not securely fixed, but relies on assessment of the pottery assemblage. There is a marked difference between

the range of vessel forms present on Anchor Brewery and those identified at Ivy Street/Brown Street (Mepham 2000). The latter site produced a more limited range of forms overall, possibly explained at least in part by the smaller size of the assemblage (approximately half that of the Anchor Brewery assemblage), but perhaps also chronologically specific. At Ivy Street/Brown Street the most common coarseware forms were jars of type 1, i.e. the 'archaic' form found from the late 11th century in the Salisbury area well into the 13th century (21 out of 32 jar forms). There were only two examples of the type 4 jars that dominate the Anchor Brewery assemblage (see Table 2), and few examples of modified forms such as handled jars or bowls (including skillets). In contrast handled jars (possibly cauldrons) and skillets are relatively common at the Anchor Brewery. These forms, modified for a more specialised cooking function, were not found in the earliest kilns at Laverstock, but appear from the mid 13th century (Musty *et al.* 1969, 109, fig. 11, 48–9). Both types were found at the deserted medieval village of Gomeldon, where skillets were particularly common (Musty and Algar 1986). There were no examples of the later, lid-seated forms (jar types 6 and 9) at Ivy Street/Brown Street. Overall, the evidence appears to indicate a later start date for the occupation of the dwellings on the Anchor Brewery site, around the middle of the 13th century. Activity on the Ivy Street/Brown Street site (or at least the deposition of pottery) began perhaps soon after the foundation of the city.

No clear evidence was found for the form of the boundaries of the original burgage tenements, which in Trinity Chequer were undoubtedly laid out with their long axes on an east-west orientation (RCHME 1980, pl. 16). Two early east-west ditches were observed in a watching brief on the contaminated part of the site, but could not be dated (Wessex Archaeology 2000a, 3). Chandler (2000, 52) gives the standard size of Salisbury's tenements as 35 x 15m. The spacing of the properties built on the site in periods 2 and 3 (a range of at least six nearly identical buildings, each unit *c.* 4.6m wide), may suggest that tenements fronting on to Gigant Street were being amalgamated into common ownership for development. If so, the intention from the outset was clearly the subdivision of each tenement into three narrow units, presumably for rental. Interestingly, a similar threefold subdivision of a tenement is indicated by property boundaries excavated at 43–51 Brown Street, on the west (opposite) side of Trinity Chequer (Hawkes 1990, 12).

The earliest excavated buildings (period 2) may have been single roomed structures, with a masonry sill wall along the street frontage but with the other walls less substantially built, probably of timber. A gravel passage apparently ran from the street frontage, through each building, giving access to the interior of the chequer. Although the buildings become more visible in period 3 due to the adoption of masonry footings throughout, there was no evidence that they were ever extended, either in to the backlands to the rear, or to either side by amalgamation with adjacent plots. Such permanence of scale and floor area throughout the medieval into the post-medieval periods contrasts with excavated tenements in for example, Winchester (Scobie *et al.* 1991, 33–59). It would seem to indicate a lack of pressure on space in this part of the city, either due to economic stagnation or by virtue of adequate provision of space by the authorities responsible for the original layout of the town grid.

Subdivision of buildings to create a rear room, first recognised in period 3, might have had a secondary function of providing a 'mezzanine' floor or platform over, but this cannot be proved. The position of the hearths and the lack of evidence for hoods indicate the structures remained single storey until period 4, when the shift to hearths against the frontage wall might be a sign of conversion to two storey structures, a common occurrence in the 15th and 16th centuries (Wood 1965, 196). If so, little other evidence survived at foundation/sill wall level.

Comparison of the excavated (and apparently standardised) plan of B1–6 with others excavated in Salisbury is problematic, as only poorly dated, partial ground plans have been excavated elsewhere (Hawkes 1990, 6–12; Rawlings 2000). Hawkes' survey recognised that, at least on the west side of Trinity Chequer, a narrow, single roomed frontage seemed to be the normal medieval pattern, with yards and extensions lying to the rear (Hawkes 1990, 7). This would be consistent with the results from the Anchor Brewery, with the reservation, alluded to above, that the present excavation found little sign of rearward extensions, in keeping with the early maps (see Figure 13). Small cottages of similar scale, excavated on the south side of St Pancrass Lane, Winchester (Biddle 1967, 264, pl. 50), were probably rented to workers in the city's cloth finishing industry. The scale of the buildings is similar to a pair of standing two-storey cottages, 2–14 Guilder Lane, which date from the second half of the 15th century, and are timber framed on rubble plinths (RCHME 1980, 93).

A contrast to the excavated structures is provided by excavation of part of the property at the corner of the chequer. At 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street (Currie 2002; Currie and Rushton this volume) walls (Figure 18) indicate a high status property, still only one room deep, but with a much broader frontage along Gigant Street, a wide covered passage from the road into the interior (?a courtyard) and high quality masonry, which may have stood to the whole height of the building.

The form of construction of B1–6, however, is well attested on other Salisbury sites (Hawkes 1990, 6–12; Rawlings 2000; Wessex Archaeology 2001b), with chalk, flint and mortar dwarf walls providing the foundation on which a timber frame would have been carried. The use of Hurdcott stone blocks at wall junctions and partial courses of pitched tile could be related to the perceived loading of the timber frame, but may well relate to availability of materials. Herringbone tile courses are a feature of flint walls in several standing buildings in Salisbury (RCHME 1993, 18–19). That these played any part in a visible decorative scheme is perhaps unlikely, as most internal and external elevations would have been rendered.

As observed elsewhere in Salisbury (Rawlings 2000, 59), sequences of deposits up to 0.5m deep had formed within the buildings by successive replacement and accumulation of floors. The sequences were perhaps clearer at Anchor Brewery, and it was apparent that layers of crushed chalk were deposited as make-up, while clay or beaten earth layers formed what was presumably a component of a floor surface with an organic covering (reeds, straw etc). Silt and ash deposits represented occupation layers accumulating on these floors. Within the building compacted gravel was occasionally used as a hard-wearing surface, particularly the passageways. There was no evidence for suspended floors.

The form of B1–6 offers few clues to their function, and provides no evidence of specialisation. The small scale of the buildings, with a total floor area of c. 18 square metres, should be emphasised. The absence of hearths in the rear rooms may support a suggestion that these were ‘chambers’ used for storage and sleeping (Gardiner 2000, 162), rather than as office (book-keeping/accounting) areas, perhaps supported by the lack of concentrations of coins and tokens. The central hearths of periods 2 and 3 are likely to have been used for heating and cooking: at least one seems to have been an oven. The placing of hearths against the frontage walls in

period 4 would have created more uninterrupted space, but there is little to indicate what it was used for. The buildings have no areas identifiable as ‘services’, presumably reflecting urban pressure on space and the low status of the occupants.

The limited opportunity to investigate the backland area explains the absence of cess and refuse pits on this site. However, refuse pits are under-represented in Salisbury; disposal regimes must have involved dumping in the watercourses such as the Town Ditch to the rear of the tenements (Hawkes 1990, 14–15, 17) and perhaps removal beyond the town (Rawlings 2000, 59). The make up and location of the period 3 middens shows that a substantial amount of refuse was simply thrown out of the back doors of the buildings. The picture of generally squalid conditions is supported by the presence of a dog coprolite and mouse-sized bones, as well as mineralised plant remains, perhaps suggestive of trampled cess within the buildings.

Pottery seems to indicate a largely domestic milieu, as do the other finds and environmental assemblages from the hearths and floors and middens. A late 13th century phase of possible industrial activity predating the masonry buildings just to the north of the site has been proposed (Currie 2002, 23). At Anchor Brewery there were no obviously industrial features or finds and, significantly, few tools of any kind. Slag, hammerscale, or smithing hearth bases were absent. Stratigraphic analysis has suggested that hearths are not particularly numerous in any individual phase of these buildings, tending to contradict earlier suggestions of light industrial activity (Wessex Archaeology 2000e, 14). Associated fuel residues from hearths in B1 and B4 were unusual in that one included a high ericaceous content, the other demonstrated the exclusive use of birch. It was not clear whether these differences related to the specialised function of the hearths or to the availability of fuel. The few traces of bone working and a single linen smoother are not out of place in a normal medieval domestic assemblage, and while demonstrating craft activity cannot, on their own, be taken as firm evidence of industry.

There are no particular signs of high status, in keeping with the small scale and peripheral location of the buildings. Apart from the marine fish, evidence of trade is slight, with relatively few coins and jetons, and a pottery assemblage dominated by local wares. The only evidence of foreign imports is provided by two pot sherds, possibly from the Saintonge area of south-west France.

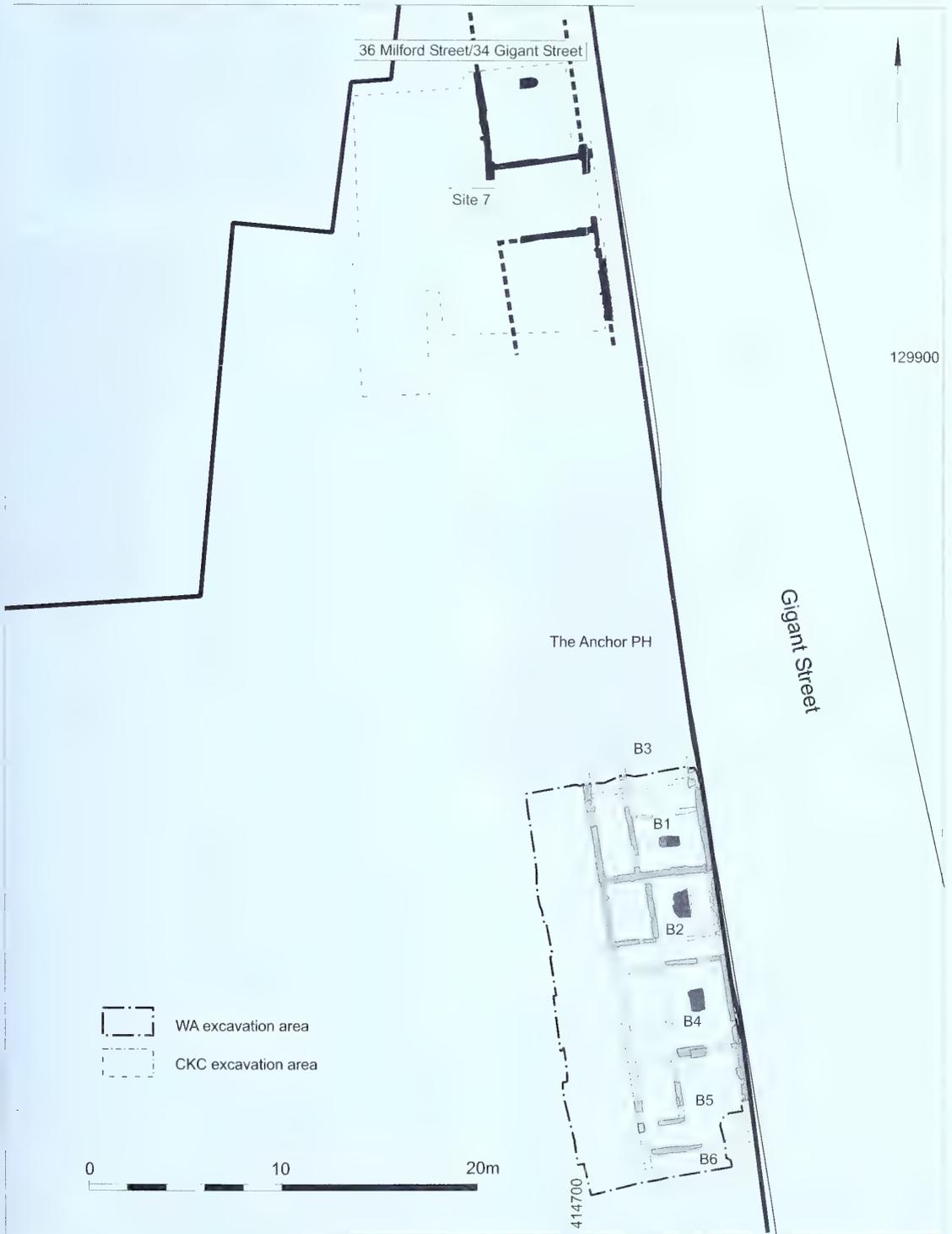


Fig. 18 Anchor Brewery Site: Plan showing Buildings 1-6 (period 4) in relation to the range of masonry buildings excavated on 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street

Although site conditions did not allow such excellent preservation of waterlogged material as the pits at Ivy Street/Brown Street (Rawlings 2000), plant remains nonetheless demonstrate aspects of medieval diet and living conditions. As in the earlier excavation cereals are not numerous, but include the same range, with an emphasis on wheat. Peas, beans and vetches were probably cultivated and edible wild fruits, hazelnuts and other seeds utilised. Heather, bracken and mosses were used at both sites. Their appearance in hearth deposits at Anchor Brewery may result from the burning of bedding, animal litter, fuel or otherwise. It is clear that the procurement of heath or woodland resources for general, domestic or personal use was not uncommon. A possible connection of B5 with brewing in period 5 is suggested by the hop seeds, although the context may not have been securely sealed.

As with previous sites the animal bone assemblage is not large but increases the data for Salisbury overall and helps in building the picture of what is typical for the town and what may be specific to certain areas. Bones of the domestic ungulates dominate the assemblage; other mammals are uncommon except for rabbit. Bird remains are typically of domestic poultry together with a few other common species, but no scavenger species. Fish are mainly of eel, herring, flatfish and large gadids (cod, whiting and the like). The main domestic mammals are more evenly distributed, both in context occurrence and number of fragments, than at Ivy/Brown Street. At both the Gigant Street car park and 39 Brown Street (Coy 1986) there were more pig than sheep bones in the medieval contexts; a situation reversed in the post-medieval. At Ivy/Brown Street, however, sheep bones were more numerous than cattle bones, which were more common than pig (Hamilton-Dyer 2000, 49–50). A proportion of these remains may have originated as tannery waste, but probably not from any site in the immediate area. There was no direct evidence for stock-rearing on-site, although this might have been an expected activity in the backland areas.

The animal bone provides no indication of high status dietary elements; the few bits of antler could be by-products of bone-working craft. The bone seems to be mainly domestic yard rubbish and material trodden into floors and other occupation contexts. There is no indication of deliberate disposal from carcass processing. The few remains of horse

and cat appear to be of odd scattered remains of a 'background' nature. No horse remains at all were found at Ivy/Brown Street, although a few were found at other sites. The disposal of horses and other large waste obviously happened elsewhere; the large and noxious nature of such waste usually precludes disposal in house yards. As at Ivy/Brown Street there are no remains of goat. Similarly there were no dog bones, but gnaw marks and a coprolite indicated their presence.

Fish remains were frequent in the sieved samples, but not in the concentrations found in some previous deposits. Almost all the fish are of marine species. Here, apart from eel, just one freshwater fish was found (chub from a post-medieval context) and not a very small one; there are none of the tiny stickleback, dace and bullhead as in the Ivy/Brown Street cess pit (Hamilton-Dyer 2000, 49). There are a few crushed herring and eel vertebrae but most of the fish do not seem to be from cess deposits. The large gadids, ling, haddock and hake, were absent from Ivy/Brown Street but have been found in Salisbury before, from medieval and post-medieval deposits at 39 Brown Street (Coy 1986). The variations in the species recovered from the two sites may reflect the different areas sampled (frontage buildings at Anchor Brewery, and backland areas at Ivy Street/Brown Street) rather than diet. The remains of a conger fillet may be another archaeological example of the documented trade of the fish (filleted and probably smoked or perhaps salted) from Southampton (Rawlings 2000, 59).

It is to be hoped that this report may provide a stimulus for further archaeological research, fieldwork and publication on secular aspects of medieval Salisbury. The potential of the archaeological resource to contribute to an understanding of the development and character of the medieval town has been demonstrated repeatedly in Trinity Chequer, even on a site such as this, where buildings cannot be related to surviving medieval documents. Where possible, future excavation should attempt to investigate entire burgage tenements, including the backlands where most of the evidence for street-front activities might be expected to be preserved (Carver 1981). Problems encountered in dating structural sequences suggest that there may be scope for applying scientific dating methods on future urban sites, as well as the single context recording methods developed for urban deposits in London, York and elsewhere.

THE ARCHIVE

The archive has been deposited in the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum. Records from the excavation are held under the project code 45704; those from the evaluation are held under 45701.

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WSRO (Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office) G23/701/
IPC: Board of Health Drainage Map of Salisbury, 1854

An Archaeological Excavation at the rear of 36 Milford Street /34 Gigant Street, Salisbury

by C. K. Currie and N. S. Rushton

Development along this part of Gigant Street appears to have been late. Prior to c. 1350 the area seems to have been part of the backland of the street corner property at 36 Milford Street /34 Gigant Street. A circular chalk and flint building, possibly a dovecote, was the earliest building on the site. Later evidence for industrial activity included a number of hearths and pits containing burnt material. In the later 14th century it seems that the corner building was enlarged, and a stone-built courtyard complex of high status was extended over the site. Evidence for a stone-built range with an entrance was found, and is associated with the ownership of William Teynturer the younger (fl. 1366-77), a mayor of Salisbury. This building is thus one of the few stone-built structures identified in Salisbury outside the Close, and it must have been one of the more impressive buildings in the town. The stone range was subsequently demolished, possibly in the 16th century, and the plot redeveloped. Thereafter its status declined, and by the 19th century buildings on the plot had been incorporated into the Anchor Brewery.

BACKGROUND

Archaeological excavation was undertaken on the site of 36 Milford Street/ 34 Gigant Street in September 2002 as part of a planning condition for the redevelopment of the site. Earlier evaluation work by Wessex Archaeology (2001) indicated high archaeological potential, and led to the work carried out by CKC Archaeology for Stannah Management Services Ltd.

The development site is centred on NGR SU 1469 2990, near the corner of Milford and Gigant Streets on the east side of the medieval town of Salisbury (Figure 1). It stands between two buildings of historic interest, 36 Milford Street/ 34 Gigant Street and the *Anchor Inn*, Gigant Street. The site is approximately 270 square metres in area, with a street frontage of approximately 23m. Local soils are of Higher Terrace Gravel of the River Avon Valley, overlying Upper Chalk.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The medieval settlement of Salisbury was relocated from the hilltop location of Old Sarum to the existing site in the river valley to the south soon after 1219 when the bishopric and cathedral were moved to the new town. By the mid-14th century Salisbury was the tenth largest provincial town in England and despite a decline in economic prosperity during the later Middle Ages it continued as an important regional centre throughout the medieval and Early Modern periods. Suburban development from the early 19th century led to renewed expansion, and its commercial importance has continued to the present (Borthwick and Chandler 1984).

The plan of the medieval new town followed a regular grid pattern, but with a degree of variation to accommodate existing features and the need to provision the town with running water. It would

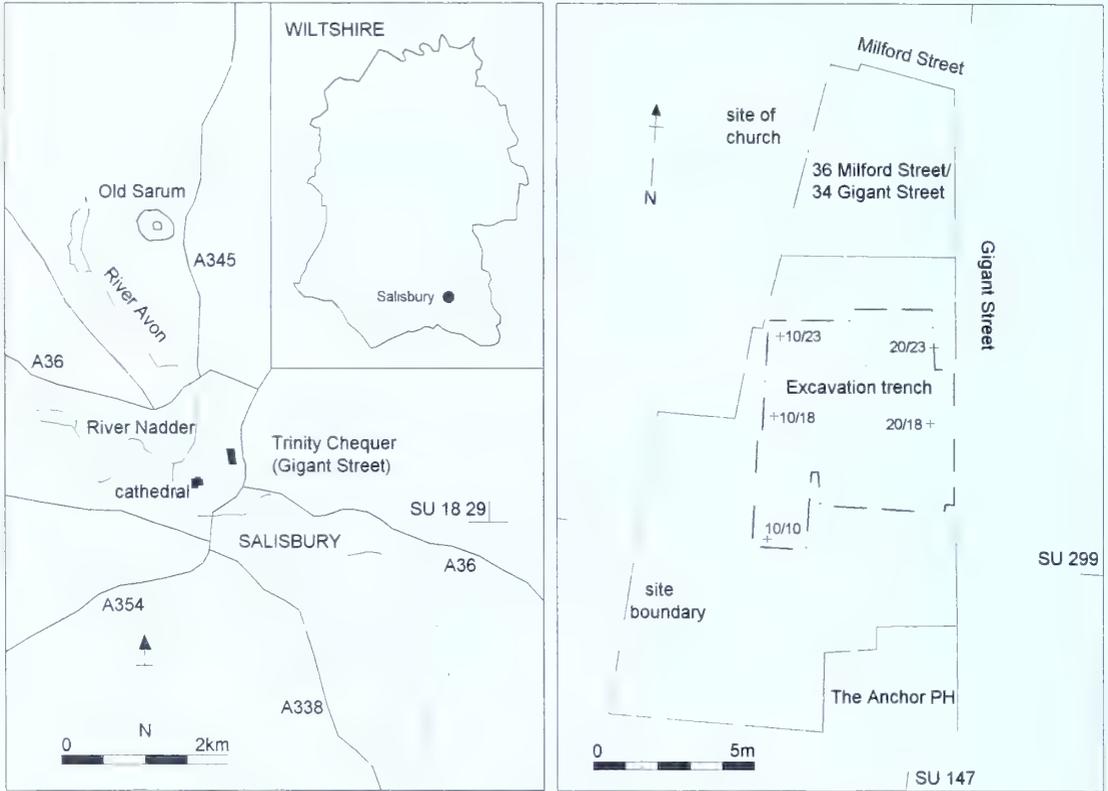


Fig. 1. Location map of Gigant Street and Trinity Chequer, Salisbury, Wiltshire

seem that a major road already existed running down Milford Hill towards Wilton, crossing the River Avon on or near the site of Upper Fisherton Bridge. Another road passed N-S through the site along the line of High Street and Castle Street towards Old Sarum. There is also the possibility of pre-existing settlement around St Martin's Church. Collectively these features prevented a symmetrical grid from being laid out. It was only on the eastern side of the town that a grid system of regularity was possible, but even here the divisions, or chequers, as they came to be known, are rough parallelograms rather than rectangular.

Gigant Street is within this more regularised area of the town, forming part of what was known as Trinity Chequer. This chequer was subdivided N-S by a major watercourse known as the Town Ditch. This should not be confused with the later town defences, which were further to the east along the line of Rampart Street. The Town Ditch served as a main canal for the drainage system within the town. A smaller surface water channel also ran along the line of Gigant Street, being the most easterly of these

secondary channels within the town. The name Gigant or Gigor Street does not occur until 1320 (RCHME 1980, xxxvii), but it is thought that the Trinity Chequer had formed before this, as Brown Street, along its western side, was recorded from c. 1275. The name, Gigant Street, seems to take its name from gigour, a fiddler (*ibid*).

The excavation lay next to the building on the corner of Milford Street and Gigant Street. The former street was part of the ancient routeway from Milford Hill to the ford at Fisherton, and hence one of the more important thoroughfares in the new town. The house on the corner, 36 Milford Street,¹ appears to have been a building of some importance, as it was acquired by the City Corporation in 1413 under royal licence (WSRO G23/1/21 3, f. 113), but appears to have been alienated by 1611. It is last recorded in the corporation records in 1565, when it was leased to John Baker for 40s. per annum (WSRO G23/1/72). There is a gap in the survival of the chamberlain's account rolls after this, and when they reappear in 1611 the property is no longer listed.

There are no surviving records for the properties in Gigant Street between the corner plot and the former *Anchor Inn*, but records for 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street do contain information about this development. Archaeological evidence suggests that this corner plot may have extended over the excavation site. The earliest surviving deed for the former property is a charter of sale for 1366 by which William Teynturer obtained it from Edward, son of Philip Glastyngbury.

Teynturer was a successful merchant and mayor of Salisbury in 1361 and 1375 (RCHME 1980, 97). The property is here described as *Stratfordescorner*, bounded on the west by another property of Teynturer, and on the south by a tenement of John Burnham (WSRO G23/1/212, f. 67).² By 1397 the corner plot was in the hands of William Hull, who was left the property by William Teynturer (WSRO G23/1/213, f. 16). On this occasion Teynturer's other property was on the west, with the tenement of John Coke to the south. It was William Hull who sold the property to the City Corporation in 1413 (op cit).

In 1416 the corporation leased the property, described as *Glastyngburycorner sive Stratfordescorner*, to William Warmewell at 20 shillings a year for 20 years (WSRO G23/1/214). The chamberlain's account for 1475 listed it as 'le bakehous', being formerly leased by William Martyn, a baker, but subsequently let to John Wyse, a vintner, for 20 shillings a year (WSRO G23/1/144, no 5). The property continued to be known as 'le bakehous' and was usually described as being in Winchestrestret, but sometimes *Gigorstret* as well, until it is last recorded in 1565 (op cit).

The RCHME (1980, xliii) describes 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street as 'a large irregular tenement which stretched into the interior of the chequer as far as the [Town] ditch and southwards along it'. However, 32 Milford Street is recorded as standing over that ditch, and, unfortunately, the RCHME discussion does not record its source for this information. A deed of 1431 describes how this latter house stood 'where the water of the common ditch runs under the chamber'. The house to the east was also described as a building with its solar next to the watercourse (ibid, 113). This would only have been possible if the building next to 32 folded around the east and south sides of it. To enable 36 Milford Street to abut on to the Town Ditch, as the RCHME implies, it would have needed to fold around the property next door in a similar manner.

Speed's 1610 map of the city shows that the street frontage of the development site was covered by housing at that date (RCHME 1980, plate 1). It is

uncertain whether the houses are depicted accurately. However, certain details (such as a large gap in the houses near the corner of Brown Street and Milford Street) are repeated in Naish's map of 1716 (ibid, plate 16). Speed's map shows a large house on the site of 36 Milford Street, with a smaller property adjoining on the south, followed by a narrow gap.

Naish's plan of 1716 shows an unusual backland addition in the NE corner of Trinity Chequer. This is repeated in the next chequer (Rolfes Chequer) to the east, and the map appears to show buildings on the west and south of those on the street front, forming a courtyard. If a courtyard is depicted, it is possible that an entrance from the street would have been required. Curiously, Speed seems to show a gap in the housing at the appropriate place in Rolfes Chequer, so these 'gaps' and their associated 'courtyards' on the Naish map may reflect external arrangements on the ground.

Little is known about the later history of the site. A Board of Health drainage map of 1854 shows two wells fed from street drains, one immediately behind 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street and another in the backland area of adjoining Gigant Street properties, relatively close to the site of a well exposed during the excavations. The plan shows structures that can be seen in photographs and still existed until the recent demolition of the Anchor Brewery (WSRO G23/701/1 PC). Cartographic evidence suggests that post-medieval buildings were erected over the structures revealed by excavation. Little trace of these later buildings survived the recent demolition.

By 1880 the 1:500 OS plan (sheet Wilts. 65.15.4) shows that the Anchor Brewery had spread up to the development site, possibly encroaching upon it. There are also several internal changes to divisions between properties on the street front from those shown in 1854. By the 1901 edition (sheet 65.15) these divisions had disappeared, with buildings along the street front apparently incorporated into the Anchor Brewery buildings behind. Subsequent maps show that the brewery had spread right across the site up to the rear wall of 34 Gigant Street. This is confirmed by an undated air photograph of the site that appears in RCHME (1980, pl. 17). Photographs from about 1900 through to 1996 show little change to the street front at that period. Next to 34 Gigant Street was a terraced house, 36 Gigant Street, and between that and the *Anchor* Public House were industrial buildings or stores (NMR A39/2; NMR BB73/75; Salisbury Local Studies Library HD1-4/1982; HC6/1982). These buildings were demolished in 2001/02.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EXCAVATION AREAS

Excavation was conducted in two areas, one covering the backlands area (area 1) and the other the street frontage (area 2).

Area 1

The intervention measured c. 16m by 5m and lay on the western side of the site (Figures 2-5). Most of the area was covered by concrete (01), a modern rubble layer (02), which in turn overlay a series of dump layers (03, 04, 10, 11), most of which contained imported chalk, sometimes mixed with local gravels. These levels overlay a thick, dark grey, silty alluvial layer (22). Although this deposit contained lenses of charcoal, finds were scarce apart from occasional fragments of tile and medieval pottery. This level is seen as an alluvial layer pre-dating the extension of Salisbury new town into the Trinity Chequer area.

Other features cut into the pre-town alluvial layer are of likely medieval date (16, 18, 20, 23, 25, 29). Most were shallow and all contained varying quantities of roof tile but no evidence for systematic rubbish disposal was recorded. Cuts 16 and 25 were shallow scoops with chalky fills. Cut 25 appeared to cut a shallow pit (29) containing moderate quantities of roofing tile. A linear feature, cut 20, was only c. 0.25m deep and seemed more systematically cut than the shallow pits, although its fill was similar. Cut 23 was circular, probably a post-hole, and c. 0.3m deep.

A number of later features were found cut through the dump layers above and also into the alluvial layer. A brick lined cut, cut 12, in the far SE corner of the trench may have been a post-medieval cellar or brick lined pit. It was filled with a loose sandy loam containing brick rubble and late post-medieval glass (14). This feature had cut through a pit (05) with a brick rubble fill (06).

A further post-medieval feature cutting through the dump layers was a brick pier (07) in the SW corner of the excavated area, apparently associated with an adjoining wall (08). Butting up against a line running from wall 13 to the pier was a thick compacted chalk surface (15). This deposit was only revealed at the far southern end of the trench, but did not extend north beyond a line between features 07 and 12/13.

On the west side of the site, following the edge of the trench, were the remains of an ashlar wall (138)

which had been much repaired by patching with chalk blocks, flint and roof tile. This wall appeared to sit on top of chalk (140) and gravel (146) dump layers. As the wall was only seen in section, its exact relationship with the dump layers is uncertain.

Along the SW section line the remains of a later wall (08) included sections of brick and large stone blocks. Based on a shallow brick footing, red bricks predominated to the south. A yellow brick buttress (09) projected a few centimetres from the south face of the wall midway through this area. To the north of this the wall comprised mainly yellow brick, changing to sandstone towards the north end of the area where it continued as wall 138.

Two circular pits (135 and 150) cut post-medieval layers in the NW of area 1 but lacked datable artefacts. Also in the NW corner of area 1 was a series of post-medieval brick structures (44, 46, 47) relating to drainage. One of these drains (44) swung west to cut through the sandstone wall (138). The drains also cut a demolition layer (65).

Area 2

Area 2 covered the street frontage on the eastern side of the site, covering c. 14m by 10m at its maximum extent. The SE part of this area had been excavated in 2001 by Wessex Archaeology (Wessex Archaeology 2001; Barber, this volume). Like area 1, area 2 was covered with concrete, above a brick rubble layer (02) up to 0.5m thick. An alluvial layer (58) in this area was similar to the pre-town alluvial layer (22) in area 1, although it was generally much thinner here, being only 50mm thick in places.

Features cutting the alluvial layer (58) in area 2 were found underlying the street frontage (see below). It is likely that the earliest of these was a circular structure with a flint and chalk foundation (119) built in a construction trench (130) cut into the alluvial silt to an average depth of about 0.35m. This feature had a diameter of 2.5m internally and about 3.65m externally, with walls about 0.65m thick constructed on foundation of crushed chalk (131) up to 0.25m thick. Flint was then laid on top of the chalk forming a crude wall. In some parts the flint had all but been removed. The far SW corner of the building had been cut through by the construction cut (118) for a later chalk-lined well (34).

Against the north wall of the structure were two possible hearths (162, 170). Although these features cut into the silt, they appeared to respect the outer line of the wall, suggesting that they were cut while the structure still stood, or that the footings deterred

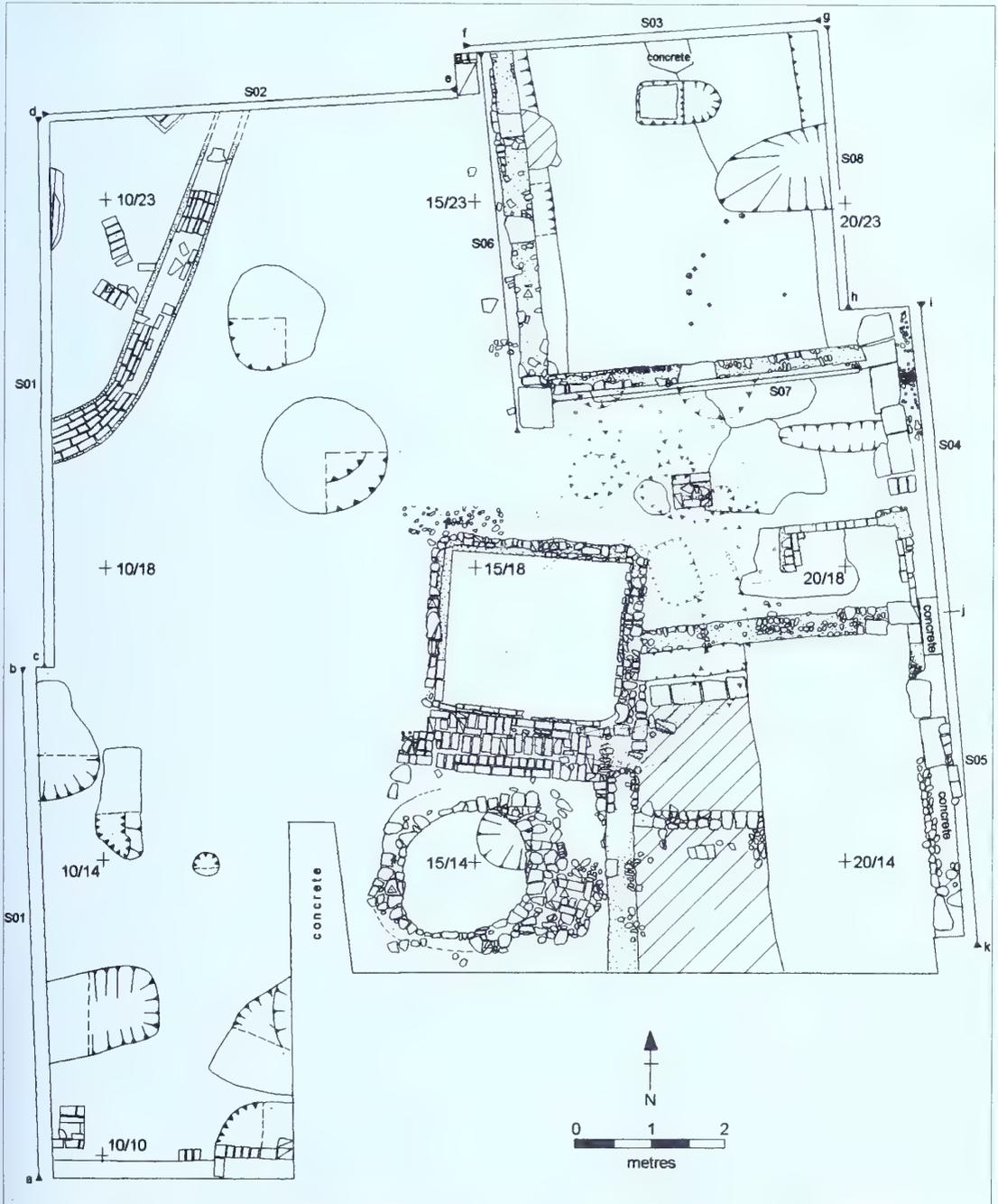


Fig. 2. The excavation site at the rear of 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant St, Salisbury, Wiltshire showing all excavated features and selected section numbers

the hearth-makers from digging further south. These features were associated with a group of similar shallow pits also containing much burnt material (159, 164, 166, 168, 172). Around these features was a spread of burnt soil (153) that extended under the

earliest street front building in this area. A further hearth (190) was found underlying the wall (52) of this building, and other features nearby that may have also pre-dated the building. Overall there was an intense concentration of hearths and shallow pits

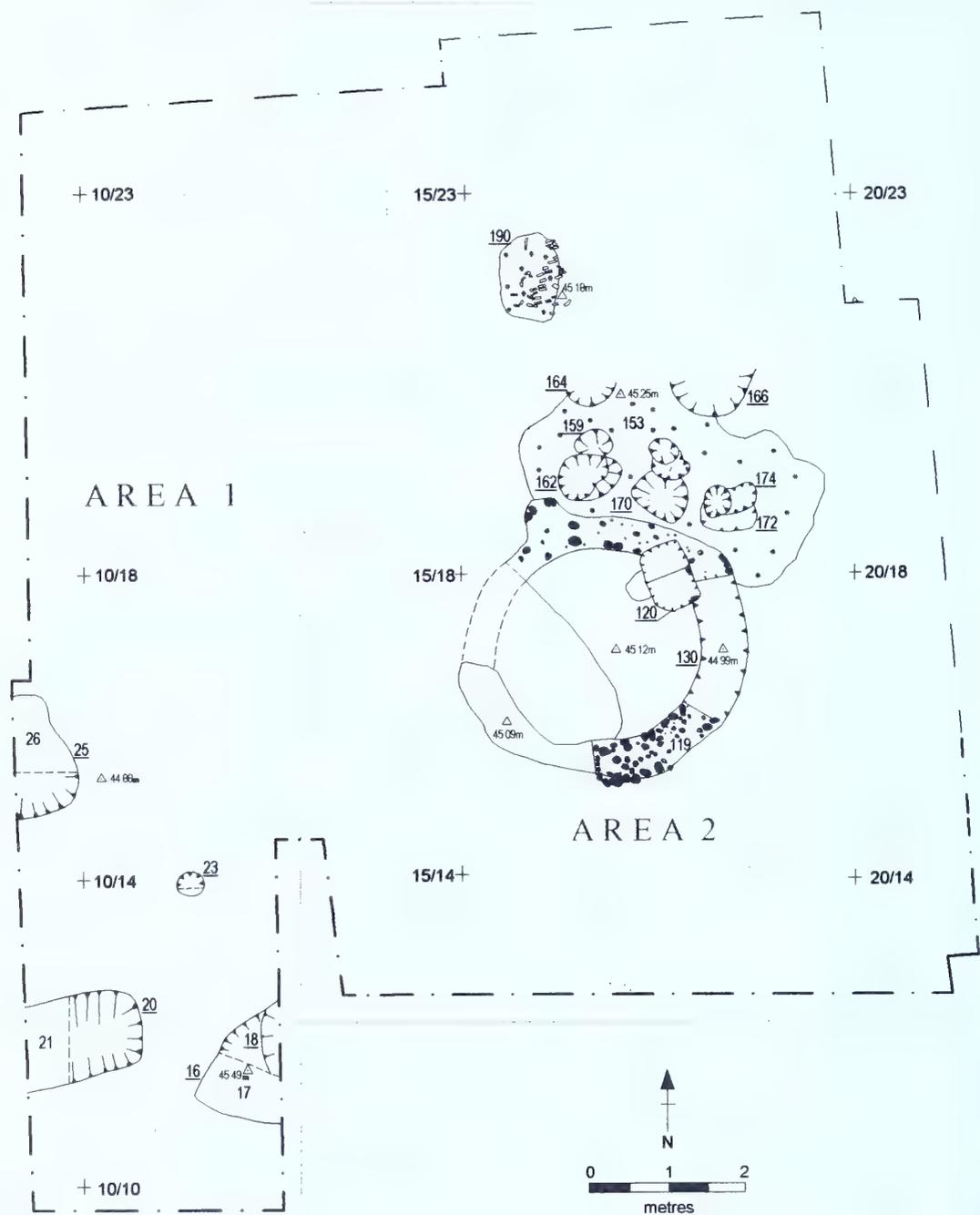


Fig. 3. Site plan showing medieval phases 1-3

containing soils contaminated by much burnt material. On the north, and to a lesser extent on the E and SE, soils containing much evidence of burning were recorded, while the soils within the circular structure (119) were relatively free of burning. The

structure had therefore very likely been erected before the intensive burning activity that occurred outside it.

There was a third hearth-like pit (172) on the north side of structure 119 that came within 0.3m of

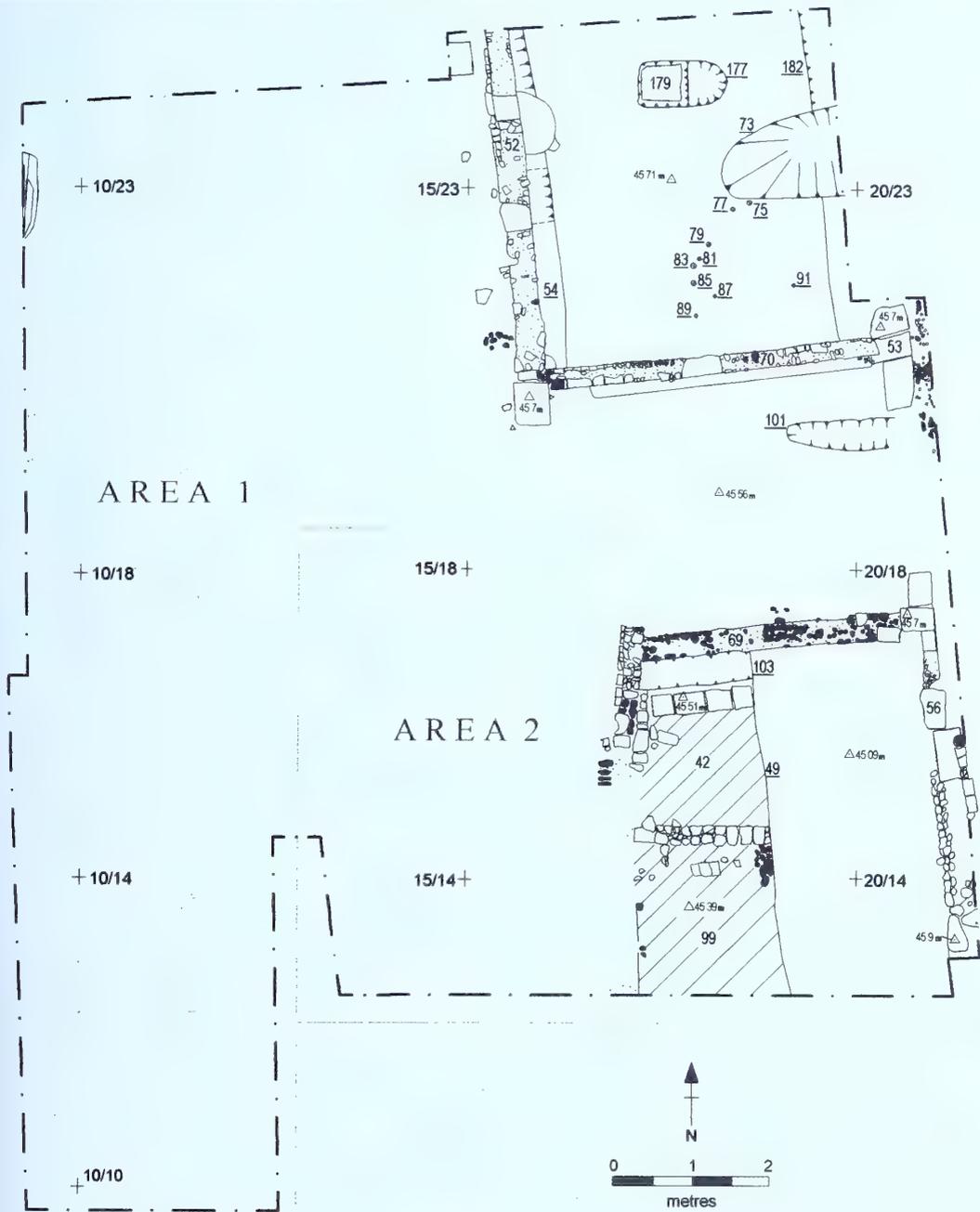


Fig. 4. Site plan showing medieval phases 4-5

the outside wall. All three hearths/pits adjoining the structure were of similar size with similar fills. All had been cut by sub-circular features with the appearance of post-holes. This was clearest in pit 172, where a small circular cut (174) was found in the

NE corner, causing the larger feature to 'bulge' at this point. Pit 162 was also cut by a larger circular feature (159) on its north side. Pit 176 was cut by an irregular feature (168) perhaps caused by levering a post in its hole, or the replacement of a post. All the

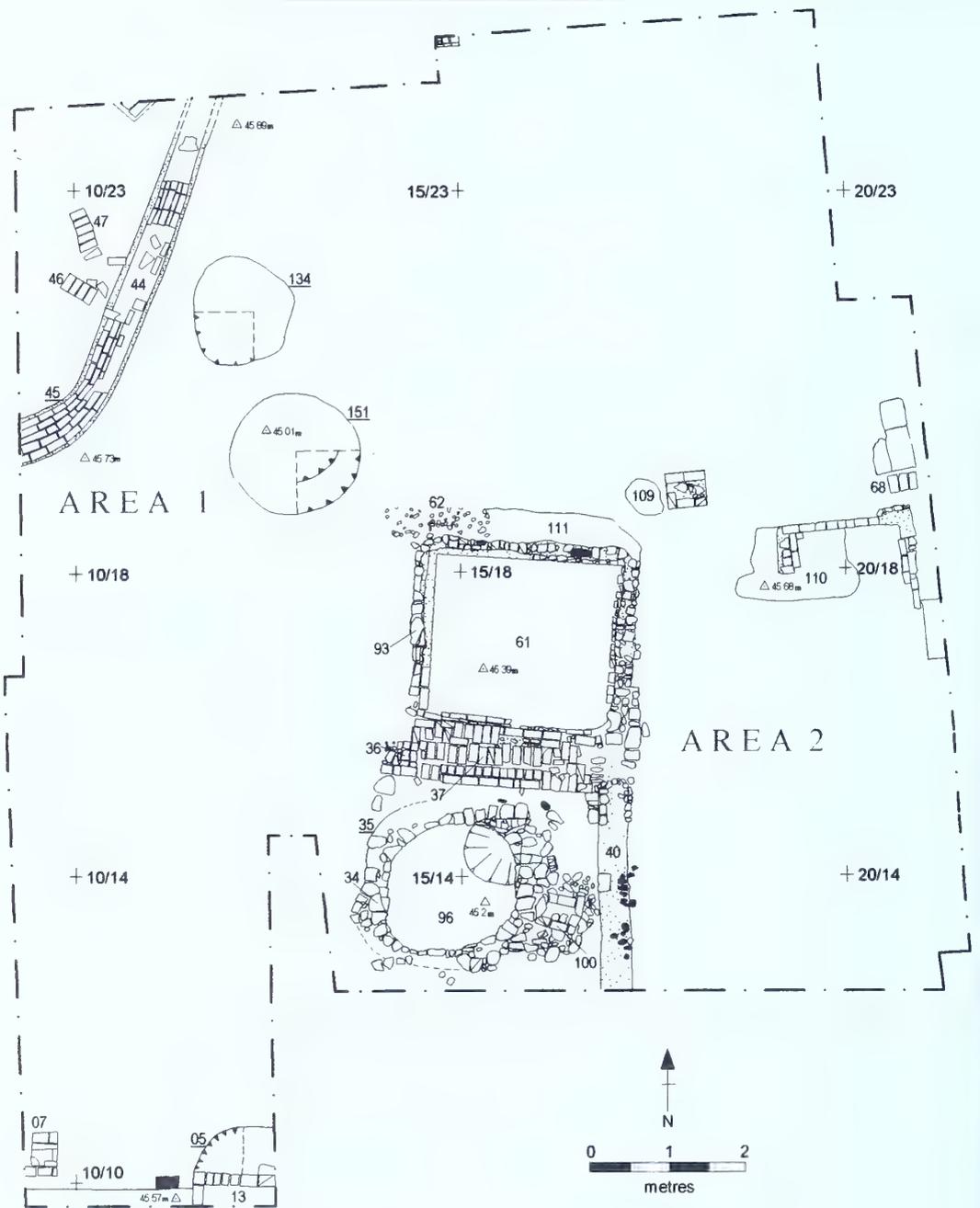


Fig. 5. Site plan showing post-medieval phases 6-8

hearth-like pits (162, 172, 176) contained much evidence of burning. Pit 162 contained a ceramic face from a well-executed anthropomorphic jug, of probable late 13th-century date.

To the north two shallow pits (164, 166) were found to underlie the wall (70) of the street front

building. The cuts were not found on the outside of the wall, but pre-street levels here contained a large shallow scoop in the SW corner of the building filled with much burnt soil (188) identical to that found in pit 164. It is possible that this 'scoop' was a natural hollow, either filled up with burnt material, or caused

by a shallow excavation. The hollow extended northwards towards a tile-made hearth (190), petering out north of this feature. The hearth was of pitched broken roof tile, and was found to underlie the western wall (52) of the street front building. The construction cut for that wall (180) came down on to the hearth, but did not disturb it. Less than 1m NE of hearth 190 three small stake holes (195, 197,

199) in a rough line, lay about 0.15m apart. A metre further to the NE a shallow cut (193) contained a mix of burnt material and clay (194), no more than 0.1m deep.

Following this apparently industrial phase, a layer of gravel was dumped across the site, varying in thickness from 50mm on the street side (155) to 0.35m (137) on the west side of the backlands in area

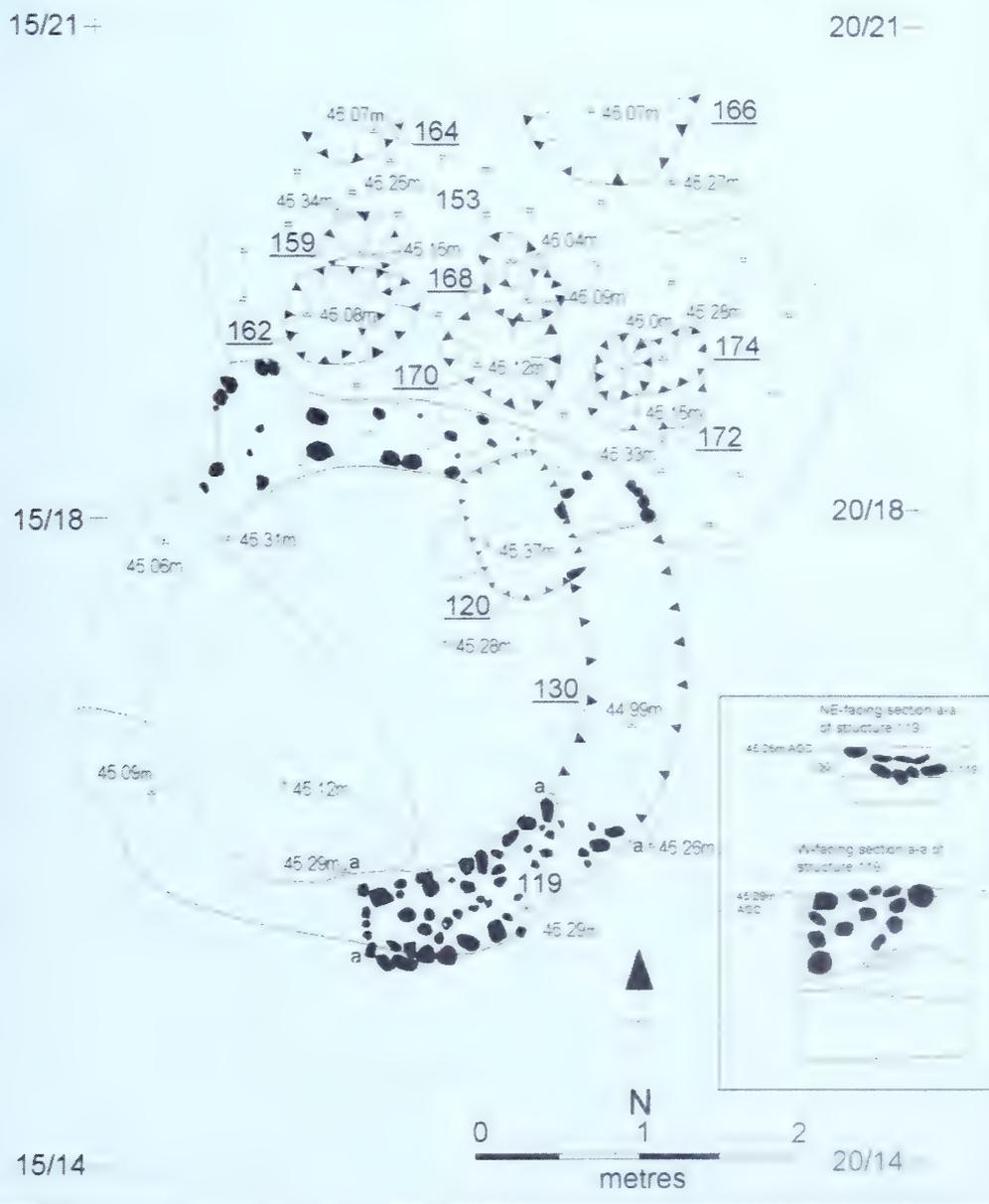


Fig. 6. Plan and sections of the circular building in area 2



Fig. 7. sections a-d in area 1

1. As the land naturally slopes from east to west and north to south, this might be expected. There may have been further smaller-scale industrial activity following this before the street front buildings were laid out. This activity was related to a smaller-scale concentration of burning, probably related to a hearth (120) cut into the foundations of structure 119 (Figure 6).

It seems that structure 119 had been demolished, and a second phase of activity associated with hearths initiated. A substantial burnt area (132) to the east of hearth 120 had four tiles laid within it in a line (133), perhaps the remains of a second hearth. Hearth 120 was shallow, about 0.2m deep, and 0.8m by 0.6m, and contained considerable quantities of bone, tile and pottery, the latter mainly coarsewares of the 13th or early 14th century. A series of associated shallow dump layers, mostly lenses of material, were spread about the site composed of chalk and gravel (123, 155). Further dumped soils (105, 108, 109, 110, 111), some of which contained burnt material, were then laid down. These deposits may have included remnant surfaces or other dumps (184, 185, 186, 187) within the compass of the later building on the north of the site. These layers were subsequently cut by the construction cuts for stone walls associated with medieval street front buildings.

Also cutting these layers was an elongated pit (177) about 1.1m by 0.57m. Only 0.16m deep, it contained a large square block of stone (177) at its west end. The stone was 0.45m square by 0.23m thick. Its purpose uncertain; it had clearly been

deliberately set in this shallow pit. Its position was about central between the east and west walls of the northern street front building (see below) and it may have been a post pad. A later chalk floor overlay it completely.

A series of walls in this area are thought to be of medieval construction. These consisted of sandstone walls along the street frontage (53, 56), and walls 52, 70 and 69, which represent street frontage buildings. Figure 2 shows a gap between the north and south buildings of 3.35m. Projecting across this gap from either side were short lengths of stone wall set in construction cuts. On the north side the wall, an extension of 53, ran 0.9m across the gap. On the south side the wall, an extension of wall 56, ran 0.6m across the gap. There was no evidence of buildings in this gap, although a suspected post-medieval brick chimney stack (51) encroached on it from the southern building.

North of the gap was a well made stone structure formed of walls 52, 53 and 70. In the centre of the southern wall (70) a large horizontal stone block is interpreted as a threshold. This stone matched a similar one in the north wall (69) of the southern building found by Wessex Archaeology (Wessex Archaeology 2001). Although this latter stone had been removed during the evaluation, a gap in the flint wall could be clearly identified. The northern building was 4.2m wide internally, and an estimated 5.2m wide externally. Its excavated length was 4.4m, but the stone wall on the street front could be seen projecting out from beneath the street front wall of

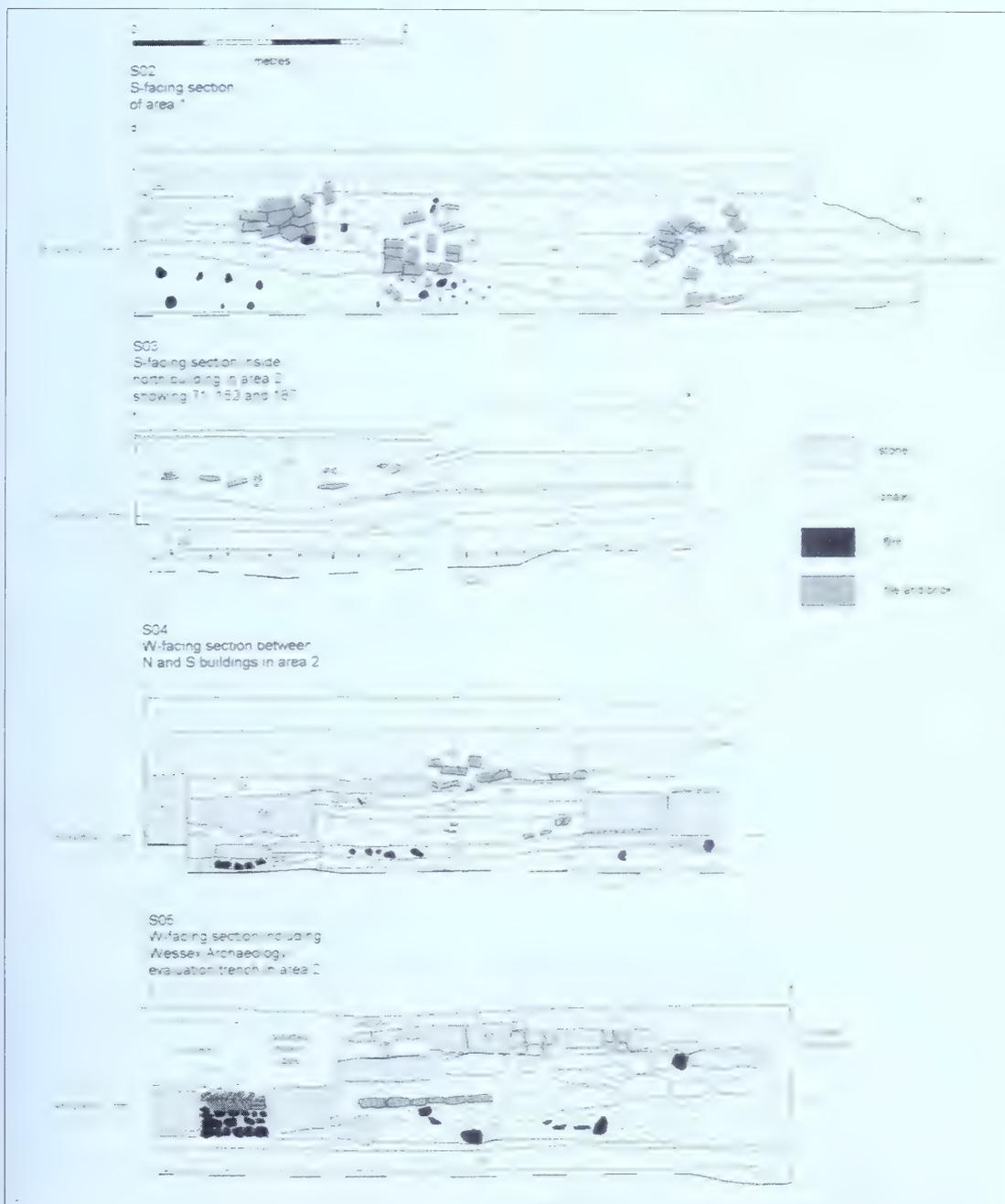


Fig. 8. sections d-k in area 2

the upstanding building to the north (34 Gigant Street).

Inside the north building a number of compacted surfaces were observed. The earliest of these was a clay layer (187). Construction cuts for the western (180) and eastern (182) walls cut into this level,

suggesting that it may have been a pre-building surface. However, there was a series of thin remnant layers (184, 185, 186) overlying this that may have been the remains of early surfaces, perhaps only existing while builders were active. Overlying these deposits was a thick layer of compacted chalk (152),

the first clear floor level. This floor contained late medieval pottery, and was overlain by a thin burnt layer (206), barely 1mm thick in places, followed by another thick chalk layer (71).

Layer (71) had a number of features cut into it, including nine stake holes concentrated in the SE corner (75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91). Cut into through the floor again was an oval pit (73) that cut through all the floor layers beneath it. Overlying floor 71 was the remnant of a probable beaten clay floor (72), only a few centimetres thick, that showed only in the NE and SE corners of the building. In the south-facing section of the trench, a post hole (158) 0.18m in diameter cut through all the floor levels, including layer 72. It was not seen to cut the demolition layer above (65). The conjectured floor (72) was overlain by demolition rubble (65) which contained much roof tile, but no post-medieval pottery.

The southern building in area 2 exhibited several phases. Overlying the alluvial deposits (117) were remnants of a compacted chalk surface (99), followed by a series of thin burnt layers (97, 98). As the Wessex Archaeology trench lay between these layers and the street front it was not possible to determine a relationship between them and the street front wall. A discrete layer of chalk rubble partly overlaid these layers (42), and when removed was found to cover chalk-block walls 114, 115. It seems that these walls were internal to the street front structure, and they clearly lay over the burnt layers 97, 98.

There was evidence of at least three phases of building on the street front. A wall mainly of chalk blocks (56), with large ashlar blocks set at distances which indicated stone dressings, sat over a rubble foundation comprising stone, flint and roof tile set in mortar. Wall and foundation survived to a height of 0.65m. Overlying this was a second wall of mainly greenish ashlar stone (57) set on a slightly different alignment, having been built slightly towards the street. Within wall 56 was a short section of neat flint coursing overlain by tile laid in herring-bone fashion. This section was 0.5m long between two large ashlar blocks.

A wall (40) parallel to the street front on the eastern side of layer 42, is probably the western wall of a street front building. This wall cut across chalk block walls 114 and 115. In its lowest courses the wall contained brick, although it was made of mixed materials, mainly stone and flint.

Wall 40 lay over a large cut (118) for a well, lined with chalk blocks (34), filled with a loamy soil containing much brick rubble (96) and 19th-century bottle glass. At water level (approximately 2.3m

below ground level) timber planks lined the inside face of the chalk blocks. Collapsing sides did not allow this to be examined thoroughly, so it was reburied *in situ*.

Cut 118 also contained a large brick base (37) on the north side of the well. Between the east edge of the well and the edge of the cut was a fill of mainly stone rubble, at least 1m thick. On the SE edge of the well was a rectangular brick structure (100), 0.5m by 0.4m.

The brick base (37) on the north side of the well measured 2.8m by 0.8m, and was built into wall 40. This structure is clearly contemporary with the well as both are constructed within cut 118. On the north side of the brick base was a rectangular building crudely formed of brick walls (41, 62, 93) over a thin tile foundation (95). The structure was 2.5m E-W by 2.3m N-S, with a thin compacted sand floor (61). The east wall (41) seemed to truncate flint wall 69 on the north side of the street front building. Inside, this structure contained a thick layer of roof tile rubble over 0.4m deep. Butting against the flint wall (69) on its north side was a three-sided brick structure (51), 1.3m E-W by 1.1m N-S. A thick layer of chalky debris (65) containing large quantities of roof tile overlay the earlier features. This was partly covered by a compacted clay surface (204), followed by a thin burnt layer (205).

INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EXCAVATION AREAS

Area 1

Area 1 appears to represent a typical Salisbury backland, characterised by a lack of rubbish pits, and shallow cuts filled with chalk and occasional roof tile. There was activity in the southern half of area 1 before the street front was laid out, but its nature is indeterminable. The shallow features imply the dumping of chalky layers and perhaps building activity nearby, but not yet on this site. Linear feature 20 may have been a drain, although it had a clear terminal. Posthole 23 appears to have been an isolated feature, probably not associated with an early building phase.

Following this early activity, a succession of chalk and gravel dumps were made in the area. Such have been found elsewhere in Salisbury (Rawlings 2000), and are thought to represent the building up of levels

to alleviate flooding. It is clear from the alluvial nature of the pre-streetfront level (22) that the Trinity Chequer area was regularly flooded prior to the foundation of the new town.

After this dumping, the only evidence of activity comes from the post-medieval period. A possible cellar (13) was excavated near the SE corner of the area. The backfill was characteristically late post-medieval. This feature had cut an earlier post-medieval pit (05), with a fill containing brick rubble. The brick features (44, 46, 47) represent post-medieval drainage away from the buildings fronting Milford Street.

Along the SW edge of the area was a wall (08). As it was not possible to excavate on the west side of this wall it could not be determined if it was the east wall of an exceptionally long building. If this feature was a boundary wall it was much altered, and possibly extended. At its north end, for example, the wall changed to an ashlar stone structure (138), which

became its main constituent in that part of the area.

It is possible that the stone phase might represent a medieval boundary. If this is the case, it would contradict the RCHME (1980, xliii) view that 36 Milford Street extended around the back of Milford Street properties to gain access to the Town Ditch. The brick section of the wall either represents an extension of the wall, or simply rebuilding along an existing wall. The brick pier (07) seems to be associated with wall 08. As pier 07 lines up with the end of a chalk surface (15) and the line of the brick feature (13), it is suggested that this line marks a W-E property division between the street front building in Area 2 and the plot taken up by the former *Anchor Inn*.

Area 2

Area 2 contained evidence for street frontage buildings along Gigant Street in the medieval period

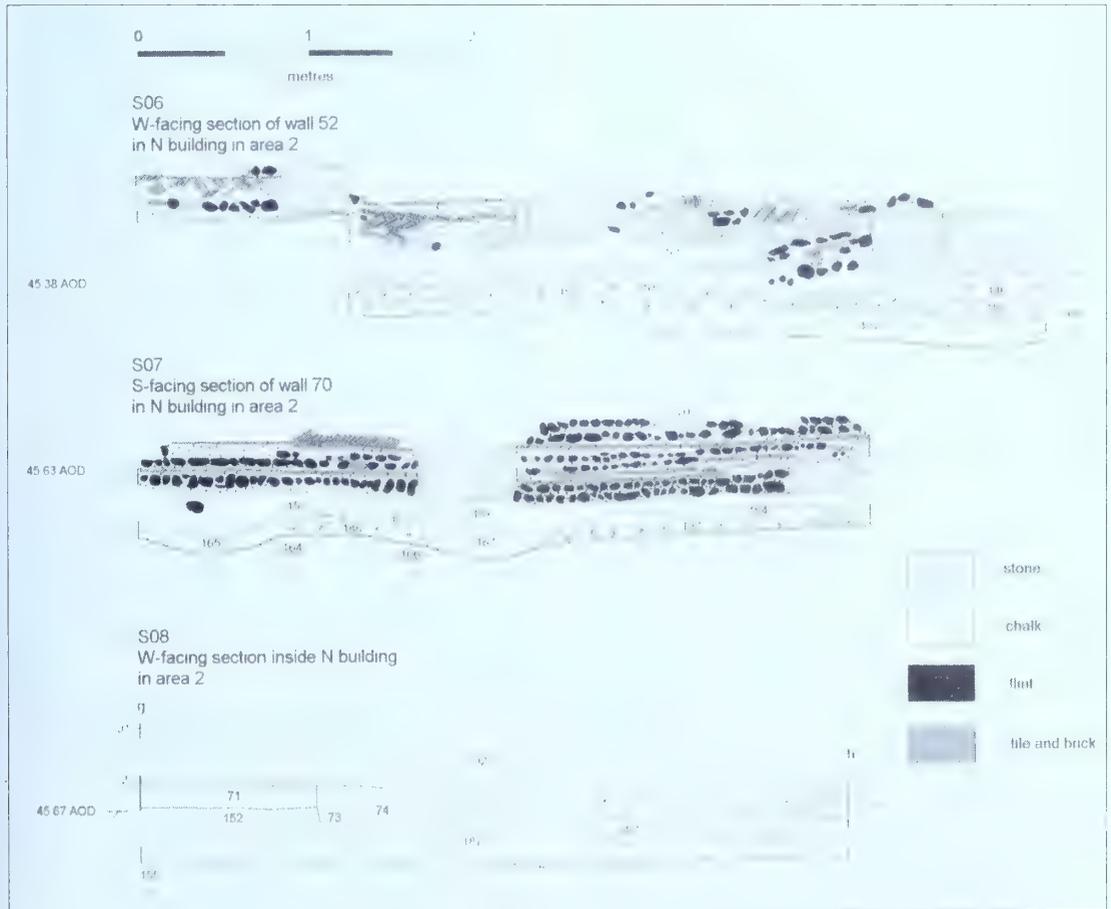


Fig. 9. sections of the north building in area 2

overlying an earlier circular structure and industrial activity. Later brick structures and a chalk-lined well were constructed in the southern half of the area during the post-medieval period.

The circular structure (119) is probably the earliest feature. It was associated with medieval coarseware pottery, probably of 13th-century date. Its purpose is not known, but there was a relative lack of burnt soil inside it compared with the extensive areas of burning associated with the conjectured hearths butting against its outside wall on the north side.

After the circular structure was constructed, intensive activity centred on small hearths took place. Part of an anthropomorphic jug found in one of the hearths suggests a late 13th-century date, as does pottery recovered elsewhere in this phase. No obvious activity was carried on within this hearth area. No metal residues were found to suggest smithing, although activity was clearly intense as indicated by the volume of burnt soil spread around the hearths. The intensely burnt area was localised and did not extend more than a few centimetres beyond the western wall of the later street front building, despite a hearth (190) being located under the wall. Activity at this hearth clearly took place on its eastern side. Likewise there was much less burning south of the centre of the circular building, the more intense activity being on its north side.

Following this phase there was dumping on the site, followed by another phase of hearths (120 and possibly 133). Hearth 120 was cut into the footing of circular structure 119, showing that the latter had clearly been demolished by this time. Activity in hearth 120 was associated with sherds of cooking pots and bones, suggesting cooking, but there was also hammer scale in the fill, indicating smithing.

Further dumping followed this phase before the street front buildings were laid out. The two buildings erected here seem to have been of a high status with the street front walls made of ashlar blocks. There was evidence of a gateway between the north and south buildings, just wide enough to admit a cart.

The west wall of the northern building also comprised flint with alternate herring-bone tile courses, but this was interspersed with ashlar blocks, suggesting decorative stone dressings at intervals. It is not known if the entire building was stone built, or if only the ground floor was of stone with timber framing above. The remains of two other stone secular buildings are known from medieval Salisbury. These are at Le Crane and 47 New Street,

but normally houses outside the Close were timber-framed (RCHME 1980, lxi). It appears therefore that the building erected on the street front here was of exceptional status.

In the southern building the east (56) and north (69) walls represent the original medieval elements of the structure. These overlay alluvial layers, the upper levels of which contain much evidence for burning. The Wessex Archaeology evaluation recovered evidence for possible pre-building hearths on the site (Wessex Archaeology 2001; Barber, this volume), and this is supported by evidence of more intensive industrial activity to the north of this area. Chalk surface (99) may represent a pre-building surface, although it might be the earliest floor level within the building.

The medieval building seems to have been extended slightly towards the street front by wall 57. It was common practice for urban householders to try to encroach on to the street, effectively 'stealing' a small part of the street. Such practice was referred to as *purpresture*, and was frequently accepted by civic authorities on payment of an appropriate fine. This encroachment may be related to a phase of post-medieval rebuilding of the property. This seems to have involved demolition of internal chalk walls 114 and 115 plus the western wall of the property so that a large cut could be excavated to build a chalk block well and an associated brick structure on its north side. It is possible that this activity resulted in the entire building being rebuilt above ground. No definite floor levels survived within the street front building until after the post-medieval rebuilding.

Dating for phases in this area can only be defined in the broadest terms. Pre-building phases are associated mainly with 13th-century pottery, but as there is little definition in the Salisbury area for pottery types after the early 14th century, it is difficult to date subsequent phases precisely. There was a notable scarcity of post-medieval material over the entire site. Even rubble layers near the surface were relatively free of late post-medieval pottery and clay pipes.

Medieval pottery from the site was similar to that from elsewhere in the town. Over 95% was typical of the 13th and early 14th centuries. There was little that could be clearly dated beyond that. Dump layers outside the buildings, associated with a demolition phase, contained Cistercian type wares. Inside the north building sherds of a bowl thought to come from the later medieval period were found in an early floor build up. This might suggest that the building itself was of late medieval date, indicating that the



Plate 1. Area 2 under excavation showing the circular building [119] and the northern building

industrial phases extended into the 14th century, and that the street frontage here was a late development.

In 1366 William Teynturer the younger obtained 36 Milford Street. He also owned the property to the west. In 1412-13 the property passed into the hands of the City Corporation. It is possible that the rebuilding in stone occurred at this later date, but it seems unlikely that they would rebuild in such a fine material when the building was only subsequently let to men of no more than middling status.

It seems that 36 Milford Street was either rebuilt in stone or extended along the Gigant Street frontage after 1350. Support for this date is provided by the dating of similar stone buildings in the Close. Characteristic flint and herring-bone tile courses found on the excavated site match late medieval phases at the Medieval Hall (formerly the Deanery), dated to the 15th century (RCHME 1993, 209). Previously the Gigant Street front had remained undeveloped. Corresponding entrances to the south and north buildings on the site, and similarities between their surviving medieval stonework, suggest that they formerly constituted one large property. There was no trace of a division between 36 Milford Street/ 34 Gigant Street and the southern building, but an E-W property boundary divided the south

end of the southern building from what later became the *Anchor Inn*.

The north building was refloored at least twice during the later medieval period. A thin scatter of burnt material on the lower floor suggests renewal following a fire. A dump of very late medieval or early post-medieval demolition covered the latest medieval floor, as in the southern building.

A chalk-lined well and various brick structures form the principal evidence of post-medieval occupation. The purpose of the substantial brick base (37) on the north side of the well (34) is uncertain. The only dating for the post-medieval structures related to their destruction. Debris spread over the floor of the building north of the well contained a sherd of 19th-century blue and white fineware. The well also contained 19th-century and later material.

DISCUSSION

The first phase of activity on the site was the construction of a circular building of flint and chalk, most likely a dovecote in the backland of an important property; dovecotes are known elsewhere on back plots in Salisbury. Later there appears to have been industrial activity evidenced by a number of hearths, and intensive burning, mainly to the north of the circular structure. The anthropomorphic jug sherd from one of these features suggests a date after 1275 for deposition. Subsequently the circular structure was demolished and less intense burning associated with one or more hearths occurred. One of these hearths cut into the foundation of the circular structure, demonstrating that it had been demolished by this time. This hearth contained a number of broken jar rims of 13th or early 14th-century date.

Following this phase, well constructed stone structures were built, divided by a gateway with stone quoins leading into the backland area. A stone wall of similar build to the street front wall suggests contemporaneity, although the sequence was not recoverable owing to the western wall being only partly visible in section.

The north and south buildings were very likely contemporary, and part of the same property. Both had stone thresholds facing each other. It might be suggested that an L-shaped building formed the corner plot. RCHME file notes on 36 Milford Street state that the building dates from the late 16th century on account of a plaster ceiling bearing the initials 'EW' therein (RCHME file notes). During

the writing of the Salisbury volume, the notes were edited and a 17th-century date substituted, the date also suggested in the listed building description (RCHME 1980, 113; DoE no date, Salisbury no 4/200). In the 18th century the building was encased in brick, and much of the external appearance is of this date. In 1852 the north facade was truncated to build the adjoining Wesleyan Reform Chapel.

There is a curious coincidence of surviving stone walls in Salisbury and former property boundaries belonging to William Teynturer. Two other of Teynturer's properties had stone boundary walls. At the *George Inn* in High Street, one of the most important medieval buildings surviving in Salisbury, a 'strong wall of rubble and ashlar', thought to be of 13th-century date marks the former boundary of the property (RCHME 1980, 97). A second Teynturer property, 47-49 New Canal, had a stone walled garden 59 feet by 38 feet which was frequently mentioned in deeds (*ibid*, 100). Other properties in Salisbury retain evidence of former boundary walls in stone. At the *Plume of Feathers* in Queen Street, a stone wall on the north side of the building was probably a boundary wall incorporated into the structure as it extended in that direction. Like Teynturer's properties, this building had also been owned by men of substance, including three of the city's 14th-century mayors (*op cit*, 85-87).

Demolition associated with sherds of Cistercian-type wares suggests a 16th- or early 17th-century date for a rebuilding of the property. Anomalies in the documentary record coincide with this rebuilding. In 1565 the property was owned by the City Corporation (WSRO G23/1172), but by 1611 had disappeared from their records. It is possible that this change of ownership had resulted in redevelopment of the site.

Changes made when the Anchor Brewery took over the site in the 19th-century have masked the sequence in the northern building. It may have survived the c. 1600 rebuilding largely intact, but

by the 19th century the earliest photograph of the site (NMR BB73/75) shows that the buildings between the corner and the *Anchor Inn* had been divided into at least four separate building. By this time 36 Gigant Street, a simple brick terraced house, stood over the northern remains. This suggests a rebuilding of the entire row in the post-medieval period.

The sequence of the southern building in area 2 is clearer. The western wall was replaced when the cutting for a large chalk block well was made in the post-medieval period. The east and north walls may have been retained before being replaced by brick walls overlying the original stone foundations. At the same time that the well was made, a substantial brick base was built into the well cut. Attached to this brickwork was a squarish brick and flint structure on its north side. This was badly made, its eastern wall being at a slight angle to the original alignment of the west wall of the southern building. The crudeness of this structure suggests an industrial use with the status of the southern complex possibly declining. By the time of the first photograph c. 1900, the structure on the site had become a warehouse, with a wide double door on the site of the earlier gateway. The entrance from the street was thus retained in the later brick structure. The well behind was infilled during the later 19th century. It is shown on the drainage plan of 1854, and it may have been removed soon after when a better water supply system was laid out in the 1860s (*ibid*, xlviii). The sequence of occupation is outlined in Table 1.

THE FINDS

Building stone

There was much building stone on the site, both *in situ* and among demolition rubble. Most common were large squared blocks of Greensand, often of exceptional size, 0.4m by 0.4m by 0.8m. Such were

Table 1. Site Phasing

<i>phase</i>	<i>occupation evidence</i>	<i>dating</i>
1	circular building in area 2; possible backland area in areas 1 and 2	c. 1275
2	hearths and intensive burnt soils to north of circular buildings in area 2	after c. 1275, possibly c. 1300
3	circular building removed; more hearths and burning	early 14th century
4	stone buildings erected along Gigant Street on either side of gateway in area 2	mid-late 14th century
5	reflooring in northern building in area 2 with numerous stake holes in SE corner	late medieval
6	demolition layer related to rebuilding of structures in area 2	1565-1611
7	street front buildings rebuilt in brick	18th century
8	acquisition by Anchor Brewery with associated restructuring and demolition of earlier structures	c. 1860

found along the street front in the earliest phase and in a much disturbed state along the western edge of the excavated trench. The stone is probably of local origin. Examination of the wall where it disappeared under 34 Gigant Street revealed the top course to be a green sandstone, with the next two courses in a lighter green malmstone. In general, it would seem that the upper courses of the street front and western stone wall were in greensand, with some of the lower courses in malmstone. The latter also seems to have been used as stone dressings in the flint and tile walls behind the street front.

Only one block of limestone, probably from Chilmark quarries, was found along the street front of the southern building. This wall contained chalk blocks, which formed internal walls to the medieval phase of the southern building and the lining of the post-medieval well. Flint was used in the rear walls of both buildings, usually with alternate layers of herring-bone tile.

Roof tile

Tile was collected from discrete features, but only from dump layers for dating purposes, or where sampling was considered appropriate. Glazed ridge tile was found across the site from the earliest through to the latest post-medieval phases as redeposited demolition debris. In all 72 fragments weighing 5,925g were collected. A number of fragments were found incorporated into post-medieval walls, and the ubiquity of this material suggests elaborate structures in the medieval period. Several fragments were crested, but no finials were recognised; fabrics were generally similar to those found in local coarseware pottery.

Peg tile, of which 68 fragments weighing 4,695g were collected, was found in all phases, suggesting that even the earliest buildings in Salisbury were roofed in this material. A city ordinance of 1431 forbade the use of thatch in the town to reduce the risk of fire (RCHME 1980, xlv). Hare (1991, 88) suggests that plain roof tile production did not become commonplace until the 14th century, although there was localised production in the 13th century. Roof tiles were produced for Clarendon Palace, where they were being used by 1244 at the latest. The production site may have been nearby at Alderbury, to the south of Salisbury, as this site was producing tiles for Clarendon in large quantities a century later (*ibid.*, 89). Alderbury also produced ridge tile. In the 1379 poll tax returns there were 17 tilers operating here, the only place in Wiltshire to have such a concentration (*op cit.*, 90).

Floor tile

Four fragments of floor tile weighing 1,305g were recovered. All were redeposited, mostly in dump layers. Three pieces were plain and unglazed, with one large plain fragment with a thick clear glaze and little sign of wear. All fragments were in a similar fabric to local coarseware pottery.

Brick

Brick was found *in situ* in the wall seen in the western section of area 2. Both red and yellow brick was found here (08, 09). The only other place that brick was found *in situ* was in a suspected cellar wall in the far SE corner of area 2 (13). Only two pieces of brick, weighing 630g, were collected, where they helped to date discrete features. There was otherwise a lack of brick walls found even at post-medieval levels, suggesting shallow foundations and extensive demolition at some time in the past, possibly in the more recent past. The brick foundations to buildings shown on early photographs of the site (NMR BB73/75) must have been shallow and built on top of existing stone walls. No traces of brickwork were recorded on street front walls, either in this excavation or the earlier Wessex Archaeology evaluation (Wessex Archaeology 2001).

Pottery

Salisbury has become renowned for the scarcity of its stratified medieval pottery assemblages. In these circumstances the quantity of pottery recovered was considered to be a reasonable collection, particularly as over 95% of it came from stratified contexts.

The majority of the assemblage comprised Laverstock type wares, sandy tempered fabrics used to make both coarsewares and jugs. This was identified as 94.4% by number and 92.8% by weight (see table). The majority of Laverstock ware from this excavation took common forms in the 13th and early 14th centuries, although there is a lack of vessels that can be attributed to the later 14th and 15th centuries. It is now generally considered that the earlier wares continued to be produced throughout the later medieval period, making it difficult to assign dates between about 1320 and 1500 to individual sherds (Mephams 2000, 30-31; Andrews et al 2000, 196). As far north as Avebury local later medieval wares are generally indistinguishable from 13th and early 14th century wares (Jope 1999, 82). Study of Laverstock

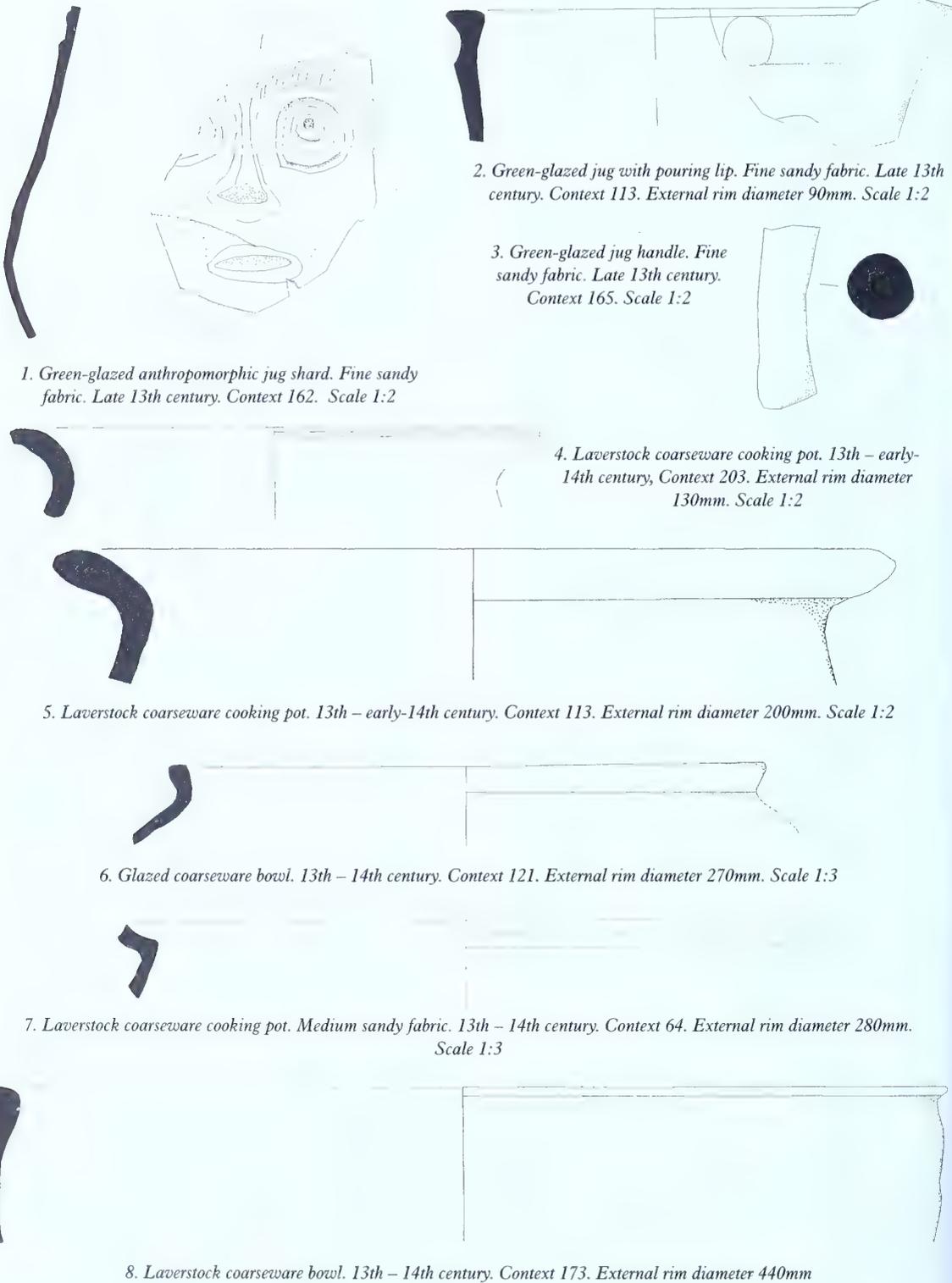


Fig. 10. Pottery. Scale 1:3

type wares has shown that it is difficult to distinguish from the contemporary fabrics found in SE Dorset, suggesting that they spread over a wide area of SE Wiltshire into Dorset and parts of western Hampshire (Mephram 2000, 31). Once outside this area, later medieval wares can be identified in the limestone-tempered Minety industries of north Wiltshire (Currie 1993, 69-71; Musty 1973), and through painted wares in eastern Hampshire and Sussex (Barton 1979, 122-27). This suggests that the phenomenon is specific to the Salisbury area rather than to southern England as a whole. The only positively identified later medieval fabrics come from the end of the period, overlapping with the early post-medieval era in the form of a small number of sherds of Cistercian-type ware from demolition layers thought to date to the 16th or very early 17th centuries.

The majority of the medieval jugs were body sherds of various types, mainly plain, with about 50% comprising thick heavy green glazes. There were few rim sherds to aid dating, with two notable exceptions; a large fragment of a face jug similar to that in the Salisbury Museum Catalogue (Musty 2001, Fig 64, no 179; 160), and datable to the period c. 1275-1300, and a pouring lip of a jug with a bridged spout, possibly dated c. 1250-1300.

Unglazed coarsewares comprised mainly everted rim jars of the type used for cooking, as evidenced by frequent sooting on the outside. Many of the sherds were scratch-marked. There was little variety in this type, the vessel form being common throughout the 13th and much of the 14th century. A significant proportion of the rims came from a

hearth belonging to the last industrial phase before buildings were put up along the Gigant Street frontage. This was thought to be after 1300, but probably before 1370.

A vessel type that seemed to have a slightly higher presence than at other sites in Salisbury were bowls/ dishes. Bowls were relatively rare at Ivy Street, Salisbury (Rawlings 2000, 33), but also at recent excavations in Wilton (Andrews *et al.* 2000, 195). Most seemed to come from the earlier industrial phases. One example from a phase 3 hearth was a shallow vessel with a wide pouring lip and stabbed decoration around the rim. A second vessel appears to have a distortion in its circular profile suggesting a pouring lip. A third vessel with very coarse fabric was much deeper, with an almost cauldron like form. Even where rims were not present bowls seemed the most likely form of body sherds with sparse internal glazing and exterior sooting. The frequency of these vessels, particularly those with pouring lips, might suggest use in an unidentified industrial process. A bowl with stabbed decoration on the rim was identified at Ivy Street (Rawlings 2000, 33).

The small quantity of post-medieval pottery (less than 2%) is unusual even by Salisbury standards. It might initially be thought that the machining of upper post-medieval levels had contributed to this, but careful examination of spoil heaps indicated that this was not the case. A number of rebuilding phases in the post-medieval period may have contributed to the removal of materials off site, although it should be noted that even the infill of the well in the late 19th century left very little contemporary pottery, despite the masses of brick rubble therein.

Table 2. Pottery fabric types by number and weight

fabric type	no. sherds	% of total	weight in gms	% of total weight
<i>Laverstock unglazed coarsewares</i>				
coarse sandy fabric	297	62.5	2453	52.0
medium sandy fabric	11	2.3	180	3.8
<i>glazed coarsewares (mainly bowls)</i>				
medium sandy fabric	33	6.9	672	14.2
<i>finewares (mainly jugs)</i>				
fine sandy fabric	105	22.1	1078	22.8
<i>coarseware with occ. flint</i>	15	3.2	260	5.5
<i>Borderware</i>	1	0.2	1	0.02
<i>Cistercian ware</i>	4	0.8	20	0.42
<i>tin-glazed earthenware</i>	1	0.8	14	0.3
<i>Post-medieval 'china'</i>	1	0.2	17	0.4
<i>Blue and White ware</i>	1	0.2	1	0.02
<i>Post-medieval glazed earthenware</i>	3	0.6	23	0.5
Total	475	100	4719	99.96

Clay pipe

Very little clay pipe was found. All fragments came from the vicinity of the backfilled well, and were entirely of stems comprising 17 fragments weighing 80g. One stem exhibited an indecipherable maker's mark.

Iron and other metal objects

The metalwork was examined by Helen Wilmot of the Wiltshire County Council Conservation Centre, The Close, Salisbury. Few iron objects (12 fragments weighing 317g) were found, mostly nails. Four pieces of a possible iron vessel (weighing 165gm) were found within the hearth 190. X-ray examination revealed square holes for handles in some of these fragments, suggesting the remains of a crucible. The only other metal object was a small strip of lead weighing 8g, perhaps a fragment of window flashing.

Environmental samples and bones

by Elizabeth Pearson, Ian Baxter and Sheila Hamilton-Dyer

Environmental samples were taken from three of the medieval hearths, two from the earliest industrial phase (191, 163) and one from the second industrial phase (121). The assemblage was sent to Worcestershire Archaeological Service, University College, Worcester for analysis. The results were as follows. The full report can be found in the site archive.

Remains from wet-sieved samples from hearths

Small quantities of fragmented large mammal, small mammal and fish bone, charred cereal crop remains and molluscs were recovered from these samples, in association with artefactual material. In hearth fill 121, hammerscale (flakes, approximately 1-2mm size)

recovered in moderate quantity would not have been visible during excavation, but suggest that smithing was carried out in the near vicinity. It is not possible to determine whether the hearth in which this waste was found was used for this purpose as smithing hearths were traditionally at waist height, particularly during the Roman period (Derek Hurst pers. comm.). Occasional fire ash, slag, coal, tile and abundant pottery sherds were also noted. Coal, for example, is of interest here, as it is commonly associated with smithing waste (Derek Hurst pers. comm.).

Low levels of animal bone fragments (some stained green by copper), large fish vertebrae and fish scale suggest that some domestic waste was discarded on to the fire, but as it is not burnt is not likely to represent residues of food cooked directly on the fire. However, the occasional charred wheat grains (*Triticum* sp) in hearth fill 173 are likely to have been accidentally burnt as a result of piecemeal processing of grain (parching prior to storage, milling or cooking), or may have been thrown onto the fire with cereal crop waste used as tinder. The copper stained bone is also of note as bone artefacts were sometimes deliberately stained green with copper (Derek Hurst pers. comm.), and may therefore be an indication of other craft activities on the site.

Animal bone (Ian Baxter; fish bone identifications by Sheila Hamilton-Dyer)

A small number of animal bones, recovered by hand from environmental samples, amounted to 31 'countable' (see below) hand-collected fragments (Table 3) and 19 fragments from sample residues (Table 4). These mostly derive from medieval pits and layers. Some of the hand-collected bones derive from features for which no dating information was available. These are tabulated as 'medieval?' as they are consistent with material originating from contexts of medieval date. The condition of the animal bones was generally good.

Table 3. Animal bone: number of hand-collected identified specimens (NISP)

Taxon	Period				Total
	medieval	medieval?	post-medieval	c.19th	
Cattle (<i>Bos f. domestic</i>)	6	1		1	8
Sheep/Goat (<i>Ovis/Capra f. domestic</i>)	9	10			19
Sheep (<i>Ovis f. domestic</i>)	(3)	(6)			(9)
Domestic Fowl (<i>Gallus f. domestic</i>)	2	+			2
Domestic Goose (<i>Anser f. domestic</i>)	1				1
cf. Teal (<i>Anas crecca</i>)			1		1
Total	18	11	1	1	31

Table 4. Animal bone: number of identified specimens (NISP) in the samples

Taxon	Period		Total
	medieval	medieval?	
Sheep/Goat (<i>Ovis/Capra f. domestic</i>)	2		2
Pig (<i>Sus f. domestic</i>)	2		2
Domestic Fowl (<i>Gallus f. domestic</i>)	+		+
Cod (<i>Gadus morhua</i>)	2		2
Hake (<i>Merluccius merluccius</i>)	4		4
Ray (cf. <i>Raja clavata</i>)	1		1
Shark sp.	1		1
Fish sp.	6	1	7
Total	18	1	19

Domestic mammals

The remains of sheep/goat constitute the majority of fragments. No teeth or bones identifiable as goat were seen and the assemblage may be considered to derive exclusively from sheep. Four suitable bones were sufficiently complete to calculate withers heights based on the criteria of Teichert (1975). These range between 45-52cm with a mean of 50cm. A perinatal radius shaft was recovered from hearth 120 (121).

No measurable cattle bones were found, but adult, subadult and juvenile remains are included in the assemblage. The maxilla of a young calf was found in layer (113). Pig remains are restricted to dental elements from sample residues. Vertebra and rib fragments of cattle and sheep sized mammals occur sporadically suggesting on-site butchery.

Domestic birds

Bones of domestic fowl and domestic goose occurred sporadically at low frequency in the hand-collected assemblage.

Wild birds

The proximal ulna of a small duck, most probably teal (*Anas crecca*) was found in post-medieval well cut 118 (39).

Fish bones

Cod (*Gadus morhua*), hake (*Merluccius merluccius*) and ray (cf. *Raja clavata*) were recovered from the sample residues. These species have all been identified at Salisbury before. It has become well established that the majority of fish found at Salisbury are marine species that came through the port of Southampton (Coy 1996, Hamilton-Dyer 2000).

Concluding discussion on environmental and bone reports
Archive bone reports and assessments have been compiled for several sites in Salisbury. These include W129 Gigant Street car park (Coy 1986), and other neighbouring sites. In addition there is a published bone report from the south-west corner of the Antelope Chequer (Hamilton-Dyer 2000). At Ivy Street and Brown Street (ibid) the bones of sheep, particularly foot bones, were most frequent. Bones from immature calves were also noted. The size of the sheep from 39 Brown Street and Gigant Street car park (Coy 1986) are similar to those from the present site. It has been suggested for Ivy Street and Brown Street (Hamilton-Dyer 2000) that the high number of sheep foot bones at that site may result from the processing of skins, but primary butchery is equally likely (Albarella 2002).

Overall the material does not appear to originate from high status households. Wild resources, other than fish, are poorly represented and several of the sheep bones probably represent primary butchery. Some of the cattle bones are also of low value parts of the carcass, although they include veal bones, and the remains give the impression of mainly domestic waste. The marine fish bones show the probable ultimate destination of some of the fish leaving Southampton. Urban refuse disposal in the medieval period is often variable and selective, and only limited aspects of the faunal economy can be suggested from a small assemblage such as this. It has, however, provided a rare opportunity to examine material from the heart of the town.

Environmental and artefactual remains from the hearth samples suggest that iron smithing took place in the vicinity and that domestic food waste was discarded into all three hearths, and in the case of cereal grain, may have been cooked directly on the fire (although in small quantities). The remains generally indicate small-scale disposal of domestic waste, similar to that recorded on other sites in Salisbury, and the consumption of marine fish probably imported inland through Southampton.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are given to all those involved. The groundworkers, Huttons of Andover, are thanked for allowing use of their facilities, and for vacating the site at short notice when it was realised that access would be complicated by their continued presence on the site. The late John Pittard, the site architect, provided plans, advice and liaison with the client.

Helena Cave-Penney, the Wiltshire County Council archaeologist advising Salisbury District Council, is thanked for monitoring, and reacting promptly to the problems of site access. Mick Rawlings of Wessex Archaeology provided details of their work in the area, and much useful discussion on the local archaeology. Bruce Purvis of the Salisbury Local Studies Library provided copies of Ordnance Survey plans, and access to photographs in the library's collections. The site was excavated with assistance from Edward Evans, Trevor Steptoe, Jonathan Currie, Aaron Currie, Adam Cullen and Paul Roode.

References

- 1 The RCHME volume on Salisbury lists this building as 34 Milford Street, but a desk-based assessment by Wessex Archaeology refers to it as 36 Milford Street.
- 2 No references to this John Burnham could be found. However, in 1480 another John Burnham, possibly a descendant, is found in Catherine Street. His profession is given as 'wax chandler' (RCHME 1980, 108).
- 3 The former garden wall may have been built into a long N-S range extending backwards from Teynturer's western property. As the excavation here only found the wall within its western section there can be no certainty about the wall's relationship with any archaeological remains to the west.

Original sources in the Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office (WSRO):

WSRO G23/1/44-53 Salisbury Corporation Chamberlain's Accounts, 1444-1814
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 WSRO G23/1/68-72 Salisbury Corporation Rental Surveys, 1464-1830

Maps:

John Speed's map of Salisbury c. 1610
 William Naish's plan of Salisbury, 1716
 WSRO G23/70 1/1 PC Drainage and water supply plan and survey for Salisbury by the Salisbury Local Board of Health, 1854, Kingdon & Shearm, Engineering Surveyors of Launceston, Cornwall

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 File notes for RCHME volume on Salisbury, *The Anchor Inn*, Dec 1968

Photographs in the Public Search Room at the NMRC:

NMR A39/2 Photograph showing buildings 34 Gigant Street to the *Anchor Inn* from the SE, 23rd June 1966
 NMR BB73/75 Early photograph of 36 Milford St/ 34 Gigant Street looking down to the *Anchor Inn* from north, possibly c. 1900
 NMR BB69/4290 Plaster ceiling in 36 Milford Street, 2nd April 1969

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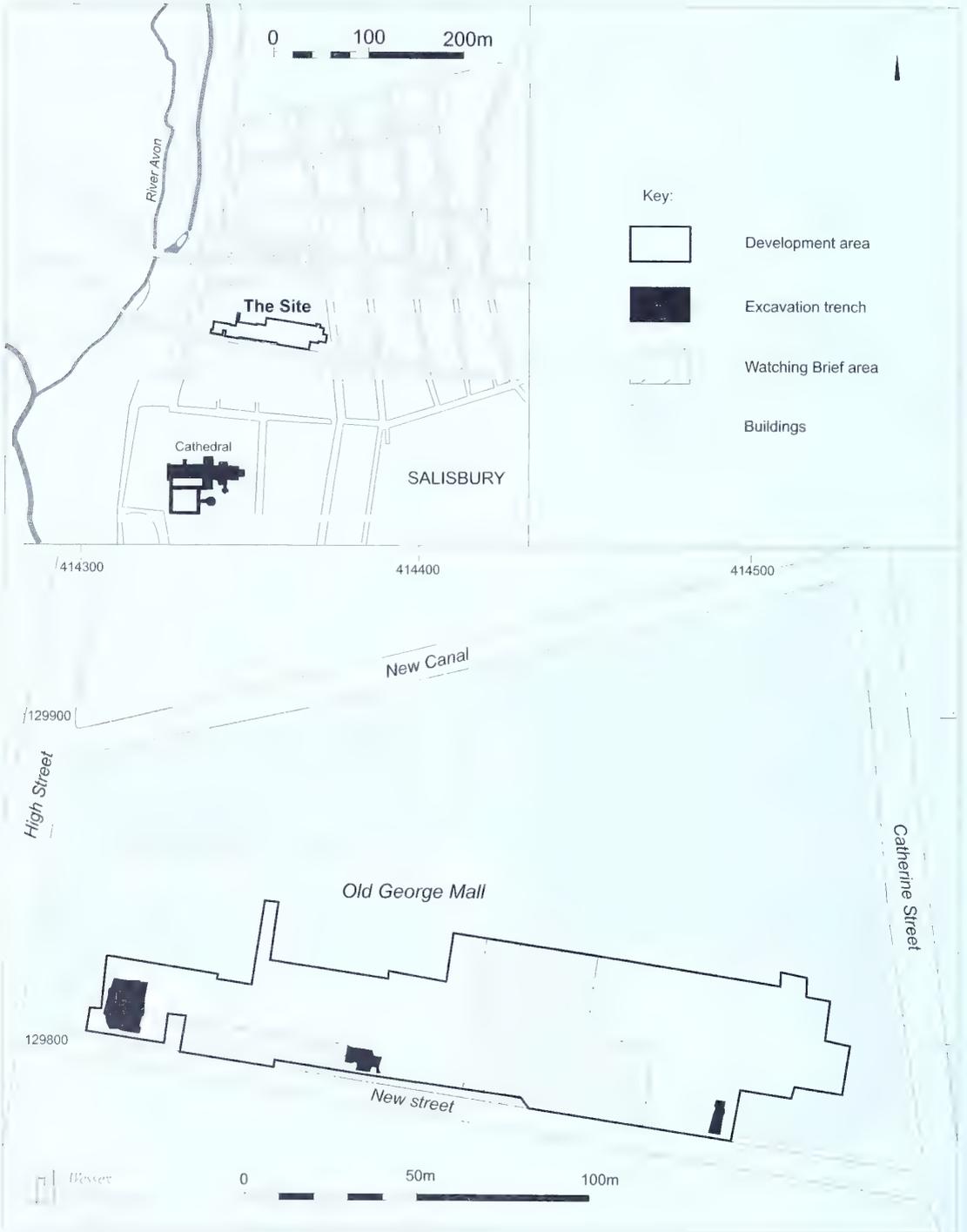


Fig. 1: Old George Mall, Salisbury: location plan

Excavations at Old George Mall, Salisbury

by *Christine Butterworth*

Excavations in advance of redevelopment at Old George Mall, in the centre of Salisbury, provided an opportunity to examine medieval remains on the street frontage of New Street. Three areas were excavated, each revealing a sequence of essentially domestic buildings, yards, floor surfaces, hearths and pits, including a cess-pit, mostly of 13th–14th century date, although no complete building plan was recovered. An unusually well-preserved assemblage of animal bone and charred plant remains indicated a wide ranging diet including numerous types of fish.

A rare opportunity for open area excavation within the core of medieval Salisbury presented itself in 1994–5 with plans to redevelop part of the Old George Mall shopping centre and adjacent land on New Street (Figure 1). The redevelopment would have a potential impact on any surviving remains relating to the New Street frontage and in the backlands within the Old George Mall.

The medieval core of Salisbury was planned around blocks, or chequers, grouped at the northern and eastern entrances to the cathedral close, near the confluence of the Rivers Avon, Bourne and Nadder. Although planned towns were a common feature of the 13th century, the rigid rectangular grid pattern employed at Salisbury is known certainly for only one other English town, Winchelsea, East Sussex (Schofield and Vince 1994).

Most of the streets that make up the chequers are referred to in 13th and 14th century deeds, suggesting that infilling around the planned layout proceeded rapidly during the medieval period. Infilling within the chequers, based on regular burgages, proceeded on a piecemeal basis during both the medieval and post-medieval periods. Land values, and hence intensity of infilling and property division, varied during both periods, dependent principally on the reorganisation of highways and thoroughfares.

From the later 18th century, in an attempt to clean up and rationalise the often chaotic state of many of the chequer interiors, properties were amalgamated, with many being given formal gardens. Many of the smaller medieval buildings and courtyard houses behind the main street frontages were levelled at this time and their foundations and associated deposits remained sealed beneath gardens until infilling recommenced in the later 19th and 20th centuries.

There is a history of architectural observations within the city, notably by the *Victoria County History (VCH)* in 1962 and by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) in 1980 which record the survival of 18th and 19th century buildings, with some medieval features intact. Little archaeological work has been undertaken, however, by comparison with the nearby towns of Winchester, Dorchester and Southampton. Excavations undertaken in the latter part of the 20th century have demonstrated that stratified deposits survive between and below 19th century and modern foundations, in depths of up to 1m, lying directly on clean river gravels. Successive floors, hearths and wall footings are present in places within these deposits and it has been possible to correlate recorded architectural sites with physical archaeological evidence (Hawkes nd). Many 19th century buildings

have been shown to be founded directly on the footings of earlier structures. Few excavations, however, have been able to identify structural remains contemporaneous with the documented foundation of the city.

The redevelopment area (centred on SU 1440 2980) comprised most of the southern half of the Old George Mall shopping centre in the southern part of New Street Chequer. The chequer is bounded by New Street (south), High Street (west), New Canal (north) and Catherine Street (east) (Figure 1) and is therefore part of the historic core of the City. The redevelopment site measured approximately 220 x 30m, increasing in width at the eastern end to 50m, giving a total area of approximately 8900m². The site opened onto New Street for almost the whole length of its southern boundary but was otherwise enclosed by adjacent properties.

The ground in this area is generally level at c. 46m aOD. Geotechnic investigations (Hurst *et al.* 1993) identified c. 1m of river terrace deposits of mixed clays, silts and sands lying over valley gravel at 43.64m aOD. Soliflucted chalk was reached at c. 41m aOD.

Evaluation of the site confirmed that medieval and post-medieval deposits survived along New Street. Approximately 1.2m of densely stratified structural and occupation deposits were revealed during a watching brief on building work at the Dental Surgery on New Street. These were bounded on the southern edge of the evaluation trench by a substantial chalk and greensand ashlar wall which incorporated large fragments of window tracery and other re-used architectural material, unfortunately undated.

Three areas were then selected for excavation by Wessex Archaeology in November 1994–August 1995, with a watching brief during construction work along New Street the following winter. In total, some 270m² was excavated, representing approximately 3% of the redevelopment area. The three excavation areas were widely separated and so no stratigraphic continuity from one to the other could be established. The archaeological remains are described here by area in broad stratigraphic groupings, or phases specific to each.

AREA 1

Area 1 lay at the western end of the redevelopment. A trench aligned approximately north to south measured c. 16 x 10m. Seven phases of activity were identified.

Phase 1 (not illustrated): Deposits consisted of layers of coarse loamy gravels. Two sherds of organic tempered pottery of 5th–8th century date were recovered from one layer but the majority of the deposits remain undated. Although not associated with structural features, such layers may represent crude yard surfaces.

Phase 2, 13th century (not illustrated): Dumps of gravel, clay, chalk and ashy material were stratigraphically earlier than any of the recorded buildings. Such deposits were identified across the area but were much interrupted by modern disturbance. A large clay-set, flint hearth or oven base in the southern part of the trench, surrounded by extensive deposits of ash containing 13th century pottery, may also belong to this phase. The hearth formed the earliest surviving element of a repeatedly rebuilt structure, in its later phases stratigraphically associated with street frontage buildings.

Phase 3, 13th century (Figure 2): A building aligned parallel to New Street was marked by sections of the northern, eastern and probable southern (street frontage) walls. The southern wall was seen only at the edge of the trench in a small gap between modern concrete insertions. The building had minimum dimensions of 7m (east to west) by 6m; its western extent is unknown. The walls were of chalk and flint with an opening in the north wall and a second, subsequently blocked, opening in the east one. Contained within the walls was a series of 'earth' floors and surfaces and an associated sequence of simple hearths built over the Phase 2 hearth. Evidence for an internal sub-division or partition was provided by a narrow north to south ridge running south from the eastern edge of an opening in the north wall. This feature was recurrent in the sequence of floor deposits.

Immediately outside the building was a shallow chalk-lined cistern or cesspit which appeared to respect the opening in the north wall. The lowest fills of the feature contained 13th century pottery. Apparently contemporary with both structures was an external yard surface of even-sized flint cobbles. Along the eastern edge of the trench was a group of six intercut shallow rectilinear pits. Aligned parallel to the east wall of the building, the full extent of the pits lay outside the excavation area. Thirteenth century pottery was recovered from their lower fills and the upper fills were sealed by all later building deposits. There was evidence that some of the pits had been re-used as hearths.

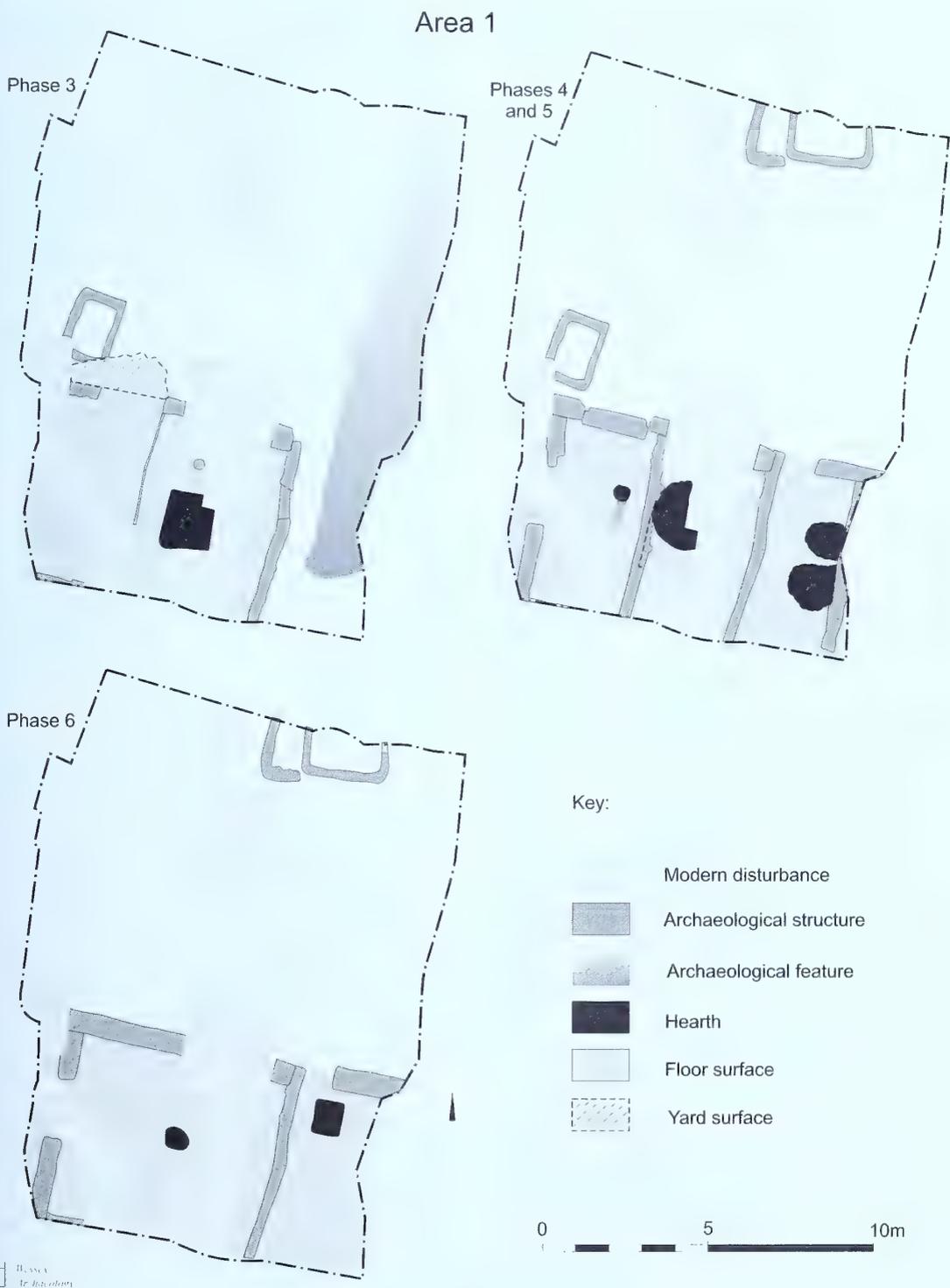


Fig. 2: Old George Mall, Salisbury: Phase plans, Area 1

Phase 4, 13th–?14th century (Figure 2): The Phase 3 building was extended or a separate building was constructed adjacent to it. In either case, the line of the north wall was carried further east by the construction of a new flint herringbone wall after a 1m wide gap or entrance. The earlier opening in the northern wall was blocked by the insertion of massive chalk blocks. Two parallel north to south internal walls, again predominantly of flint herringbone work, were inserted, dividing the earlier structure into three cells. The two cells wholly within the trench were 3m wide. A north to south wall built at the eastern edge of the trench abutted the extended rear wall to create another 3m-wide cell; there may have been a second entrance to this new cell at the south-east corner.

Associated with the sub-division and possible extension of the Phase 3 building was the formation of a succession of mortar, chalk and clay internal floor surfaces, along with hearths and associated ashy deposits, from which pottery of 13th or 13th/14th century date was recovered. Stake-holes and post-holes within the floors are presumably indicative of small structural features within the cells. There was some evidence of internal doorways between the cells.

The three full-width cells each had at least one associated hearth. Of particular note was that in the central cell, a substantial sub-circular structure built of pitched roof tiles. In the cell to the west a flued hearth of fired-clay and flint construction was recorded. Highly vitrified fuel-ash slag and hammerscale was recovered from this feature, possibly indicative of small-scale copper alloy working.

A group of shallow chalk-lined cisterns at the northern edge of the trench are thought to belong to this phase. Pottery of 13th/14th century date was recovered from the deposits filling the base of these features.

Phase 5, ?14th century (Figure 2): The Phase 4 building/s continued in use, but there was evidence for a number of the north to south internal walls being rebuilt and slightly realigned. Associated with these minor alterations were the deposition of further internal floor surfaces and construction of related hearths. Stake-holes were again recorded cut into the floors, many of them along the faces of two internal walls.

Phase 6, 14th century (Figure 2): During this phase two internal walls were demolished to create two larger rooms from the four small cells of the

preceding phases, and the north wall of the central room was rebuilt and made wider. Associated with the alterations were the formation of further earth and mortar floors and the construction of new internal hearths, one at least of which was built over the line of an earlier internal wall. A substantial square hearth of stone and tile was constructed near the opening in the north-west corner of the easternmost room and would appear to have restricted its use as access. Pottery dated to the 14th century was recovered from a layer of tile debris sealing the hearth.

Phase 7, post-medieval and modern (not illustrated): With the exception of the modern foundations, services and the overburden removed by machine there was relatively little evidence for post-14th century activity. Post-medieval structures consisted of a brick-lined cistern at the north-east corner of the trench and a chalk-lined well under its eastern edge, a number of shallow brick and concrete foundations towards the south, and extensive dumps of building debris. Deposits of this phase comprised post-medieval material within the chalk-lined cisterns at the north of the trench.

AREA 2

Area 2 lay 90m to the east of Area 1 parallel with New Street; it measured approximately 10 x 6.5m.

Phase 1, 13th–14th century (not illustrated): A series of crude chalk and mortar surfaces was sandwiched between dumps of clay and possible building material, with occasional ashy lenses. A very small quantity of 13th–14th century pottery was recovered from these deposits. No related structural features were recognised and it is likely that the deposits represent external surfaces, probably yards or working areas, perhaps associated with craft or industrial activity. The deposits were cut in the northern part of the trench by an east to west aligned ditch which may represent the rear boundary of plots aligned along New Street.

Phase 2, 13th–14th century (Figure 3): This phase is marked by the construction of the earliest street frontage building, represented by a single wall, drain, floor surfaces, hearths and external yard. Subsequent truncation means that the dimensions and plan of the building are unknown, but the type and distribution of hearths within the building may

indicate that domestic activity took place to the east of the wall and industrial or craft activity to its west. A crudely-built unbonded flint wall, aligned north to south, was recorded in the eastern part of the trench. No northern or southern limit to the wall nor any return walls survived but an associated internal chalk floor was recorded. To the east of the wall a sequence of three superimposed hearths culminated in a fine structure made of hearth tiles (rather than re-used pitched roof tiles) and Reigate stone. The size and construction of the hearth suggest that it was probably of domestic rather than industrial function.

A north to south aligned drain, a pair of hearths and associated deposits, and crude gravelled yard surfaces to the north were recorded in the western part of the trench. The drain, constructed of pitched

limestone tiles, is interpreted as a domestic drainage feature, perhaps lying on the boundary between two properties. To the west were two roughly constructed pitched tile hearths with associated deposits of ash and charcoal spread to their east. The crude construction and proximity of the two hearths, along with the lack of associated structural evidence, suggests that they may have been of industrial rather than domestic function. Construction of a floor surface and fragmentary pitched tile wall footing in the area of and over the western hearths may indicate a change of use there, although subsequent deposition of charcoal and ash may mark resumption of the earlier activity.

Phase 3, 13th–14th century (Figure 3): Building activity extended across the whole of the southern

Area 2

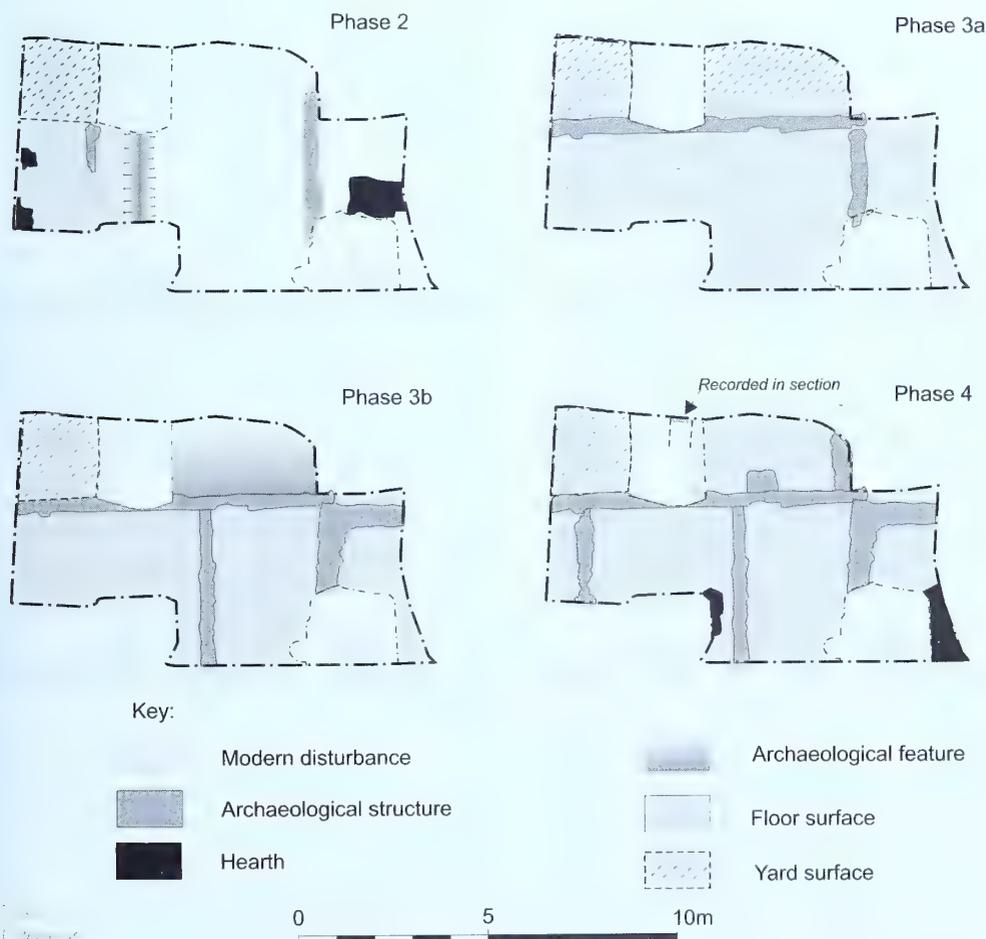


Fig. 3: Old George Mall, Salisbury: Phase plans, Area 2

part of the trench during this phase, while the northern part may have been used for small-scale industrial activity. The phase is divided into two sub-phases.

Phase 3a saw the deliberate raising and levelling of the ground surface in preparation for the construction of a flint and chalk wall that crossed the greater part of the trench from west to east. This was probably the rear wall of a building or buildings fronting on to New Street. It was abutted by a solidly built north to south wall constructed from large roughly hewn chalk blocks (set immediately to the east of the Phase 2 wall), the southern end of which was later cut away. The building(s) had minimum dimensions of 10m east to west and 4m north to south. To the south of the east to west wall was a series of internal floor surfaces and to its north were external yard surfaces.

Phase 3b was represented by the building of three new walls. The relative lack of intervening stratigraphic evidence suggests that the work took place almost immediately after the completion of the earlier structures. The north to south wall in the eastern part of the trench was replaced by a more substantial chalk wall which had an eastern return, of identical construction, at its northern end. It is suggested that these walls represent the north-western corner of a separate building, the greater part of which lay beyond the trench edge.

To the west, a less substantial north to south wall, probably internal, divided the western building into two parts. A complex series of interleaved deposits of domestic debris and building waste was laid down inside the building, deposits which are interpreted as bedding/preparation for chalk and clay floors.

To the rear of the buildings, a series of dumps of tile debris, mortar deposits and, in the north-eastern part of the trench, a cluster of intercut pits were excavated. The pit fills contained little domestic debris but much charcoal and possible hammerscale was noted, indicative of probable small-scale industrial activity.

Phase 4, 13th–14th century (Figure 3): A series of very thin floor and make-up layers was identified in the Phase 3b eastern building/s. Spatially associated but stratigraphically isolated from these was a sequence of small, well-constructed pitched tile hearths and associated deposits in the extreme south-eastern corner of the trench.

The western building was further sub-divided by the construction of a second north to south internal wall of chalk blocks and flint, associated with

the deposition of a sequence of floor make-up layers and surfaces and the construction of a finely-made hearth.

At some point during this phase of activity, the western building was extended northwards, over the area of the Phase 3b pits. The extension, some 3.5m wide, was formed by the construction of a pair of narrow walls, built of small chalk blocks and ceramic building waste. The location of a centrally-placed doorway linking the main building and the extension was marked by a rammed chalk and greensand threshold.

The area to the west of the extension appears to have continued in use as an open yard, with pits containing charred cereal remains suggesting domestic rather than industrial use.

Phase 5, post-medieval (not illustrated): Later medieval and post-medieval deposits were largely absent from Area 2, suggesting that they were mostly or wholly removed by more recent development. The most significant disturbance resulted in large machine-excavated pits that had accommodated the stanchion bases for the modern flat foundations.

AREA 3

Area 3 was near the eastern end of the redevelopment area, approximately 80m east of Area 2. The trench was at a right-angle to New Street, and measured approximately 10m x 4m. This area had suffered extensive modern disturbance which left only small 'islands' of archaeological deposits. Four phases of activity were identified

Phase 1 (Figure 4): The earliest recorded deposits, natural river terrace gravels, were cut by a ditch or gully aligned approximately north-west to south-east. There were no finds but its orientation, which was not echoed in any subsequent features, suggests that it pre-dated the development of the medieval city.

Phase 2, 13th century (Figure 4): This phase represents the construction and use of the earliest building in Area 3, only the rear of which lay within the trench. A series of make up layers and occupation surfaces were largely composed of rammed chalk and are likely therefore to represent internal floors, an interpretation supported by the presence of a sub-circular hearth. No traces of associated structures were recorded.

Area 3

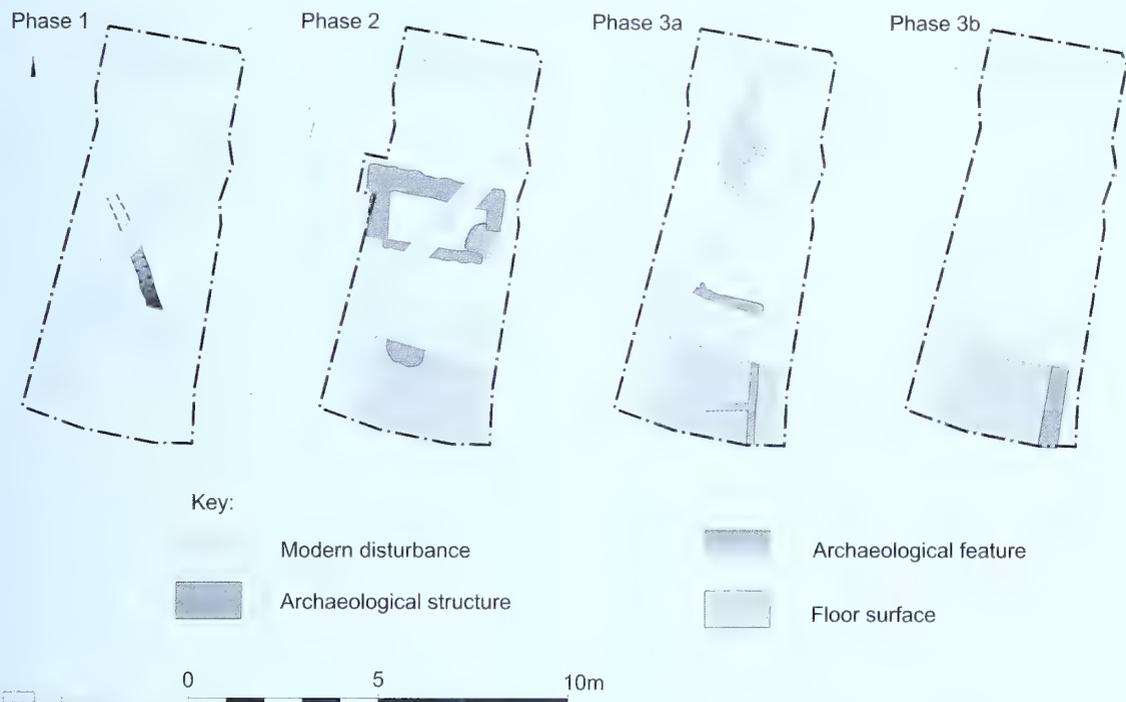


Fig. 4: Old George Mall, Salisbury: Phase plans, Area 3

To the north of the floor surfaces, but isolated from them, was a well-built rectangular, chalk ashlar structure, probably a cess-pit or cistern. It had external dimensions of 3.5m east to west and 2m north to south. The walls were substantially built, being some 0.5m thick, though the southern wall was considerably narrower and appeared to revet or line the natural gravel against which it was built. There was an opening at its south-east corner. The basal fill was characteristic of cess material, with interleaved layers of rubble and mortar above. The quality of the structure, its proximity and orientation to New Street, suggest that it was associated with a high status building on the street frontage.

Phase 3, 13th–14th century (Figure 4)

Phase 3a consisted of the fragmentary remains of two flint walls that overlay chalk floors in the southern part of the site, together with layers sealing the infilled cess-pit. The walls were narrow (less than 0.2m wide) and probably internal to a building. In the northern part of the trench was a surface of chalk blocks overlain by small patches of grey clay.

Phase 3b saw the construction of a substantial flint wall, some 0.5m wide, in the south-east corner of the trench over the Phase 2 floor and the walls of Phase 3a. Unfortunately all adjacent deposits had been removed by post-medieval and modern activity.

Phase 4, post-medieval and modern (not illustrated): Phase 4 activity was marked by extensive post-medieval and modern truncation of the site.

Watching brief

A watching brief carried out during construction work along the New Street frontage further confirmed the survival of remains here and recorded some evidence of backplot activity, and there was no indication that such deposits did not extend further across the development area. The observed deposits were similar to those excavated in Areas 1 and 2, and included chalk and mortar floors, and walls of chalk, limestone and greensand.

FINDS

The small size of the finds assemblage is characteristic of those from other excavations in Salisbury. The apparently undisturbed nature of much of the medieval stratigraphy has, however, resulted in a chronologically unmixed assemblage with few problems of redeposition.

The artefacts recovered were all, with the exception of two Saxon pottery sherds, of medieval or later date, within a broad date range of 13th–18th centuries. Modern material was almost completely absent from excavated contexts and, in general, the finds recovered appeared to be from secure contexts, with little subsequent contamination. Post-medieval material was confined largely to the upper layers of a single chalk-lined cistern (Area 1, Phase 4).

The two sherds of coarse, organic-tempered pottery, characteristic of early to middle Saxon wares, were found in a single context in Area 1. The occurrence of Saxon pottery is extremely rare in Salisbury; only one sherd was recovered during all excavations in the City between 1984 and 1990. The medieval assemblage includes both coarse and finer glazed wares and, as might be expected, nearly all of these are comparable to products of the Laverstock kilns outside Salisbury, which have a archaeo-magnetic date in the mid to late 13th century (Musty *et al.* 1969). It is likely, however, that pottery production was taking place at Laverstock, or in the vicinity, from the late 12th century and well into the 14th; this is supported by evidence from earlier excavations in Salisbury and its environs (e.g. Mephram and Underwood n.d.). Laverstock-type wares from Old George Mall appear to have a date range of 13th to at least mid 14th century on the basis of vessel forms and decoration, although the relative absence of sherds from highly decorated jugs, generally considered to be a 'type fossil' of the 13th century, might indicate a date within the latter part of this range. Coarseware vessels include cooking pots, frequently scratchmarked; bowls and dishes, some glazed internally; and larger bowls or curfews. The finewares are represented by a range of glazed and decorated jugs. These vessels are either handmade or wheelthrown, and are occasionally decorated with applied or brushed slip motifs, although the majority of sherds are plain.

Other wares recognised include fine sandy glazed and slip-decorated wares with possible sources in north Wiltshire, at the putative Crockerton production centre outside Warminster, and the

Donyatt kilns in Somerset; all these are likely to be of 13th or 14th century date.

Later medieval pottery is scarce, but this may be as much due to the absence of stratigraphic evidence as to the lack of a well-defined ceramic sequence for the Salisbury area. There are a handful of sherds of 'Tudor Green' ware, dated to the 15th century, and a very small number of fine glazed wares which could be of a similar date.

Ceramic building material formed the largest category of finds and included brick, roof and floor tile fragments. Most are fragments of flat roof tiles, a small proportion of which are glazed. Many were used (or re-used) in the construction of hearths. There are also a small number of ridge tile pieces, some with crests. Bricks and floor tiles are far less common; two of the floor tiles are slip-decorated. The ceramic building material was almost entirely handmade in a variety of fabrics ranging from moderately fine brick red to coarse, poorly-wedged pale-firing fabrics, probably representing the products of different kilns. Stratigraphic information and associated pottery suggest that most is of medieval date. One kiln, at Alderbury, 5 km southwest of Salisbury, is known from documentary references to have been in operation at least during the mid-14th to late 15th century (Hare 1991).

A small quantity of copper alloy working slag was also recovered but was insufficient to imply significant metalworking.

ENVIRONMENTAL EVIDENCE

Animal bone is exceptionally well preserved, despite relatively high fragmentation. The most frequently identified species are sheep, cattle, pig and domestic fowl. Less common are goose, duck, cat, rabbit, conger eel, herring, hake and cod, with one or two bones only of horse, fallow deer, hare, rat, jackdaw, sea-bream, thornback, salmon, wrasse and mullet. In the domesticated mammals, anatomical representation is varied and there are no concentrations of head and foot bones, although some are present. Many of the bones are measurable, especially those of sheep and fowl. Sheep withers-height estimates indicate that most animals are of the same small type found elsewhere in medieval Wessex, although a few are large for medieval contexts. Butchery marks can be seen on a large number of fragments; the bones are frequently

chopped or broken into small pieces, and some are burnt. The overall impression, however, is that most of the bone derives from domestic use and is not slaughter waste.

The small amount of wild material and the presence of some 'lower quality' joints suggests that the waste may not be from a high status household. The fish bone assemblage is small yet varied and a similar range of species has been noted in much larger assemblages from medieval deposits in Southampton. A similarly small yet varied assemblage was recovered from the nearby site at Brown Street, Salisbury (Coy 1987). It is interesting to note, however, that even in the sieved material, eel and herring are uncommon, although these are frequently recovered in very large numbers from urban medieval deposits.

The preservation of charred plant remains was generally good, and a range of material including burnt cereal grains, chaff, pea and bean fragments, fruitstones and hazelnuts was recovered. The results from each area were generally similar. The samples taken from occupation and trample layers contained high volumes of burnt grain and most contained hazel nut fragments. Much burnt grain was recovered from most of the hearth and oven features, but little or no chaff was observed in the latter samples. High levels of unburnt weed seeds were recovered from two chalk-lined cisterns in Area 1, although relatively little material was recovered from samples taken from the Area 3 cess-pit. Charcoal was recovered from most samples, with a few, particularly from the industrial pits in Area 2, producing large quantities.

DISCUSSION

The majority of the excavated deposits were associated with the construction, use and subsequent alteration and refurbishment of buildings aligned along the New Street frontage during the 13th and 14th centuries. The excavation demonstrated that the area underwent intensive occupation during that period, that the occupation was primarily domestic in nature but with some possible indication of small-scale industrial or craft activity.

New Street Chequer is generally accepted as having been one of the first areas of the planned town to have undergone extensive development after 1220. Certainly, recorded documentary and structural evidence (Chandler 1983) show that development along the High Street (near the entrance to the Close),

was second only in density to that at the east side of the market area by the 14th century. However, while the deposits were complex and generally well-preserved and the excavation results go some way towards confirming this, a number of factors have limited the information that can be provided. The limited research potential of small excavations such as those at Old George Mall is implied in the recommendations of the Society for Medieval Archaeology (1987, 3), which state that: 'The investigation of complete tenements and groups of tenements, from street frontages to the rear of the plots, should be given priority when they are available, particularly if well-stratified occupation deposits survive'.

The research potential of the present site is compromised by the very small sample of the total urban area being studied, the fact that the trenches had to be spatially separated, and because none encompassed a complete tenement or building, each lying predominantly within the medieval buildings identified, with minimal access to the street frontage and to backplot deposits. The poor dating resolution also restricts the potential of the stratigraphic sequence to reliably inform a study of the development of New Street within the period represented and, in addition, the uniformity of the ceramic assemblage allows only the most general interpretations to be made.

Since no one trench was large enough to encompass the whole of any one building it is not possible to assess the overall plan of any structure, although some simple observations may be made. Elements of two buildings were almost certainly recorded in Areas 1 and 2. In neither case was it possible to investigate the front of the buildings, since this was beneath or beyond the edge of the modern development site. However, they appear to have fronted directly on to the street. In the early phases of their development the buildings in both areas conformed to a fairly consistent rear building line, giving the buildings the width of one room only. Only in a later phase (Phase 4) was a rear extension added to one (?) of the buildings in Area 2, although the full plan of the extension is unknown. It appears that the size of the buildings is consistent with other early structures excavated in the city, but this cannot, of course, be stated with certainty given the incomplete nature of the recorded plans.

The nature of the walls is similar to those recorded elsewhere in the city, consisting predominantly of shallow-footed mortared flint and/or chalk which would have provided a base for

timber-framed structures. The internal arrangements of the buildings show considerable modification with a generally consistent pattern of large rooms being sub-divided into smaller ones, although in Area 1 this pattern is reversed in a later phase (Phase 6) with four small cells or rooms being modified to form two larger ones. Other less substantial divisions than the walls recorded may, of course, have been inserted but left no (recognisable) archaeological record with the exception of the partition in the Area 1 Phase 3 building. The size of the rooms or units is, in some instances, quite small.

As with other excavations in Salisbury, there is no evidence that the buildings were occupied by people of high social status. The size and arrangement of each (as far as they could be recorded) suggests domestic or small-scale industrial use. Limited artefactual evidence appears to confirm this, but the diversity of foodstuffs, as witnessed by the animal bone and plant remains, indicates that occupants benefited from a broad-based diet. This, it must be assumed, was based upon sound domestic and local economy and from the benefit of good communications, marking Salisbury as a prosperous and thriving town in the medieval period.

Acknowledgements

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Wessex Archaeology site codes W7694 (Evaluation), W7695 (Dental Surgery Watching Brief) and W7696 (Excavation Areas 1, 2 and 3 and Watching Brief). The site records and finds will be deposited in Salisbury Museum but are currently held by Wessex Archaeology. Microfiche copies of the site records are held by the National Monuments Record and by Wessex Archaeology.

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Notes on Small-scale Archaeological Excavations in Salisbury: Elim Chapel and 69 Greencroft Street

by *Christine Butterworth*

Brief reports on two medieval–modern archaeological sites in Salisbury’s eastern chequers close to the larger excavations reported in this volume.

ELIM CHAPEL, MILFORD STREET

The site of the former Sunday School behind the Elim Chapel, Milford Street (SU 14665 29895) was scheduled for redevelopment in 1997. The site, which was on level ground at a height of *c.* 46m aOD, lies in the northern part of Trinity Chequer, *c.* 30–40m behind the Milford Street frontage. Trinity Chequer is defined by Milford Street to the north, Brown Street to the west, Trinity Street to the south and Gigant Street to the east. All these streets are components of the regular gridded street plan of the medieval new town, laid out in the early 13th century. Several late medieval buildings are situated nearby in Milford Street and Gigant Street (RCHME 1980, 111). These include 32 Milford Street, dating from the late 15th century, 34 Milford Street dating from the 18th century but incorporating *in situ* 17th century plasterwork, and the *Anchor Inn* in Gigant Street dating from the 16th century. All these properties occupy tenements documented from the 14th century.

The potential for the recovery of medieval remains was therefore high and an excavation was undertaken by Wessex Archaeology of a single 8 x 5m trench, aligned west to east. Brick walls on concrete foundation rafts meant that a north-south baulk had to be left near the western end of the

trench, dividing it into two sections. During the excavation of test pits to establish the depth of geological deposits an informal watching brief was undertaken. Deposits at the base of the sequence consisted of a mixture of fine sandy silt loam and gravel overlain by alluvial clay loam 0.4m deep. Horn-cores recovered from a discrete area within the alluvium are thought to derive from an unrecognised feature of later date. It was also confirmed that the Town Ditch had marked the western boundary of the property.

Phase 1, early 13th century: Two stake-holes and two pits, one of which was lined with ceramic tiles and tabular stones, were sealed by deposits of Phase 2 and cut through the alluvium into natural deposits below.

Phase 2, mid/late 13th century: Part of a building, represented by two lengths of a beam-slot separated by a post-pad, a short section of wall and an internal floor surface, was assigned to this phase. The beam-slot was aligned from east to west and crossed the whole length of the larger (eastern) part of the trench. It had vertical sides and a flat base, was 0.6m wide and up to 0.41m deep, and was filled with coarse sand and flint; horn-cores were also recovered from the beam slot but are again thought to be from the unrecognised feature described above. The post-pad was roughly square, wider than the beam-slots at

0.96m, and filled with chalk fragments overlain by horizontally-laid tabular stones and tiles cemented together. Constructed over the fill of the beam-slot to the east of the post-pad was a short (2.56m) length of wall consisting of two or three courses of flint and mortar.

The internal floor lay to the south of the beam-slot. This consisted of a succession of patched and repaired surfaces of compacted chalk separated by building rubble, all of which slumped to the south, towards the presumed centre of the building; the deposits had a maximum overall depth of 0.3m. Eighty-three sherds, all except one from the same vessel, a 13th century Laverstock strut jug with strap handle and applied red slip decoration, were recovered from the rubble; this pottery provides almost 28% of the total number and 24% of the total weight of sherds for the whole site. A copper alloy bell and an iron rowel spur were also found in two of the sondages excavated through the rubble during the early stages of the excavation.

A thinner (0.15m) layer of chalk and powdered chalk to the north of the beam-slot marked the position of an external surface, probably a yard.

Phase 3, 17th century: A 0.45m deep deposit of homogeneous silty loam sealed the Phase 2 building. Many finds were recovered from this soil but it is probable that it was brought in from elsewhere to create a garden and that the finds do not therefore necessarily relate to this site.

Phase 4, 17–19th centuries: Two pits cut the external yard surface of Phase 2, one of which could be seen in the trench section also to cut the imported soil of Phase 3. The similar nature of the pits suggests that they may be of the same phase.

Phase 5, modern: The western end of the internal floor layers of Phase 2 was cut by a north-south trench or ditch. Only the eastern side of the feature, a vertical edge, was within the excavation trench. Modern bricks were retrieved from its fill. Also of this phase were the brick-built walls and concrete rafts of the former Sunday School, together with associated gravel surfaces.

Conclusions

The excavation provided limited evidence of early 13th-century activity in the form of pits and stakeholes beneath deposits associated with a

building of mid/late 13th-century date. Although only a small part of the building was excavated, its identification is notable as the backlands of the central chequers of Salisbury have largely been found to be devoid of evidence of medieval activity (Hawkes n.d.). Excavations at Winchester/Rolleston Street, 17 New Canal, 47–51 Brown Street, Gibbs Mew Brewery and Belle Vue House have given opportunities to investigate such areas but only at the latter were medieval features recorded, and the site was thought to be atypical as it was on the edge of the medieval town. Sites in Brown Street and Gigant Street provided a nearly continuous east–west profile across Trinity Chequer but, although at the latter a 1.2m accumulation of stratified (but scarcely distinguishable) soil dumps was observed, medieval finds were rare, most being 18th century or later in date. Similar observations were made at excavations in Winchester Street/Rolleston Street, and at 17 New Canal evidence of 16th century and later garden landscaping stood in sharp contrast to the lack of evidence of medieval activity. Despite the structural evidence recorded, the excavation appears to confirm the absence of pit-digging and rubbish disposal in the backlands of the central chequers.

69 GREENCROFT STREET

A planning application for eight new houses at 69 Greencroft Street (SU 1474 3015) led to an archaeological excavation and a watching brief in 1999. Two trenches were dug either side (west and east) of a foundation wall of the former car showroom and workshops. The site is at a height of c. 48.5m aOD and the underlying geology is Clay-with-flints over Upper Chalk.

The earliest feature and structures on the site can be dated to the 13th–14th centuries.

A ditch running from north to south, appeared to pre-date the inception of Greencroft Street since, although parallel with the street, it ran some 6.5m to its west. This may represent a field or plot boundary. The earliest structural evidence was marked by parts of the walls of two buildings. The walls of this and later phases consisted largely of roughly coursed flint, mortar-bonded, with Greensand blocks marking corners or ends of wall sections. Little of the southern building remained, the surviving fragments consisting of a wall parallel to but set back from Greencroft Street and a possible floor of compact, laminated clay and mortar near the present street frontage. Of the second building, part

of the street frontage, a parallel wall set some 4.5m back from Greencroft Street and two short lengths of a northern return wall survived. The structure was subsequently rebuilt and enlarged, giving the street frontage an overall length of c. 5m. Parts of the northern and southern return walls were recorded and there was evidence of at least one internal wall. A wall in the western trench running parallel to Greencroft Street was assigned by the excavator to a slightly later phase of development, still within the broad 13th–14th century period, but may be associated with this rebuilding.

In the 15th–16th centuries the northern building was extended further again to the north. A brick and tile-edged, fire-reddened hearth was located in the south-west corner of the building. Demolition deposits of 17th–18th century date were recorded in the northern part of the site but the only structural evidence dating to this period were two isolated wall fragments, both within the interior of the northern building. Later in the 18th century brick walls were built onto the earlier flint walls and internal (brick)

walls, probably floor joist supports, and a brick and tile hearth were added.

Acknowledgements

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Excavations along the Old Sarum Water Pipeline, North of Salisbury

by Andrew B. Powell, Michael J. Allen, James Chapman, Rachel Every, Rowena Gale, Phil Harding, Stephanie Knight, Jacqueline I. McKinley and Chris Stevens

Excavation along the line of a Wessex Water pipeline to the north of Old Sarum, Salisbury, revealed features of Neolithic to post-medieval date. Thirteen Middle Neolithic pits, in groups of two or three, were found at two locations, containing structured deposits of Peterborough Ware pottery, flints, animal bone, antler and other materials. Radiocarbon dates from four of the pits were statistically identical, although molluscan evidence indicated considerable variation in the landscape, with elements of woodland, scrub and open downland. There was some evidence for Beaker and Early Bronze Age activity, followed by a Middle Bronze Age settlement north-west of Old Sarum, with possibly associated human and cow burials, and a Late Bronze Age settlement to the east. A series of Iron Age features indicating specialised activities was found to the east of the entrance to the Old Sarum hillfort, and there were three Late Iron Age/Early Romano-British burials in a ditch south of The Portway, one of the Roman roads that converged at Sorviodunum. To the west, Romano-British features were recorded associated with the settlement at Camp Hill.

INTRODUCTION

In 2001/02 Wessex Archaeology undertook an archaeological excavation in advance of the replacement of a water pipeline to the north of Salisbury. The work was commissioned and funded by Wessex Water. The pipeline runs for 4.5km from the Camp Hill Reservoir (OS Grid Ref. SU11153367), passing north of the scheduled monument of Old Sarum (SM26717) to the Castle Hill Reservoir (SU14753237), with a branch continuing east towards Ford village (Figure 1).

The pipeline crosses a rich archaeological landscape with evidence for Neolithic pits and a long barrow, Bronze Age barrow cemeteries and field systems, as well as Iron Age, Romano-British and

medieval settlements. The hillfort at Old Sarum was built during the Early Iron Age, and was the possible site of the Roman town of *Sorviodunum*, when up to four Roman roads converged outside its east gate. The site continued to be occupied in the Saxon period, but was substantially re-modelled after the Norman conquest with the construction of a motte-and-bailey castle, the strengthening of the defences and the building of a cathedral, later rebuilt in 1130. The abandonment of Old Sarum began in the early 13th century when the bishopric was moved, in 1219, to the new city of Salisbury to the south.

The pipeline was laid in a 1.5m wide trench within a 10m wide easement that was machine stripped under archaeological direction. Exposed features were hand-excavated where appropriate. Two construction compounds – one east of the A360,

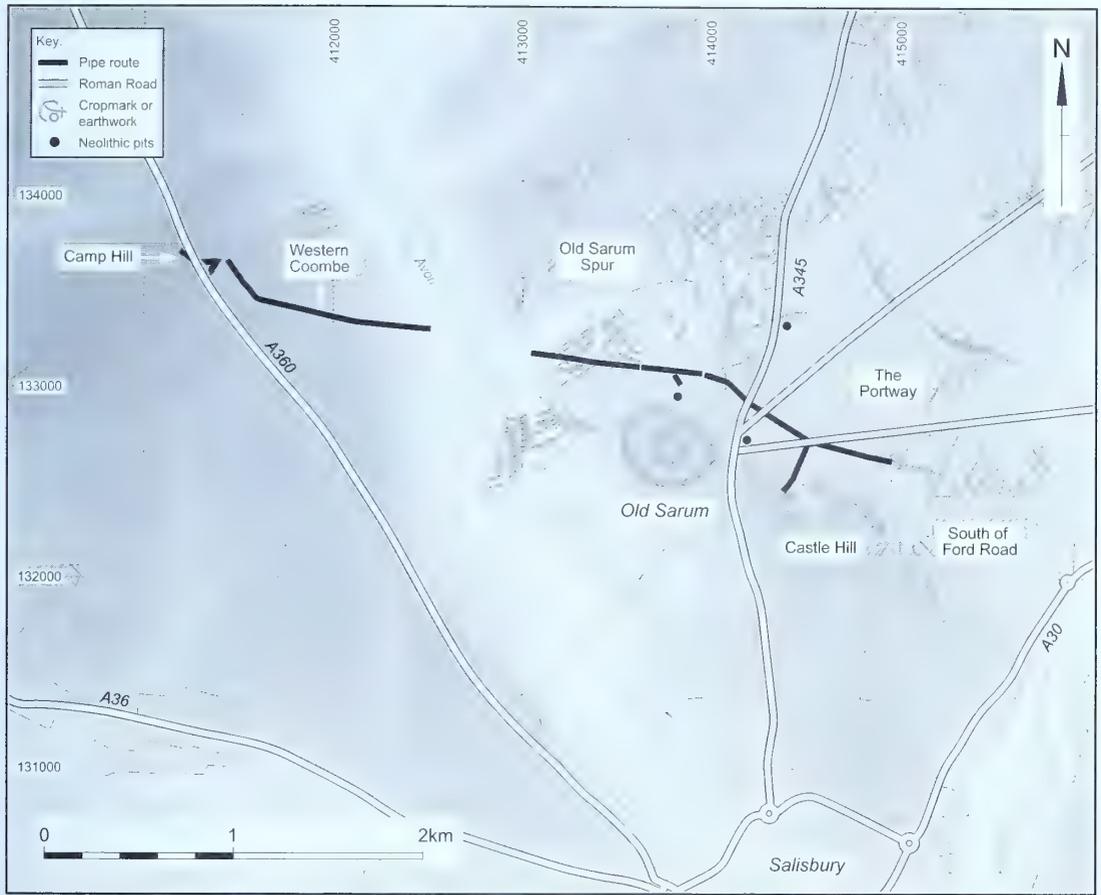


Fig. 1 The Old Sarum Pipeline and site locations

the other north of Old Sarum – were also investigated, but no ground works were undertaken within the River Avon floodplain where the existing pipeline was retained. For recording purposes, the easement was divided into six blocks based on land-ownership (Areas 1–6, west to east). Because some of the archaeological sites span the boundaries between these blocks, more specific site names (as outlined below) have been assigned for use in this report.

West of the Avon Valley, the pipeline ran from the Camp Hill Reservoir (137m aOD), close to the watershed between the Rivers Wylfe and Avon, to the A360 Devizes Road (Area 1) (the *Camp Hill* site), then down the side of the Avon valley crossing the head of a steep coombe (*Western Coombe*) before dropping to the edge of the floodplain (50m aOD) (Area 2). East of valley it ran across and up the south side of a broad dry valley on to a shallow, undulating north-facing slope north of Old Sarum, cutting first

across a low north-west running chalk spur (c. 70m aOD) (*Old Sarum Spur*), and continuing to Phillips Lane (Area 3) and the A345 (Area 4). West of the A345 (Area 5) the pipeline crossed the line of The Portway and Ford Road (*The Portway*) beyond which one fork ran south, up Castle Hill to the reservoir (110m aOD) (*Castle Hill*) and a second continued along the base of the hill, rising gradually on to the plateau representing the watershed between the Rivers Avon and Bourne (Area 6) (*South of Ford Road*). The underlying geology is Chalk, which on the upper slopes of Camp Hill is capped with Clay-with-flints. Towards the base of the Avon valley and in some of the undulations to the east there were some colluvial subsoils but elsewhere the Chalk lay directly below the topsoil.

This route represents a transect across a distinctive chalkland landscape, spanning the full width of the Avon valley and comprising chalk plateaux, dry valleys and river valley sides. The

Avon, like the River Bourne to the east, passes through the chalk downland of Salisbury Plain, the two rivers meeting, along with the River Wylye flowing from the north-west, less than 5 kilometres to the south. The strategic importance of this landscape is attested by the long-term exploitation, at its centre, of the prominent hilltop of Old Sarum at least from the Iron Age through into the medieval period. It is the relationships between people and this landscape – domestic, economic, symbolic and strategic – for which the excavations provided evidence. They revealed both continuity and change from the Neolithic through to the Romano-British period, and it is this time span that is described here.

Features of medieval and post-medieval date were also recorded. In particular, topsoil stripping on the south side of Ford Road revealed the remains of a medieval building and graveyard enclosed by a series of ditches, provisionally identified as the hospital of St. John the Baptist and St. Anthony. Because of the significance of this find, archaeological investigation was limited to manual cleaning sufficient for a detailed plan to be prepared. Protective measures were then installed, and the easement reinstated so as to preserve the remains *in situ*, and the pipeline diverted around them. This site, and the site of a possible post-medieval beacon on Camp Hill, will be described in separate articles. This report presents a synthesised account of the excavations. Copies of the full specialist reports are available online.

MIDDLE NEOLITHIC TO EARLY BRONZE AGE

The earliest evidence of human activity consisted of groups of Middle Neolithic pits recorded at two sites east of the Avon – the Old Sarum Spur and The Portway. No more than three pits were recorded in any group, although it is probable that other pits were located outside the easement. No group, as recorded, was more than 8m across. The pits contained a range of finds including Peterborough Ware pottery (Mortlake and Ebbsfleet styles), animal bones, worked flints, gathered stones and charred hazelnuts.

Old Sarum Spur

Seven pits near the northern edge of the plateau of the chalk spur overlook the Avon valley to the south-

west and the dry valley to the north-west (Figure 2). The pits are summarised in Table 1.

Group 1

The most westerly group consisted of three pits (3119, 3197 and 3198) within 1.6m of each other. Each was approximately circular, between 0.6m and 1m in diameter, with steep sides and flat or concave bases, although pit 3197 had been severely truncated by a later ditch and only the bottom 0.07m survived. Each contained single fills of loose brown soil representing backfilling episodes. Peterborough Ware pottery (some in the Ebbsfleet style) (pit 3197 – Figure 3.3), worked flints and animal bone were incorporated within the backfilled soil.

The largest of the three pits (3119) produced 95 flints, including a 111mm long chisel tool with a thick triangular cross-section and a microdenticulate on a naturally backed flake. The bone was mostly pig (parts of a left forelimb from scapula to ulna), but with sheep/goat and cattle also represented. An object made from a long bone tapered towards one end was also found, possibly part of a needle, or associated with the weaving process, e.g. a pin beater (Figure 4).

Group 2

Some 63m to the east there was pair of pits 1.8m apart (3005 and 3020), each with two fills but differing in their form and, to a degree also, in the sequence of deposition. Pit 3020 was circular in plan with moderate to steep sides and a flattish base, while pit 3005 was oval in plan and bell-shaped in profile, the sides being vertical towards the base but angled inwards at *c.* 45° towards the top.

Within pit 3020 was an initial deposit placed on the base comprising very abraded Peterborough ware sherds (from a single vessel), predominantly left-sided pig bone (the left hind limb bones from pelvis to tibia, elements from two left forelimbs, scapula to radius/metacarpal, and some vertebrae), and one cattle bone. One of the pig bones provided a radiocarbon date of 4398 ± 40 BP, 3290–2910 cal BC (NZA-18416). There were also 19 flints and six spherical fossil nodules (ranging from 129g to 2210g), some used as hammer-stones. The pit was then backfilled to half its depth with a dark brown soil, and then left to fill up naturally, the upper fill producing further flints.

At pit 3005, in contrast, there was no placed deposit on the base, but a loose dark loamy soil filling it to above where its sides started to lean inwards that yielded Peterborough Ware sherds (including

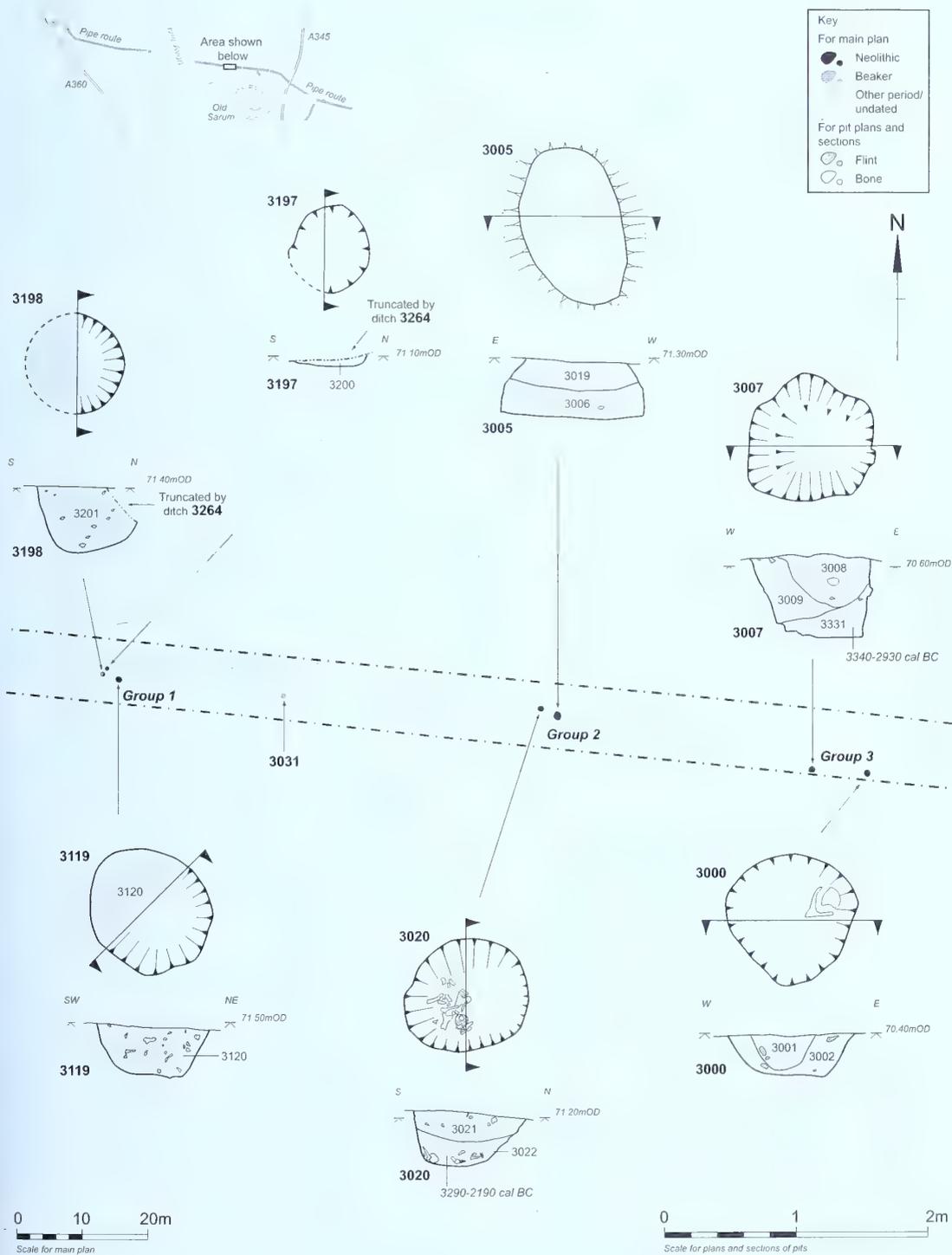


Fig. 2. Old Sarum Spur Neolithic pits

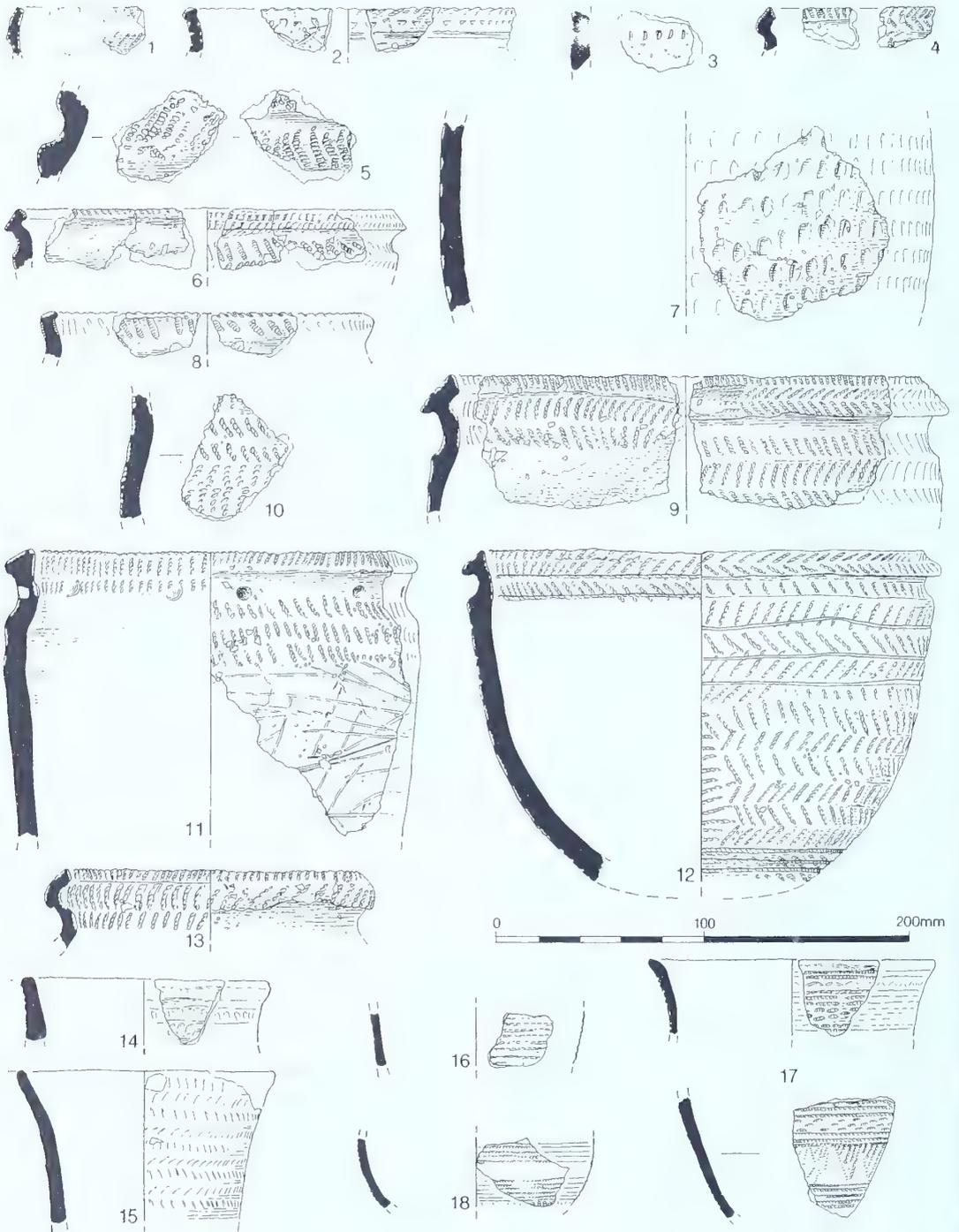


Fig. 3. Old Sarum Pipeline: Neolithic and Beaker pottery

Table 1. Old Sarum Spur: summary table of Neolithic pits

Group	Pit	Width/ diam (m)	Depth (m)	Fill	Description	Peterborough Ware	Flint	Bone	Antler	Hazelnuts	Other
1	3119	0.88-1.02	0.37	3120	Material in backfill	6/13 (E) abraded	95 (1 chisel, 1 serrated)	Pig (L/R), sheep/goat, cattle (includes pin)	-	-	-
	3197	0.60	0.34	3200	Material in backfill	5/42 (E)	1	X	-	-	-
	3198	0.70	0.54	3201	Material in backfill	7/21 (E)	4	-	-	-	Burnt flint
2	3005	0.78-1.22	0.43	3019	Natural infill	-	-	X	-	-	-
	3020	0.85-0.96	0.42	3006	Material in backfill	30/105 (M)	7	X	-	H	-
				3021	Natural infill	-	16 (1 hammer-stone)	X	-	-	Burnt flint
	3	3000	0.92	0.32	3022	Placed deposit then backfill	19/51	21 (4 hammer-stones)	Pig (L), cattle	-	-
3001					?Natural infill	-	5	X	-	H	-
3002					Placed deposit then ?backfill	2/4 (E)	9	Cattle	Red deer	H	-
3007	0.91	0.62	3008	?Natural infill	5/32 abraded	3	Cattle	-	-	-	-
			3009	Collapsed natural	-	1	X	-	-	-	-
			3012	Material in backfill	3/6 abraded	3	-	-	H	-	-
			3331	Placed deposit	-	13	-	-	H	-	-

Key: (E) – includes Ebbsfleet style; (M) – includes Mortlake style; X – unidentified bone; H – hazelnut shells

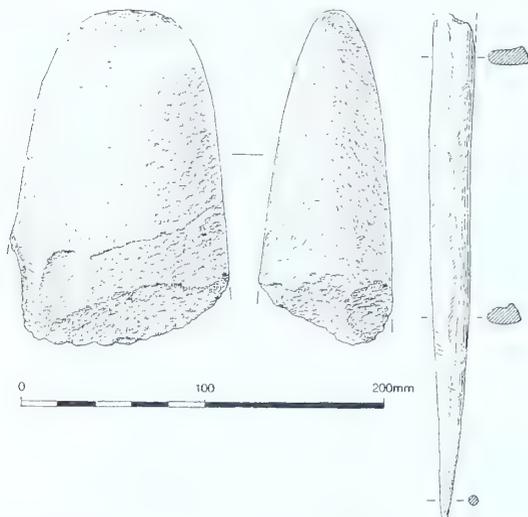


Fig. 4. Stone axe from the Portway and bone pin beater from Old Sarum Spur

two from a Mortlake bowl), pig bone and flints, as well as some 50 charred hazelnut shell fragments. Although most of the finds were mixed throughout the fill, the largest pieces of pottery appeared to have been placed against the side of the pit where it angled inwards. This pit, too, was left to fill up naturally.

Group 3

A third pair of pits (3000 and 3007), 7.5m apart, was recorded a further 38m to the east near the southern edge of the easement. They were similar in diameter (c. 0.9m), but pit 3007 was almost twice as deep as pit 3000.

Across the base of pit 3007 was a thin deposit of ashy silt (3331) containing 13 flints and over 100 hazelnut shell fragments. A sample of the hazelnut shells provided a radiocarbon date of 4473 ± 40 BP, 3340–2930 cal BC (NZA-18338). This was covered by a backfilled layer of stony soil, deepest on the east side, containing further flints and hazelnut shells as well as a number of abraded Peterborough Ware sherds, then a layer of chalk rubble, possibly dumped or collapsed natural, lying against the west side. The bowl-shaped hollow remaining above these layers contained a dark organic soil containing cattle shin and ankle bones, further abraded Peterborough ware sherds and two flint blades. Chalk lenses within the layer suggest that this soil may have accumulated over time.

Pit 3000 also had a deposit of material placed on its base, consisting of a cattle femur, part of a red deer antler and over 60 hazelnut shell fragments.

Here, too, the deposit was overlain by a stony layer extending up the sides of the pit, leaving a bowl-shaped hollow in the centre filled with dark soil. This was covered with a layer of light brown silt with a high chalk rubble content which extended up the pit sides. Mixed within the lower fill were seven flints and a small abraded rim sherd from an Ebbsfleet bowl (Figure 3.1). The upper fill contained hazelnut fragments, animal bone fragments and further flints.

The Portway

This site, some 900m east-south-east of the Old Sarum Spur, was located at the base of the chalk ridge formed by Castle Hill and the Old Sarum promontory. Six pits in two groups were excavated over a distance of 24m (Figure 5). They were deeper on average than those on the Old Sarum Spur, possibly protected from ploughing by the accumulation of ploughsoil at the base of the slope. They are summarised in Table 2.

Group 4

At the west, two subcircular pits (6061 and 6065) were adjacent to each other, with a third (6056), oval in plan, less than a metre to the north-west.

A number of objects had been placed on the base of pit 6056, including a large sarsen stone (16kg) at the south end and a second smaller sarsen (1.6kg) and a large jagged flint nodule (7kg) lying parallel to each other aligned on the pit's axis. Beside the large stone was a large sherd (552g) of a Mortlake bowl (Figure 3.12). Filling the pit to the top of the smaller sarsen and the potsherd was a layer of chalky silt containing further Peterborough Ware sherds, fragments of animal bone, over 100 hazelnut shell fragments, and eight flints including an end scraper used as a piercer at the distal end. This fill appears to have accumulated naturally, the pit possibly being left open for a period of time. A second deposit included most of a pig scapula placed on the large Mortlake sherd and a layer of loose, very dark brown soil containing sherds from two different Mortlake bowls and one Ebbsfleet bowl (Figure 3.4), flints, part of a red deer antler tine, fragments of sheep/goat bone, and more hazelnut fragments as well as charred seeds of elder (*Sambucus nigra*). This deposit filled the pit to near the top of the large sarsen, behind which was a spherical flint fossil hammer-stone. Above the fossil, also lying against the south side of the pit, was the butt of a well-made, broken ground stone axe, probably of Cornish origin (Figure 4). This was covered by a backfilled layer of dark brown soil

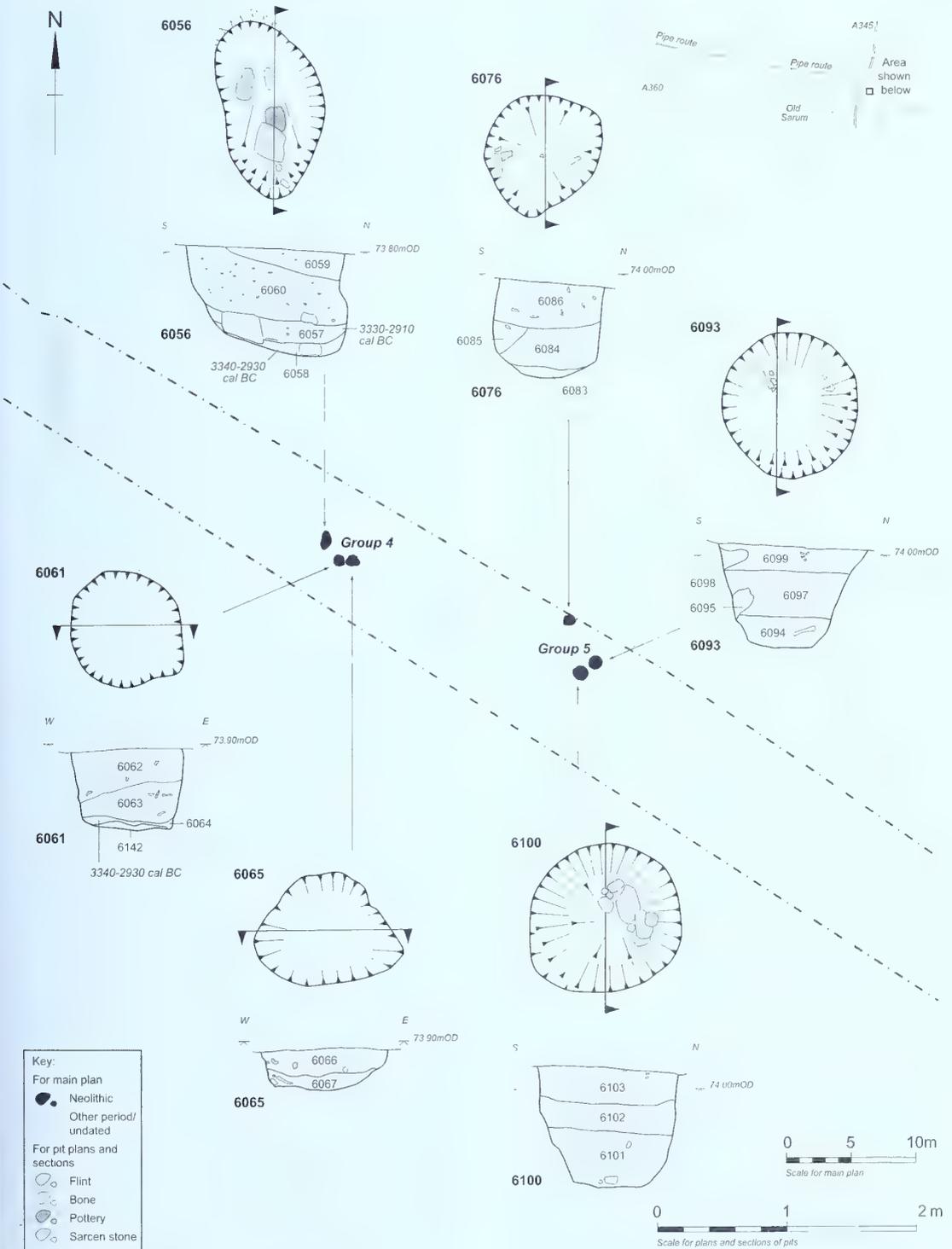


Fig. 5. The Portway Neolithic pits

that filled most of the rest of the pit, then a layer of naturally accumulated soil. Hazelnut shells from the lowest layer (6058) and a fragment of pig skull from the layer above (6057) were submitted for radiocarbon dating to establish whether the deposited bone might have been curated, as was shown to be the case in the Stonehenge ditch (Allen and Bayliss 1995). They provided dates, respectively, of 4477 ± 40 BP, 3340–2930 cal BC (NZA-18339) and 4428 ± 45 BP, 3330–2910 cal BC (NZA-18417) (Table 3, below), indicating that the bone had not been curated.

A thin layer of chalky silt on the base of pit 6061 suggests that it may have remained open for some time, before any material was placed on it. This was overlain by a layer of over 10,000 hazelnut shell and kernel fragments a sample of which provided a radiocarbon date of 4473 ± 40 BP, 3340–2930 cal BC (NZA-18340). Among them was a number of flints including a round fossil hammer-stone, and laid on their surface was a young male domestic cattle horn core. The pit had then been filled to over half its depth with a loose dark brown soil within which was a spread of material containing Peterborough ware sherds (Figure 3.7) (including three different Mortlake bowls (Figure 3.5/6) and one Ebbsfleet bowl), as well as left-side pig bones, a pig jaw and tooth. The layer also contained flints, burnt flint, further hazelnut fragments (3000+), and an apple pip (*Malus cf. sylvestris*). A further soil layer with few finds filled the rest of the pit.

Adjacent to pit 6061, pit 6065 was only half its depth. A deposit comprising an antler pick, a cattle jaw and pig bones, as well as five flints, a small piece of sarsen stone and hazelnut fragments, had been placed on the base and covered with a layer of chalky silt up to 0.13m thick, suggesting that this pit may also have remained open for a period of time. On top of this was a broken piece of sandstone and a number of flints, in turn covered with a brown soil containing further flints and fragments of animal bone.

Group 5

Some 16m to the south-east were two adjacent and similar pits (6093 and 6100) and, as in Group 4, a third to the north-west (6076).

Pit 6093 contained three backfilled layers, the lower two apparently levelled, containing between them Peterborough Ware sherds (Figure 3.10)—both Ebbsfleet (Figure 3.13) and Mortlake styles (Figure 3.11), flints (including a nodule hammer-stone) and hazelnut shells. Each layer produced pieces of antler (red deer and roe deer), some of those from the lower and upper layers fitting together, but there were no

other animal bones. There were two small dumps of probably collapsed chalk against the south-west side.

In contrast, pit 6100 had a deposit of pottery and stones placed on its base. On the western side were 48 Peterborough Ware sherds from at least two different Ebbsfleet bowls and one Mortlake bowl, two of which fitted with sherds in pit 6093 (Figures 3.11 and 3.13), while against the eastern side were piled four pieces of sarsen weighing between 2.6kg and 12kg (one of them burnt on one side), two flint nodules (up to 300g) and three fossils, one of them used as a hammer-stone. However, as in the adjacent pit, this was overlain by three backfilled layers, the lower two producing between them flints and cattle and pig bone, again apparently levelled.

Pit 6076 had on its base a thin deposit of dark brown silt containing 54 Peterborough ware sherds (from two different Mortlake bowls (Figure 3.9) and one Ebbsfleet bowl (Figure 3.8)), a roe deer antler, and burnt bone as well as worked and burnt flint and hazelnut fragments. This was overlain by two backfilled layers (and a small dump of collapsed natural) that produced a large quantity of hazelnut fragments, further fragments of Peterborough ware, burnt bone and burnt flint.

Beaker and Early Bronze Age

There was only limited and localised evidence, from both sides of the Avon valley, for activity in the Beaker/Early Bronze Age period.

The only identifiable feature on the Old Sarum Spur was a sub-circular pit (3031), 0.64–0.74m in diameter and 0.3m deep, producing two small Beaker sherds, flints, cattle bone, burnt flint and hazelnut fragments (Figure 2). A tree throw (3095) immediately to the north produced two small abraded Early Bronze Age sherds, a flint scraper and a large quantity (2311g) of burnt flint. Early Bronze Age sherds were also intrusive in Neolithic pit 3197 and (residual) in a Middle Bronze Age posthole (3225).

On the east side of the A360 at Camp Hill there was a close triangular grouping of three small pits (1034, 1036 and 1038), each 0.55–0.6m in diameter. The deepest pit (1034, 0.25m) produced a small abraded Early Bronze Age sherd and 46 flints typical of Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age technology, mostly core trimming waste, but including an end scraper of a form with Beaker associations, and a broken barbed and tanged arrowhead. There was also a large quantity of charcoal (oak, hazel, and hawthorn) at the base, some of the oak charcoal having vitrified in temperatures exceeding 800°. The

other pits also contained flints and charcoal.

Approximately 450m to the south-east, at the head of the Western Coombe, a single post pit (1083) produced 17 sherds of Beaker pottery (Figure 3.14/15) and worked flints. It was 0.65–0.75m in diameter and 0.3m deep, with a 0.25m diameter post-pipe on its east side overlying a solution pipe penetrating the underlying chalk. Most of the finds came from among large flint packing stones lying against the edge of the post-pipe.

Near the east end of the pipeline (South of Ford Road) 12 Beaker sherds from two different vessels (Figure 3.16–18) were found in a later feature (6153 – see *Middle Bronze Age*, below), possibly indicating the presence of a disturbed flat grave or Beaker pit in the area. The red colouring of the sherds, produced by a fast firing, suggests that they are from early Beakers. There are parallels from other local sites, for example Berwick St John (Clarke 1970, 297; 133 – W/MR 1075) and Winterslow Hut (*ibid.*, 297; 134 – W/MR 1204).

The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age landscape

The landscape, comprising river valley wetland and floodplain (Avon and Bourne), valley sides and downland plateau, would have provided the varied resources suitable for a range of subsistence strategies. This is reflected in the recovery of cattle, sheep/goat and pig bone, red and roe deer antler and hazelnut shells as well as charcoal of oak, hazel and the hawthorn/*Sorbus* group. Animal husbandry was clearly an important component of Neolithic subsistence strategies. The range of domesticated animals found able to exploit a diverse environment including woodland and grassland.

As the animal bones do not appear to have been the result of large-scale feasting, they may be more representative of domestic consumption patterns. The pig bones originate from animals aged approximately one year or under, while the cattle bones are from mainly mature individuals – one under two and a half years at death and another over four years. A similar pattern was found at Windmill Hill (Grigson 1999, 220–1), the West Kennet palisade enclosures (Edwards and Horne 1997, 119) and Durrington Walls (Albarella and Serjeantson 2002, 35). The cattle bones from Coneybury were mostly from mature breeding cows, although calves were also in evidence (Maltby 1990, 248). It is unfortunate that it was not possible to determine the sex of the Neolithic cattle found at Old Sarum.

There was also evidence of arable cultivation, with barley (*Hordeum vulgare sensu lato*) and wheat (*Triticum* sp.) represented. While no grains were well enough preserved to identify naked and hulled varieties with confidence, it appears that both varieties were present. Several grains characteristic of emmer or spelt were present and in a few cases were diagnostic of emmer wheat (*Triticum dicocum*), the main hulled wheat recorded from Neolithic Britain. A few grains were characteristic of free-threshing wheat (*Triticum aestivum sensu lato*) and a single possible rachis fragment was also recovered. It is interesting that while identified cereal grains numbered no more than ten, many samples produced evidence for two to three different species of cereal. There was, however, no evidence for chaff and only a few weed seeds. Robinson (2000) has suggested that chaff may have been removed after harvest and burnt elsewhere. Although pre-processing would make cereals less suitable for long-term storage, it would have had benefits for groups that were partly transient – processed cereals are less bulky and do not require the use of heavy mortars. As the harvesting and post-harvest processing of cereals is a labour intensive activity, it may imply communal activity in late summer after which communities split into smaller groups to exploit hazelnuts and other wild foods in early autumn.

How these components of the Neolithic economy combined would have depended on the changing nature of the Neolithic landscape. One of the nationally and regionally important themes in the Neolithic period is the presence and nature of woodland development (Allen 1998; Smith 1981) and that of Neolithic regeneration which has been taken to indicate social movement from the chalklands (Bradley 1978). Evidence about the character of the woodland landscape is provided by charcoal recovered from the pits, and by snails. Although similar pits have been found at Winterbourne Dauntsey (Stone 1934) and the Beehive (Heaton 2003) comparable environmental data have only been obtained from Easton Lane (pit 1017), Hampshire (Allen 1989).

Pits are not ideal contexts for land snail analysis as the origin of the deposits, and thus the included snail faunas, is not always known (Thomas 1977; Shackley 1976). While pits that fill naturally, as at Easton Lane, can provide useful long sequences reflecting landscape change, the deposits in the Old Sarum pits represent short episodes of deliberate backfilling; and where sequences of samples were taken (from pits 3007, 6056 and 6061) successive

changes could not be seen; contiguous samples were not taken through any of the pits, the snails being extracted from stratified sequences of bulk samples. This poses questions about the origins of the molluscan assemblages. If deposits containing the shells were local and surface derived, then assemblages are both contemporary with the feature and representative of the local environment.

Molluscs are considered within the five distinct assemblage groups defined, regardless of location or period, on the basis of their ecology and assemblage composition (Figures 6 and 7; Evans 1984; Entwistle and Bowden 1991). They display a strong chronological trend, assemblage groups 1-3a relating to Middle Neolithic pits, groups 3b and 4 to Middle Neolithic and Bronze Age pits, and group 5 to Middle Bronze Age or later pits. Although assemblage group 5 relates exclusively to Middle and Late Bronze Age features, it is described in order to highlight its relationship to the longer sequence of environmental change through the Neolithic.

Species diversity calculations have been employed to aid in interpretation of the sequences of molluscan assemblages. The analysis of Δ (delta) species diversity indices (Hurbert 1971) allows us to attempt to examine how 'uniform' the wider landscape is (cf. Entwistle, in Allen *et al.* 1990; Entwistle and Bowden 1991), and the application of species diversity indices clearly allow us to examine generally the nature of the environment (cf. Allen in French *et al.* 2003, 226-8, 233-4; Bell *et al.* forthcoming):

Assemblage group 1

Assemblages from Neolithic pit groups at two sites – pits 3000, 3007, 3198 (Old Sarum Spur) and 6093, 6056, 6100 (The Portway) have radiocarbon determinations falling into the Middle Neolithic c. 3340–2910 cal BC. They are dominated by shade-loving elements, and in particular *Zonitoides* and *Discus rotundatus* with *Carychium tridentatum*, indicating a shady environment with leaf litter. The

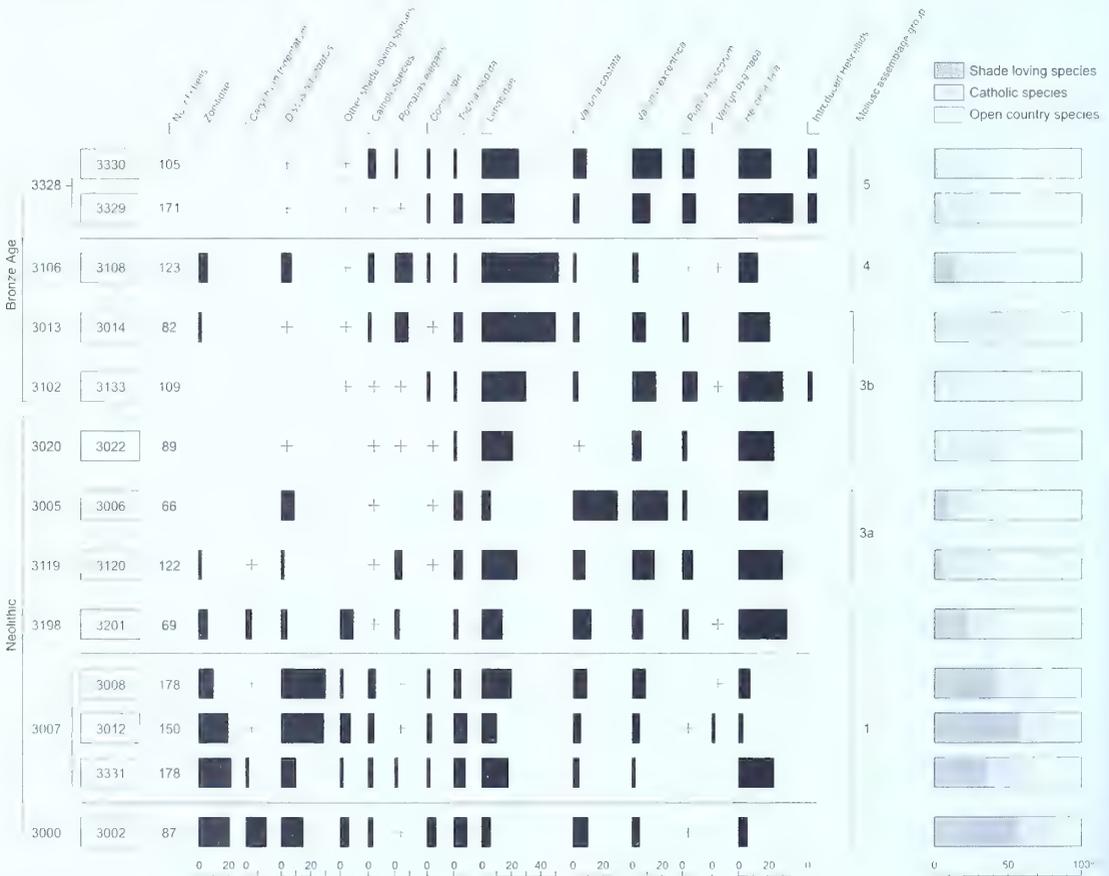


Fig. 6. Old Sarum Spur Mollusc assemblage groups

main open country species is *Vallonia costata* which is known to occur in open woodland (Evans 1984). The range of taxa (generally 18–21) is modest for ancient woodland, and although *Vertigo* cf. *pusilla* is present as single specimens, the assemblage lacks many taxa typical of ancient and largely undisturbed woodland such as *Ena montana* and other species. The species diversity is moderate (Shannon index generally between 2.64 and 2.18) suggesting that this is neither an ancient nor very mature woodland. The relatively low Δ (delta) indices suggest a wide habitat variation rather than a mature ecology.

This assemblages suggest open broad-leaved deciduous woodland at both sites, with a local mosaic of habitats, possibly encouraged by clearing or thinning the trees locally. It is clear, however, that there was no long-established mature wildwood.

Assemblage group 2

This includes three assemblages from a single Neolithic pit – 6061 (The Portway), with a radiocarbon date of 3340–2930 cal BC. They show a slight decrease in the shade-loving species present in assemblage group 1. The Zonitids and *Discus rotundatus* are less important while *Carychium tridentatum* is the dominant shade-loving species. The

presence of *Helicella itala* at 15–26% and the presence of *Pupilla muscorum* indicate the presence of dry open grassland. Lower taxonomic range (13 taxa) and species diversity indices (Shannon *c.* 2.09) suggest decreasing ecological maturity, while higher Δ_4 indices (to 7.39) might suggest habitat diversity.

This assemblage group suggests open grassland and woods, probably with shrubs. There is unlikely to be a closed woodland canopy, and the lack of predatory Zonitids might lead us to suggest that *Carychium tridentatum* is exploiting long grassland habitats (Cameron and Morgan-Huws 1975) rather than leaf litter. Although this is a subtly different local habitat from that defined by assemblage group 1, it is not problematic to see these two habitats being coeval and in close proximity.

Assemblage group 3

Two subgroups – 3a from Neolithic pits 3005 and 3119, and 3b from Neolithic pit 3020 (and Middle and Late Bronze Age pits 3013 and 3102) are dominated by open country species, predominantly *Helicella itala* and *Vallonia excentrica* with *Pupilla muscorum*, and are typical of short dry grassland habitats. The presence of shade-loving species is much reduced, especially in assemblage group 3b.

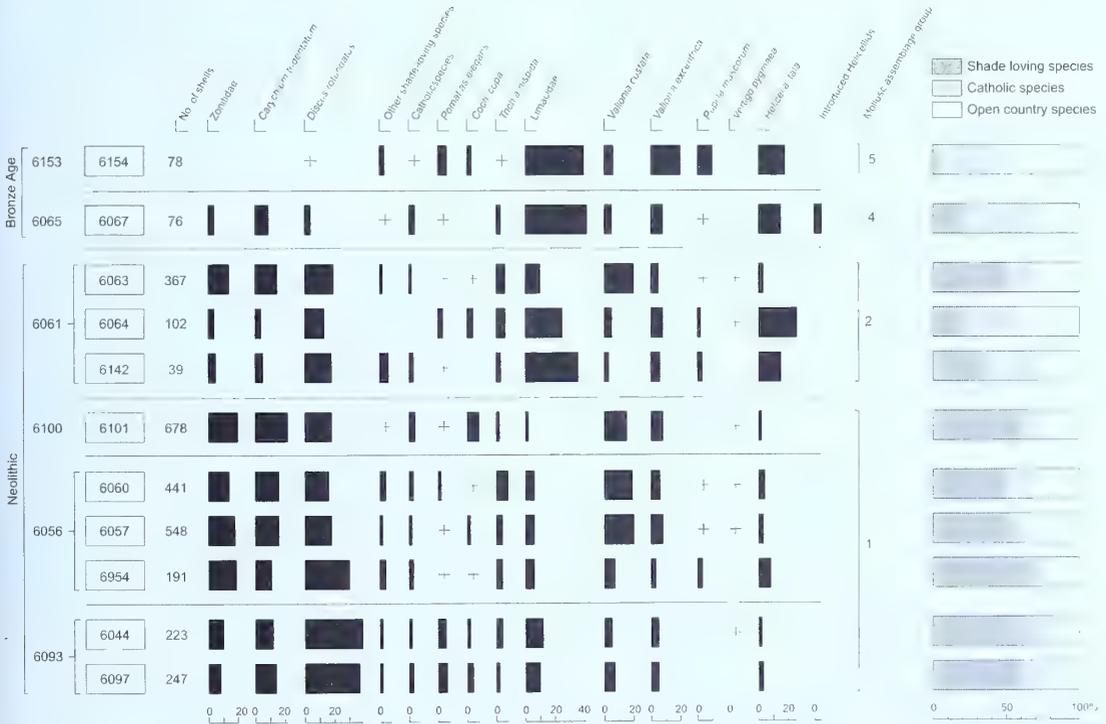


Fig. 7. Amesbury Road and South of Ford Road Mollusc assemblage groups

Pomatias elegans which enjoys loose and broken soil, and is sometimes taken as an indicator of arable, is well represented in Middle Bronze Age pit 3013. The main differences between the subgroups are the dramatic reduction of *Vallonia costata* in group 3b, and the presence of shade-loving taxa. The reduced Shannon indices (1.42–1.78) and much lower Δ_4 indices (2.3–3.6) indicate fewer habitat types in the vicinity.

Both subgroups indicate open grassy downland with few trees, though shrubs are likely to be present, with subgroup 3b, suggesting an even drier grassland. The radiocarbon date of 3290–2910 cal BC from Neolithic pit 3020 suggests that this environment is contemporary with those represented by assemblage groups 1 and 2 (although it also existed in the Bronze Age pits). Indications of lower habitat variation locally seem to belie the presence of woodier habitats, as represented by assemblage groups 1 and 2. This may be a factor of species competition (Thomas 1985) and may indicate chronological variation over the decadal to centennial scale not detectable due to the radiocarbon plateau during this period.

Assemblage group 4

Assemblages from Neolithic pit 6065 (The Portway) and possibly Middle Bronze Age pit 3106 (Old Sarum Spur) are characterised by the dominance of open country taxa and Limacidae and have low levels of *D. rotundatus* and Zonitids with *Carychium tridentatum*. Although the xerophile *Helicella itala* is present, it occurs in lower proportions (8–13%, rather than 20–30%) than in assemblage group 3, but with slightly raised taxonomic ranges. The presence of Introduced Helicellids (medieval or later date) in pit 6065 reflects the shallow and poorly sealed nature of this context. It also questions the coeval nature of the entire assemblage.

Although this assemblage represents a predominantly open countryside environment, the slightly higher mesic components may suggest longer grasses with less grazing pressure. This environment is non-period specific, existing today as rough downland, being common in the Middle Neolithic and later periods in cleared and maintained open downland. In Bronze Age pit 3106 the high presence of *Pomatias elegans* might suggest loose tilled soil.

Assemblage group 5

Assemblages from Middle Bronze Age pit 6153 (South of Ford Road) and Late Bronze Age pit 3328 (Old Sarum Spur), are dominated by open country

species, mainly *Helicella itala*, *Pupilla muscorum* and *V. excentica*. The almost total absence of shade-loving taxa confirms the presence of long-established open downland conditions. These probably represent dry short-grassed, grazed downland, or possibly even limited arable. The presence of *Pomatias elegans* in pit 6153 suggests the presence of broken ground and arable.

Assuming that the Neolithic pits from both sites were contemporaneous, and that the chronological range is not great enough to enable large landscape changes and establishment of their respective molluscan fauna, this data provide clear evidence of wide local habitat diversity. The lack of evidence for mature 'wildwood', as evidenced some 8km to the north at Coneybury Henge (Bell and Jones 1990) allows two possibilities – either that the fully developed Postglacial woodland had been thinned and modified by human action and browsing animals creating a more open woodland canopy, or that the wildwood had never, in fact, blanketed the entire downland. Such interpretations have already been presented for the Dorchester area (Allen 1997, 278) and Cranborne Chase (Allen 2002; French *et al.* 2003). Although evidence for open woodland is more dominant in the pits at The Portway than on the Old Sarum Spur, we cannot be sure, in view of the diversity of seemingly contemporaneous assemblages, whether this is a spatial or temporal pattern.

There were no assemblages typical of broken ground that might indicate clearance. Either these may not be represented in the fills, or clearance may not have occurred as a major short-lived event, but rather as a gradual expansion of grassland by the demise of trees and retreat of the woodland fringes. Such development could be relatively rapid over the centennial scale and be encouraged by both human action and animal browsing, and thus not lead to broken soils and clear felled forest. Open dry grass downland, more prevalent in the Bronze Age, certainly had its origins in at least the Middle Neolithic in this landscape. The non-quantitative analysis by Kennard (in Stone 1934, 447–8) from the Neolithic pits at Winterbourne Dauntsey, seems to show an open country assemblage probably most akin to assemblage group 3.

It has been assumed that soil in the backfilled layers was derived from the immediate vicinity of the pits. Furthermore, it is suggested that clustering of pits into tight groups indicates single episodes of activity at each location – a supposition supported, for instance, by the recovery of conjoining sherds in

Table 2. The Portway: summary table of Neolithic pits

Group	Pit	Width/ diam (m)	Depth (m)	Fill	Description	Peterborough Ware	Flint	Bone	Antler	Hazelnuts	Other
4	6056	0.80-1.35	0.77	6059	Natural infill	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6060			6060	?Placed deposit then backfilled	2/2 abraded	1 nodule	Pig, cattle	-	H	Broken stone axe
	6057			6057	Placed deposit then material in fill	8/40 (E)	13 (1 nodule)	Pig, sheep/goat	X	H	-
	6058			6058	Placed deposit then natural silting	25/594 (M)	8 (1 end scraper)	X	-	H	Sarsens
	6062	0.85	0.62	6062	?Backfill	-	8	X	-	-	-
	6063			6063	Material in backfill	36/582 (M)	17	Pig (L/R), cattle horncore	-	3000+	Burnt flint
	6064			6064	Burnt deposit	-	14 (1 nodule hammer-stone)	X	-	10000+	-
	6142			6142	Natural silting	-	-	X	-	-	-
6065		0.84-1.14	0.32	6066	?Placed deposit then backfilled	-	23	X	-	-	Sandstone
				6067	Placed deposit then natural silting	-	5	Pig, cattle	Pick	-	Sarsen
5	6076	0.90	0.74	6086	? Backfill or natural infill	-	3	X	-	-	-
	6085			6085	Collapsed natural	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6084			6084	Backfilled	6/37	-	X	-	H	Burnt flint
	6083			6083	Placed deposit then fill	53/370 (E+M)	-	X	Roe deer	H	Burnt flint
	6093	1.12	0.77	6099	Material in backfill	3/245 (M)	4 (1 nodule hammer-stone)	-	X	-	-
	6098			6098	Collapsed natural	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6097			6097	Material in backfill	1/11 (E)	1	-	X	H	-
	6095			6095	Collapsed natural	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6094			6094	Material in backfill	16/205 (?M)	4	-	Roe deer, red deer	H	-
	6100	1.10	0.90	6103	Backfill	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6102			6102	Backfill	-	1 nodule	X	-	-	-
	6101			6101	Placed deposit then fill	47/585 (E+M)	6 (1 nodule hammer-stone, 2 nodules)	Pig, cattle	-	-	Sarsens

Key: (E) – includes Ebbsfleet style; (M) – includes Mortlake style; X – unidentified bone; H – hazelnut shells

adjacent pits 6093 and 6100. However, the snail assemblages from a number of adjacent pits (and to a lesser extent from adjacent groups) indicate considerable environmental diversity. The group 4 pits, in particular, produced snail assemblages indicating open broad-leaved deciduous woodland (pit 6056), open grassland and woods (pit 6061) and maintained open downland (pit 6065), raising the possibility either that the pits in any group need not have been contemporary, with the same location presumably marked in some way being re-visited despite a manifest change in the environment, or that the material making up some of the soil layers may not be locally derived. It may be significant that although the group 4 pits were the mostly closely spaced, they were also the most morphologically diverse group, varying significantly in shape and depth, with differences in the sequences of deposits (Figure 5 and Table 2).

Discussion

The number of Neolithic pit groups within the narrow easement on the two sites suggests a relatively high density of similar features within the adjacent landscape. Neolithic pits had been recorded in the original pipeline trench – two immediately north of Old Sarum (Algar and Hadley 1973a), and a group of three immediately east (Musty 1959). A further group of three was excavated north-east of the Beehive junction (Heaton 2003) (Figure 1). All were comparable in form and contents to those described above, and between them contained Peterborough Ware (Cleal and Corney 2003, 58; Musty *ibid*, 186, fig. 3), pig and cattle bones, flints including scrapers, and a fine-grained stone polisher.

All the pits lie between the Castle Hill/Old Sarum ridge (of which the Old Sarum Spur is a continuation) and the dry valley that runs west into the Avon valley. Soil marks visible in air photographs indicate a probable plough-levelled long barrow with

curved ditches and a possible rectangular mortuary structure (Wiltshire SMR no. SU13SW106) 500m north of the pipeline on a slight rise on the edge of the dry valley. There are suggestions also, as yet unproven, of a Neolithic enclosure at Old Sarum (Renn 1994, 22). Whether the concentration of pits relates to the location of earlier monuments, or to the particular topography of the area is unclear. Alternatively, it may have been the ecological diversity of the changing vegetation within the local landscape, as indicated by the snail assemblages, that made this location of particular value and significance, stimulating a specific type of activity for a limited period of time.

The proximity of pits within each group, frequent similarities in the depositional sequence within groups and, at group 5, the fitting together of potsherds from adjacent pits, suggest that each group represents a single episode of activity of relatively short duration, rather than the revisiting of particular locations on a number of occasions. Moreover, the radiocarbon dates from four of the pits suggests a relatively short time-span for this activity. Pits 3007, 6056 and 6061 produced statistically identical dates: 4477 ± 40 BP, 4477 ± 40 BP and 4473 ± 40 BP, all from charred hazelnuts, and although the two results on animal bone were slightly younger, all the determinations fall within 80 radiocarbon years. Despite the fact that these dates fall onto a radiocarbon plateau that gives consistent same-age ranges of about 3350–3050 cal BC, three of the dated pits (and possibly all four), spanning both sites, can be considered to be ‘contemporary’, i.e. within 75 years (Table 3). This is of particular significance in view of the differing environments as portrayed by the land snail analysis.

This was a period of transition in the wider area, during which causewayed enclosures, such as Robin Hood’s Ball, were beginning to go out of use, although deposits were still being made in its upper ditch fills, but before the large scale construction of

Table 3. Radiocarbon dates from the Middle/Late Neolithic pits

Group	Pit	Context	Material	Result no	δC^{13} ‰	Result BP	Cal date BC 2 sigma
2	3020	3022	Artic. pig ulna	NZA-18416	-20.47	4398 ± 40	3290-2910
3	3007	3331	Hazelnuts	NZA-18338	-23.98	4473 ± 40	3340-2930
4	6056	6057	Pig skull frag.	NZA-18417	-20.40	4428 ± 45	3330-2910
		6058	Hazelnuts	NZA-18339	-25.25	4477 ± 40	3340-2930
	6061	6064	Hazelnuts	NZA-18340	-24.71	4473 ± 40	3340-2930

henge monuments. The pits pre-date by two or three centuries the Stonehenge Phase 1 ditch, c. 10km to the north, but their dates correspond closely to those from the curated ox jaws found in it (Allen and Bayliss 1995), raising the possibility that while some cattle bones were being deposited in the Old Sarum pits, others were being set aside, to be subsequently kept over many succeeding generations. Although there is evidence in the Stonehenge area of episodes of settlement activity, including the use of Peterborough Ware, on Stonehenge Down, King Barrow Ridge and Wilsford Down, the relationship between the Old Sarum pit groups and the overall pattern of Neolithic settlement and subsistence remains unclear.

The nature of the activity represented by the pits is also unclear, and ploughing may have destroyed associated features that could provide a fuller understanding, such as the circle of stakeholes around one pit in a group of three Peterborough Ware pits at Winterbourne Dauntsey 4km to the north-east (Stone 1934).

The material in the pits has the appearance of domestic 'rubbish', such as food waste – from domesticated plants (barley and wheat) and animals (pig, sheep/goat and cattle), as well as charred hazelnut shells – but significantly not bone from wild deer. There was also flint waste (but few tools), flint nodules and hammer-stones, sarsen fragments, burnt flint, pieces of antler, pieces of broken pottery, fossils and the butt of a broken stone axe re-used as a hammerstone, as well as charcoal (oak, hazel and hawthorn). The purpose of the pieces of sarsen is unclear, although when considered with the frequent flint nodules and hammer-stones it is possible some were used as anvils for cracking hazelnut shells and other activities in a domestic and subsistence context. The prevalence of left-side pig bones in a number of the pits suggests some formality in the selection of materials and thus to characterise this material as simply 'rubbish' overlooks its potential symbolic significance.

Few pits contained the full range of materials, and differences can be seen in individual deposits within pits, between pits in groups and between groups (Tables 1 and 2). There are differences between the two sites, with pits on the Old Sarum Spur containing a far higher proportion of bone elements than antler fragments (a ratio of 90:3), while at The Portway the bone:antler ratio was 22:34, with only very small amounts of bone, and two pits (6076 and 6093) containing antler but very little bone.

While these finds might suggest settlement activity, there is no evidence in the vicinity that can be characterised as indisputably domestic, although activity is represented by a dense scatter of flakes and scrapers collected at Bishopdown Farm to the east of the pipeline (AC Archaeology 1991). The nature of Neolithic settlement remains unclear. Whatever the activity represented by these pits, it may have involved references to the range of domestic and subsistence activities from which the material appears to have derived.

MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGE

Middle Bronze Age settlement was found on the Old Sarum Spur and a Late Bronze Age settlement South of Ford Road, possibly indicating an eastwards shift in the focus of activity.

Old Sarum Spur

Radiocarbon dates placed three human and two cattle burials at the start of the Middle Bronze Age. Nine features, mostly postholes and pits of varying size and shape, produced Middle Bronze Age pottery, eight of them within a 58m length of the easement indicating an area of settlement activity. Many of the undated features in the area are also likely to belong to this period (Figure 8). There was limited evidence for continued activity into the Late Bronze Age.

Burials

Close to the southern edge of the easement was a group of three inhumation burials (3038, 3116 and 3126). Grave 3038 contained the skeleton of an adult female aged over 35 years, laid on her back with her head at the north-east turned to the right and the legs flexed to the left (Figure 8). There were no finds, but the right femur provided a radiocarbon date of 3179 ± 40 BP, 1520–1320 cal BC (NZA-18419).

The other graves, immediately to the north-east, had been severely plough damaged. Grave 3116 contained a crouched adult female aged c. 20–40 years, possibly laid on her left side with the head towards the south-east, although the skull and most of the leg bones were missing. Grave 3126 was aligned north-north-west to south-south-east. Again, little of the skeleton, of an adult female aged c. 20–30 years, survived, but most of the bones were right side limb

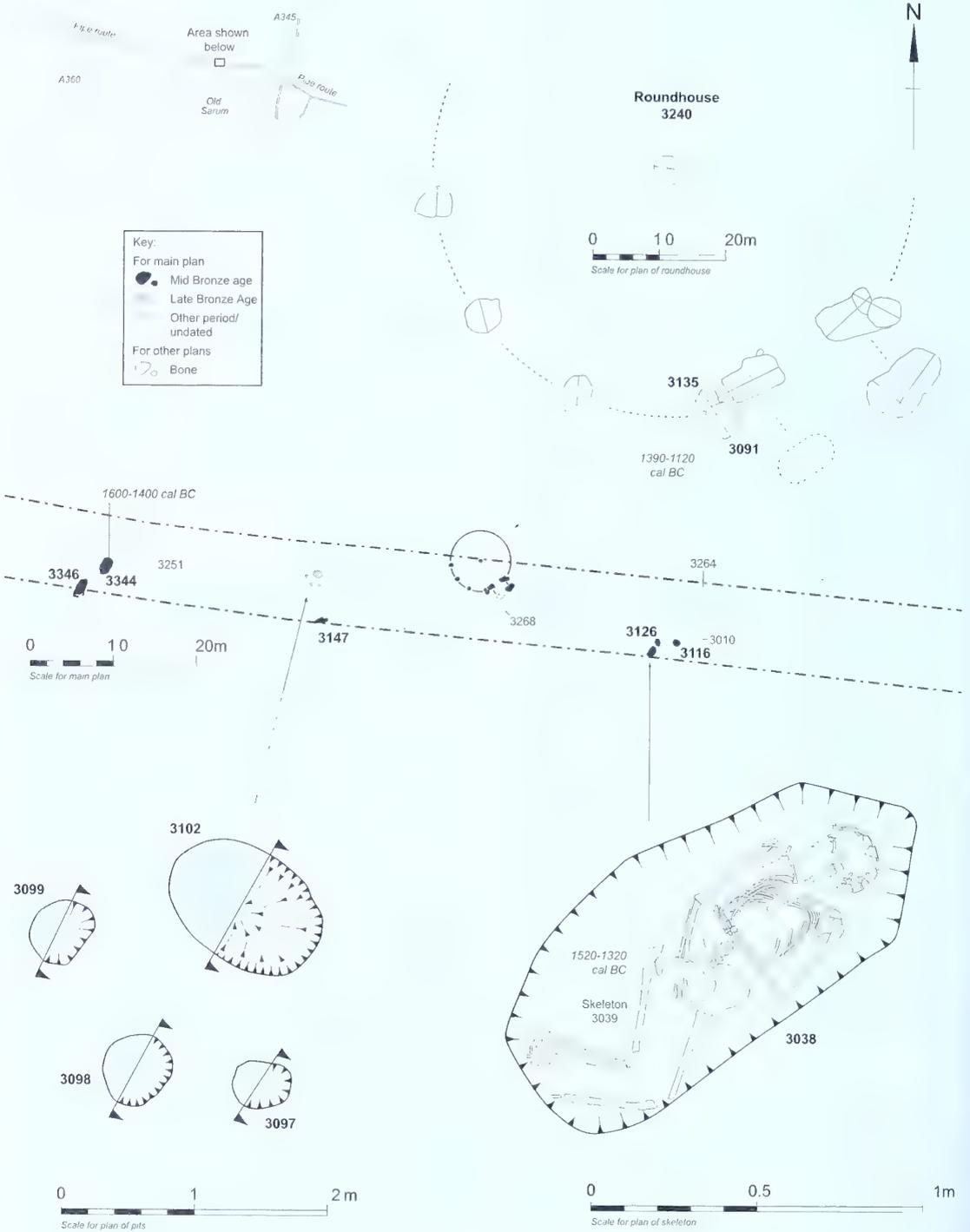


Fig. 8. Old Sarum Spur Middle and Late Bronze Age features

bones, their position suggesting that the skeleton had been laid on the right side.

Some 65m to the west were two very shallow oval features (3344 and 3346) containing articulated cattle skeletons, both features being aligned north-east-south-west. Feature 3344 (Figure 9), to the north-east, contained most of the right side of a cattle skeleton aged over three and a half years lying on its right side, with its head approximately south; the left-sided elements had been removed by ploughing.



Fig. 9. Old Sarum Spur Middle Bronze Age cow burial

The width of the metatarsals suggest it was a cow. In addition to the cattle bones, ten long bones and seven ribs of a foetal sheep/goat were recovered from between the cow's ribcage and hind limb. A sample of cow phalanx produced a radiocarbon date of 3211 ± 40 BP, 1600–1400 cal BC (NZA-18418). The second cattle burial (feature 3346), 2m to the south-west, had been placed on its left side, also with the head to the south. It was of a similar age, with a withers height of just over 1.1m. Most of the right side elements had been ploughed away, together with some of the left-sided elements.

The radiocarbon results, statistically indistinguishable at the 95% confidence limit (Table 4), show that the human and cattle burials are of early Middle Bronze Age date. The purpose of the cow burials is not known, although the unusual

association of a neonatal sheep/goat with an adult cow suggests a formalised or perhaps ritualised deposit. Middle Bronze Age animal burials at Horton, Berkshire, include eight cattle buried in pits just large enough to contain them and presumably dug for the purpose of receiving the carcass (Paul McCulloch pers. comm.). Similar cattle burials have been recorded beside the Early Bronze Age pond barrow in Firtree Field, Down Farm, Dorset (Barrett *et al.* 1991, 134, figs 4.8 and 4.12), and in the barrow ditch at Walworth Road, Andover, Hampshire (Hamilton Dyer 1990).

Middle Bronze Age settlement

Located centrally within the spread of features on the Old Sarum Spur, was a roundhouse (3240) with a south-east facing entrance (Figure 8), lying partly outside the easement and comprising a 7.5m diameter semicircle of five postholes, *c.* 2m apart, around a central post. Those flanking the entrance were 2.8m apart, the entrance structure also comprising two pairs of slots, one pair between the entrance postholes, the other pair (one cut by a later ditch) some 0.5m outside them. These slots appear to have held posts at their inner ends, narrowing the entrance gap to under 1m. Immediately behind the entrance postholes were two shallow features, that to the west (3135) containing sherds from the base (apparently *in situ*) and shoulder of a barrel urn with internally expanded rim and finger-impressed shoulder; a spread of rim and shoulder sherds from the same vessel (Figure 10.20) was found on the surface of the chalk 0.8m to the west. Sherds from another coarseware urn, with impressed rims, shoulders or cordons, came from entrance posthole 3091 (Figure 10.21).

A charred barley grain (*Hordeum*) from one of the entrance postholes (3091) provided a radiocarbon date of 3020 ± 40 BP, 1390–1120 cal BC (NZA-18341), suggesting a date for the structure in the latter half of the Middle Bronze Age, and only just overlapping with the human and cow burials. Finds from the roundhouse included Middle Bronze Age pottery, worked flints, burnt flint, animal bone (including

Table 4. Radiocarbon dates from the Middle Bronze Age features at the Old Sarum Spur

Feature	Context	Material	Result no	$\delta C^{13} \text{‰}$	Result BP	Cal date BC 2 sigma
Cow burial 3344	3345	<i>Bos</i> phalanx	NZA-18418	-22.31	3211 ± 40	1600-1400
Grave 3038	3039	Human r. femur	NZA-18419	-21.24	3179 ± 40	1520-1320
Roundhouse posthole 3091	3114	Grain <i>Hordeum</i>	NZA-18341	-24.06	3020 ± 40	1390-1120

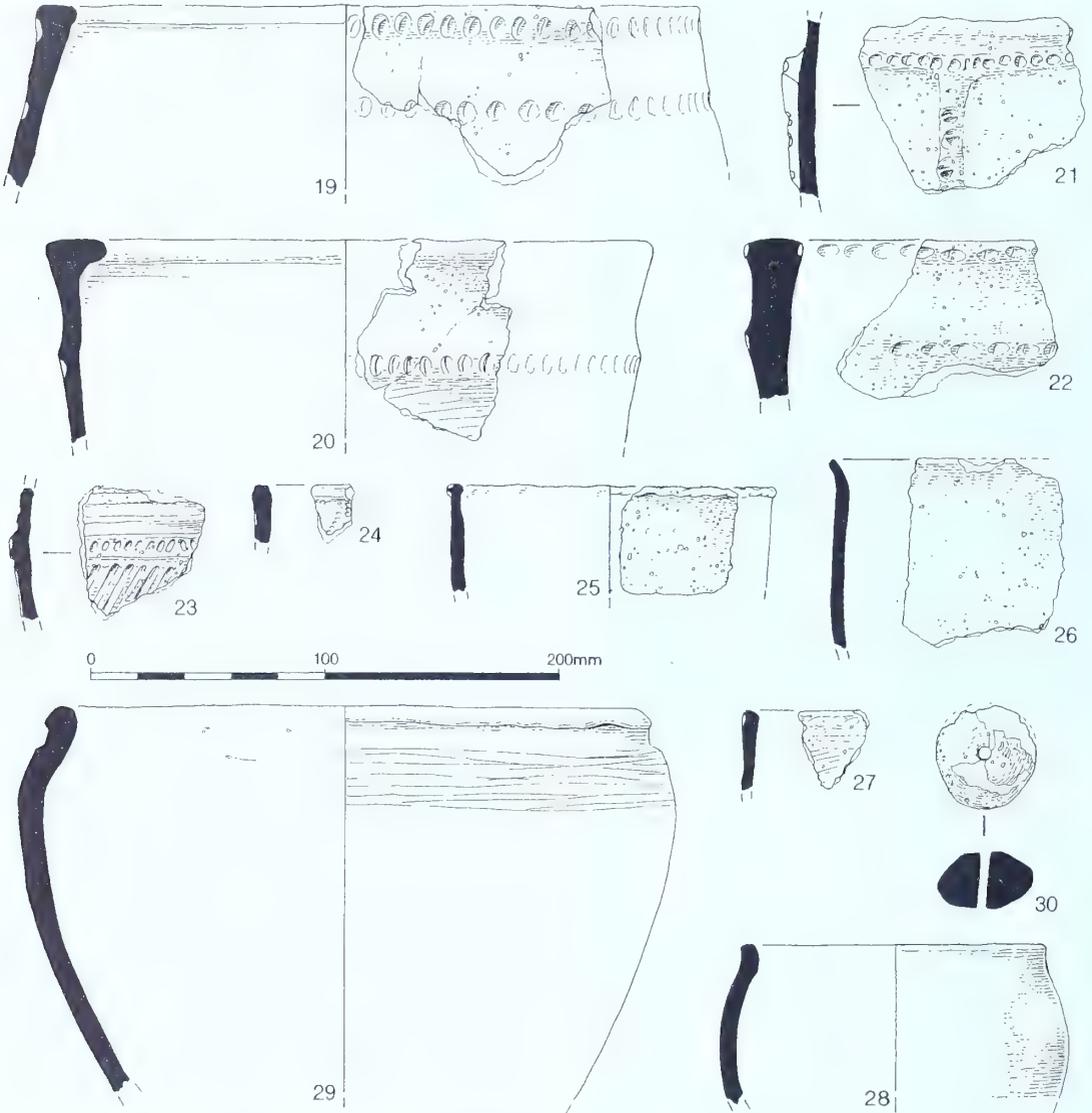


Fig. 10. Middle Bronze Age to Late Iron Age pottery, and fired clay spindle whorl from roundhouse 8100 (posthole 8121)

sheep/goat) and a saddle quern fragment. The roundhouse is closely paralleled by other structures of this period, its central post and the lateral porch similar to CS 2782 at Easton Lane, Hampshire (Fasham *et al.* 1989, fig. 44), and Houses A and B at Bishops Cannings Down, Wiltshire (Gingell 1992, fig. 4).

Most of the nearby pits and postholes were undated, and none of the postholes, most shallower than those in the roundhouse, formed recognisable structures, although some were in close pairs. One oval pit (3147), with possibly associated postholes, had a layer of dark brown soil with frequent chalk

inclusions in the base that produced a small sherd of Middle Bronze Age pottery and a flint. Above this, in the centre of the cut, was an even darker, charcoal rich layer, containing further pottery, including a rim sherd of a barrel-shaped urn (Figure 10.22) and a sherd from a well finished globular-shaped urn with tooled decoration (Figure 10.23), the only example of this vessel form in the assemblage. There was also flint, burnt flint and a fragment of animal bone. Pit 3268 contained a pig bone or antler 'toggle', while pit 3010 contained animal bone and nine flints, including a denticulate (scraper) on a large secondary flake.

Late Bronze Age features

In addition to residual Late Bronze Age pottery found in later features, such as Romano-British ditch 3264 (Figure 10.27), a number of anomalous features point to some level of continued activity on this site during the Late Bronze Age, and it is possible that some of the undated features also belong to this period. A shallow pit (3328), on the north-west facing slope of the spur, had a lower fill of mid-brown soil containing sherds of Late Bronze Age pottery, pig bone, hazelnut fragments, flint chips and waste, burnt flint and shell, while a bowl-shaped depression in the centre of this layer, filled with a dark brown humic soil, contained a further 60 flint flakes/blades and knapping chips, pig bone and an antler tip. The flints, which were undiagnostic, were similar in appearance and may be from the same nodule, three small groups of flakes from the pit refitting.

On the top of the spur an arc of three similar postholes (3097, 3098 and 3099) appears to be centred on an oval pit (3102) suggesting a relationship (Figure 8). The pit was 1.2m long and 0.84m wide, and 0.49m deep with concave sides and a steep v-shaped hole in the base. Its single fill, which contained abundant charcoal but no evidence of *in situ* burning, produced two Late Bronze Age sherds, four flints and 1280g of burnt flint. Unlike most of the Middle and Late Bronze Age features, which contained small amounts of oak, hazel and hawthorn/*Sorbus* group charcoal, most of the charcoal in this pit was ash, a species recorded elsewhere only from a Middle Bronze Age cremation burial at the Western Coombe (below), and apparently not used in the domestic hearths. There was also some maple charcoal not found elsewhere on the pipeline, and a small amount of oak and charred grain. Although an origin from domestic fuel can not be ruled out, the charcoal seems likely to have originated from some other activity for which these species were carefully selected. Ash, maple and oak provide high energy firewood, although they also have strength, resilience and durability suitable for use in carpentry or other artefactual applications.

Rectangular structure

Some 30-40m west of the roundhouse were three parallel rows of postholes (3251) aligned north-west-south-east across the easement, and possibly extending beyond it. They had the appearance of a long rectangular building 5m wide and at least 12.6m long, with the central row of larger posts supporting the ridge of the roof, and the outer rows marking the lines of the walls. Two further, adjacent postholes

(3340 and 3342) were recorded on the edge of Romano-British ditch 3264, and although their stratigraphical relationship to the ditch was unclear it is likely that at least one belonged to the structure. There is no obvious spatial matching between the posts in the outer rows, indicating that if the tops of the outer posts were tied together, this was only done along the length of the structure, and not across it.

A single small sherd of Middle Bronze Age pottery from one posthole provided the only dating evidence. Although few prehistoric long-houses are known from southern Britain, there are a number of Middle/Late Bronze Age parallels for this structure, such as Structure F at the Down Farm enclosure, on Cranborne Chase (Barrett *et al.* 1991, fig. 5.37), the long-house at Barleycroft Farm, Cambridgeshire (Evans and Knight 1996), a structure Manston Road, Ramsgate (Hutcheson and Andrews 1997) and a possible structure (MS4010) at Easton Lane (Fasham *et al.* 1989, fig. 50). Long timber buildings are also known from the Iron Age, such as at the hillfort at Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire (Dixon 1973).

Western Coombe

The only evidence for Middle or Late Bronze Age activity from west of the Avon valley was an unurned cremation burial (2129) 120m east of the Beaker postpit at the Western Coombe site. The burial, an adult male, was in an inverted barrel urn with finger-impressed rim and shoulder (Figure 10.19) placed on the base of the grave. The 0.6m diameter grave was filled with a dark soil containing frequent charcoal fragments, burnt clay and almost 2kg of burnt flint, these components probably representative of redeposited pyre debris, and suggesting the close proximity of the pyre site to the grave. Almost all the charcoal was from ash. A similar use of ash was recorded from fuel debris from a Middle-Late Bronze Age cremation burial at Dunch Hill, north-west of Old Sarum near Tidworth (Gale, unpub).

South of Ford Road*Middle Bronze Age features*

A small number of Middle Bronze features indicate activity pre-dating the Late Bronze Age settlement (Figure 11). A small pit or large posthole (8047) 0.48 wide and 0.27m deep, produced eight Middle Bronze Age sherds (Figure 10.24), animal bone and flints. It was the central of three similar but undated features arranged in an east-west line, with a further two, slightly elongated pits, 4m to the north.

Some 160m west of this site, an isolated pit (6153) contained 11 Beaker sherds (from at least two vessels), 24 Middle and 3 Late Bronze Age sherds as well as 5 Middle/Late Iron Age sherds (most of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age sherds being small and abraded). The pit was oval in plan, 0.72m by 0.90m wide and 0.34m deep with very steep sides and a slightly concave base. All the finds, which included also cattle, pig and sheep/goat bones (some of them burnt), 40 worked flints (including a side scraper and a small end scraper) and burnt flint (320g), were mixed within the single dark brown/black fill along with a number of large flint nodules. The most plausible explanation involves the disturbance during the Middle Bronze Age of a Beaker feature, and the deposition of some of its contents, accompanied by additional materials – certainly pottery, but perhaps also the flints and animal bone – in a new pit, the abraded later pottery being intrusive. The question remains whether the feature was prompted by the disturbance of a Beaker feature, so indicating some recognition of the symbolic potential of the earlier material, or whether the Beaker sherds were incorporated accidentally within Middle Bronze Age domestic waste.

Late Bronze Age settlement

Late Bronze Age features were distributed over some 80m, including postholes and beam slots forming at least three structures, pits and a single inhumation grave, although only three postholes could be dated to the Late Bronze Age.

An east-facing roundhouse (8023) was represented by a partial circle of postholes, some very truncated, and an entrance structure consisting of two internal postholes and four external linear slots (Figure 11). A further posthole would have been outside the easement, and two adjacent to the entrance postholes appear not to have survived. The gap between the entrance postholes was less than 1m wide, and there was a second pair of postholes some 0.8m into the building, while 1.2–2.2m outside it was an arrangement of four parallel beam slots, two on either side of the entrance. These features would have created a 4m wide façade flanking a narrow entrance passage almost 4m long. There was a posthole at the end of that passage, on the left hand side, and another posthole towards the rear of the building. The structure produced ten sherds of Late Bronze Age pottery (as well as two residual Middle Bronze Age

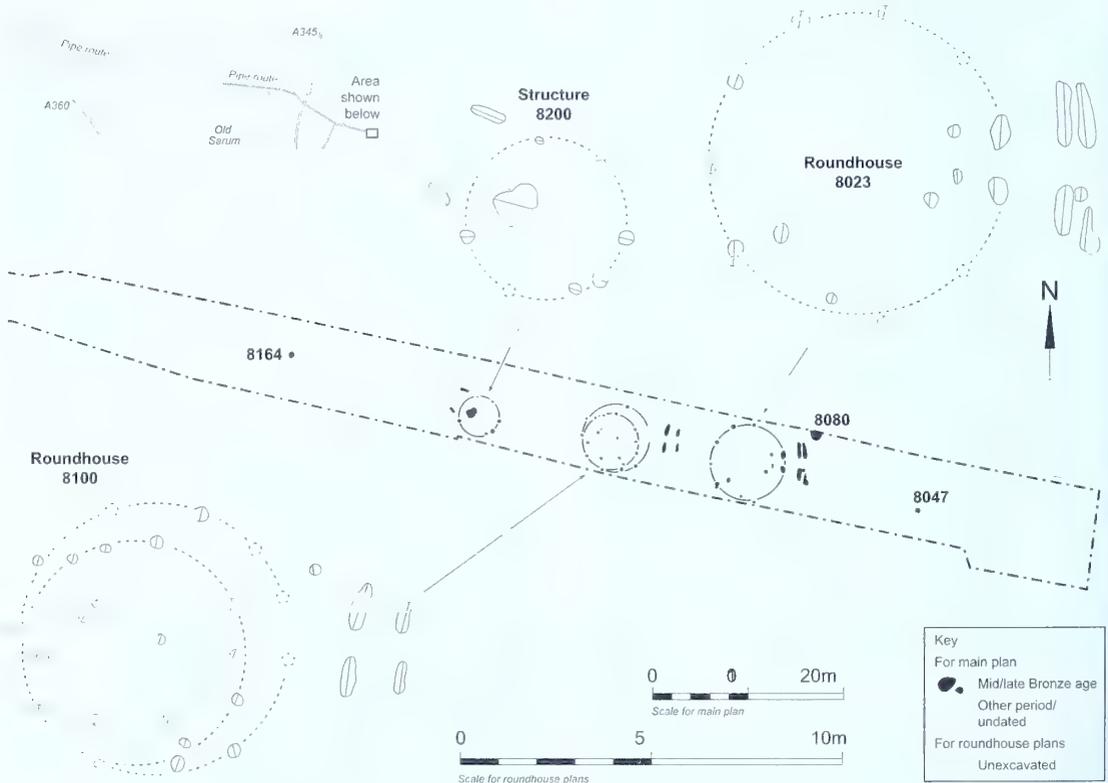


Fig. 11. South of Ford Road Middle and Late Bronze Age features

sherds and two intrusive Romano-British sherds), a fired clay spindle whorl, three flints and burnt flint. A large pit (8080) some 2m north of the entrance produced Late Bronze Age pottery (Figure 10.25), flints (including an end scraper), worked pieces of sandstone (possibly quern fragments), pig and cattle bone (some of it burnt), fired clay and a large quantity of burnt flint (as well as an intrusive Middle/Late Iron Age sherd).

Immediately west of roundhouse 8023 was a group of 21 postholes (8100) with an arrangement of linear slots similar to that in roundhouse (8123). The only finds from this group were a single sherd of Late Bronze Age pottery and a fired clay spindlewhorl (Figure 10.30). The postholes can be combined to form a number of possible structures, of which two options are suggested. Option 1 comprises a 6m diameter circular structure of eight surviving postholes. This structure would not have incorporated the four slots. Option 2 is closer to roundhouse 8023, comprising seven surviving postholes, with gaps for another three or four, in a circle *c.* 7.2m in diameter. There were, however, no large entrance postholes (although a tree throw could have obscured one of them). A deep posthole backfilled with compact chalk rubble close to the centre of this structure may have been used to hold a central post during construction. The entrance structure, represented by the slots, would have been at least 3.2m long and 2.8m wide, with a 1m wide entrance.

Some 9m west of roundhouse 8100 there was a group of six postholes, five short linear features (possible beam slots) and a pit (Figure 11). The majority formed a small circular structure (8200), the postholes being arranged in a 4.2m diameter circle (with one posthole missing on the south side). The entrance, facing north-west, comprised a 2.2m wide gap between two external beam slots, widening to 3m gap between the adjacent postholes. The pit (8158) (possibly two adjacent cuts), located almost centrally in the entrance, contained large flint nodules and some burnt stone, Late Bronze Age pottery (including sherds from a fineware vessel with an everted rim; Figure 10.26), animal bone (including sheep/goat), flints and fired clay. This structure is clearly different from the two roundhouses, and it may have had some specialised activity function. Two of the other possible slots north of the structure could be associated with it, the third, 3.3m to the west, being more isolated.

A loose cluster of eight postholes 15–22m east of roundhouse 8023 formed no obvious structure. It is

possible to draw arcs through up to five of them to suggest circles 6.3–6.9m in diameter, but the fact they include two close pairs of postholes, and that there are no slots indicating an entrance raises the possibility that these postholes had some other functions. None contained finds.

Approximately 17m west of structure 8200 was a shallow circular grave (8164), 0.7m in diameter containing an undated and truncated crouched inhumation burial of a male aged 13–16 years, laid on his right side. The grave produced a single flint, but its proximity to the Late Bronze Age settlement suggests a possible association.

The fabrics and forms of the Late Bronze Age pottery are typical of the plainware ceramic traditions of the region from the 11th to 8th centuries BC. There were seven fabric types, either flint-tempered, calcareous or organic, but little diagnostic material and no decorated sherds.

The Middle and Late Bronze Age landscape

The continuation of activity on the Old Sarum Spur, although of a different nature from the preceding activity – permanent domestic settlement replacing varied forms of formal deposition and burial – may reflect the position of the spur within the wider landscape. The settlement location enabled exploitation of a range of landscape zones and their resources. The Late Bronze Age settlement South of Ford Road is sited also on flat ground, within a kilometre of the River Bourne, although in a less prominent and topographically less diverse position. It displayed evidence for a range of domestic and specialised activities, and although there was no evidence that it was enclosed, it lay close to a series of parallel ditches (SMR No. SU13SE654), probably field systems, visible in aerial photographs. These run north-east towards a double- and triple-ditch linear feature that extends over some 1.5km (SMR No. SU13SE665), possibly representing a major land division of the type extensively recorded on Salisbury Plain (Bradley *et al.* 1994). This may reflect changes to the nature and exploitation of the landscape.

The Middle Bronze Age contexts produced little evidence for the exploitation of wild foods, and only Late Bronze Age pit 3328 on the Old Sarum Spur produced any quantity of hazelnuts. All the sampled contexts contained cereal remains, with barley grains (including the hulled variety) and emmer grains and glume bases represented, but no remains of free-threshing wheat. Seeds of common arable weeds were

also present, although none have specific ecological requirements. While the number of cereal and chaff remains was low, they were still significant when compared to the Neolithic pits. This may be due to cereals having been stored in an unprocessed state and taken from storage throughout the year, with the processing waste and extracted weed seeds being burnt within the settlements (Stevens 2003). Apart from the two cattle burials, the Middle and Late Bronze Age settlements produced little identified animal bone, although cattle, horse, pig and sheep/goat were represented, with mainly the robust elements, especially teeth and phalanges, surviving, suggesting poor preservation or redeposition. Most of the charcoal recovered was of oak, hazel and the hawthorn/*Sorbus* group, and appears to be fuel debris as part of domestic waste.

As described above, the land snails from Bronze Age features indicate an increasingly open downland environment. Middle Bronze Age pit 3013 on the Old Sarum Spur produced snails of assemblage group 3b indicating open grassy downland with few trees, while pit 3106 contained snails of assemblage group 4 representing a predominantly open countryside environment. The high presence in both of *Pomatias elegans*, which enjoys loose and broken soil, might be taken as an indicator of arable cultivation. Pit 6153 (South of Ford Road) produced snails of assemblage group 5 in which the almost total absence of shade-loving taxa confirms the presence of long-established open downland conditions. There is clear continuity into the Late Bronze Age with pit 3102 also producing a group 3b assemblage, and pit 3328 producing snails of assemblage group 5.

Discussion

Middle Bronze Age settlements are generally small, comprising typically a major domestic structure and one or more ancillary structures (Ellison 1987). The features on the Old Sarum spur appear to conform to that pattern. Such settlements may represent the domestic units of a single generation, with subsequent phases having different layouts in different locations (Brück 1999), leading possibly to the appearance of more extensive settlements as at Easton Lane, Winchester, where clusters of structures extended over 15 hectares (Fasham *et al.* 1989). Evidence from Easton Lane, Bishops Cannings Down on the Marlborough Downs (Gingell 1992) and Dunch Hill, Tidworth (Wessex Archaeology 1995), suggests that such settlements were unenclosed, in contrast to settlements to the south

such as South Lodge and Down Farm on Cranborne Chase (Barrett *et al.* 1991, 144–211), where open settlements were subsequently circumscribed by ditched or banked enclosures.

The development of the open Middle Bronze Age settlement at Old Sarum, therefore, contrasts also with the sequence at Thorny Down, just 7km to the east (Ellison 1987), where an open early Middle Bronze Age settlement was replaced by an enclosed Deverel-Rimbury settlement. The pottery from Old Sarum comprised sherds in four, either flint-tempered or calcareous, fabrics, much of it deriving from bucket-shaped and barrel urns with finger-impressed shoulders, rims and cordons, such as from the roundhouse entrance. It has its closest parallels, therefore, with sites to the north, with parallels within the Middle Bronze Age assemblages from Salisbury Plain (e.g. Annable and Simpson 1964, 125–8) and the Marlborough Downs, in particular that from Bishop's Cannings Down (Tomalin 1992, figs. 62–6), rather than with the Deverel-Rimbury forms found in the second phase at Thorny Down and on the Cranborne Chase settlements.

The use of open settlement continued into the Late Bronze Age, although the proximity of the two adjacent roundhouses, one with additional postholes, may indicate the repeated rebuilding of domestic structures at the same location. The Late Bronze Age settlement lies within a landscape containing evidence of regular field systems, as well as extensive linear ditches dividing up the downland into blocks. The double linear ditch, less than a kilometre to the north, that crosses the watershed between the River Bourne valley and the dry valley that runs down to the River Avon, defines a block of downland between the confluence of the two rivers that includes the Old Sarum/Castle Hill ridge, representing a possible process of territorial division that continued during the Iron Age.

MIDDLE/LATE IRON AGE AND ROMANO-BRITISH

It was anticipated that the pipeline would cross two main foci of Iron Age and Romano-British activity. The first was the Late Iron Age/Romano-British enclosure on Camp Hill where ditches, an oven and pits (one containing painted wall plaster) had been recorded previously (Algar and Hadley 1973b; AC Archaeology n.d.). The other was east of the Iron Age hillfort at Old Sarum, a possible location for

the Roman town of *Sorviodunum*, where four Roman roads, three of them crossed by the pipeline, converged. In fact, evidence for Iron Age activity was distributed thinly along the pipeline, most of it coming from a number of features indicating specialised activities on the north-facing slope of Castle Hill.

Castle Hill

An hour-glass shaped feature (6163) was excavated, possibly an oven. It was 2.7m long and 0.3m deep with steep sides and a flat base, with a 1.6m wide chamber at the uphill end, a 1m wide flue at the other and a low ridge between them. Filling the flue and extending into the chamber was a layer of charcoal, burnt flint and stone, which produced a number of large Middle/Late Iron Age sherds. At the rear there was a layer of chalk rubble, probably eroded natural, while in the centre of the chamber there was further burnt flint and stone, the chamber then being filled with a dark brown soil. The charcoal consisted of oak and blackthorn/*Sorbus* groups, both species providing high energy fuels.

Some 25m north of the oven were four adjacent pits, three of them in a row across the easement, containing large quantities of animal bone. Pit 6157 was subrectangular, aligned north-south, 1.37m long by 0.75m wide and 0.25m deep (Figure 12). There was a large sherd (512g) of Middle/Late Iron Age pottery at the north end (Figure 10.29) and a substantial quantity of semi-articulated animal bone (2546g) from at least six sheep/goats (one sheep skull lying on the large pot sherd), the left side long bones of at least two cattle and a pig pelvis and skull. There was also a piece of Greensand (808g) and a small sherd of Romano-British pottery. Pit 6175, 1.4m to the east, was oval in plan aligned east-west, measuring 1.16m long by 0.6m wide, and 0.12m deep. It contained 926g of animal bone, from at least five sheep/goats with a preponderance of foot bones, a lower cattle hind limb and a dog skull. Approximately 1.2m further east, a small subcircular pit (6155), 0.53–0.62m in diameter and 0.1m deep, contained a further 251g of sheep/goat and cattle bone, as well as two flints.

Pit 6207, 2.5m down-slope, had been almost completely cut by ditch 6165, but what remained was at least 2m wide, with a curved, gently sloping southern side and a flat base. It produced 1100g of disarticulated animal bone, mostly sheep/goat and cattle but with pig also represented. There were also two human skull fragments from an individual

possibly aged 12–18. Further human bone was recovered from the upper fill of the ditch.

Analysis of wear stages and fusion data indicates that eight of the sheep/goat mandibles were 17–24 months old, pointing to a deliberate cull of animals at a young age, probably for meat. The bones had been butchered to disarticulate the carcass and extract marrow. The remains of 14 vertebrae from one sheep/goat spine, with some transverse processes removed during butchery, indicate that some segments of butchered carcass were deposited together, and that these deposits might represent the remains of everyday consumption or butchery. At least one sheep/goat was lame as evidenced by extra bone growth on three foot bones.

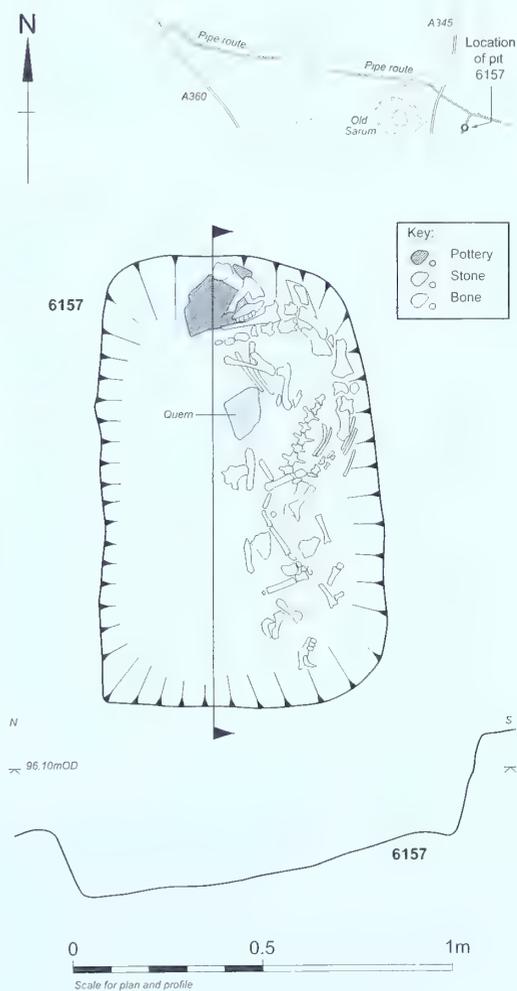


Fig. 12. Castle Hill pit 6157

Camp Hill

The only evidence for Iron Age activity west of the River Avon consisted of Middle/Late Iron Age sherds from the upper fills of a Romano-British ditch at the Western Coombe site. Romano-British features, however, were recorded on Camp Hill (Figure 13).

Ditch 42, running north-east–south-west, was 1.2–1.5m wide and up to 0.45m deep with an irregular V-shaped profile. It produced Romano-British pottery, animal bone (cattle, sheep/goat and dog), ceramic building material (CBM), an iron nail and part of a Greensand quern. A second ditch (11), running north-south 16m to the south-east, was 1.7–2.5m wide and 0.4m deep with shallow/moderate sides and a wide, generally flat base. It produced Romano-British pottery, and a small amount of sheep/goat bone. In both ditches the finds in the lower fills came from localised dumps of material, while those in the upper fills were more widely and

evenly distributed. The rounded terminal of a third ditch (52), 1m wide and 0.25m deep, 3m to the south-east of ditch 42 and running approximately east, may be associated.

Some 25m south-east of ditch 11, part of a rectangular enclosure (2), 3.5m wide internally, extended north-east beyond the easement. It was defined by a shallow gully, 0.65–0.8m wide and up to 0.13m deep, which produced Romano-British pottery, CBM and 15 iron nails, as well as small amounts of charcoal. There was another length of gully, containing further sherds, a piece of slag and a flint, outside the south-east corner.

Further down the slope on the east side of the A360 Devizes Road was a substantial ditch (1031), running north-east–south-west (Figure 13). It was up to 4.6m wide and 0.95m deep with a V-shaped profile, moderately steep on the south-east side and shallower on the north-west. Up to eight fills were recorded, producing Romano-British pottery, CBM, animal bone (cattle, sheep/goat and horse), a copper

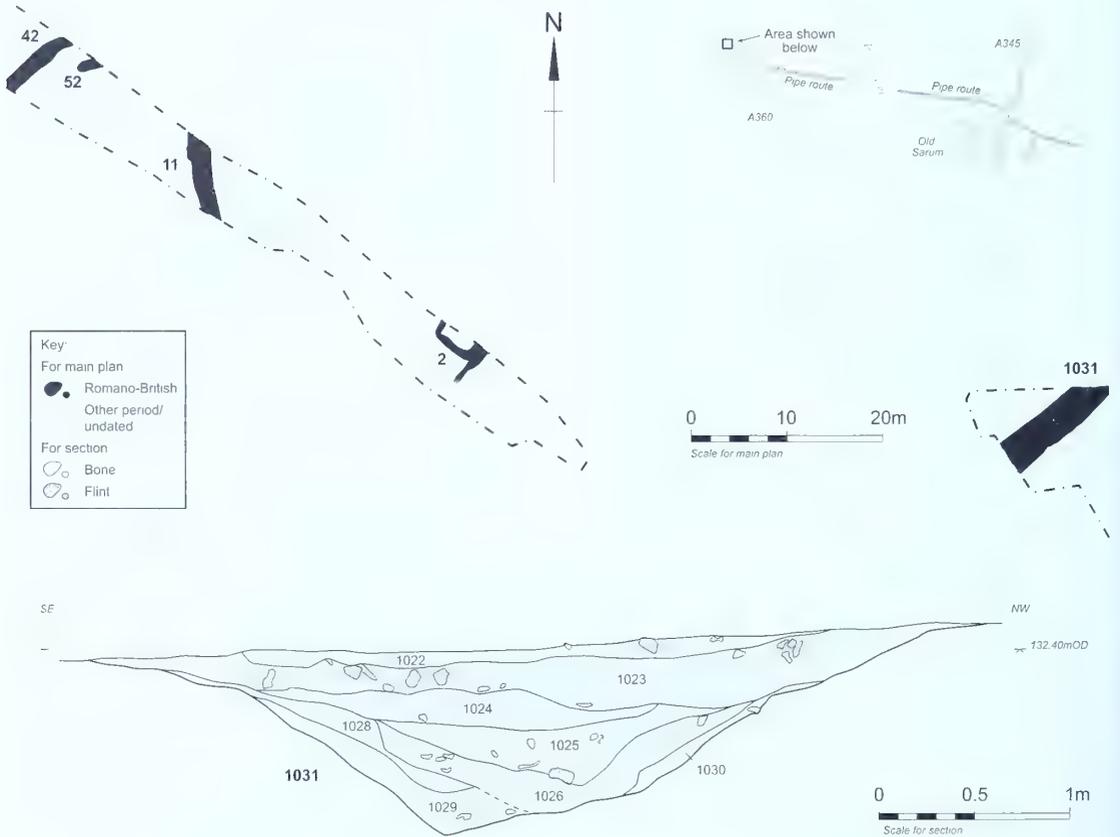


Fig. 13. Camp Hill Romano-British features

alloy brooch, a copper alloy coin, and iron hobnails, most of the finds coming from the middle fills.

The pottery dated from the later 1st–4th century AD. Coarse greywares dominate the assemblage, and are likely to derive from several different sources, including the New Forest and Alice Holt, although the glauconitic greywares are more likely to derive from Greensand areas such as North Wiltshire. One known type is present – Black Burnished Ware (BB1) from the Poole Harbour area of Dorset. There is also a small quantity of grog-tempered wares, and one sherd of whiteware (late 1st/early 2nd century AD flagon from ditch 42). Finewares are limited to two sherds of imported samian, and a small quantity of colour coated wares and mortaria from the New Forest, Oxfordshire and *Verulamium* region kilns. The single example of a *Verulamium* region mortarium (from ditch 42) has a stamp of Albinus (AD 60–90). These wares, together with the identifiable coarseware vessel forms (everted rim jars, flanged and dropped flange bowls), indicate a date range spanning the Romano-British period.

Western Coombe

Spanning the break of slope at the head of the coombe were three ditches, two running approximately east–west down the slope, one of them cut by the third ditch running north–south across it. The longest, meandering east–west ditch (1092/3), at one point curving outside the easement, had an average width of 1.45m with angled convex sides, steeper towards the narrow flat base, and an average depth of 0.44m. A primary fill of eroded natural containing frequent large flint nodules and producing sherds from two Romano-British jars, was overlain by a more homogeneous soil producing sherds from an imitation Gallo-Belgic platter and two Middle/Late Iron Age jars/bowls (Figure 10.28), presumably residual. Both fills of the ditch were cut by ditch 1081 running along the break of slope, indicating some time between the construction of the two ditches. Ditch 1081 averaged 2m wide and 0.66m deep, with a similar profile to the earlier ditch. Its lower stony fill produced a single sherd of Romano-British pottery and a piece of CBM, the upper soil layer containing a further sherd (as well as a possibly medieval buckle). The third ditch (1082) ran downhill for 35m from where ditch 1092/1093 curved to the north-east, with a gap of just 2.5m between them. It was 0.8–1.25m wide and up to 0.37m deep, with similar profile and fills. It produced two Romano-British sherds, and its form and position

in relation to ditch 1092/3 suggest that these two ditches were contemporaneous.

The Portway and Ford Road

The Roman roads

The other known focus of Romano-British activity lay east of Old Sarum where four Roman roads converge – The Portway to Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*), Ford Road to Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*), the A345 to Mildenhall (*Cunetio*) near Marlborough and the road to Woodyates (*Vindogladia*) and Exeter (*Isca Dumnoniorum*) (Margary 1955). The precise location of *Sorviodunum*, twice mentioned in the Antonine *Itineraries*, is uncertain, the Iron Age hillfort or Stratford-sub-Castle to the south-west having been suggested. The most concentrated evidence of Romano-British activity, however, comes from the Castle Hill ridge, where a dense spread of material on the steep southern slope included perforated baked clay, stone roof tiles, bronze and iron objects and domestic refuse (Stone and Algar 1956).

None of the ditches flanking the A345 appeared to be Roman, producing material only of medieval or later date. However, two parallel ditches 24m apart were recorded close to the projected line of The Portway (Figure 14). Ditch 6004 on the north-west side was 1.8m wide and up to 0.75m deep, with angled, convex sides steeper towards the narrow, flat base, while ditch (6026) on the south-east side was 1.17m wide and 0.46m deep, with a similar profile. Although undated, their profiles are comparable to other Romano-British ditches. There were no traces of any surviving road surface. A length of ditch (6262) on the south side of Ford Road may also have been associated with that Roman road. It was up to 1.5m wide and 0.55m deep with a profile comparable to those flanking The Portway.

Inhumation burials

Another ditch (6111) running south–north towards The Portway contained three undated crouched inhumation burials (Figure 14). Towards the south, the ditch had a gently sloping concave profile, 2.2m wide and up to 0.47m deep, although at the north, it was steeper towards the base. The lower stony fill contained four Romano-British sherds (later 1st/2nd century AD), burnt flint, shell and animal bone, while the upper silty fill produced a further 49 Romano-British and six Middle/Late Iron Age sherds, as well as flint, burnt flint, animal bone, slag, part of a burnt saddle quern and part of a human humerus.

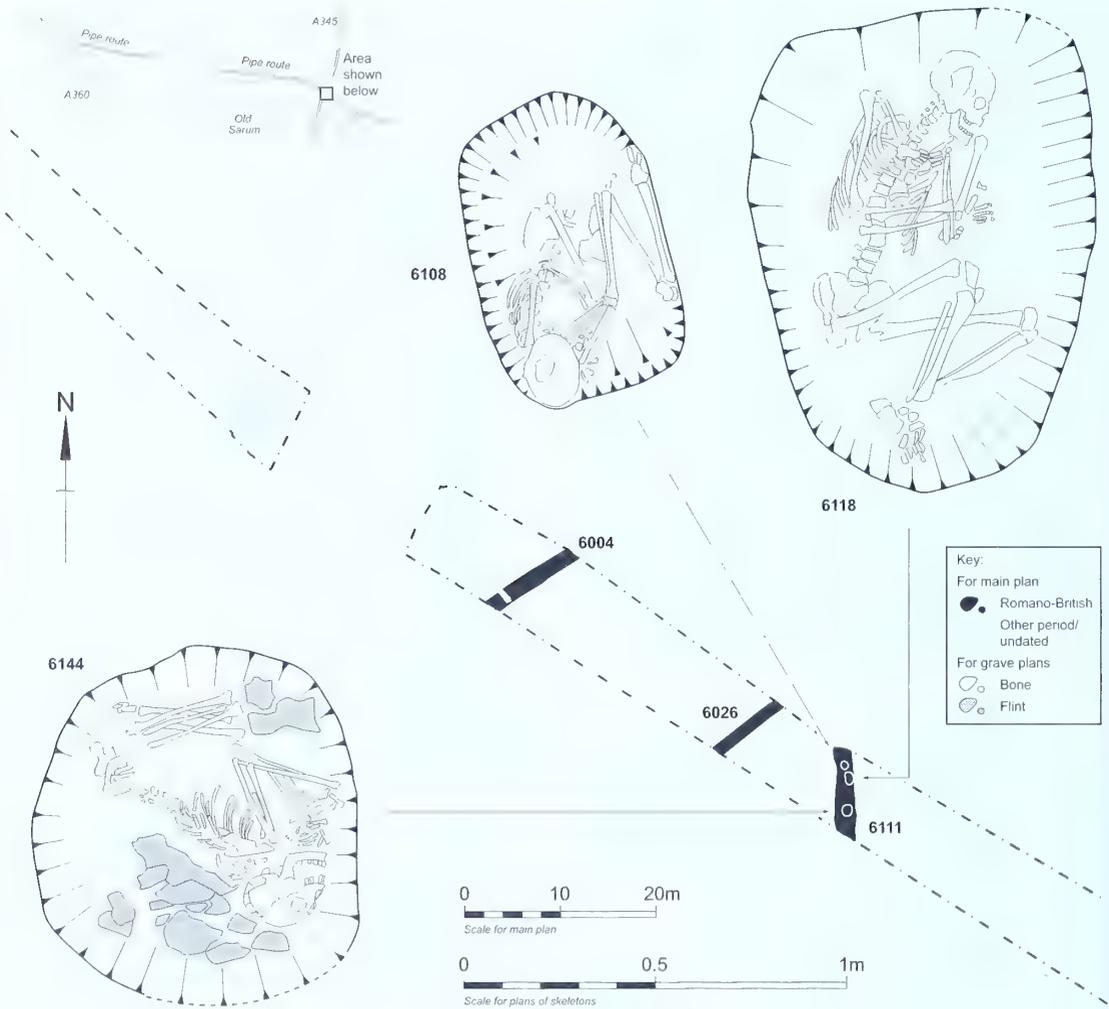


Fig. 14. Amesbury Road Late Iron Age/Early Romano-British inhumations in ditch

The most southerly burial, in grave 6144, contained the tightly crouched skeleton of a possible female, aged over 35 years, laid on her right side with the head to the south-east, the body packed around with flint nodules. The grave had been truncated and its contents disturbed, presumably by either the excavation or later re-cutting of the ditch, the skeleton lacking bones from either feet. A deposit of articulated foot bones (6141) recorded some 0.6m to the north, however, appear to have been from a smaller and less robust individual. A second grave (6118) towards the eastern side of the ditch contained the flexed skeleton of a male, aged 16–18 years, laid on his left side with the head to the north-east. The most northern grave (6108) contained the tightly

crouched skeleton of a possible female, aged 20–25 years, laid on her right side with the head to the south-west. A point of interest is that the individuals in graves 6144 and 6108 both had some pelvic traits (i.e. narrow hips) which would normally be associated with males; they also had very similar cranial indices and the same platymeric index. Taken together these observations suggest at least a broad genetic link between the two.

Grave 6144 was recorded as sealed by the lower ditch fill while graves 6118 and 6108 were recorded as being cut through the fill. If the excavation records are correct, this suggests that this group of graves spans the time when the ditch was first constructed and used, the Middle/Late Iron Age and Romano-

British pottery found in the ditch suggesting dates around the start of the Romano-British period. The association between the graves and the ditch would be easier to explain if all the graves post-dated the construction of the ditch – the soft fill in the ditch and its possible function as a land boundary explaining the burials' location. The presence of one or more pre-existing graves, however, implies that the ditch was laid out to incorporate them, their location possibly reflecting an earlier (but non-ditch) boundary, although one effect of digging the ditch was to disturb these graves. There is no easy resolution to these apparent inconsistencies. Previously, an extended inhumation burial facing north-east was recorded, during the excavation of a pipe trench, in a v-shaped ditch some 130m east of the entrance to the Old Sarum. The base of the ditch had been enlarged to accommodate the burial. A sherd of Romano-British pottery was found by the skull (SMR No. SU13SW307).

Other areas

A series of other ditches recorded along the pipeline may belong to this period. One, which ran east–west across the Old Sarum Spur (3264) (Figure 8), produced three small sherds of Romano-British pottery (3rd/4th century AD), with a further three sherds (from different vessels) coming from a curved gully running for 4m along its southern edge towards the east. The ditch is recorded as a crop mark in aerial photographs extending for over 400m (Wessex Archaeology 2001, fig. 4). It appears for part of its length to the west as a double linear (SMR no. SU13SW654), running towards a small sub-circular enclosure or ring ditch that it abuts, before turning to the north-west into the Avon valley (Figure 1).

An undated ditch (6165), ran east–west across the north facing slope of Castle Hill, cutting the most northerly of the Iron Age pits containing animal bone. It was 1.95m wide and 0.95m deep with a profile similar to the other Romano-British ditches. There was a shallow gully parallel to its north side. A human tibia from its upper fill may belong to the same individual, part of whose skull was found in the pit.

Discussion

No Iron Age features of a settlement character, such as houses, were recorded during the excavation, although a possible 'house site' was identified earlier in the field north-east of the Bishopdown track from

material exposed by ploughing, including 'pot-boilers' and a saddle quern (Thomas 1956, 241), and a number of Iron Age pits and a corn-drying oven have been recorded in the same general area (Musty 1959). It is possible, in contrast to the Middle and Late Bronze Age, that settlements had become, by the Iron Age, largely enclosed. In addition to the Old Sarum hillfort, a number of nearby enclosures of probable Iron Age date are recorded from aerial photographs to the north and north-east, including two adjoining enclosures, with settlement features inside and paddocks and a driveway to the west, on North Hill Down (SU13SW601, SU13SW623), a subcircular enclosure with internal and external pits north-east of Longhedge Farm, east of the A345 (SMR No. SU13SW628), and a kidney-shaped enclosure spanning the line of the Portway at Ende Burgh (SMR No. SU13SE632). Each was closely associated with linear ditches and field systems, some of which run radially from them.

The imposition across the late prehistoric landscape of the features of Roman rule, as exemplified by the network of roads linking Old Sarum to other Roman towns, is bound to have affected the distribution and configuration of rural settlements, and the organisation of agricultural production. While some of the Iron Age settlements within the area may have seen continued occupation into the Romano-British period, the Ende Burgh enclosure to the north-east was cut through by The Portway, and new foci of settlement appear to have developed within the landscape – such as the extensive settlement at Camp Hill west of the Avon valley, and on the south side of Castle Hill, the latter establishing a settlement outside the hillfort that may have continued into the Saxon and medieval periods.

CONCLUSION

The excavations have highlighted the changing uses of the prehistoric and Romano-British landscape around Old Sarum and the consequent changes to the landscape itself. The nearby long barrow indicates that by the Middle Neolithic this was already a social landscape, used for and increasingly modified by a range of subsistence, settlement and symbolic activities. The choice of this location may have been influenced by the ecological diversity it offered, enhanced potentially by the absence of mature wildwood. In addition to the resources of the Avon and Bourne valleys, the landscape would have offered a rich mosaic of open woodland, scrub and

increasingly open areas of downland grazing, enabling permanent or semi-permanent settlement. Although no direct evidence for settlement was found, much of the material placed in the pits may have derived from a domestic context. The relative density of pits in the landscape indicates some intensity of activity, although possibly of short duration.

The Old Sarum Spur continued to be used for a range of activities involving various forms of deposition, some or all of them formalised in character, from the Beaker period into the Middle Bronze Age. These may relate to the continuing use of the area to the north as a burial ground, with the round barrow cemetery focused on the long barrow. However, from the later Middle Bronze Age, activity more widely along the pipeline appears to be predominantly domestic in character. The Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age settlements provide, for the first time, direct evidence for the pattern of settlement in the landscape, and, when combined with the evidence for field systems and linear ditches identified in aerial photographs, some evidence for the patterns of mixed arable and pastoral farming, and land enclosure and division, that developed through the late prehistoric period. The increasing importance of formal land boundaries through the Iron Age, when the construction of, first enclosed, then defended sites such as the Old Sarum hillfort point to wider socio-political tensions, may provide a context for the inhumation burials at the base of the Late Iron Age/Early Romano-British ditch. However, in contrast to the Romano-British settlement at Camp Hill, there was relatively little evidence of either Iron Age and Romano-British activity around Old Sarum, despite the proximity of the pipeline to the hillfort and, later, to the converging Roman roads and the Roman town of *Sorviodunum*.

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http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/projects/wiltshire/old_sarum_pipeline/

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Archaeological Recording at The Plumbery, Salisbury Cathedral

by Christine Butterworth

A limited programme of archaeological recording was undertaken within the Plumbery at Salisbury Cathedral during replacement of the shop and restaurant. A series of floor surfaces, wall footings and dumps of workshop material, including stoneworking debris were recorded together with an in situ stone crucible. A significant assemblage of window glass fragments was recovered.

In the winter of 1999, a shop and restaurant within the main complex of buildings of Salisbury Cathedral (SU 14250 29510) were demolished ready for their replacement. The buildings lay within the Plumbery, an enclosed area measuring c. 50 x 9m bounded by the south aisle of the nave, the south-west transept, the cloister and the Consistory Court (Figure 1). Wessex Archaeology undertook archaeological recording during the groundworks.

The cathedral at Old Sarum was succeeded in 1219 by a new wooden chapel on the site of the present cathedral; this chapel and a cemetery were consecrated in 1219. Construction of the new cathedral continued throughout the 13th century and by 1266 it could be regarded as complete (Cocke and Kidson 1993). The Plumbery is traditionally considered to be the site of the cathedral workshops.

Buildings shown on the 1:1250 Ordnance Survey map (1990) were probably erected in the late 19th century during the large-scale restoration works supervised by G.G. Scott which started in 1863. The north-western part of the Plumbery was occupied by a large building, probably the main workshop. The present principal doorway into the Plumbery from the Consistory Court was almost certainly reconstructed by Scott as an entry into this building, which seems to have survived until just after the Second World War (T. Tatton-Brown pers. comm.).

The other small buildings appear to be related to a doorway that was cut through the north cloister wall in the later 19th century. A drain ran through the doorway and joined the main public sewer that crosses the southern part of the Close. The drain runs to the principal drain are marked on an annotated copy of the 1:500 Ordnance Survey first edition maps held in the office of the Keeper of the Fabric Records. It is likely that the drainage runs were put in at about the time of G.G. Scott's work. New workshops and drainage runs were again put in after the Second World War. Concrete footings for the demolished shop and restaurant truncated much of the site.

RESULTS

No hand excavation of any features or deposits was undertaken since the aim of the work was to minimise the impact on surviving archaeological remains. Surface finds were collected during machining and hand cleaning, and bagged according to context where possible. Dating of features and deposits was therefore difficult but stratigraphic relationships in the bays between the buttresses of the cloisters suggest that the earliest substantial remains are 13th century as might be expected.

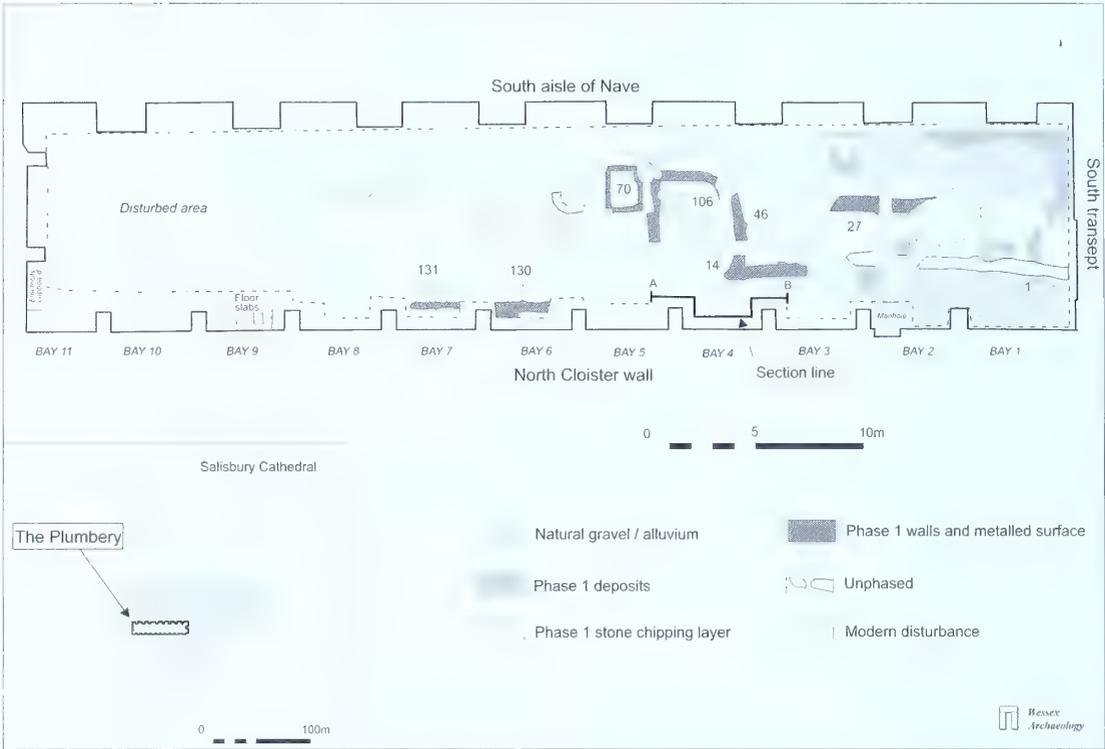


Fig. 1. *The Plumbery, Salisbury Cathedral: location plan*

Phase 1 (pre-cloister)

The earliest deposits consisted of several discrete patches of possible degraded mortar deposits in the eastern part of the site and patches of limestone chippings and stone dust towards its centre. The latter may represent evidence of stone working associated with the earliest phase of construction. The mortar-like deposits overlay mottled pale green and greyish-white sandy clay which appeared to extend under the cloister footings and is probably natural alluvium.

A number of features cut or were built over the alluvium, amongst which were pit 1 near the south-east corner of the site, from the top of which 13 sherds of 13th century Laverstock-type pottery (from the base of a single coarseware vessel, probably a jar) were recovered. Wall foundations 14, 27, 46 and 106 (Figure 1) were largely constructed from chalk blocks bonded with lime mortar, and are likely to be the foundations of workshops associated with the construction of the cathedral. To the west, the walls of a small rectangular structure, 70, were built from squared limestone blocks bonded with clay. Wall 131, near the north cloister wall, consisted of Chilmark and Hurdcott stone with flint infill; no mortar survived. This wall

may have been associated with a short length of metallated surface 130, flints set in silty clay, to its west.

Phase 2 (13th century)

The only clear evidence for 13th century deposits was provided by the foundations and north wall of the cloister. Overlying the natural in cloister bays 1, 2 and 3 (at the eastern end of the Plumbery), was a layer of very pale yellow coarse sandy grit with small flints. Courses of tiles were set at the top of this layer, probably to provide a level base for the wall.

Work on a ramp at the western end of the site revealed large threshold stones at the eastern side of the entrance to the Plumbery from the Consistory Court, with loose mortar and flints over unconsolidated rubble in silty clay to their west. West again of the latter were remnants of a north-south wall. These fragmentary structural elements are thought to be of late 13th century date.

Phase 3 (post-cloister: post-medieval)

A deep deposit of stone chippings and stone dust, made up of distinct horizontally-banded layers of different colours and types of stone was found between cloister bays 7–11 (in the western part of

the Plumbery). Preserved in the compacted surface of one of these layers were faint impressions of either stone slabs or floorboards, probably the former as eight stone floor slabs were recorded, set on the same layer, in bay 9. Finds recovered from these layers include floor tile, 19th and 20th century stonewares and other industrial post-medieval pottery.

Layers in bays 4, 5 and 6 containing mortar, fragments of stone and ceramic building materials (brick and tile) were probably 'dump' materials from the cathedral workshops. Finds from these layers also included fragments of floor tile, window glass and post-medieval pottery. A feature that appeared to be cut through the 'dump' layers 116 and 117 in bay 4 contained a stone crucible (Figure 2). Both the feature and layers were sealed by a compact layer of sandy silt, 115, a yard or working surface present only in bay 4 where it extended to the buttresses at either side of the bay. This layer was preserved *in situ* together with the crucible.

Overlying surface 115 in bay 4 (Figure 2; layers 122, 123) and also present in bays 3 and 5, were layers containing dressed blocks of limestone, bricks, ash, lead and substantial quantities of glass. The large amount of glass present suggests that the layers were associated with repairs to the cathedral windows. Deposits of clinker, gritty ash and rubble (e.g. 110) (Figure 2), covered much of the site. Most of this is likely to be waste material from the large cast-iron stoves used to heat the cathedral in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Finds from the deposits included fragments of carved stone, iron objects, roof and floor tile, window and vessel glass, and medieval and post-medieval pottery.

FINDS

A small quantity of finds was collected ranging in date from 13th century to modern, although little of the medieval material is securely stratified. Unsurprisingly, given the position of the area recorded, the finds assemblage includes a high proportion of discarded structural material – window glass and lead (including one partial leaded window with *in situ* quarries), architectural stonework, ceramic building material, and structural ironwork (nails, etc.). Details of most of the finds can be found in the excavation archive but the window glass, of which there was a significant quantity, is described here.

Most of the glass recovered is window glass, with a small quantity of vessel glass; the latter is all of modern date. The window glass includes plain (clear and coloured) and painted fragments. The largest deposit came from layer 122, including part of a leaded window, with plain and coloured quarries still *in situ*. This comes from the base and part of the lower border of a whole light – the so-called 'sacrificial' border running around the painted elements of a stained glass window. The majority of the glass is of post-medieval date (late 18th to mid 20th century), although a small number of medieval fragments (13th century) were recognised.

Medieval window glass, identifiable by its thick and uneven quality and by the survival of grozed edges, consists of a small number of fragments from colourless, or almost colourless quarries (mainly from layer 122). This material is very fragmentary,

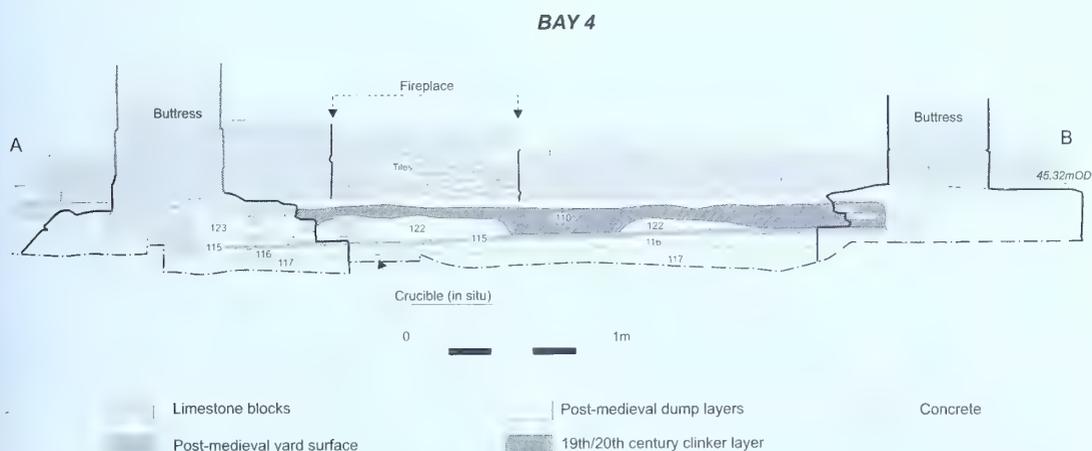


Fig. 2. The Plumbery, Salisbury Cathedral: section through deposits against the north cloister wall

although one or two small, diamond quarries could be identified, and in poor condition – some pieces are almost completely devitrified. These fragments are not discarded glaziers' waste, as is so much of the post-medieval glass, as most of them are corroded on their exterior surfaces, showing them to have been subjected to *in situ* weathering over a significant period. None was in lead came, although many had shadows of lead came along their edges. Three or four fragments showed traces of painted designs; these can be identified as being of 13th century date, decorated with stylised foliage set against cross-hatched backgrounds; this shows the fragments to have derived from the cathedral church (c. 1225–58) rather than from the later chapter house, where cross-hatched backgrounds were abandoned. They would have originated in the large grisaille-glazed windows that were the predominant form of 13th century glazing throughout the cathedral (Marks 1996). Also present amongst this medieval group is a complete circular quarry in blue glass (70mm in diameter), with roughly grozed edges and traces of paint in the centre, perhaps depicting a cinquefoil or quatrefoil design; this is likely to have been the central coloured element from a grisaille panel.

Of the remainder, a large proportion comprises fragments of colourless, or almost colourless, modern 'cathedral' glass, mostly quarries from diamond leaded windows; there are also fragments of smaller, rectangular border quarries. This glass is in fragmentary condition, with only a handful of complete quarries surviving, but the condition of the glass itself is generally good, although more modern fragments show surface iridescence; the lack of discolouration or corrosion suggests that these fragments were only recently buried. Lead came shadows are clearly visible on many fragments. There are also some discarded 'bulls' from crowns, of late 18th or 19th century date – a smaller number of coloured fragments have distinctive curved edges, also suggesting the cutting up of crowns.

The coloured glass (blue, green, pinkish/brown, ruby) appears to derive almost exclusively from border quarries, mainly rectangular but with some curved quarries. Again, condition is generally good, although some fragments have surfaces degraded almost to complete opacity. One ruby fragment has incised lettering. A number of very thin fragments are coated with orangey washes and these are likely to have derived from the late 18th century reglazing of the cathedral under architect James Wyatt (Brown 1999). The coloured glass also includes 'flash'

coloured pieces of 20th century date, and of probable similar date are some exceptionally thick pieces, almost opaque in colour (some ?blue, some ?brown). The painted fragments include a range of border designs: Celtic knot/*fleur-de-lys* motifs, lettering, and various geometric motifs, of 19th century date. There are also floral motifs, and one complete diamond quarry with a *fleur-de-lys* motif picked out in a strong orangey yellow stain, attributable to the late 18th century Wyatt period. There are a few fragments with polychrome painted designs, including a small fragment of late 17th/early 18th century date decorated with foliage and fruit executed in paint, yellow stain and a sanguine enamel. Also of interest here are several fragments of thin glass with grisaille designs, painted in a 13th century style, although these are of post-medieval (19th century) rather than medieval type, and probably derived from the large expanses of 13th century style grisaille with which a number of the cathedral's windows were reglazed under G.G. Scott and G.E. Street.

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Archaeological Investigations in Salisbury

by *Helena Cave-Penney*

This article results from the Extensive Urban Survey, a project commissioned by English Heritage to address the need for a new assessment of the urban archaeology of Salisbury. It brings together a list of all the known archaeological investigations that have taken place within the project area and attempts to reconstruct the development of the medieval city from the results of the investigations combined with existing knowledge. This article summarises the significant findings and highlights those areas where there is the potential for further work. Figures 1-4 will be found at the end of the volume.

INTRODUCTION

In 1999 English Heritage commissioned the Wiltshire County Archaeology Service to carry out an Extensive Urban Survey of the historic towns of Wiltshire, including the city of Salisbury. The aim of the project was to produce a synthesis of all the archaeological and historical data for each town using information from the Sites and Monuments Record, the Wiltshire Buildings Record, published sources and fieldwork reports. Having brought together this information an attempt was made to reconstruct each town at relevant periods, thus identifying areas for future research. This article draws on the conclusions of the survey for Salisbury, while the complete report can be seen at the offices of the Wiltshire County Archaeology Service in Trowbridge.

The last assessment of this kind for the whole county was carried out in 1976 by Haslam in *Wiltshire Towns: the archaeological potential* and for Salisbury by Borthwick and Chandler (1984) in *Our Chequered Past*. Since the publication of both these documents and more general discussions on the history and archaeology of Salisbury, such as Chandler (1983) and RCHM (1980), some seventy-five archaeological investigations have taken place within the Salisbury study area. These investigations have, not surprisingly, produced interesting results and hence the need for this article.

GROWTH OF THE CITY

The founding of the new city of Salisbury is well documented and the reasons for relocating from Old Sarum to the current low-lying site are discussed elsewhere. There is some documentary evidence that there may already have been settlements existing in this area, but it is scant. There is likely to have been a settlement around St Martin's Church, believed to date from the 11th century (RCHM 1980, 31), and at Fisherton Anger which is recorded in Domesday Book, both of which lie outside the later Medieval city. Chandler (1983, 26) and Haslam (1976, 51) suggest that there could have been an earlier settlement around Fisherton Bridge and close to the Town Mill, probably on the location of the Bishop's Mill mentioned in Domesday Book. If so this would have been on the road, now Milford Street, which connected Winchester and Clarendon Palace with Wilton (Chandler 1983, 22). There may have been a further settlement to the south at East Harnham (RCHM 1980, xxx) where a second road may have existed from Old Sarum to a river crossing. The presence of a Saxon cemetery to the south west of this certainly suggests a Saxon settlement at Harnham, which was probably on the higher ground. Figure 1 shows a reconstruction for this pre-city period dating from the 11th and 12th centuries. Where archaeological investigations have taken place

they have been limited to those areas where these earlier settlements are known or expected to have existed as at St Martin's and Fisherton Anger.

13th Century (Figure 2)

Bishop Richard Poore was granted a papal bull in 1219 to move from the cramped site of Old Sarum to the meadow of Mary's Field on the confluence of the rivers Avon, Bourne and Nadder. The location of the new city was influenced by the fact that the Bishop already owned the land, in an area where there were apparently few existing settlements. The main road from Winchester to Wilton also ran through the meadow with a river crossing at Fisherton Bridge. Close to this main road and some three miles to the east lay the Royal Palace at Clarendon Park, whose growth mirrors that of the rise of the new city and is likely to have had an influence on its location (James and Robinson 1988, 2). It was probably during the 1190s that the decision to create the new city at Salisbury was made (Pugh and Crittall 1956, 165; RCHME 1993, 2). The long delay that followed before the Bishop gained permission and before construction could begin reflect problems in both state and church in succeeding reigns, particularly that of King John (1199–1216) (RCHME 1993, 5-6). Once the papal bull had been finally given in 1219 the speed with which construction began on the cathedral in 1220 and the houses in the Close clearly suggests that while waiting for the permission a considerable amount of planning had taken place, possibly before 1199, as suggested by one documentary source (Chandler 1983, 19). The Cathedral itself has been described as unique, in that it was almost entirely built within a concentrated period between 1220 and 1258 (James and Robinson 1988, 9).

In 1225 Bishop Poore granted a Charter to his free citizens setting out the conditions of tenure in this city (Crittall 1962, 94). By 1227 a royal charter had been granted which confirmed the ecclesiastical foundation of the city, and granted its citizens similar freedoms enjoyed by the citizens of Winchester. The Royal Charter also included a right to enclose the city with ramparts, alter the course of roads and bridges for the improvement of the city and granted a licence for an annual fair and a weekly market. Permission was given for a market from 1219, likely to have been held near St Thomas's Church (Crittall 1962, 85). The Market Place was clearly planned as an integral part of the new city, covering a substantial space on the northern side of the main east-west route

through Salisbury. Around the Market Place the surrounding streets were laid out on a grid pattern forming the chequers. It is likely that the first streets to be developed were New Street, parallel to the north side of the Close, and the area around St Thomas's Church. The construction of Ayleswade Bridge in 1244 encouraged traffic through Salisbury instead of journeying on to Wilton, and is attributed as the main reason for the decline in Wilton as a market town and the rise of Salisbury. This was not helped by the frequent, often daily, unauthorised markets held in Salisbury in the late 13th century (Chandler 1983, 95).

One of the more remarkable features of Salisbury were the watercourses recorded by various travellers as running through the middle of the streets. These are clearly shown on John Speed's map of 1611 and William Naish's map of 1716. They appear to be an original feature in the city's layout providing its running water (RCHME 1993, 3) and the variations in the street grid plan from the orthogonal was a result of the gradients required for the watercourses (Slater 2000, 600). They were fed from two hatches on the Millstream west of Castle Street and were so designed as to flow through the streets of the city before meeting at the junction of Ivy Street and Trinity Street and flowing into the meadows at Bugmore (*ibid.*). Below the Town mills two larger watercourses, the Town Ditch (New Canal) and the Close Ditch, were also fed by the Millstream, but these were designed to collect water. The problems of maintaining these features became apparent by the 17th century when an Act had to be passed to allow for improvements and by the early 19th century most of the watercourses were covered over.

By 1269 parishes were created and St Edmund's Church was founded in the north-eastern corner of the city, forming what appears to be the final part of the city layout. It may not be a matter of coincidence that no works are recorded after 1269 at Clarendon Palace. Deeds and wills of the 14th century show that the main streets forming the grid layout were clearly established by this time (Crittall 1962, 70). Evidence from archaeological excavations shows that not all the chequers were built up at this time and that the open areas may have been used for the storing of construction materials (Currie 2002, 14). By the 13th century it is also clear that various suburban developments had taken place beyond the planned city, not through lack of space, but most likely to take advantage of the main traffic routes into Salisbury. In common with many larger medieval towns the suburbs were the location for a Dominican Friary, west of Fisherton Bridge, with a

Friaric Friary south of St Ann Street (Palliser 2000:186).

14th and 15th Centuries (Figure 3)

Although the Royal Charter of 1227 granted the Bishop the right to enclose the city with ditches these clearly were not complete in the early part of the 14th century. By the middle of the 14th century construction of the rampart and ditches had begun on the eastern side of the chequers removing earlier buildings around Milford Street. Documentary sources suggest that the work was still not complete by 1440. Encroachments are known to have been made on the ditch by the end of the 15th century.

The city was planned on such a large scale that buildings continued to be built within the chequers and the existing suburbs during this period. The major routes through the city, such as Milford Street, Catherine Street and Castle Street were built up first and only later, in some cases in the post-Medieval period, were other parts of individual chequers developed. By 1377 Salisbury was the sixth largest provincial city in England (Hilton 1990, 20) and an important centre for the cloth trade. The wealth of its citizens can be seen in the rebuilding of St Thomas's Church between the end of the 14th century and the late 15th century (Tatton-Brown 1997, 109).

Post-Medieval

In the late 16th and early 17th centuries decline in the cloth industry is reflected in Salisbury's fortunes and perhaps explains the lack of houses surviving from the 17th century. The climax of this seems to have been in 1627 when plague and bad harvests, in particular, left probably a third of the population living in poverty (Slack 1975, 6-7). By this time Salisbury had long since ceased to be the sixth largest provincial city and had reached a period of stagnation (Chandler 1983, 46). Towards the end of the 16th century the Colleges of De Vaux and St Edmund's and the two Friaries had been dissolved. A resurgence of the cloth industry between 1780 and 1816 allowed the city to continue to survive on the cloth trade until c.1830, but it was not until 1841 that Salisbury's population began to increase in size again. The maps of Naish (1716), Andrews and Dury (1773) and Greenwood (1820) confirm that Salisbury had changed little from its known medieval extent. Of note is that all of these maps show buildings extending south along Exeter Street as far as

Bricketts Hospital, but it is currently not known whether this mirrors the medieval development along this road or whether the medieval settlement was more extensive. Certainly, medieval buildings have been uncovered in excavations north of Bricketts Hospital at 115 Exeter Street (Wessex Archaeology 1997; Southern Archaeological Services 1998) and Crittall (1962, 80) claims that the 19th century fronts conceal some medieval buildings. It is also of note that the probable extent of the Friary precinct is not reflected in early printed maps nor the 1st large-scale Ordnance Survey series (1887).

Industrial/Modern

At the beginning of the 19th century Salisbury had not as yet exceeded its medieval limits (Crittall 1962, 90). Between 1800 and 1900 the city's population doubled and the number of inhabited houses increased from 1,500 to 12,000 (Chandler 1983, 57). This rise in households reflects the growth of Salisbury outside the medieval boundary and suburbs. The first area of expansion was around Fisherton Anger followed by development along Devizes Road to the north (Crittall 1962, 91; Chandler 1983, 60-1). The 1936 Ordnance Survey map shows that by this time the suburbs at East Harnham had merged with the village of West Harnham and much of the east of the city was built up. The only places that remained undeveloped were the water meadows at Harnham and those to the north on the Avon.

SUMMARY OF EXCAVATION RESULTS

A large number of archaeological investigations have taken place within Salisbury and it is not possible to describe each one in detail here. A list of these investigations, however, was compiled as part of the Extensive Urban Survey and is reproduced here. It is compiled from information in the County Sites and Monuments Record, Excavations Index and fieldwork reports kept in the County Archaeology Section in Trowbridge and covers all known investigations up to August 2004. Where these are incidental in one of the above sources they have not been included. The numbers refer to the map in Figure 4 that shows the full extent of the developed areas.

EventYear	Site Name/Location	Event Type	Excavator
001 1954	New Street, site of the Alexandra Rooms	excavation	V.M. Collins
002 1956	St. Martin's Church	excavation	F. de Mallet Morgan
003 1963	Bishop's Stables, Cathedral Close	excavation	J. Musty
004 1966-71	Franciscan Friary, south of St Ann's Street	watching brief/ rescue work	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
005 1967	Toone's Court, Scots Lane	building recording/excavation	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
006 1971	East Harnham.	watching brief/ rescue work	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
007 1971	Toone's Court, Scots Lane	watching brief	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
008 1972	London Road/Rampart Road	watching brief/ rescue work	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
009 1972	Milford Street	watching brief/ rescue work	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
010 1972	Rampart Road	watching brief/ rescue work	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
011 1972	Winchester Street	watching brief/ rescue work	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
012 1972	Milford Street/Guilder Road	watching brief/ rescue work	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
013 1972	Culver Street	watching brief/ rescue work	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
014 1973	84 – 86 Gigant Street	watching brief/ rescue work	Salisbury Museum A.R.G.
015 1978	Fisherton Street	excavation	Wilt's C. C. (A. Borthwick)
016 1984	Culver Street Car Park	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
017 1984	The Maltings	watching brief	Wessex Archaeology
018 1985	8 – 10 St. Ann's Street	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
019 1986	Gigant Street Car Park	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
020 1986	31-39 Brown Street	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
021 1987	Gibbs Mew Brewery Extension	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
022 1987	Goddard's Garage	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
023 1988	47 – 51 Brown Street (Trinity chequer)	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
024 1988	Winchester Street/ Rolleston Road	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
025 1989	Belle Vue House	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
026 1989	New Canal	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
027 1991	Cathedral Close Approach Road	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
028 1992	Bishop Beauchamp's Chantry Chapel, The Cathedral	watching brief	Tim Tatton-Brown
029 1993	3 Cuppes chequer	watching brief	AC Archaeology
030 1993	6 De Vaux Place	watching brief	Jenkins A.V.C.
031 1993	Leadenhall, 70 The Close	watching brief	Tim Tatton-Brown
032 1994	Bishop Wordsworth's School	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
033 1994	Brown Street/ Ivy Street	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
034 1994	Old George Mall	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
035 1994-5	Old George Mall	excavation & watching brief	Wessex Archaeology
036 1995	Salisbury Cathedral School	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
037 1995	Salisbury Cathedral School	geophysical survey	Geoquest Associates
038 1996	Former Infirmary site Fisherton Street	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
039 1996	49-73 Gigant Street	assessment & excavation	AC Archaeology
040 1996-7	Waitrose, Old Livestock Market	watching brief	Wessex Archaeology
041 1997	115 Exeter Street	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
042 1997	Sarum Theological College, 19 The Close	evaluation	ASI
043 1997	Elim Chapel, Milford Street	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
044 1997	64a St. Ann's Street	watching brief	Hampshire Archaeology
045 1997	Cathedral Hotel, Milford Street	excavation	AC Archaeology
046 1998	The Leadenhall School	evaluation	Bournemouth University
047 1998	115 Exeter Street	excavation	Southern Arch. Services
048 1998	High Street Enhancement Scheme	watching brief	Wessex Archaeology
049 1998	Cathedral Close Wall	structure recording	ASI
050 1998	35 The Close	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
051 1998	22 The Close, Rosemary Lane	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
052 1999	Red Lion Hotel, Milford Street	watching brief	Wessex Archaeology
053 1999	Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street	watching brief	Wessex Archaeology
054 1999	St. Edmunds Church Street	assessment & excavation	Southern Arch. Services
055 1999	69 Greencroft Street	excavation and watching brief	Wessex Archaeology

EventYear	Site Name/Location	Event Type	Excavator	
056	1999	47 The Close	watching brief & historic building record	ASI
057	1999	St. Edmunds Church Street	watching brief	Southern Arch. Services
058	1999	Greyfriars Close	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
059	1999	87-105 Gigant Street. Phase I.	evaluation	Border Archaeology
060	1999	68-72 Mill Road	excavation	Foundations Archaeology
061	1999	87-105 Gigant Street. Phase II.	evaluation	Border Archaeology
062	1999	Sarah Hayters Almshouses, Fisherton St.	evaluation	Foundations Archaeology
063	1999	19a New Canal	evaluation	AC Archaeology
064	1999	The Plumbery, The Cathedral	watching brief	Wessex Archaeology
065	2000	Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street	historic building record	Wessex Archaeology
066	2000	Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
067	2000	Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
068	2000	Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
069	2000	38-44 Endless Street	evaluation	Cotswold Arch. Trust
070	2000	Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street	excavation	Wessex Archaeology
071	2000	38-44 Endless Street	excavation	Border Archaeology
072	2000	Bishop Beauchamp's Chantry Chapel, The Cathedral	excavation	Cambrian Arch. Projects
073	2000	15-35 Fisherton Street	evaluation	Border Archaeology
074	2000	Belle Vue bus garage, Castle Street	watching brief	Wessex Archaeology
075	2000	St Mary's House, St Martin's Church Street	evaluation	Border Archaeology
076	2000	St Mary's House, St Martin's Church Street	palaeoenvironmental sampling	Border Archaeology
077	2001	Bishop Wordsworth's School	evaluation	AC Archaeology
078	2001	St Mary's House, St Martin's Church Street	evaluation	Border Archaeology
079	2001	St Mary's House, St Martin's Church Street	historic building record	Border Archaeology
080	2001	De Vaux House, St Nicholas Street	watching brief	ASI
081	2001	Church House, Crane Street	excavation	Cambrian Arch. Projects
082	2001	Malmesbury House, North Walk	watching brief	ASI
083	2001	Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
084	2001	82 St Ann's Street	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
085	2001	St Edmund's Church	geophysical survey	Gary Ancell
086	2001	St Edmund's Church	evaluation (phase 1)	ASI
087	2002	St Edmund's Church	geophysical survey	GSB Prospection
088	2002	Bishop Wordsworth's School	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology
089	2002	20 Bedwin Street	evaluation	Cotswold Archaeology
090	2002	Old Dairy, Dews Road	historic building record	Border Archaeology
091	2002	Old Dairy, Dews Road	evaluation	Border Archaeology
092	2002	36 Milford Street/ 34 Gigant Street	excavation	CKC Archaeology
093	2002	Castle Street	watching brief	Wessex Archaeology
094	2002	St Edmund's Church	evaluation (phase 2)	ASI
095	2003	St Martin's Church	watching brief	Pathfinders Arch. Rec.
096	2003	White Hart Hotel, St John's Street	evaluation	ASI
097	2003	Land adjacent to Tollgate Public House	evaluation	ASI
098	2003	St Edmund's Church	excavation	AC Archaeology
099	2004	Former Robert Stokes Almshouses, Carmelite Way	evaluation	Context One
100	2004	St Thomas Church	watching brief	Pathfinders Arch. Rec.
101	2004	Bourne Hill offices	evaluation	Wessex Archaeology

Abbreviations

ASI	Archaeological Site Investigations
Cambrian Arch. Projects	Cambrian Archaeological Projects
Pathfinders Arch. Rec.	Pathfinders Archaeological Reconnaissance
Salisbury Museum A.R.G.	Salisbury Museum Archaeological Research Group
Southern Arch. Services	Southern Archaeological Services

The number of archaeological investigations is large, but varied in quality and extent. In the case of many excavations carried out before the 1990s, the lack of formal publication has prevented a full understanding of the evidence recovered. The majority of those carried out in the 1960s and 1970s were rescue excavations or watching briefs resulting from increased development in the city. It is clear from the preliminary reports, particularly in the case of the rescue excavation along the line of the ring road in 1972 (Algar 1973), that a wealth of information was retrieved of importance to understanding the development of the city. The aim here is to highlight those excavations of particular interest or importance, or that have changed perceptions of the development of Salisbury.

Very little archaeological evidence has been uncovered of earlier settlement in the area of the city. What has been found on a number of sites, however, are a series of pre-urban deposits, for example at Gigant Street (Currie and Rushton this volume; Barber this volume) a thick, silty, alluvial layer was identified at the lowest levels which was overlain by dumped layers containing gravel and imported chalk. These have been interpreted as the building up of areas to alleviate flooding. Similarly at the rear of the Elim Chapel dumped chalk was found overlying an alluvial layer that contained stakeholes and pits (Butterworth, this volume). Stakeholes were also revealed as pre-13th century structures at 115 Exeter Street (Wessex Archaeology 1997, Southern Archaeological Services 1998) and between 68 and 72 Mill Road (Foundations Archaeology 1999a).

Many excavations have revealed 13th-14th century buildings. Rawlings (2000, 57) describes medieval buildings from the eastern chequers as mainly single-roomed with flint-and-mortar dwarf walls supporting a timber framed structure with rear yards containing a well. A number of the buildings included greensand blocks in the external walls usually at the corners or at wall junctions. Later developments, often in the post-Medieval period, included extensions at the rear. Floors of buildings were formed of compacted chalk separated by levelling layers of other material.

One of the most notable characteristics of the settlement in Salisbury is the lack of medieval refuse pits in backland areas, with the exception of the excavations at Belle Vue House. Reasons for this are not clear, but could be due to the high water table (Hawkes n.d., 12). The absence of pits, normally a common feature of medieval towns, has resulted in

little environmental evidence, 'the paucity of securely-stratified, dated deposits,' and limited quantities of domestic refuse (Hawkes n.d., abstract), have hindered the creation of a detailed chronology for individual sites and the city as a whole. From pits at Belle Vue House, animal bone suggests butchery and carcass processing on the outskirts of the city (Williams and Hawkes 1989). These 14th century pits were assumed to have belonged to the properties fronting Castle Street and on the projected line of the city defences. On this basis this site is exceptional for Salisbury where in the backland areas there is often little medieval stratigraphy, indicating that rubbish was not dumped in these areas either (Hawkes n.d., 12). By contrast, a great deal of material, known as the Drainage Collection, came from the watercourses during the construction of the improved drainage system for Salisbury in the 19th century (Saunders 1986). This suggests that the watercourses were used for the disposal of the City's rubbish, although Hawkes (n.d., 12) notes that many of the sites examined were at some distance from the watercourses. Watercourses would require regular clearing if used for rubbish disposal, and Hawkes concludes that there must have been a system of rubbish removal from an early date.

Surviving documents record the corners of the chequers as the first parts to be occupied and that Castle Street and Milford Street, which led to the city gates, were fully built up by 1269. Archaeological evidence has confirmed that buildings were constructed beyond the Castle Street Gate (Saunders 1973; Williams and Hawkes 1989) and the Milford Street gate (Algar, 1973). Of particular note is the finding of two medieval buildings at the rear of the Milford Street frontage behind the Cathedral Hotel (Hawkes 1997) and the former Elim Chapel (Butterworth, this volume) which suggest that Milford Street was of particular importance. Similarly 'Balle's Place', the home of the merchant John Balle, was set back from the street behind shops fronting onto Winchester Street (Bonney 1964). The existence of such buildings is not shown on the maps of John Speed (1611) or William Naish (1716). Chandler (1983, 110) confirms that the grander houses belonging to wealthy merchants were near the market place. Of these, the Hall of John Halle and Church House still survive, while excavation has identified a house at 36 Milford Street as being of similar high status (Currie and Rushton this volume).

A number of excavations indicate that not all street frontages were entirely built up in the 13th

and 14th centuries. For example excavations at 20 Bedwin Street (Brett 2002), Rolleston Street (Wessex Archaeology 1992), Ivy Street (Rawlings 2000) and west of the Hall of John Halle (Robinson and Valentin 1999) found no medieval buildings fronting the street. Rawlings (2000, 59) suggests these areas allowed access into the backlands otherwise inaccessible within the street grid layout, although Bonney's (1964, 166) research indicates that there were many such vacant plots in the city used for semi-industrial processes or gardens. Excavations on Gigant Street also indicate that the corner tenement at 36 Milford Street extended back along Gigant Street and it was not until the mid to late 14th century that a building was erected fronting onto the street at this point (Currie and Rushton this volume). Haslam (1976, 51) suggests that development would have taken place initially on the streets leading eastwards with later development on the north-south streets. Present evidence indicates a more complex picture. It seems that the main routes into the city, Exeter Street through to Endless Street, Castle Street, Milford Street and Winchester Street, were all built up in the early stages, along with New Street and those fronting onto the Market Place. Further archaeological evidence is needed to confirm this and to understand what was happening outside these areas in the 13th and 14th centuries.

At the eastern edge of the medieval city the Salisbury ring road runs along the line of the defences and during its construction in 1971-2 Salisbury Museum Archaeological Research Group were able to observe the contractor's operations and carry out salvage excavations (Algar 1973). Amongst the finds recovered were two phases of a medieval bronze-working furnace with associated pits containing mould fragments in Culver Street and a medieval bronze foundry site between Guilder Lane and the north side of Milford Street. In addition, other medieval features including a 13th century pottery kiln and the remains of 13th-14th century buildings and associated features were found on the western edge of the development. Settlement material from the 13th century was also found beneath the ramparts at various points. In some cases more than one phase of settlement (D. Algar pers. comm.) indicates that the rampart was not built until the 14th century and involved the removal of buildings. The existence of this suburb or extension to the planned city around Milford Street, the main route into the city from the east, is absent from documentary sources. Where the rampart was

uncovered it survived to a height of 2m, while the accompanying ditch was estimated to be 12m wide and 6m deep and had been recut. In 1499 documents record that encroachments were being made on the ditch (Crittall 1962, 88), which are confirmed by the finding of 15th and 16th century rubbish in the ditch adjacent to the south side of Milford Street (Algar 1973).

Excavations across the line of the rampart at Belle Vue House, Endless Street, found no evidence of the rampart or ditch (Williams and Hawkes 1989). Instead, a series of 14th century rubbish pits were found which are assumed to have belonged to the properties fronting Castle Street. Observations made during the demolition of Old Gate Place adjacent to Castle gate also failed to reveal the rampart or ditch (Anon 1963). This area was included within the parish at an early date suggesting that it was considered part of the city and presumably within any defences. An evaluation comprising several trenches in the grounds of Bourne Hill Offices, adjacent to the swimming pool and in College Street car park, did not identify the defences (Wessex Archaeology 2004). These investigations call into question whether the northern defences were ever constructed, particularly when there appear to be few documentary references to the defences along this northern section, compared to the eastern ramparts.

Of particular note is a ditch found to the south of Milford Street during salvage excavations on the ring road (Algar 1973). It was thought that this ditch was aligned NE-SW and that it pre-dated the new city, marking the north-western edge of the settlement around St Martin's Church (Hawkes 1996). An enclosure or boundary ditch was also uncovered during limited excavations adjacent to St Martin's Church in 1956 (de Mallet Morgan 1958), which cut through settlement material of very late 11th century date. In addition, these latter excavations identified the walls of an earlier and probably smaller church of c.1100 date, although the large amount of domestic pottery associated with these earlier structures suggest that this could be a secular building. A watching brief in 2003 (Pathfinders Archaeological Reconnaissance 2003) on a new sump pit for the church identified domestic material of 13th century date as well as medieval and post-medieval burials. This investigation established the undisturbed and consequently well preserved nature of the cemetery that overlies earlier urban activity.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL

One of the principal aims of the Extensive Urban Survey is to examine the archaeological potential of the city to assist with the development of a management strategy as a later phase of the project. Whilst all of the core city may be considered important archaeologically, it is necessary to try to highlight those areas of greater interest, either because of the singular importance of the remains or because better preservation is expected there.

Unpublished Investigations

One of the difficulties in assessing the archaeological potential of Salisbury is the number of outstanding publications. The majority of archaeological investigations carried out in the 1960s and 1970s were 'rescue' excavations or watching briefs, in some cases no more than chance observations when development was taking place (these latter operations have not been included in the list of archaeological work). All rescue work was carried out by members of the Salisbury Museum Archaeological Rescue Group (SMARG), with the exception of the excavation in Fisherton Street (Borthwick and Chandler 1984, 79), which was carried out by the Wiltshire County Council Archaeology Service. While excavations have been reported in this journal, no full reports have been written due to lack of funding. This is of particular concern as the wealth and importance of some of the findings are useful to the understanding of Salisbury's development. Most important, perhaps, is the information recorded along the route of the ring road constructed in 1972, where the only section of the rampart and ditch to be excavated revealed not only its size and content, but also the existence of buildings beneath the rampart. The writing of the full reports on all these excavations is a matter of urgency.

Between 1984 and 1990 a series of excavations were carried out at various locations around Salisbury by the then Trust for Wessex Archaeology. A considerable amount of information was derived from these excavations which examined the nature of the structures on the street frontages and their backlands within a number of the chequers. These excavations in particular identified the almost complete absence of pits in backlands and the limited number of securely dated deposits and finds that make Salisbury unusual as a medieval town (Hawkes n.d., 12). These excavations have not been published,

again reflecting the limited funding during this period, although very preliminary summary reports on the sites are held at the Sites and Monuments Record. Publishing material from these excavations would be a considerable benefit to the study of Salisbury.

Overall Archaeological Potential

The considerable number of excavations that have already taken place within the medieval city have begun to throw light on its development and nature, in some cases not necessarily as expected. Excavations in Salisbury have concentrated on the eastern chequers, reflecting areas where development has taken place. Only one Chequer, Trinity chequer, has been extensively excavated, while almost half the chequers have not had any archaeological investigation within them. These latter include the White Hart, Marsh, Pound and SE chequers at the southern edge of the city, the whole of the Market Place and adjoining chequers of Mitre and Blue Boar and the area between the river and the High Street and Castle Street. These latter chequers are potentially some of the most interesting areas of the city, where excavation would give an insight into early development and pre-urban settlement. For example Borthwick and Chandler (1984:61) indicate that the area between the River Avon and Castle Street was the location of dyers' workshops and other related buildings of the textile industry. Overall, the whole of the city has a high archaeological potential and excavations within any part of it will further our understanding of its history.

The low-lying nature of Salisbury at the confluence of the rivers of the Avon, Bourne and Nadder means that the water table in the city is high. In general, excavations have encountered deposits extending to about a metre in depth that most likely reflect the height of the water table. A small number of excavations have uncovered water-logged deposits, for example at Ivy Street and Brown Street (Rawlings 2000), the sites of the Dominican and Franciscan Friaries (SMARG 1969; Borthwick and Chandler 1984, 79), the Maltings (Wessex Archaeology 1992) and east of the Castle Gate (Anon 1963). The majority of the finds are leather or wood, but plant remains were obtained from bulk samples at Ivy Street and Brown Street and considerably enhance our knowledge of the diet of people in medieval Salisbury (Rawlings 2000). Documentary evidence also suggests that the part of St Martin's burial ground adjacent to the Town Ditch was so low-lying that

water was seen in the graves (Wessex Archaeology 2000, 11). The potential for finding waterlogged or anaerobic environments in Salisbury is high and should be considered as a possibility in all excavations and of considerable importance in enhancing our knowledge of life in Salisbury in the medieval and post-medieval periods.

Waterlogged deposits are likely to be present in the watercourses, an unusual and important feature of the city. Some excavations have taken place on the courses, but they have been limited and further opportunities to examine them should be made, to clarify, for example, the date of their construction. The high water table has also led to an almost complete absence of cellars beneath the buildings of Salisbury, which means that the survival of archaeological deposits beneath them is high. Excavations have also shown continuous use of tenement boundaries into the 19th century and a lack of disturbance beneath some buildings of this date mean that archaeological deposits can survive well beneath 19th century and earlier buildings. Similarly, the recording of historic buildings during refurbishment or alteration also provides significant information on the origins or understanding of a building, as shown at 22 The Close where a previously unknown medieval foundation was recorded during refurbishment work (Wessex Archaeology 1998). To give another example, permission was granted in 1331 to use the stone from Old Sarum to build the Close Wall (Crittall, 1962, 75), which was confirmed during the recording of the removal of part of the wall at Bishop Wordsworth's School in 1998 (Archaeological Site Investigations 1998), although much re-used stone can be still be seen set into the wall.

A large amount of documentary research in Salisbury has been targeted at specific sites where it has been sometimes possible to enhance archaeological information derived from the excavation as, for example, at 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street, where the rebuilding of the property was potentially related to known changes of ownership (Currie and Rushton this volume). Documentary evidence is inevitably variable, but can provide detailed supporting information, most notably the identification of John Barbur, a bellfounder who died in 1404, whose workshops were excavated between Milford Street and Guilder Lane during the construction of the ring road in 1972 (Chandler 1983, 115). Detailed documentary research is likely to enhance excavation and should be part of any investigation, particularly as a lack of securely

dated deposits is one of the characteristics of Salisbury.

Potential for Prehistoric Discoveries

The city of Salisbury lies within an area renowned for its prehistoric monuments, such as Avebury and Stonehenge. Salisbury is approximately 15kms south of Stonehenge, situated on the southern edge of Salisbury Plain. Surveys of Salisbury Plain have shown that it contains some of the greatest concentrations of barrows in the country and, by the Middle Bronze Age, permanent fields and settlements began to appear (McOmish et al 2002, xv). A large number of enclosures are known in the region from the Iron Age, but by the Romano-British period the Plain was under intensive agriculture probably as part of estates centred on villas in the valleys. This pattern of settlement is likely to have been repeated closer to Salisbury, although no similar research has been done to confirm this. The hinterland of Salisbury thus contains an extensive prehistoric landscape and there seems no reason why prehistoric activity should not have continued into the valley where Salisbury is now located, particularly when archaeological evidence suggests that the river gravels were a favoured area for settlement in this period. Although only a very small number of prehistoric and Romano-British finds have been made in Salisbury itself, the potential for prehistoric settlement is considered to be high and should be included as an objective in any excavations in the city.

More numerous are finds of palaeolithic handaxes particularly within the eastern part of the city. Only one section through the river gravels has been recorded which provides information on the environment in which these handaxes were deposited (Harding and Bridgland 1998). Where opportunities arise for further recording of the geological deposits an archaeologist with appropriate knowledge should be present.

Early Medieval settlement

Early Anglo-Saxon burials at Bourne Hill, Kelsey Road and Harnham suggest one or more contemporary settlements in the area. All these burials are located on the higher ground away from the river valley and suggest that the settlements were on the higher ground, although the finding of two pieces of Saxon pottery at the eastern end of New Street, hints at settlement in the centre of Salisbury

(Wessex Archaeology 1996) around the river crossing at Fisherton Bridge. Opportunities to look for Saxon evidence in this area and around St Thomas's Church, including the Market Place, New Street chequer and Mitre chequer, should not be overlooked. Opportunities to investigate the full extent of the Saxon cemeteries should also be explored.

The area around St Thomas's Church is also likely to be the location of pre-existing medieval, if not Anglo-Saxon, settlement adjacent to the Fisherton Bridge river crossing and town mill as suggested by Chandler (1983, 26) and Haslam (1976, 51). A settlement in this locality would have had an impact on the development of the new city. A settlement around St Martin's Church is likely to have also had an impact on the city, the full extent of which is not known as most of the excavations have concentrated in the churchyard (de Mallet Morgan 1958; Pathfinders Archaeological Reconnaissance 2003). These interventions suggest that the church was originally smaller and expanded over the settlement that surrounded it. Little is known about the extent of the pre-urban settlement of Fisherton Anger and even less about the possible settlement at East Harnham throughout the entire medieval period.

Ecclesiastical Sites

The full extent of ecclesiastical sites in Salisbury is not known, with the exception of the cathedral. In the case of St Thomas's Church, it is known to have been rebuilt probably at the start of the 13th century (Tatton-Brown 1997), but the size, shape and location of the original church is unclear. Whether it would be possible to ascertain the details for an earlier church is likely to prove difficult due to later extensions, although any archaeological investigations within the church or the graveyard would be valuable in trying to assess the early stages of the church and development of the city. Similarly, further investigations within the churchyard of St Edmund's Church would help confirm the full extent of the original church as identified in the geophysical survey undertaken in 2001 (Ancell 2001) and the nature of the buildings shown attached to the north of the church on Naish's map of 1716. There is very little knowledge of the College of Priests that was constructed as part of the church, and thought to be on the site of the Bourne Hill Council House.

Following the dissolution, buildings and lands belonging to the monasteries were sold off. By the

19th century little evidence survives of the extent of many of these monastic institutions such as the college attached to St Edmund's Church, De Vaux College and the Dominican and Franciscan Friaries. In the case of the two Friaries (SMARG 1967, 1969, 1972; Borthwick and Chandler 1984, 79) a small amount of information has been derived from watching briefs and rescue excavations, but the full extent of their precincts and the detail of the buildings contained therein are unknown. Opportunities to examine the full extent of the friaries and the colleges should be explored.

In the case of the Close, additional research on the buildings would help to identify medieval layouts and the existence of other buildings. For example, there are a number of references to masons living just outside and to the east of the Close (Crittall 1962, 75). The Dean and Chapter of Salisbury own a large percentage of the property in the Close along with the Cathedral. Under the Care of Cathedrals Measure (1990) it is a statutory requirement that each cathedral has a consultant archaeologist. In the case of Salisbury this is Tim Tatton-Brown, who has extensive knowledge of the cathedral and its surrounds and continues to explore opportunities to enhance this knowledge.

Defences

Salisbury has been considered to be one of a number of defended towns which arose in the post-Conquest period (Barley 1976, 59). Reasons for defending the city are unclear and documentary sources suggest that construction of defences was erratic (Crittall 1962, 88), while phases of construction are inadequately recorded (Borthwick and Chandler 1984, 61). Rescue excavations during the construction of the ring road revealed the city defences, although the value of this work is limited by the lack of full publication of the findings. This was only a sample of the eastern defences, however, and an excavation across the line of the northern defences (Williams and Hawkes 1989; Wessex Archaeology 2004) did not uncover any form of defence. It is also of note that all of the documentary sources quoted refer to the eastern defences, apart from a deed of 1331 which refers to a ditch at a tenement on the north of Endless Street (RCHM 1980, 50). Even the examples given in Crittall (1962, 89) for the leasing out of the ditch in 16th century refer only to areas of the eastern defences. The full extent and nature of the rampart and ditch is therefore not known while further opportunities to

examine them must have been compromised by the construction of the ring road. There are areas, however, particularly along the line of the northern defences, where excavations would enhance our knowledge and determine whether the ramparts were anything more than a grandiose feature erected to impress visitors entering the city from the east.

Medieval Suburbs

The excavation of the city defences uncovered evidence for 13th century settlement beneath the ramparts (Algar 1973) indicating that a suburb had developed between Winchester Street and Milford Street along one of the major routes into the city. The full extent and nature of this suburb is unknown as are the suburbs that developed to the north of Castle Gate, along Fisherton Street and at East Harnham. Documentary research or ground investigations in these areas would help to clarify the hypothetical areas shown on the plan form maps, although construction of the ring road is likely to have caused considerable disturbance to the suburbs around Milford Street impeding further archaeological investigations.

CONCLUSIONS

The importance of Salisbury in archaeological terms is most effectively summed up by the following observations. It is a classic planned medieval city with its topography substantially intact, because it was of such a size that expansion did not take place until the 19th century. The city has a known foundation date making it important in terms of archaeological chronology. The presence of a high water table below the city has discouraged the construction of cellars thus preserving archaeological deposits, some of which are waterlogged. There has been a rich tradition in the city of archaeological investigation, along with studies of historic buildings and a large amount of documentary research. The combination of all these aspects ensures the City's pre-eminence in the study of medieval urbanism, particularly of the phenomenon of planned towns in the later Middle Ages. Overall, there remains considerable archaeological potential for furthering our understanding of medieval Salisbury.

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A New Roman Villa near Malmesbury

by Jonathan Hart, Mark Collard and Neil Holbrook¹
with contributions by A.D.H. Bartlett and E.M. McSloy

Fieldwalking, geophysical survey and excavation associated with the construction of a new gas pipeline in 2001 revealed a previously unrecorded Roman villa, 1.5km north-east of Malmesbury.

In 2001 National Grid Transco constructed a high pressure gas pipeline between Easton Grey and Minety in north Wiltshire, a distance of approximately 15km (Fig. 1). Cotswold Archaeological Trust (now Cotswold Archaeology) was commissioned by Entrepose Industrial Services Limited to undertake a watching brief and targeted excavation during the construction of the pipeline. A summary report on the results of the programme of recording along the whole length of the pipeline was subsequently produced (Cotswold Archaeological Trust 2002). The purpose of this note is to present the evidence for a previously unrecorded Roman villa discovered near Marsh Farm, 1.5km north-east of the centre of Malmesbury. No other significant discoveries were made elsewhere on the route.

PRELIMINARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS

As part of the planning and design process for the pipeline, Transco commissioned a staged assessment of the potential archaeological impact of the scheme. A desk-based study concluded that no known sites of archaeological interest would be directly affected by the proposed route (Network Archaeology 2000). A second stage programme of archaeological

fieldwalking, field reconnaissance, and geophysical survey was undertaken in 2001 (Network Archaeology 2001; Bartlett 2001a). Fieldwalking recovered 54 sherds of Roman pottery, and the geophysical survey revealed a dense concentration of anomalies indicative of pits and ditches, combined with raised levels of magnetic susceptibility. A copper-alloy Roman brooch was also recovered from the surface of the field during the latter exercise. A watching brief during the laying of a telecommunications cable in the north-west part of this field recovered dressed stone, tesserae, roof tile and pottery indicative of a high status Romano-British building, most probably a villa (Network Archaeology 2001, 12). In the light of these results it was recommended that a full geophysical survey be undertaken to define the extent of the remains with a view to re-routing the pipeline away from the most significant part of the villa.

MAGNETOMETER SURVEY *by A.D.H. Bartlett*

A full magnetometer survey of two fields in April 2001 followed standard procedures for work of this kind. Readings were collected along transects 1m apart using Geoscan fluxgate magnetometers. Fairly complete coverage of the site was achieved, although some waterlogged ground and areas obstructed by spoil from the fibre optic cable trench at the north

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Fig. 1 Site Location

of the field were excluded. A full report on the survey has been prepared (Bartlett 2001b). The results of the magnetometer survey are shown as a grey scale plot in Figure 2. Additional 2D low pass filtering has been applied to this plot to reduce background noise levels and emphasise features likely to be archaeologically significant. The magnetometer survey was supplemented by a magnetic susceptibility survey with readings taken using a Bartington MS2 meter and field sensor loop (Fig. 3).

The magnetometer plot shows a dense cluster of ditched enclosures in the centre of the larger field (A), with an area of very strong magnetic activity to

the east (B). The enclosures appear to be of more than one phase, and correspond with raised susceptibility readings likely to indicate a settlement site.

Other such features appear to be present towards the east and south-east of the larger field, but here there are also areas of strong magnetic activity (B). It is therefore likely that the debris from the main Roman buildings includes sufficient burnt clay, probably from the remains of a hypocaust or roof tiles, to create strong magnetic disturbances. Features detected in other parts of the survey include comparatively weak linear anomalies in the southern

part of the field, and scattered pit-like magnetic anomalies towards the west. It is conceivable that a cluster of features represented by magnetic anomalies at H might represent archaeological features, but they could equally be of geological origin as was the case with the disturbances towards the north of the site at J. Anomalies alongside the B4040 at the southern edge of the field could be of recent origin. The field to the south-east of the B4040 contains a number of linear ditch-like features, one of which (L) appears to form the southern boundary of an enclosure surrounding the main villa site. Parallel markings which could indicate traces of ridge and furrow, or

which may perhaps relate to more recent ploughing, have been detected in various parts of the site.

THE VILLA SITE

The villa lay upon a spread of gravel that sloped gently down from 92.5m AOD in the north-west of the field to 81m AOD in the south-east corner. The gravel substrate may have been a factor in the good quality of the magnetometer results, for where the gravel gave way to clay to the south-west of the villa site the geophysical results were less good (they did

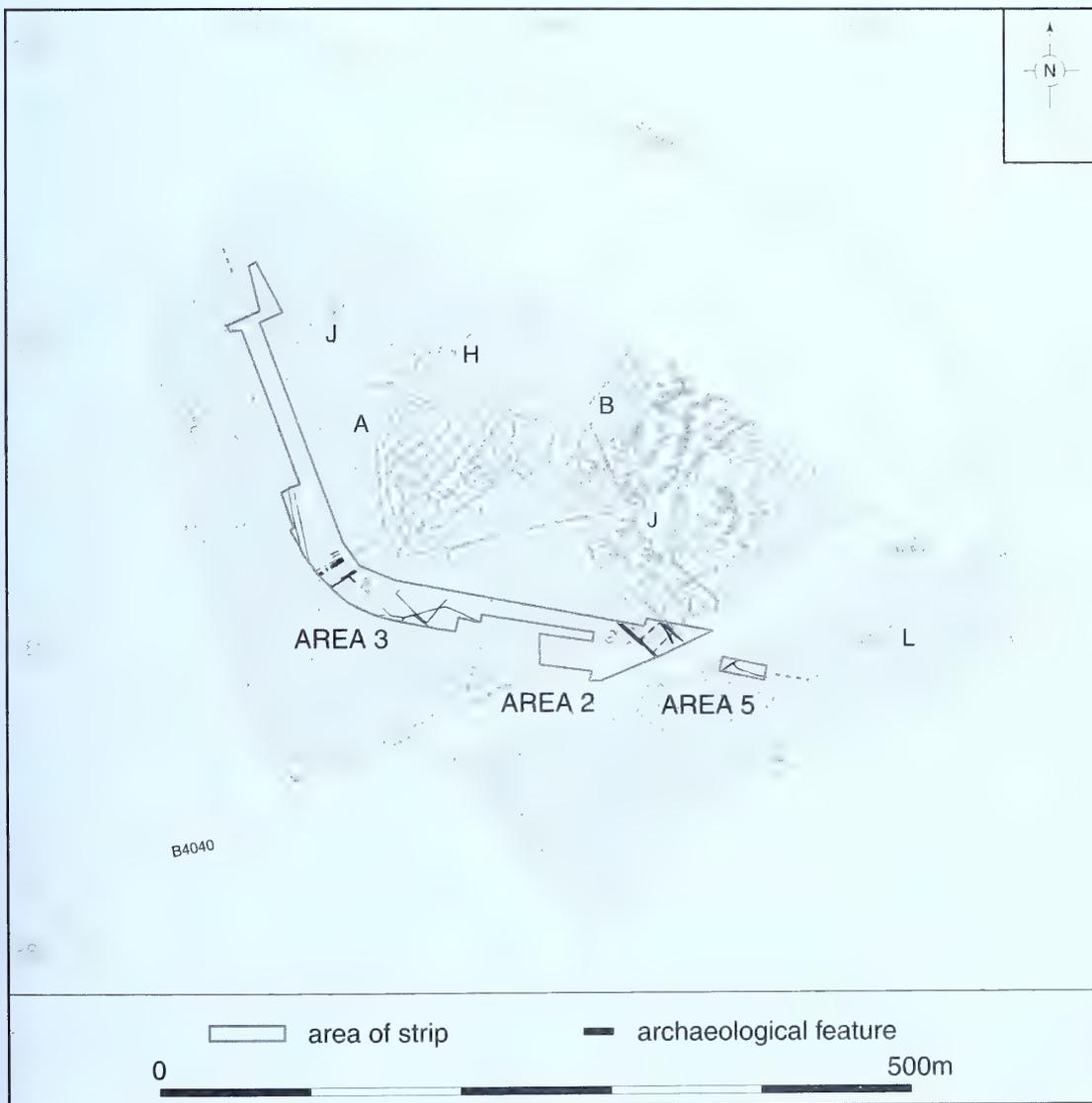


Fig. 2. Magnetometer plot and areas of archaeological investigation

not detect some post-medieval ditches in Area 3 for instance). To the north-east of the villa the ground falls away into a small valley occupied by a stream which drains south-eastwards to a confluence with the Bristol Avon. The site lies on the northern limit of the north Wiltshire clay vale, with the limestone of the southern Cotswolds outcropping on the other side of the stream. It is just within the parish of Malmesbury, the north-eastern side of the field forming the parish boundary with Charlton.

THE EXCAVATION

Methodology

As a result of the information obtained from the surveys the pipeline was re-routed to avoid the main

concentration of plotted features (Fig. 2). A 5m-wide machine-cut trench was excavated across part of two fields, and this was widened out to the full 25m width of the pipeline construction corridor where archaeological features were encountered. The excavation was sub-divided into a number of areas, of which Areas 2, 3 and 5 contained archaeological features. All areas were machine-stripped to the top of the natural substrate, with archaeological excavation continuing by hand thereafter. Archaeological features were found in three areas labelled Areas 2, 3 and 5 on Figure 2.

Area 2 (Fig. 4)

The magnetometer survey identified ditched enclosures in this area, and during excavation a number of smaller features that did not appear on

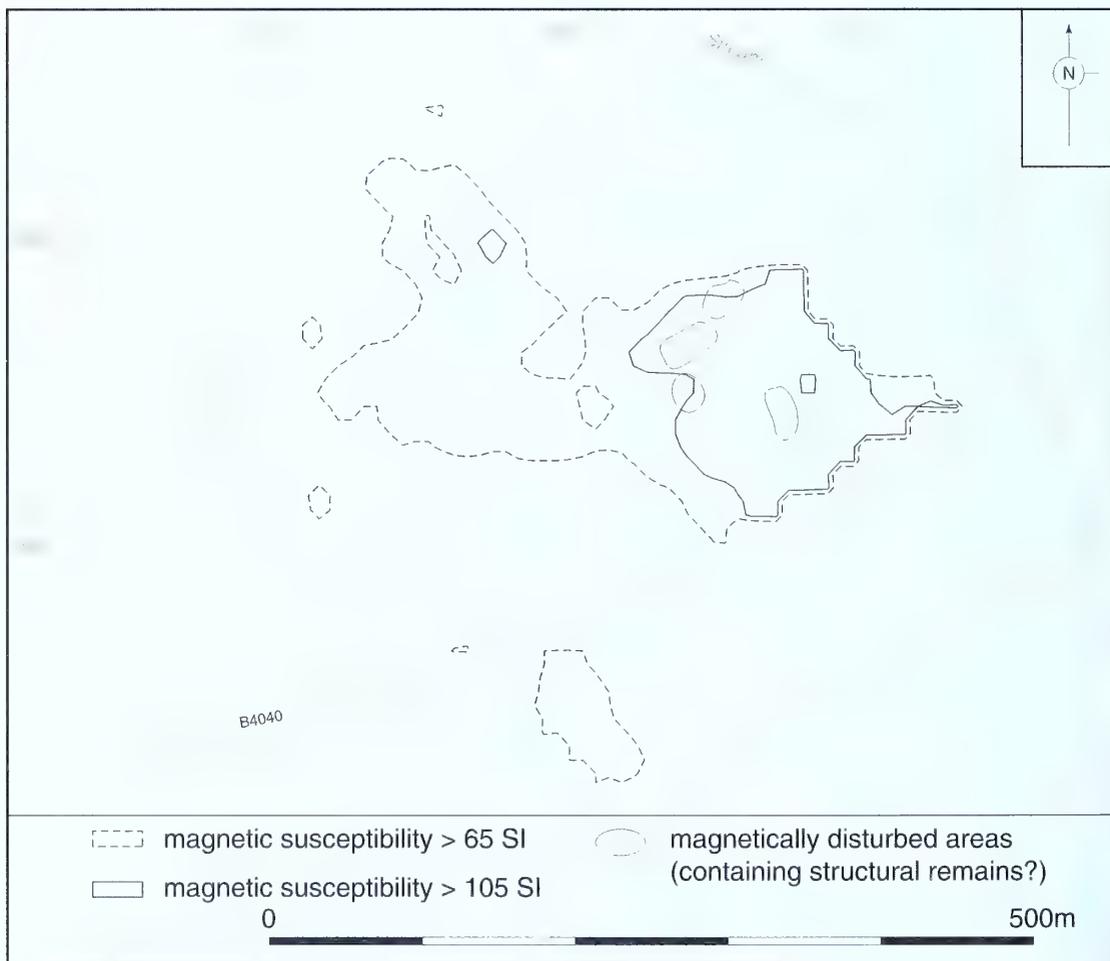


Fig. 3. Magnetic susceptibility plot

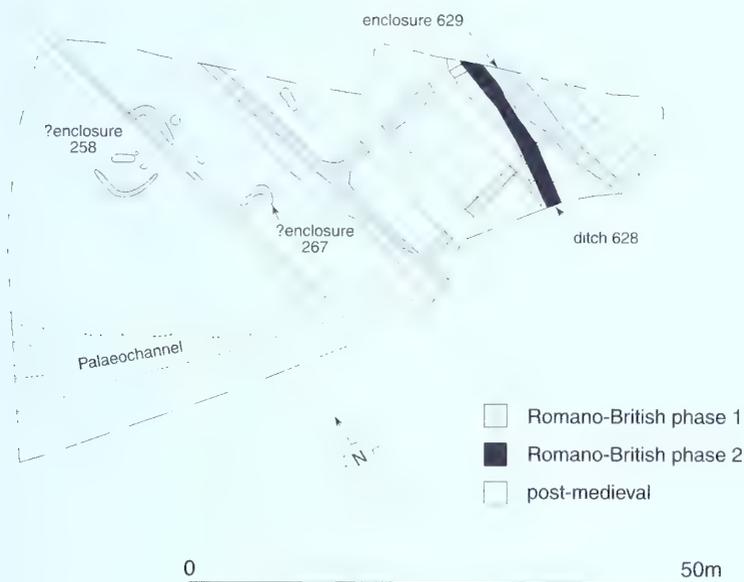


Fig. 4. Area 2: plan

the plot were also found. The fills from these features comprised characteristically dark loams and contained moderate quantities of artefactual material.

Enclosure 629 consisted of a row of small ditched paddocks, measuring approximately 11m by 15m, which are visible on the geophysical survey extending beyond the excavated area to the north-west. No entrance was found for the paddock which lay fully within the excavation area. The paddocks were cut by ditch 628 which formed part of a playing card-shaped enclosure clearly visible on the geophysics. The upper fills of both of these ditch systems contained demolition material from the villa buildings including stone and ceramic roof tiles, box flue tiles, brick, and tesserae.

Two possible enclosures lay to the west of the paddocks. In both cases it is likely that the ditches were originally more complete, only fragments having survived the effects of ploughing. Two crescent-shaped ditches enclosing a sub-rectangular space approximately 7m x 5m defined possible enclosure 258, and a single arc enclosure 267. Likely interpretations for both features include stock pens or drip gullies for agricultural buildings. The small number of pits and post-holes identified within or immediately adjacent to enclosure 258 contained no finds and their association with the enclosure is undetermined

Area 3 (Fig. 5)

Area 3 contained three trackways, two phases of field systems and a four-post structure. In contrast to Area 2, the features were filled with clean silts and contained few finds. Only trackway 457 was identified by geophysics. This ran along a slight gravel ridge towards the villa buildings. The trackway was defined by two parallel drainage ditches 8.5m apart, which had been re-cut at least once. No evidence for any surfacing was recovered. Two smaller trackways, 456 and 458, were also defined by paired ditches. Field system 450 consisted of an irregular network of ditches defining and draining land plots on the clay substrate to the south-east of the main trackway. The recut of one of the trackway ditches drained into one of these field ditches indicating their contemporaneity. The field system was replaced by ditched enclosure 449 which, although its full extent was not ascertained, may have been similar to the playing card-shaped enclosure identified in Area 2. Four-post structure 454 was located to the north-west of the main trackway. It is undated but similar features have been found on other Romano-British sites where they are interpreted as raised-floor granaries (Morris 1979, 31). Although no further structures were identified within Area 3, this is more likely to reflect the limited

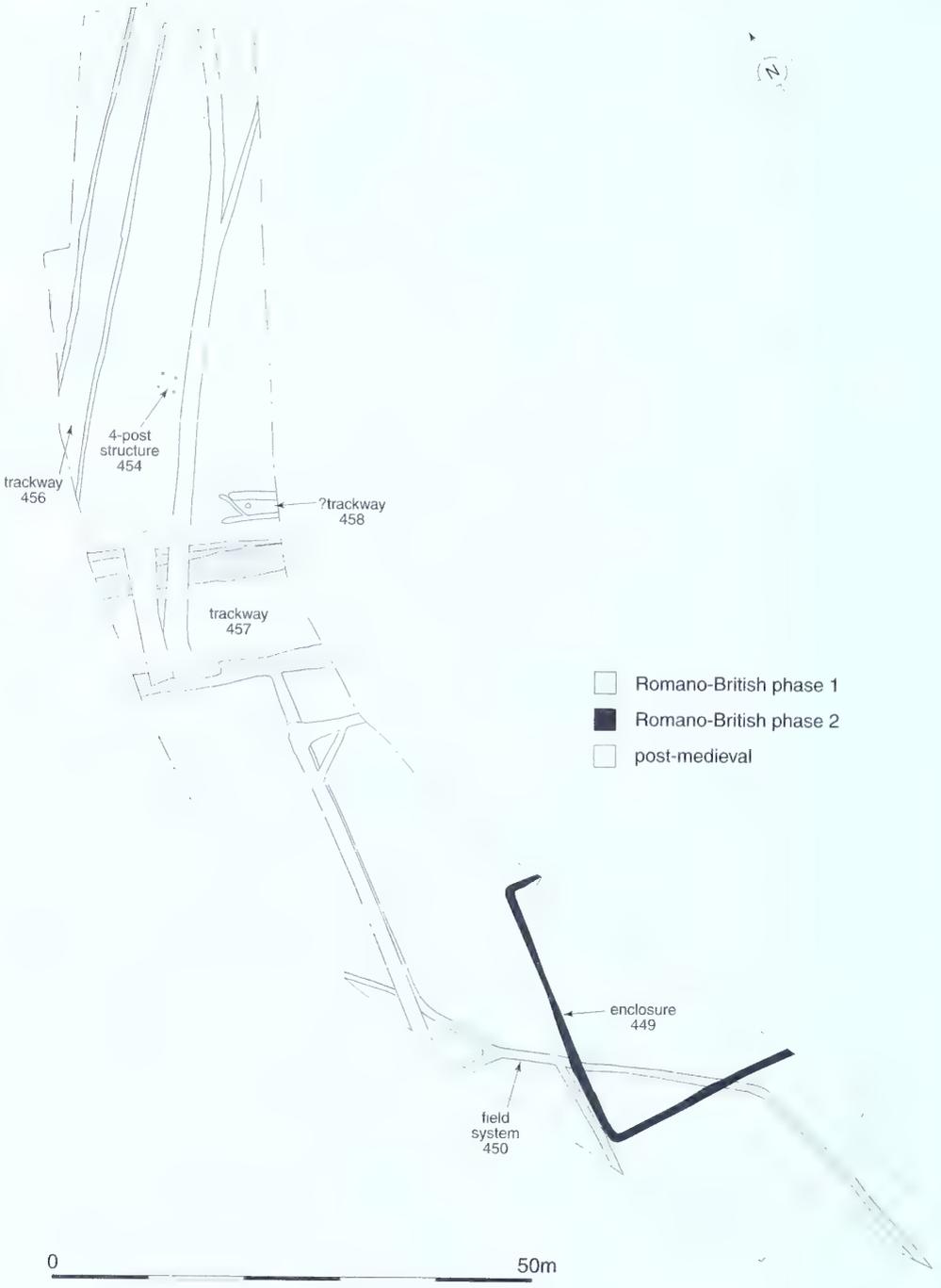


Fig. 5. Area 3: plan

Area 5 (not illustrated)

nature of the excavations. It is conceivable that the granary was associated with further timber structures.

Two contemporary ditches exposed in this area corresponded to features identified on the magnetometer plot.

Chronology of the Excavated Features

The lower fills of the ditches of enclosure 629 produced pottery which is broadly datable to the period from the 2nd to 4th century AD. The latest material comprises South-East Dorset BB1 cooking-pots and local copies with flared everted rims indicative of manufacture in the 3rd or 4th centuries. The upper fills of the enclosure ditches produced an Oxfordshire colour-coated bowl with stamped rosette decoration (Young 1977 form C84/5) which indicates that the ditches continued to collect material well into the 4th century. The lower fills of later enclosure ditch 628 produced South-East Dorset BB1 forms and Oxfordshire mortaria typical of the 3rd and 4th centuries, whilst the upper fills contained sherds of late Roman shell-tempered ware and Oxfordshire colour-coated forms with white paint and stamped rosettes which show that the ditch was still open into the second half of the 4th century.

The ditches of enclosure 258 produced South-East Dorset BB1 flanged bowls and Oxfordshire colour-coated ware indicating that they filled up sometime after the mid 3rd century, while enclosure 267 produced late Roman shell-tempered ware and Oxfordshire colour-coated ware with stamped rosettes indicating once again that the ditch was still open into the second half of the 4th century.

No useful dating evidence was recovered from the trackways in Area 3, whilst the ditch system 450

and later enclosure 449 yielded only a few sherds of 2nd century or later manufacture. In Area 5 the ditches were still open in the late 3rd or 4th century as they produced Oxfordshire colour-coated ware.

FINDS

by *E.M. McSloy*

Pottery

The condition of the pottery is generally poor due to the effects of mildly acidic soils. The sherds were sorted into fabric type (based on the Cirencester fabric type series) and form in order to assess chronology, and quantified according to sherd count and weight (Table 1).

Sources

Much of the Roman pottery consists of utilitarian sandy reduced wares (75.4% by weight). South-East Dorset black-burnished ware (BB1) accounts for 16% of the assemblage with a typical later Roman suite of forms represented, comprising everted-rim jars, flanged bowls and plain-rimmed dishes. The remainder of the greyware assemblage, including micaceous type (98a), consists of material most likely of local north Wiltshire or possibly Cirencester manufacture. Coarse, dark grey to black fabric 118-120 matches the description of imitation Dorset

Table 1. Roman pottery by fabric type

<i>Fabric</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>% Count</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>% Weight</i>
40	Dressel 20 Baetica	1	0.1%	79g	1.3%
74	S.E. Dorset BB1	120	15.4%	1003g	16.0%
118-120	Local imitation BB1 (late)	111	14.2%	774g	12.4%
117	Local Gritty Greyware (late)	4	0.5%	8g	0.1%
105	Local colour-coated ware	26	3.3%	197g	3.2%
98a	Micaceous greyware	35	4.5%	388g	6.2%
98	Miscellaneous greyware	290	37.1%	2171g	34.7%
83	Oxford red colour coat	25	3.2%	281g	4.5%
90	Oxford white ware	3	0.4%	88g	1.4%
84	Oxford white slipped mortaria	1	0.1%	29g	0.5%
115	Late Shelly ware	14	1.8%	51g	0.8%
-	Samian (all types)	11	1.4%	34g	0.5%
6	Savernake ware	1	0.1%	5g	0.1%
98	Wiltshire oxidised ware	71	9.1%	569g	9.1%
98	Wiltshire reduced ware	69	8.8%	578g	9.2%
Total		782	-	6255g	-

BB1 known from Cirencester. BB1 influence is also evident in much of the other greywares with everted-rim jars, lattice decoration and bead and flanged bowls present. A small proportion of the greyware, including necked jar forms with shoulder cordons, is identifiable with products from Whitehill Farm, near Swindon (Anderson 1980). The Savernake industry is poorly represented with only a single sherd identifiable. The small quantity of late Roman shell-tempered ware most probably derives from the Harrold kilns of north Bedfordshire. The most likely source for the oxidised coarsewares is the same north Wiltshire industry thought to be the source for the bulk of the reduced coarsewares. Of note here are two bowl forms copying samian form Drag. 38. Mortaria are without exception of Oxfordshire manufacture with white, white-slipped and red colour-coated types represented.

The commonest fineware is Oxfordshire red colour-coated bowls. 'Local' brown colour-coated ware also occurs, predominantly as bowls copying Oxfordshire types, although beakers also occur. A source for this fabric has yet to be established, although the concentration of findspots in the Cirencester/Gloucester area makes a local origin more than likely. Imported continental pottery is restricted to eleven sherds of ?central Gaulish samian ware and a single sherd of southern Spanish (Dressel 20 type) amphora.

Dating

The Roman pottery ranges in date from the 2nd century, with the latest pottery comprising shell-tempered ware which does not appear in the Cotswolds before *c.* AD 360. Dated features are predominately of 3rd or 4th-century date (see above). Distinctly 1st or 2nd-century pottery is poorly represented and in most instances such sherds are demonstrably residual in their context.

Stone

A single small, rectangular-sectioned, whetstone of Kentish Ragstone was recovered from an upper fill of enclosure 629 (stone identification by Fiona Roe). Ragstone hones of similar form and size are common finds on Roman sites across southern Britain. A quantity of stone roof tile, of probable Roman date and seventeen stone tesserae of both large (in excess of 25 x 25mm) and small (10 x 10mm) size were also found, almost entirely in Area 2.

Ceramic Building Material

Roman ceramic building material, weighing 4096g, came primarily from Area 2. This included tegula, imbrex, combed box-flue tile and brick. Two tile tesserae were also found.

Worked Flint

Ten pieces of worked flint were recovered in generally good condition with little post-depositional damage. A leaf-shaped arrowhead from Area 3 is dateable to the earlier Neolithic (Green 1980) but was residual in its context. The remaining material was also residual and comprised two end/side scrapers and seven flakes probably dating to the later Neolithic or Bronze Age.

Glass

Five fragments of glass include one green-coloured fragment which is likely to derive from a late Roman tableware vessel.

Coins

Two coins found in Area 2 preserve no surface detail although their general form makes a later Roman (*c.* AD 280-400) date highly likely.

Copper Alloy

Three fragments of a bracelet of 'crenellated' form were found in the fill of a furrow. Bracelets of this type are known locally from Wanborough (Hooley 2001, No. 35). Other examples from Shakenoak, Oxfordshire (Brodrigg *et al.* 1971, No. 104) and Colchester (Crummy 1983, No.1659) are dated to the late 3rd century and AD 320-450 respectively.

Iron

Twenty-six items of iron were retrieved, including eighteen nails. A double-spiked loop belongs to a class of artefact, almost certainly serving as structural fittings, which are very common on Romano-British sites of all kinds (Manning 1985, 130). The remaining items consist of strip or square-sectioned bar fragments, a probable chain-link and a ring.

Industrial residues

A small quantity of miscellaneous ironworking slag consists of largely amorphous, blocky material

composed mainly of iron silicate. Similar material can be produced by iron smithing or smelting (Starley 2001, 9-10).

DISCUSSION

The discovery of a previously unrecorded Roman villa during pipeline construction serves as yet another reminder of our incomplete knowledge of the Roman settlement pattern in the north Wiltshire clay vale and southern Cotswolds (see Corney 2001, fig. 2.1 for the most up to date map of villas and other forms of settlement in this area). It is telling that when opportunistic fieldwork takes place in association with linear developments such as pipelines new sites are invariably found. A watching brief along the 12km length of the Littleton Drew to Chippenham gas pipeline recorded two Romano-British sites, one of which had no previous record (Bateman 2000). Development-led work associated with the growth of Chippenham is also yielding new sites (Bateman and Enright 2000; *WANHM* 94 (2001), 246-7).

The new villa at Marsh Farm, Malmesbury lies 5km from the Fosse Way and the roadside settlement at White Walls/Easton Grey which contained structures of high status (Corney 2001, 23-6). A trackway visible from aerial photographs might indicate a minor Roman route running eastwards along the Avon valley towards Malmesbury where a Roman hypocaust is said to have been found to the east of the Abbey in 1887 (*Archaeological Journal* 44, 53). Further work is required to confirm the presence of a villa or other form of Romano-British site beneath the medieval town, although it is of note that Roman pottery has been found residually in medieval deposits during recent archaeological investigations at the former cinema site and Abbey Grounds.

Turning to the morphology of the Marsh Farm site, geophysics shows one or more stone-built structures, with ditched enclosures and trackways to the west. During fieldwalking pottery dating predominately to the 1st-2nd century AD was recovered from the area of enclosures, whilst wares characteristic of the 3rd and 4th centuries were found closer to the main structures (Network Archaeology 2001, Appendix D). It is conceivable therefore that the site originated in the early Roman period as a farmstead of timber or dry-stone buildings set in enclosures and paddocks. A ditched trackway led to the south-west towards the river Avon, suggesting arable cultivation on the better drained gravels

nearer to the farm with seasonal grazing in the river valley. Sometime in the 3rd or 4th century a stone-built villa house equipped with one or more hypocausts and tessellated pavements was constructed to the east of the paddocks. The geophysics indicates a range of rooms running north-east to south-west, with a possible second building to the south-east. The complex may therefore have consisted of a L-shaped arrangement of two buildings, or perhaps even three buildings set around a south-east facing courtyard (any possible structure to the north-east would have lain outside the area surveyed, but may have been cut through by the telecommunications trench). Anomalies associated with the demolition of the north-western structure extend over a distance of up to 100m, although demolition material invariably spreads well beyond the extent of the ground plan of a building. Two possible parallel walls, 10m apart, can be observed running for a distance of in excess of 30m on a north-east to south-west alignment. They might define part of one structure. A range c. 30 to 50m in length would be comparable with Cotswold villas such as Barnsley Park near Cirencester. Indeed comparison might be drawn more generally with Barnsley Park where extensive excavation has demonstrated that a farmstead (complete with a four-post structure like that found in Area 3 and a timber house) originated in the mid 2nd century. A stone-built winged corridor villa house was not added until some two hundred years later around AD 360 (Webster 1981; Webster and Smith 1982; see also Smith 1985). It is conceivable that further work at this site might elucidate a similar sequence.

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The Career and Affiliations of Sir Roger Tocotes of Bromham (c. 1430-92): a Political Survivor in late Fifteenth-Century England

by *J.T. Driver*

For some thirty years Sir Roger Tocotes played an active and leading part in public life in Wiltshire as a sheriff, Justice of the Peace, frequent royal commissioner, and twice as a parliamentary knight of the shire (1467-8 and 1472-5). Throughout he worked closely with his fellow gentry. He had strong and long-lasting links with the Lancastrian Hungerford family, as well as being a retainer and supporter of George, Duke of Clarence, under whom he fought at Tewkesbury in 1471. Although his career faltered as a result of his involvement in Buckingham's Rising against Richard III in 1483, his position as a key member of the Wiltshire gentry recovered under Henry VII.

Born c.1430, Roger Tocotes was the son of James Tocotes of Tocketts near Guisborough in the North Riding of Yorkshire, by his wife, Elizabeth.¹ Although of north-country origin Roger Tocotes had moved to the south-west by the time of his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Gerald Braybroke, and widow of Sir William Beauchamp, Lord St Amand, who died in 1457.² It was as Roger Tocotes 'esquire' that he was a mainpernor (or surety) for Elizabeth, widow of Lord St Amand, on 27 June 1457, when she was granted custody of the manor of Charington, Gloucestershire.³ Six months later, on 4 December, he was one of a group of gentry, which included Henry Long esquire, of Wiltshire, and William Taylard of Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire (who was to be elected for Huntingdonshire in 1467 and 1472, when Tocotes sat for Wiltshire), granted custody of the estates of Richard Beauchamp, son of the late Lord St Amand during his minority.⁴ Significantly, Tocotes was described as 'of Bromham esquire' when pardoned on 20 January 1458, and 'of the king's household' on 10 April, when licensed to marry Elizabeth, Lady St Amand.⁵ Clearly, by his late twenties, Roger Tocotes had begun not only to make the acquaintance of fellow gentry, but had also

made an important marriage. It was through his marriage that he became established at Bromham and also became closely attached to the important noble family of Beauchamp, one of whose members was Richard, bishop of Salisbury from 1450 to 1481.⁶ Moreover, since his wife's first husband, William, Lord St Amand had been a prominent member of Henry VI's household as a royal carver, it is possible that Tocotes entered the household through Beauchamp influence.⁷

His arrival as a man of some consequence in Wiltshire was signalled by his appointment as a Justice of the Peace on 8 December 1459. With re-appointments, Tocotes was to remain on the Wiltshire bench until December 1470.⁸ Two weeks after his initial appointment as a Justice of the Peace, he was made one of the commissioners of array for Wiltshire in company with such other local gentry as the lawyers Henry Long and John Whittokesmede.⁹ From now onwards Tocotes appears frequently as a commissioner, witness and feoffee irrespective of the political upheavals of the years 1459-61, which saw the deposing of Henry VI and his replacement by Edward IV. Thus, in June 1460, he was included in two Lancastrian

commissions of oyer and terminer, and commissions to arrest Yorkist supporters in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire and other southern counties.¹⁰ A month later the political situation was altered dramatically with the Yorkist victory at Northampton, where the king was captured and many of his supporters condemned to death before Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.¹¹

By 6 February 1461, when he witnessed a grant for the Cricklade family, Tocotes had been knighted,¹² and thus it was as 'Sir Roger Tocotes' that he headed the commission, issued on 27 May, to enquire into wastes and dilapidations in the castle, manor and lordship of Devizes, the town of Rowde, and the forests of Melksham, Pewsham and Chippenham.¹³ Two months later, on 23 July, Tocotes was one of the commissioners, headed by Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, with John Whittokesmede and other lesser gentry, to raise money in Wiltshire for the king's ships. On 12 August he was a commissioner of array, whose titular head was the Earl of Warwick, and that September he was appointed to lead an enquiry into lands held in Wiltshire by the late Edmund Stradlyng esquire.¹⁴ Earlier in the year, Edward, Earl of March, with the support of his cousin, the Earl of Warwick, had taken the throne as Edward IV and crushed his opponents at Towton on Palm Sunday, 29 March. Some leading Lancastrians fled but many, ranging from the nobility and upper clergy down to the gentry, accepted or were accepted by the new régime. For whatever reason, Tocotes seems to have fallen into line, as did Bishop Beauchamp.¹⁵

Tocotes' link with the bishop was close; he was, in fact, made one of Beauchamp's executors in October 1461.¹⁶ However, just as important was his close and long-lasting association with the Hungerford family, especially with Margaret, Lady Hungerford. His connection with her can be traced back to 1460 at least, when Tocotes was one of the witnesses to a grant by her on 16 October of the manor of Ashley to her grandson, Thomas.¹⁷ It was, indeed, to protect their family interests that after the attainder of Margaret's son Robert, Lord Hungerford, in 1461, that the Hungerfords seem to have sought better relations with the Yorkists and especially with the powerful Earl of Warwick, 'the Kingmaker'.¹⁸ When, in September 1463, Lady Margaret created an *enfeoffment* (or trust) of her manor of Heytesbury and five others, she named Warwick's brother, George Neville, bishop of Exeter and Chancellor of England, as the principal *feoffee*, followed by Bishop Beauchamp, Sir Roger Tocotes,

Sir John Willoughby, Thomas Tropenell and other Wiltshire notables.¹⁹ However, as far as Tocotes himself was concerned, his involvement during the next fourteen years or so would be more firmly with the king's brother George, Duke of Clarence, than with Warwick.²⁰

Throughout the rest of the 1460s Tocotes continued to be nominated to government commissions and to be named as a *feoffee* and witness. Thus he was made a commissioner of array in Wiltshire in October 1462, a tax assessor in 1463 and, more important, sheriff for the year 5 November 1463 to 5 November 1464.²¹ In a more private capacity he was party to a deed concerning land in Laverstock, Stratford-sub-Castle, and Salisbury on 29 April 1463; on 17 March 1464 he and his wife successfully defended their rights to Queenscourt manor, Melksham, and were confirmed in possession of it. On 11 May he was given as one of the witnesses to a charter in which Lady Margaret and Thomas Tropenell were parties; and on 20 July, as sheriff, and following a lawsuit, he was ordered to put Tropenell in possession of lands in Chicklade and Hindon.²² Furthermore, Tocotes figured among an interesting group of witnesses on 12 November 1466 to a charter of the Cricklade family, including the abbot of Malmesbury, Sir Thomas and Sir Edmund Hungerford, and the lawyer and retainer of the Duke of Clarence, Thomas Limerick.²³ A fortnight later, on 25 November, Sir Thomas Hungerford settled a rent of £30 and the reversion of Kilmersdon manor on Tocotes and other *feoffees* in order that they should carry out his will; and on 28 November Lady Margaret Hungerford released the manor to the *feoffees* for her lifetime.²⁴ In 1468 and 1469 Tocotes' name again appears as a *feoffee* or witness for the Hungerfords: in January 1468 as witness to a charter of Sir Thomas and Lady Margaret; and in February and April 1469 he was a co-*feoffee* with Bishop Beauchamp, Henry Long and Thomas Tropenell on behalf of Frideswide, daughter of Robert, late Lord Hungerford and Moleyns.²⁵

Some two years before, on 5 May 1467, Sir Roger Tocotes had been returned with Sir John Willoughby, as knight of the shire for Wiltshire, to sit in the parliament which met at Westminster on 3 June.²⁶ On the penultimate day of this parliament (6 June 1468), Tocotes and Willoughby were appointed with Bishop Beauchamp as distributors of the tax allowance in the county.²⁷ A few days later, on 11 June, Tocotes was a member of a commission, headed by Sir William Stourton and Sir Humphrey Stafford of Southwick, and which once more included John

Whittockesmede, to enquire into what lands the attained James, Earl of Wiltshire, held in Dorset.²⁸

Although the employment of Tocotes, a former member of the Lancastrian household, by the Yorkist government of Edward IV was not all that unusual, an important factor in his acceptability could well have been his close attachment to the Duke of Clarence. Tocotes was almost certainly of the duke's circle by 1467, when he was elected to the Commons, and certainly by 1468 when his name appeared with those of Clarence and Warwick in a Huntingdonshire fine.²⁹ Possibly, too, the connecting link between Tocotes and Clarence was Bishop Beauchamp, who was both associated by marriage with Tocotes and was one of the duke's councillors.³⁰ Here 'the Hungerford factor' could have played a role, because of the association of the Hungerfords with the bishop. At all events, from now until Clarence's fall in 1477 Sir Roger Tocotes remained a loyal supporter, even friend, of the duke.³¹ As active trustees of the Hungerford family, Tocotes and Beauchamp were involved in the efforts to protect the Hungerford estates from the aggressive claims of Richard, duke of Gloucester, after Sir Thomas Hungerford's execution for treason in January 1469. Between 1470 and 1472 Lady Margaret Hungerford conveyed her manor of Fonthill Gifford to a group of feoffees which included Tocotes.³² The close attachment of Tocotes to Clarence at this time – he has been described as his 'chief councillor' – is well illustrated by his involvement in the rising against the king in the spring of 1470.³³ This ended with the crushing defeat of the rebels at Empingham, popularly known as the battle of 'Lose-Coat Field', on 12 March. Although Clarence and Warwick were not present at the fight their complicity was revealed by Sir Robert Welles when he was examined by Edward IV. The two nobles fled to France and, on 25 April, orders were issued for the seizure of their lands and properties and those of fifty-three of their supporters; a good number of them were substantial gentry, one of whom was Tocotes.³⁴

Within months Clarence and Warwick had turned the tables on Edward IV, forced him to flee abroad, and thereupon restored Henry VI to the throne. Not surprisingly, Tocotes was employed by the Re-adeption government. On 27 October he was included in a Wiltshire commission and on 6 November was pricked as sheriff of the county.³⁵ On 10 December it was recorded that he had paid £100 into the Exchequer as sheriff of Wiltshire.³⁶ Furthermore, his place on the bench of Wiltshire justices was renewed on 18 November, though he

seems to have lost it when the commission of the peace was re-issued on 20 June 1471.³⁷ When shortly after Edward IV returned from exile in 1471, his brother Clarence became reconciled on 3 April both with the king and his younger brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester. No doubt this move ensured that Tocotes stayed in favour: his post as sheriff was confirmed on 11 April and a fortnight later he was made a commissioner of array in Wiltshire.³⁸ At the decisive engagement at Tewkesbury on 4 May 1471, Tocotes fought as a banneret in the contingent of the Duke of Clarence.³⁹ During 1470–71 he was steward of the Wiltshire estates of Queen Elizabeth Woodville.⁴⁰

Restored to the Wiltshire bench on 4 April 1472, Tocotes was to serve as a Justice of the Peace until 5 December 1483, except for his removal, most likely for political reasons, between 16 August 1479 and 27 January 1480.⁴¹ On 1 July 1472 he was jointly enfeoffed with Sir Nicholas Latimer and others by Thomas Burdet (both retainers of Clarence) and Thomas Throckmorton in the manors of Kinver and Stourton, Staffordshire.⁴² At the end of July Tocotes was one of a group to whom John Rufford of Pitstone, Buckinghamshire, made a gift of all his goods and chattels.⁴³

For the second time Tocotes was elected for Wiltshire on 15 September 1472 to the parliament called to meet at Westminster on 6 October.⁴⁴ His colleague was Henry Long esquire to whom he must have been well known, as he must also have been to several other parliamentary knights in this parliament. Returned for Dorset, for example, was Sir Nicholas Latimer, for Gloucestershire Thomas Limerick, and for Somerset Sir John Willoughby. Moreover, this assembly contained a large number of Clarence servants.⁴⁵ On 20 October, when described as 'alias late sheriff of Wiltshire, alias Tookes, alias of Bromham', he and his wife were granted a pardon.⁴⁶ During Michaelmas term Tocotes was plaintiff in a suit in the Common Pleas, when his attorney was the Wiltshire lawyer, John Uffenham, then sitting for Devizes.⁴⁷

A good indication of his local prestige was the invitation in January 1473 from the city of Salisbury to head a small committee with Sir Maurice Berkeley, then sheriff, to mediate in a dispute between the city and the bishop.⁴⁸ Shortly afterwards, in Easter term, Tocotes was pursuing a case in the King's Bench against one Thomas Alyss of Orton Waterville, Huntingdonshire.⁴⁹ Three more government commissions came his way in the following August, September and December: first to look into unpaid

farms/ rents; and then to enquire into concealed wardships and marriages, and the escapes of felons, all in Wiltshire.⁵⁰ Two years later, in December 1475, he was one of the commissioners named to enquire into Lollard activity in the county.⁵¹

More interesting and important than routine commissions is the evidence for his continued association with Clarence during these years. He was, for example, steward and constable of Christchurch and Ringwood and of other manors belonging to the duke in Hampshire.⁵² In addition, from 1473 he was constable of Devizes, Master of the Game, and steward of Marlborough, and forester of Melksham and Pewsham forests in Wiltshire for Queen Elizabeth Woodville. These appointments suggest that Tocotes enjoyed favour at a high level and that he was a man of some considerable merit. In Michaelmas 1473 he was paid 40s. as constable of Devizes, a similar sum as forester of Melksham, and £4 11s. 3d. as lieutenant of Melksham and Pewsham. He received like fees in Michaelmas 1476.⁵³ Although it is uncertain whether or not Tocotes joined Clarence on Edward IV's expedition to France in 1475, he was appointed that May as one of the duke's feoffees, with such other Clarence men as Thomas Lygon (parliamentary knight for Worcestershire in 1472-5) and Thomas Limerick, preparatory to the duke's departure for France.⁵⁴ On 26 August 1476 Tocotes was party to the duke's foundation of a fraternity or guild in the church of St Mary Ashwell, Hertfordshire.⁵⁵ However, the close association of Clarence and Tocotes was to be broken rather dramatically in April 1477, when the former accused Ankarette Twynyho of poisoning his wife, the Duchess Isabel, and Tocotes of being involved in the affair. After having been kidnapped by the duke's men at her home in Somerset and taken to Warwick, Ankarette was condemned by an intimidated jury and hanged on 15 April. Tocotes escaped arrest and was subsequently acquitted. The whole episode was a major factor in Clarence's downfall which came about a few months later. Quite possibly Tocotes was a prime mover in getting the matter brought to the king's attention through his contacts with Bishop Beauchamp and the Woodvilles.⁵⁶ In or out of favour with Clarence, Sir Roger Tocotes was not elected to the parliament of 1478, the main purpose of which was to condemn the duke. Interestingly enough, however, Tocotes' brother, Robert, was returned for Calne.⁵⁷

As far as Tocotes was concerned, the repercussions following the death of his 'patron' were quickly felt, for between March and December 1478

he lost many of the offices he had held through ducal influence. His stewardships of Ringwood and Christchurch, of Hinton, Hampshire, and Swainstone, Brixton and Thorley in the Isle of Wight, and the constableness of Christchurch, were granted to William Berkeley, a squire of the body.⁵⁸ In addition, he lost his place on the Wiltshire bench between August 1479 and January 1480.⁵⁹ However, he maintained his close association with the Beauchamp family. In June 1481 he was a co-founder of a perpetual chantry in Salisbury Cathedral with Bishop Richard, Sir Richard Beauchamp and Thomas Beauchamp esquire; and, as one of the executors of the bishop (he died in November), Tocotes and his colleagues were pardoned, in November 1482, all arrears due to the Crown.⁶⁰ He still had a residual interest in Yorkshire, since in January 1481 he gave up a rent of 20s. to the Abbot of Stanley.⁶¹

Before the end of Edward IV's reign Tocotes was, to a certain extent, recovering some favour. He had been restored to the Wiltshire bench and in 1482-3 was receiving fees as steward of the manor of Oaksey, Wiltshire, a Duchy of Lancaster property, and as steward of the Court of Amesbury, and chief steward of Erlestoke and of the Hundred of Amesbury and Alderbury.⁶² On 27 April 1483, nearly three weeks after the death of Edward IV, Tocotes was included in a subsidy commission. This body contained a good number of men linked to the Woodville family, so many, in fact, that it has been described as a 'calling-card of Woodville clients.'⁶³ However, within some two months Richard, duke of Gloucester, had seized the throne and on 6 July was crowned. The coronation was a glittering occasion, attended by a considerable number of knights and esquires who had been prominent in the late king's household. For whatever reason, Sir Roger Tocotes and three others were either excluded or stayed away.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Tocotes was re-appointed to the Wiltshire bench of justices on 20 July and was again a member of the subsidy commission issued on 1 August.⁶⁵ These appointments could well be an example of Richard III's attempts to gain the co-operation of the natural leaders of county society, an admission of their indispensability and expertise in local administration.⁶⁶ Richard III's policy did not, however, ultimately succeed. Significantly there were five other justices appointed with Tocotes in July who were later to take part in Buckingham's Rebellion, two of whom, Richard Beauchamp, later Lord St Amand, and Walter Hungerford, were closely associated with Tocotes.⁶⁷

That Tocotes and Beauchamp were involved in the rising is one of several cases where relatives or kinsmen were drawn into the affair.⁶⁸ There were, of course, other reasons, one of which was increasing disillusionment with Richard III's rule. With Tocotes, as with others, there were loyalties beyond kinship, possibly even residual ones to former Lancastrian supporters. Perhaps Tocotes' attachment to Clarence was not as deep as that to the Lancastrian Hungerfords? This would seem to have been firmly illustrated by the fact that Tocotes and Walter Hungerford, grandson of the late Lady Margaret, both actively took part in the risings at Newbury and in the Salisbury area in 1483.⁶⁹

For his rebellion Sir Roger Tocotes was to suffer heavily. On 3 November orders were issued from the Signet office to the receivers and other officers and tenants of lands held by the Duke of Buckingham and other named rebels, of whom Tocotes was one, to pay their rents and dues to Thomas Fowler, a king's esquire and usher of the chamber.⁷⁰ In the parliament of 1484 Tocotes was among those who were attainted as rebels. Consequently most of his lands which were widely scattered across the country – in Somerset, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Huntingdonshire, Cheshire and Flintshire – were forfeited to others.⁷¹ In Wiltshire the principal recipient was Thomas Stafford of Grafton, Worcestershire, whose gains included the manor of Bromham, valued at £14 17s. 10d., and whose total gains in the county came to £100.⁷² In Bedfordshire the manor of Wilshamstead, valued at £22, was granted to John Grey of Wilton; and in Devon the manor of Ipplepen and, in Somerset, the manor of Sock Dennis were granted to John Sapcote.⁷³ However, Tocotes did not entirely lose the manor of Charlton in Wiltshire, since it was granted to his stepson, Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand, for life.⁷⁴ Two other recipients of Tocotes' lands deserve to be mentioned: Sir Thomas Stanley, whose gains included the castle and lordship of Holt, Denbighshire, and the manor of Northwich, Cheshire; and Edward Redmayne, a squire of the body, whose grants 'for good service against the rebels' included lands in Middleton, Earl Stoke, Potterne, Wick, and Upavon, Wiltshire.⁷⁵

After the risings of 1483 and Richard III's wide confiscations of rebel manors and offices and their distribution to his followers, especially from those among his northern affinity, the king's political authority progressively deteriorated.⁷⁶ One of the indications of this which could not be ignored was the flight abroad of disaffected men to Henry

Richmond. Not only did important nobles leave England, but also a significant number of substantial gentry, especially from the southern and western counties. It is possible that Tocotes was among these exiles; one of his associates, Sir Robert Willoughby, certainly was.⁷⁷ The king tried various means to retain the loyalty of potential defectors, one of which was by granting pardons.⁷⁸ Tocotes petitioned for such and promised fealty to Richard, and on 27 January 1485 was granted a pardon. And yet, two months later, in March, he was described as a 'rebel', when a lease of his lands in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire was made to Thomas Meryng esquire, a Nottinghamshire man and serjeant porter to Richard III.⁷⁹ This last piece of evidence could point to Tocotes' final disaffection from Richard III and possibly to his flight abroad to join Henry.

With the victory of Henry at Bosworth came a revival of fortune for Sir Roger Tocotes. Within three weeks he had become sheriff of Wiltshire (21 September 1485), and ten days later he was reinstated as constable of Devizes for life and steward of Devizes, Marlborough and Rowde, granted lands in Wiltshire, and the stewardships of Sudbury, Fairford, Withington and Chedworth in Gloucestershire.⁸⁰ On 4 March 1486, and again on 15 December 1487, he was pardoned as 'alias of Bromham . . . alias late of London'.⁸¹ Meantime, as sheriff, on Friday 21 April and Friday 2 July 1486 he had paid £33 6s. 8d. and 60s. respectively into the Receipt of the Exchequer.⁸²

In December 1488 Tocotes was one of the commissioners to raise archers in Wiltshire for an expedition to Brittany.⁸³ More important, however, as marking a return as a leading figure in the shire was his re-appointment to the Wiltshire bench on 4 July 1486. Except for a short break between 21 November 1487 and 9 July 1488, Tocotes was to remain a justice for the rest of his life.⁸⁴ Indeed, he appears to have led an active life until only a few years before his death. Quite remarkably he was among the large force of knights and esquires who supported the Crown against the northern rebels in 1489. It was as one of the Earl of Derby's men that he joined up with the king at Mountsorrel on 17 May in company with Sir William Stonor, Sir Edward Norris and other gentlemen.⁸⁵ His association here with Sir Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, is particularly interesting, since the latter had been one of the beneficiaries of the confiscation of Tocotes' lands after Buckingham's rebellion.

Sir Roger Tocotes' wife, Lady Elizabeth Amand, died on 2 December 1491, and orders to deliver seisin



The chapel at Bromham containing Sir Roger Tocotes' tomb and effigy, by John Buckler, 1806 (WANHS Collection)

of her property to him were issued on 16 February 1492 to the various escheators across the country from Wiltshire to Gloucestershire, and from Hertfordshire to Huntingdonshire.⁸⁶ On 9 July 1492

a licence was granted to Sir Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand, his wife Anne, and Sir Roger Tocotes, 'knight of the body and controller of the king's household', to found a chantry in the parish

church of Bromham, where the chaplain, to be known as 'Roger Tocotes' chaplain', was to say divine service daily for the king and queen, as well as the founders and their families.⁸⁷

Tocotes made his will on 2 September 1492 and died two months later.⁸⁸ Among the lands of which he was said to be in possession at his death were the manor of Charlton, worth 12 marks a year, held of the Abbot of Malmesbury, as well as other lands in Wiltshire; in Huntingdonshire, Orton Longville, valued at £16, held of the Abbot of Thorney; in Bedfordshire, the manors of Colmworth and Holwell, worth 40 marks and 10 marks respectively; and in Buckinghamshire the manor of Grendon, worth £20, held of Arthur, Prince of Wales. His heir was stated to be John, son of Sir Roger's brother, James.⁸⁹

Most of his bequests were made to churches and religious orders. For example, he left a suit of vestments and a cloth of gold to his chapel at Bromham; a velvet gown, vestments and a mass-book to St Dunstan's, Fleet Street; £10 to the Friars Preachers in Oxford (a sum owed him by the Bishop of Meath); 20s. to each of the four Orders of Friars in London; and 26s.8d. to a poor scholar at Oxford or Cambridge at the discretion of his executors. Such bequests, with his co-foundation of the chapel at Bromham, suggest that Tocotes was a man of genuine faith and interested in education. Furthermore, his gifts to the friars is a reminder that their popularity remained strong among the laity in spite of anti-mendicant attacks. Of his bequests to the laity, particular mention can be made of the two 'potells' of silver, two basins of silver and silver gilt, and armour at Bromham which he gave to his stepson Lord St Amand.⁹⁰

The active career of Sir Roger Tocotes covered some thirty years, a period of political upheaval. From his modest origins in Yorkshire he became one of the leading figures among the gentry in Wiltshire. Without doubt, Tocotes owed much of his rise in status to his connection with the Duke of Clarence – the support of the latter must have ensured his election for Wiltshire in 1467 and 1472 – but equally central to his career was his attachment to the staunchly Lancastrian Hungerfords. Even as late as July 1486 Tocotes was named as a feoffee of Edward, Lord Hastings and Hungerford, and his wife, Mary.⁹¹

In the Perpendicular chapel at Bromham can be seen the fine tomb-chest and effigy of Sir Roger Tocotes. There he is shown, as befitted his status, in armour and wearing the collar of SS from which hangs a Tudor rose. If the Tudor rose underlined his

adherence to Henry VII, the collar could well have been a statement of residual Lancastrian loyalties and sympathies.⁹² At all events Tocotes was among the many gentry 'survivors' in a time of shifting loyalties and uncertainty. The core of the opposition to Richard III was composed of those who had been members of the household of Edward IV – the king's 'affinity'. It had been against those men whom Richard III had acted more severely after Buckingham's Rebellion – figures such as Sir William Norris and Sir Giles Daubeney.⁹³ Sir Roger Tocotes as a 'royal servant' was less closely attached than he would have been as a member of the household, which could well have been a factor in his survival. However, and perhaps more crucial, was the fact that, as a man of substance in local gentry circles – one of those 'pre-eminent knights who could hold sway within their region' – the Crown needed his services if it was to command support within the shires. At the very least Tocotes had proved, quite convincingly, that he really was a born and successful political survivor. His effigy at Bromham bears silent witness to that fact.⁹⁴

Notes

By sheer coincidence Mr Raymond J. Skinner and I, quite unknown to each other, were working on the life of Sir Roger Tocotes. In the event, Mr Skinner submitted his paper first, which was accordingly published in *WANHM*, 95 (2000), 93-9. Some justification is, therefore, required for another paper on the subject to be published so soon after the first one. Although both essays have arrived at the same destination, so to speak, they have done so by a quite different route. Essentially, as I see it, Mr Skinner's interesting paper has provided much more detailed political background. For example, he gave good coverage of the 'Ankarette Twynyho affair', as well as political events before and after Bosworth. In contrast, the present paper aims to focus on the career of Tocotes himself, his offices, and his connections with some of the nobility and local gentry. Quite rightly Mr Skinner drew attention to the office-holding of Tocotes, but he neither mentioned that he was twice elected to the Commons for Wiltshire, nor to his appointments as a Justice of the Peace. Indeed, in the second half of the fifteenth century the position of Justice of the Peace was beginning to overtake that of Sheriff in terms of duties and prestige: for the gentry of Yorkist and Early Tudor England membership of the bench of justices had become part of their *cursus honorum*. However, whatever their variations in approach and content, our papers agreed that Sir Roger Tocotes was a political 'survivor' in a tense and dangerous period.

I should like to thank Professor C. T. Allmand and Dr James Thomas for reading through an earlier draft of this

article and for their helpful critical suggestions, and my wife for her secretarial work. All references to unpublished original sources are to documents in the Public Record Office/National Archives and, unless otherwise stated, the place of publication is London.

- ¹ Wedgwood, J. C. and Holt, Anne D., 1936, *History of Parliament, I, Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509*, 858-9. H. M. S. O.; *V(ictoria) C(ounty) H(istory) Wiltshire*, II, 361.
- ² G. E. Cokayne and others (eds), 1910-59, *The Complete Peerage*, 2nd edn (12 vols in 13), xi, 301-2; *VCH Bedfordshire*, iii, 187.
- ³ *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (hereafter *CFR*), 1452-61, 188.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 206.
- ⁵ *Complete Peerage*, xi, 301-2.
- ⁶ Hicks, M. A., 1980, *False, Fleeting Perjur'd Clarence*, 139. Stroud.
- ⁷ Griffiths, Ralph A., 1981, *The Reign of King Henry VI*, 307, describes the carvers as an 'elite group'.
- ⁸ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* (hereafter *CPR*), 1452-61, 681; 1461-7, 575; 1467-77, 635.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 1452-61, 559. For Whittokesmede, who was already a 'seasoned' parliamentary man, and was to be elected for Wilton in 1467 and for Cricklade in 1472, see Driver, J. T., 1999, 'The career of John Whittokesmede, a Fifteenth-Century Wiltshire Lawyer and Parliamentary "Carpet Bagger"', *WANHM*, 92, 92-9.
- ¹⁰ *CPR*, 1452-61, 613, 614.
- ¹¹ Ross, C. D., 1974, *Edward IV*, 27, and authorities cited.
- ¹² *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (hereafter *CAD*), 1890-1915, 6 vols, vi, C/3816. HMSO.
- ¹³ *CPR*, 1461-7, 32.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 37, 98, 99.
- ¹⁵ Cf. the comments of Professor Ross that Beauchamp was among a group of bishops appointed under Henry VI who 'chose to link themselves with Yorkist fortunes after the take-over of power in July 1460'; and that there was 'a group of Lancastrian servants who chose to take service under the House of York': 1974, 318, 345. According to Dr Louise Gill (2000, *Richard III and Buckingham's Rebellion*, 39. Stroud), Tocotes could be counted among those of the knightly class who gave their allegiance to the Yorkists because they 'were tired of the graft and collusion spawned by feckless kingship'.
- ¹⁶ Benson R. and Hatcher H., 1843, *Old and New Sarum, or Salisbury* (R. Colt Hoare, *A History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. 6), 541.
- ¹⁷ Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter HMC), 1928, *78th Report: Manuscripts of R.R. Hastings*, 237.
- ¹⁸ Hicks, M.A., 1986, 'Piety and Lineage in the Wars of the Roses', in Ralph A. Griffiths and James Sherborne (eds), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages: A Tribute to Charles Ross*, 940, Stroud.
- ¹⁹ *Calendar of the Close Rolls* (hereafter *CCR*) 1461-8, 271-2; Kirby, J. L. (ed.), 1993-4, *The Hungerford Cartulary: A Calendar of the Earl of Radnor's Cartulary of the Hungerford Family*, Wiltshire Record Society, 49, no. 666. For further comment on the purpose of Lady Margaret's enfeoffments, see Hicks, 1986, 97.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.
- ²¹ *CPR*, 1461-7, 157; *CFR*, 1461-71, 100, 105, 122; *PRO Lists and Indexes*, ix (1893): *Sheriffs for England and Wales*, 153.
- ²² Davies, J. S. (ed.), 1908, *The Tropenell Cartulary*, 2 vols, i, 60, ii, 71. Devizes; *CPR*, 1461-71, 385; *CCR*, 1468-76, nos 245-7.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 1461-8, 384. For the identification of Limerick as a retainer of Clarence, see Hicks, 1980, 217. Limerick was to sit for Gloucestershire in the parliament of 1472-5.
- ²⁴ Kirby, 1993-4, nos. 923, 924.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 926, 927, 930; *CCR*, 1468-76, no. 250; HMC, *MSS of R. R. Hastings* i, 288-9.
- ²⁶ *Official Return of Members of Parliament: The Blue Book* (1878), I, 359.
- ²⁷ *CPR*, 1461-71, 230, 239.
- ²⁸ *CPR*, 1467-77, 126. The Earl had fought for the Lancastrians at Towton and was executed some time later: Jacob, E. F., 1961, *The Fifteenth Century*, 526. Oxford.
- ²⁹ Turner, E. J. (ed.), 1913, *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines relating to the County of Huntingdon, 1194-1603*, iii. Cambridge.
- ³⁰ Hicks, 1980, 96, 139.
- ³¹ '... nobody was a more constant associate of the Duke of Clarence in adversity or prosperity': *ibid.* 139.
- ³² *Trop. Cart.*, ii, 267; *CCR*, 1468-76, nos. 646, 946. Opinion varies as to who was responsible for Hungerford's downfall. Ross (1974, 123) suggested that it was Humphrey Stafford, created Earl of Devon a few months later, but also pointed out that the king himself was present at Hungerford's trial and so had an interest; whereas more recently Hicks (1986, 99) has argued that 'Gloucester's aspirations (i. e. towards the Hungerford lands) may indeed be behind Thomas's execution'.
- ³³ Gill, 2000, 42.
- ³⁴ *CPR*, 1467-77, 218-19. For the general background to these events, see Ross, 1974, 138-43.
- ³⁵ *CPR*, 1467-77, 247; *CFR*, 1461-71, 280.
- ³⁶ E401/901 (Receipt of the Exchequer).
- ³⁷ *CPR*, 1467-77, 635.
- ³⁸ *CFR*, 1471-85, no. 41; *CPR*, 1467-77, 284.
- ³⁹ Metcalf, W. C., 1885, *A Book of Knights*, 4; Shaw, W. A., 1906, *Knights of England*, 2 vols, ii, 16.
- ⁴⁰ Somerville, R., 1953, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, i, 1265-1603*, 631. HMSO.
- ⁴¹ *CPR*, 1467-77, 635; 1476-85, 577.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 1467-77, 346. Burdet was a member of the duke's household: Ross, 1974, 240.
- ⁴³ *CCR*, 1468-76, no. 932.
- ⁴⁴ *Official Return*, i, 362. No election indenture between the sheriff of Wiltshire and the electors exists.

- However, there is a schedule giving the names of the knights of the shire and burgesses (C219/17/2, pt. 2, no. 135). The lack of the indenture is unfortunate since it would have been particularly interesting to have known the names of the electors on this occasion.
- 45 For a list of Clarence's men who were elected as parliamentary knights in 1472, see Hicks, 1980, 217-8.
- 46 C67/49, m. 17.
- 47 CP40/844, m. 8 (Roll of Attorneys).
- 48 Benson and Hatcher, 1843, 183.
- 49 KB27/847, m. 2.
- 50 CPR, 1467-77, 406, 408, 428.
- 51 Ibid., 573.
- 52 Ross, C. D., 1981, *Richard III*, 108.
- 53 DL29/724/11810, m. 2; 724/11813, m. 3. Tocotes carried out his duties in person: Hicks, 1980, 168.
- 54 CPR, 1467-77, 513, 518, 530.
- 55 Ibid., 597.
- 56 For fuller discussion of the Twynyo affair, see Lander, J. R., 1967, 'The Treason and Death of the Duke of Clarence: A Reinterpretation', *Canadian Journal of History*, ii, pt. 2, 7-8; Ross, 1974, 241; Hicks, 1980, 138-9, 167-8. Tocotes' acquittal is recorded on the Coram Regis Roll, 17 Ed. IV, m. 2: Harcourt, L. W. Vernon, "The Baga de Secretis", *English Historical Review*, 1908, xxiii, 521, n. 48.
- 57 Wedgwood, 1936, 858.
- 58 CPR, 1476-85, 88, 135.
- 59 Ibid., 577.
- 60 Ibid., 276, 256.
- 61 CAD, iv, A/9321.
- 62 CPR, 1476-85, 577; Horrox, R. and Hammond, R. W. (eds), 1979-83, *British Library Harleian MS., 433*, 4 vols, II, 206, 213. Gloucester.
- 63 CPR, 1476-85, 353; Gill, 2000, 47.
- 64 Ibid., 60 and n. 15.
- 65 CPR, 1476-85, 577, 394.
- 66 Gill, 2000, 62.
- 67 Horrox, Rosemary, 1989, *Richard III: A Study in Service*, 143, n. 21. Cambridge.
- 68 Ibid., 171; Gill, 2000, 191.
- 69 Benson and Hatcher, 1843, 206. Among the leaders in these actions were Sir Richard Woodville, his brother Lionel, bishop of Salisbury, and the Wiltshire gentleman, Sir John Cheyne: Gill, 2000, 75.
- 70 Wolffe, B. P., 1970, *The Crown Lands, 1461-1536*, 121.
- 71 CPR, 1476-85, 389, 416, 440, 501, 542.
- 72 Ibid., 389, 393; Horrox and Hammond, 1979-83, ii, 37. Dr Horrox describes Stafford as having stepped 'promptly into Roger Tocotes' shoes': 1989, 193.
- 73 CPR, 1476-85, 389; Horrox and Hammond, 1979-83, ii, 91. Ironically, Sapcote and Tocotes must have known each other since they had both sat in the Commons in 1472-5, when Sapcote had been returned for Huntingdonshire.
- 74 CPR, 1476-85, 416.
- 75 Ibid., 476. Redmayne (as did Tocotes) came from Yorkshire.
- 76 Gill, 2000, 109-10.
- 77 Chrimes, S. B., 1972, *Henry VII*, App. B. which gives the list of Henry's companions abroad from Hay, D. (ed.), 1950, *Polydore Vergil, Anglica Historia*, 200, Camden Society, lxxiv. For the flight of men to Henry of Richmond, see Ross, 1981, 118; Horrox, 1989, 279-81; Gill, 2000, 123.
- 78 On Richard III's use of pardons, see Gill, 2000, 95-102.
- 79 Tocotes' petition is C81/1531/20, cited by Gill, ch. 6, n. 8. For his pardon see CPR, 1476-85, 542; and for Meryng, Horrox, 1989, 239.
- 80 CFR, 1485-1509, nos. 95, 97; CPR, 1485-94, 22; VCH, *Wilts.* x, 242.
- 81 CPR, 1485-94, 74, 210.
- 82 E401/95.
- 83 CPR, 1485-94, 281.
- 84 Ibid., 504.
- 85 Bennett, M. J., 1990, 'Henry VII and the Northern Rising of 1489', *English Historical Review*, cv, no. 44, and Appendix, where the full text giving the names of the king's supporters is printed from British Library, Cotton Ms. B. XII, fos. 53d. -56.
- 86 *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII*, 1898-1955, 3 vols, i, nos. 727-34, HMSO; *Complete Peerage*, xi, 302; CFR, 1485-1509, no. 427.
- 87 CPR, 1485-94, 389.
- 88 *Cal IPM, Henry VII*, i, no. 847.
- 89 CFR, 1485-1509, no. 444; *Cal IPM, Henry VII*, i, nos. 847, 848, 849, 850, 864.
- 90 PRO., Prob. 11/9 (PCC, 20 Doggett). For further comment on bequests to friars and of the interest of the gentry in education, see Keen, Maurice, 1990, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages, 1348-1500*, 233, 267-9, and Orme, Nicholas, 1976, *Education in the West of England, 1066-1548*, Exeter. *passim*. Two examples are relevant here inasmuch as the donors knew Tocotes: John Byconnel, who sat for Somerset in 1472-5, left provision for five scholars at Oxford 'to lerne the law dyuynge for techynge x'en [=Christian] people' in his will 1500/01, and earlier, when he had been admitted to the Fraternity of the Franciscans at Dorchester, he had arranged for money to support new entrants to the Order: PRO, Prob. 11/13, PCC, 5 Blamy; Orme, 1976, 205; and Sir Ralph Verney, a wealthy London mercer, who was elected for the City in 1472, bequeathed money to the friars in Aylesbury and Northampton: PRO, Prob. 11/7, PCC, 1 Logge.
- 91 HMC, 1928, i, 291.
- 92 For a description of the chapel, see Pevsner, N. and Cherry, Bridget, 1975, *The Buildings of England: Wiltshire*, 148-9, Illustration, 246.
- 93 Ross, 1974, 328-9; Gill, 2000, 94. Norris had been a carver and cupbearer to Edward IV: Myers, 1959, 200.
- 94 The phrase is Dr Gill's (2000, 31). The arms of Tocotes were Argent, a lion azure with a baston gules: VCH, *Wilts.* ii, 361.



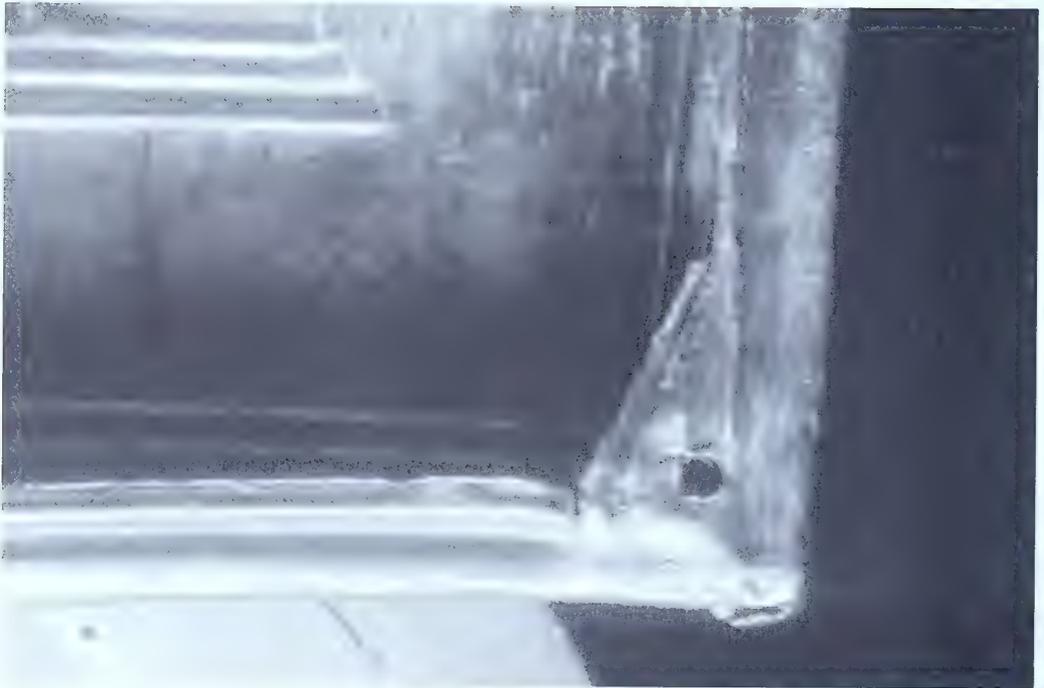
a



c



d



b *Plate I: Bush Barrow (Wilsford G5): The two piece belt hook (a; actual size) with the detail (b; lower right hand corner of the belt hook plate greatly magnified) showing distinctive finishing of boxed pieces. The large lozenge plate (c; half size). The small lozenge (d: actual size) (Photos: C.A. Shell).*

The Work of the Wessex Master Goldsmith: its Implications

by Joan F. Taylor

This article calls for a move away from chronological typologies, particularly Wessex I and II, and a move towards coeval burial studies of Wessex elites, who performed different roles enjoying similar social status.

Attracted by large topographical monuments, such as Stonehenge and Avebury, 18th and 19th Century antiquaries opened many of the barrow cemeteries on the Wiltshire Downs in Southern England clustered near these monuments. Richard Colt Hoare, about 1803, was encouraged by a retiring clergyman who had started to write a history of Wiltshire, to publish the various excavations of the region and indeed to fund some of the excavation currently going on at this time. This he compiled as *Ancient Wiltshire I & II*, where he frequently referred to himself in the first person as being the excavator of numerous sites, which in fact were often excavated solely by William Cunnington and his men. He employed Crocker, who was a first class illustrator, and accumulated the artefacts in his Stourhead collection, now in the Wiltshire Heritage Museum, Devizes. The unpublished manuscripts of the excavators who supplied Colt Hoare with information make it apparent that the Ancient Wiltshire volumes not always accurately reported the contexts of excavations. Further, the lack of absolute dating methods forced a reliance on relative dating through typology, which led to the assertion that Wessex I preceded Wessex II; an assumption adhered to today. Few absolute dates have been established recently (Garwood 1999; Needham 1996; some forthcoming by Thomas, N and by Shell, C.A.), [some by reopening the barrows dug by antiquaries and dating the skeletons therein], so the Wessex period

(Wessex I & II) is dominated by chronological typology (C. Burgess 1980; Megaw and Simpson, 1984; S. Needham 1996; A. Harding 2000, to name but a few).

From the time ApSimon (1954) proposed a division of the daggers from the Wessex area into an earlier Bush Barrow group, and a later Camerton-Snowhill group, this typology represents a chronological progression. The earlier group was supposed to favour the inhumation burial rite, while the later was entirely a cremation rite. As will be seen, the two rites are mixed. Even Gerloff (1975) comments on this, especially when considering where women's graves should be placed. Unfortunately, most subsequent scholars have placed these into Wessex II, although many would say the grape incense cup is found in the earlier Wessex I, while the Aldbourne cups are later in Wessex II (Megaw and Simpson, 1984, 218). At Manton, however, an elderly 'female' inhumation contains both a grape cup and an Aldbourne cup (Annable and Simpson 1964, 101:209, 199). As Coles and Taylor stated in 1971, the view that there was such a chronological division is not clear-cut. Not only is this so, but it may not represent time at all; rather the social position of the individual, which on consideration most would not deny. These grave items define individual roles within the elite Wessex society, each distinguished by craft, 'guild', or social function (such as a priest or priestess). Burial rite is therefore not

chronological, but coeval, although the overall time scale for Wessex may be very broad and within it some roles of the elite society may surge or wane.

Recent Laser Ablation-Inductively Coupled Plasma-Mass Spectroscopy [LA-ICP-MS] analyses of three important gold burials (Upton Lovell 2Ge, Wilsford G5 and Wilsford G8), make it apparent that some of the gold melts used for major pieces were also used to make smaller items shared among all three graves (Figure 1). This forms a tighter chronology for the three graves, although relative, than any other form of dating apart from that of dendrochronology, if preserved wood could be found. Although all three graves were very different in their burial rites, they were presumably contemporary, each within a range of thirty years of the gold melts being made into grave goods within the presumed lifetime of the goldsmith or shortly after by the people who commissioned the gold items. Each of the gold melts presumably came from a single crucible, which carried a distinctive signature. It could be assumed that some of these crucibles contained gold from more than one source or scraps that were re-cycled from earlier pieces, but each of the three is individually distinguishable in itself.

The case for a master goldsmith was made in 1971 (Coles and Taylor), by demonstrating that one person crafted the major pieces found in at least five of the twenty Wessex Graves containing gold, and some pieces found in the contemporary Armorican I barrows of Brittany. Although this appears insignificant compared to the large number of non-gold bearing barrows, the evidence supplied by these grave groups provides a vital marker within the Wessex period (Taylor, in Clarke, Cowie and Foxon 1985; Taylor 1997, 49). These gold assemblages also provide insight into the social practices of the elite buried with them. The majority of the gold grave assemblages occur in linear Wessex barrow cemeteries within the religious landscapes of Stonehenge and the Kennet Valley near Avebury, Wiltshire. Thus, the recent gold analyses just mentioned independently support the existence of this master smith (Taylor 2004). This talented goldsmith worked in exceedingly thin sheet gold and incorporated luxury mediums such as amber, jet and shale into his/her pieces. Very few items show wear from daily usage [perhaps only the Ridgeway No. 7, Dorset, pommel cap (Taylor 1970 b) and the La Motte, Lannion, Côtes d'Armor, gold bracer are in a worn condition (Taylor 1974)], so most must have been committed to the grave shortly after manufacture.

Colin Shell (2000, 271) in 'Metalworker or Shaman: Early Bronze Age Upton Lovell 2Ga burial' confirms that the gold on the slate burnisher, which is sealed by calcite, has a Beaker or Early Bronze Age composition. Other items from this grave are consistent with metal working, while the bone points are suggestive of shamanistic ritual. There are some Neolithic axes in the assemblage, a complete battle axe and a broken one. Burial under a barrow, particularly in the Upton Lovell cemetery, would be prestigious, and the smith's grave is certainly of relevance to this article. We await further analytical work on the skeleton, including dating, and on the associated artefacts, as they are suggestive of perhaps the master smith's burial.

The short duration of gold going into graves, and limited to *c.* twenty Wessex graves, *c.* 1800 B.C., forms a tight time-line, which has major implications for the interpretation of the Wessex I & II 'chronological sequence' and on the interpretation of 'gender' graves in the Wessex I division. The presence of a Wessex I secondary burial overlying a Wessex II primary cist, as is the case of the Ridgeway 7, Dorset, grave with the gold pommel cover mentioned earlier, throws into question the chronological sequencing of Wessex II graves following Wessex I. The gold discussed here is found in a variety of grave assemblages, some associated with primary inhumations (Wilsford G.5: Bush Barrow; Preshute G.1(a): Manton); primary cremations (Wilsford G.8); and a Secondary cremation (Upton Lovell 2Ge: Golden Barrow). Gender is assumed by Sabine Gerloff (1975) to be mixed in these graves, with only Bush Barrow clearly the burial of an elderly man over six feet in height. Linked to this range of rites is the interpretation of 'Warrior' graves, and the question of whether a 'warrior' can be either sex. In other parts of the world, certain higher ranked societies have simultaneous multiple roles for their elite. Such can be observed in the Moche, at Sipán, Peru, where the practice of numerous coeval elite burial rites for different priests and priestesses is normal (Alva and Donnan 1993). Work by Neil Brodie (1997) on British Beaker burial suggests different contributors to the grave goods by gender. At the same time, a range of male weapon burial rites were practised, that showed differing, but contiguous rites in the precursor to the Wessex period. No one questions the interpretation of multi-rite Beaker 'Archer' graves; these range from simple flat inhumations without barrows, as found at Wetwang, East Yorkshire, up through those containing gold 'earrings', such as the recent finds

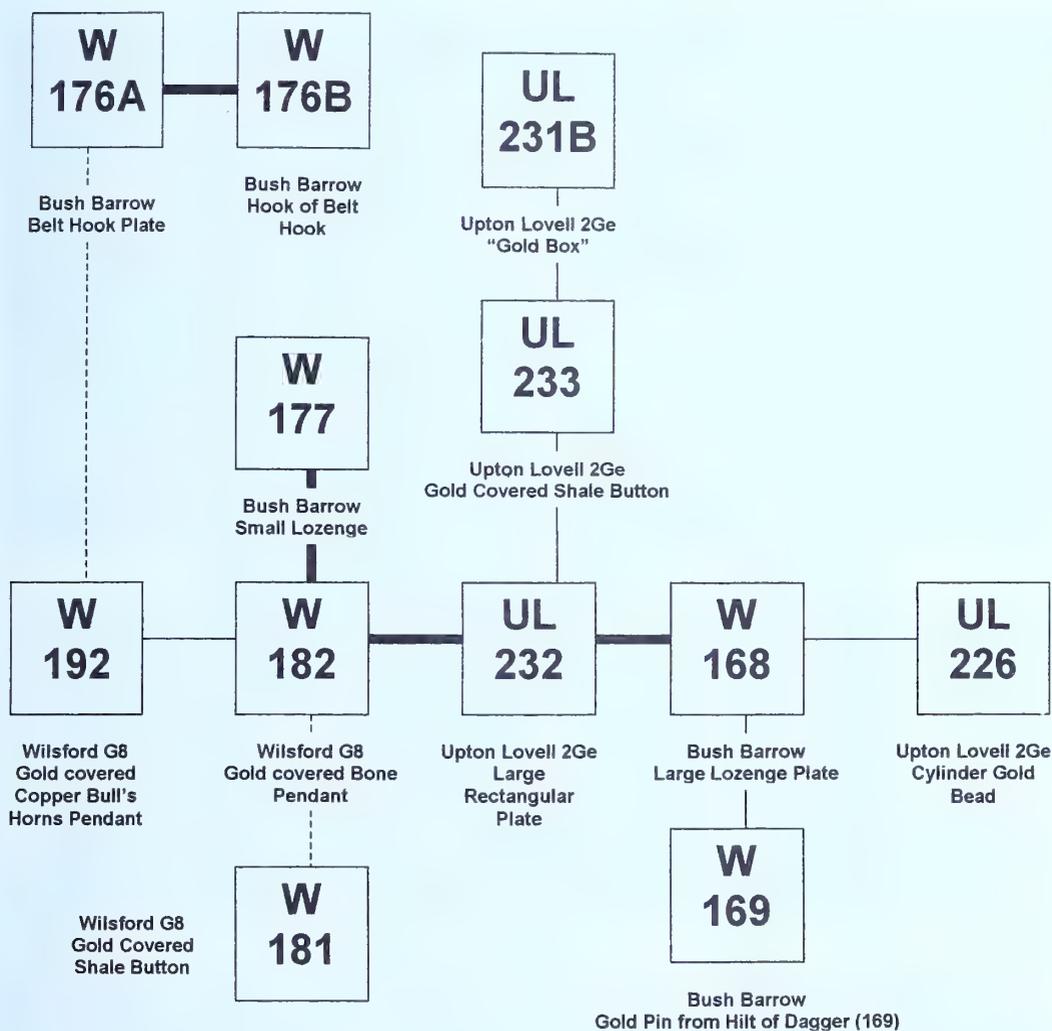


Fig. 1. Graphical representation of the similarity of gold compositions from Early Bronze Age Wessex: the shorter the linkages the more similar the compositions. Analyses numbers are within the boxes, grave and object description below. The LA-ICP-MS analyses refine the earlier emission spectroscopy analyses by A. Hartmann (1982; Taylor 1980: 139). They show clearly the associations shared among three very different grave practices. (Adapted from graphs by R. Warner)

of the Amesbury archers' graves in Wiltshire (suggested father and son), to the very exotic barrows of Driffield, East Yorkshire; Culduthel Mains, Highland; and Barnack, Cambridgeshire, containing Langdale bracers with gold rivets. The latter may themselves be archaic burials contemporary with Wessex (Taylor 1980b, 244). Why then, is the Beaker-derived Wessex elite treated differently in the interpretation of their graves? 'Warrior' graves might equally belong to women as to men, as elite chieftain status may not have been gender specific, as demonstrated in the British Iron Age by Boudicca.

This practice may well have been in place by the Early Bronze Age.

Why is more not made of the cultural attributes of the Wessex elite rather than trying to force their grave groups into a chronological sequence based on artefact typology and presumed grave rites? Is the field still ridden with the chronological typology of the past because of a dearth of radiocarbon dates? When Sabine Gerloff and I wrote our respective dissertations in the late 1960s, we both saw indicators of some Wessex II graves preceding Wessex I and some co-existing, but these heretical



a



b



c



d

Plate II: Upton Lovell 2Ge, the Gold Barrow (all are 85% of actual size): The archer's bracer (a) is of extremely thin gold. The gold cover to a large shale button (b) shows on its base the double cross motif shared with the Clandon Barrow lozenge and the top similarly decorated with the motif found around the outer border of the larger Bush Barrow lozenge. The "boxes" (c) were found separated base from top by about two feet, which suggests they were probably on rods or sceptres. Originally thirteen cylindrical beads (d; Plate IVb) were found. (Photos: C.A. Shell)



a



c



b



d

Plate III: Wilsford G8: Two gold bound amber discs (a; X 2 2/3). The bone pendant (b; X 2), which may be from a cranium, is the crudest of all the items, but it shares the same gold as the Bush Barrow small lozenge plate, and is very similar to that of the Upton Lovell bracer (Figure 1:UL235). The gold covered bronze 'horned' pendant (c & d; X2) with dots outlining the seam (Plate IVa). (Photos: C.A. Shell)

views were discouraged at the time (Gerloff 1975; Taylor 1980a). We equally recognised coeval but different rites, but again were discouraged from proceeding with this topic. The products of one smith, indicated by analytical evidence, of the same melts can be found in Bush Barrow, Upton Lovell 2Ge and Wilsford G. 8, and independently demonstrates the close committal of his/her goldwork to the grave for at least three of the twenty Wessex gold burials (Taylor 2004). This in turn supports multiple grave rites, in keeping with their Beaker background.

Assistance in interpretation of these coeval rites comes from the unpublished manuscripts of William Cunnington (the first), whose excavation diaries are at variance with his mentor, Richard Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire I & II*. Cunnington provides a different, more accurate account of the excavation of certain barrows than Colt Hoare, who rarely, if ever, visited excavations because he did not get on with the labourers. Cunnington founded a dynasty of amateur archaeologists that excavated in Wiltshire for over one hundred years. He was in the habit of writing up excavations dug by his labourers each night. He was a careful observer of detail, and noted that the 'boxes' from Upton Lovell 2Ge, published as such by Colt Hoare, had their bases and tops lying two feet apart, and were perhaps connected by rods, now perished. The 'boxes' were placed near the rest of the gold, with the other grave goods, near the secondary cremation, but none had gone through the cremation fire. The cist lay just two feet beneath the turf covering the massive mound known as Golden Barrow (Upton Lovell G2e). Regalia of this type have been interpreted as sceptres originally with a gold base and pointed top. A burial from Little Cressingham, Norfolk, also may have contained two sceptres, and been of a similarly ranked individual to Upton Lovell 2Ge, as it contained a rectangular sheet of gold, and numerous amber beads. Single sceptres, only known from their mounts, have been found in Bush Barrow, Wiltshire and at Carnac, Brittany (Taylor 1980a). Among other regalia in the Upton Lovell grave, the rectangular sheet suggests a ceremonial 'bracer' or 'wrist guard'. Ceremonial bracers such as the one from La Motte, Lannion, Côte d'Armor, are well known from Brittany in the Armorican period, but these carry distinctive concave sides (Taylor 1974). It is noted that the Wessex goldsmith was sensitive to the regional preferences of the elite he/she served, so the interpretation of the Upton Lovell 2Ge rectangular sheet is not out of character. The wealth of regalia in

this grave group, with its complex – bored amber spacer – plate necklace, its large shale gold covered V-perforated button along with the other gold found with it, suggests to some a woman's grave (Gerloff 1975), while the 'Warrior'/Chieftain status is supported by the interpretation that the gold rectangular plate was possibly the covering of a ceremonial bracer. Although a secondary cremation, the high status is indisputable. The primary burial was also a cremation, but lacking identifiable grave goods; it pales to insignificance beside the secondary burial. No wonder Colt Hoare found it hard to accept that this rich gold secondary cremation was not in a primary context.

Wilsford G8, which lies adjacent to Bush Barrow (Wilsford G5) also is a cremation, but in a primary context. The grave goods include a variety of regalia, some in common with other grave groups, such as a large shale V-perforated button with a gold cover and base, not unlike that of Upton Lovell, but with simple grooved lines which formed zones of linear decoration that have about thirteen dots applied to the centimetre made by a bronze awl in the rounded groove. The shale in each instance carries the same decoration as that found on their gold covers. The wealth of gold and amber in the grave is considerable. Curiously, a crude gold cover on a disc of possible cranium, which is made from the same gold that was used in the lozenge plate from Bush Barrow and the 'bracer' from Upton Lovell 2Ge, is among these grave goods. This presence reinforces the suggestion that the smith is working to the dictates of those who commissioned the pieces. There is also a bull's horn pendant of gold over a bronze core, finished with the characteristic seam dots similar to those on the cylinder beads found in Upton Lovell 2Ge, and accompanied by V-perforated gold bound amber discs, which occur in several grave assemblages. A miniature halberd with a gold covered haft and bronze blade, function unknown, also occurs in this grave—again 'miniaturization' is interpreted as characteristic of a 'woman's' grave. The presence of amber pestle-shaped and flat beads also was supposed by William Stukeley to be an indicator that the occupant was female. These grave goods and the anomalies they raise merely confirm that yet another grave rite for an elite person is being practised alongside the rest, each of whom would have held in life a different elite function within the society from that of the others. Similar co-existing elite graves are accepted interpretations in Classical Studies or in New World Civilizations supported by iconography or writing in each interpretation.



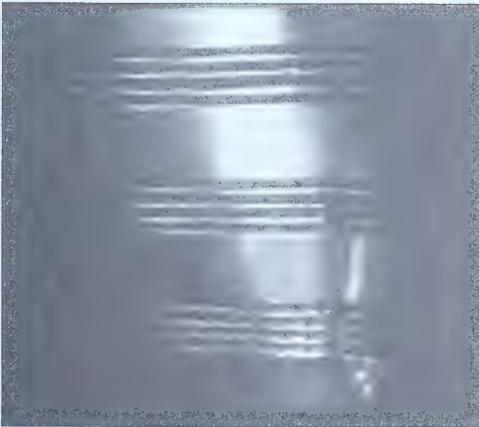
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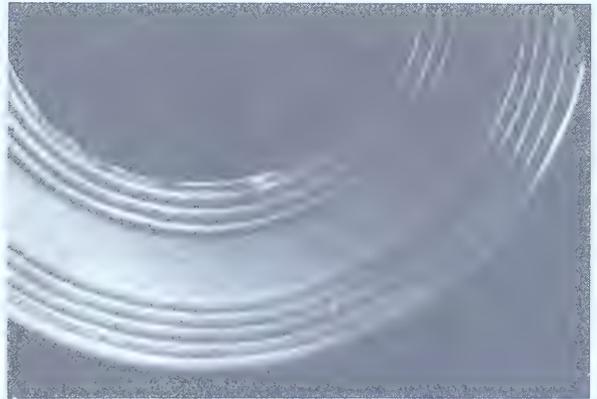
b



c



d



e

Plate IV: The use of dots as characteristic 'trade marks' of the master craftsman. Newly recognized are the dots applied along the seams of the gold sheet (a; greatly magnified curve of the back of the 'horned pendant' (Plate III d) and on an example from the Upton Lovell gold cylindrical beads (b; greatly magnified; (Plate II d). The use of dots within grooved decoration to enhance the ornamental design is seen on the gold button-cover base of Wilsford G8 (c; circa X 1 1/4), the cone of the button cover (d; greatly magnified) and the gold binding of disc (e; greatly magnified; Plate III a). (Photos: C.A. Shell)

Bush Barrow Man and Manton 'Woman' are both very elderly. In 1988, two different groups of scholars (Shell and Robinson; Thom, Ker and Burrows) unknown to each other, put an identical interpretation on the Bush Barrow large lozenge. They felt it was the template for the final layout of Stonehenge, with the angles in the decoration providing the positioning of the stones to register, among other positions, the Mid-Summer Solstice. His grave goods were rich in gold regalia, and one dagger pommel was inlaid with small gold pins forming a chevron pattern. Linen impressions were present in corrosion patina on the slightly flanged axe, demonstrating fine cloth was available. A beautiful two-piece gold belt hook, perhaps the finest piece ever worked by the master craftsman, was included in the assemblage. A fossil, resembling a mace head, and a sceptre with five bone mounts, were also among the grave deposit. Bush Barrow Man is now considered to have been the High Priest of Stonehenge.

Manton 'Woman' also was comparatively tall, competing with the height of most of the male inhumations. She was five feet four inches. According to Dr. Beddoe, who pronounced on the skeletal measurements, he felt the remains were more female than male from the skull's gracile characteristics (M.E. Cunnington 1907, 19-20). While this also supports the view that diet for the elite was of good quality, some question the interpretation of the gender, as the poor condition of the skeleton leaves thickness of teeth and length of humerus open to gender debate. Her/his grave contained regalia similar to that in Wilsford G8, such as a V-perforated gold bound amber disc and a miniature halberd with a gold covered haft of different decorative style. Gold binding on a shale button, and other items of fine quality were also present. Two miniature cups also accompanied the inhumation, one perforated for incense and named by Wm. Cunnington 'the grape Cup', while the other is of the Aldbourne type. Ian Longworth believed that the Aldbourne cups were made by one craftsman, so once more a short time-line may indicate chronologically where the gold and this miniaturized cup coincided. This co-existence of the two cups currently throws into question where typologically the grave should be placed. Grape Cups are considered Wessex I, while Aldbourne Cups are considered diagnostic of Wessex II, and again both are considered grave goods for the female gender. From the miniature halberd pendant and the V-perforated gold bound amber disc, one might suggest

a closer relationship in elite status between the occupants of Manton and Wilsford G8 barrows than with the other two graves. Obviously the practice of cremation over inhumation is not chronological, status or gender linked.

CONCLUSION

Variation within grave rite has more to do with differences between elite roles in society than with the chronology of Wessex I or II. With the aid of the trace element analyses of the gold used in manufacturing the items found in the grave groups, one can claim a short duration of use for the gold within the burial rite of Wessex and in particular for Golden Barrow (Upton Lovell 2Ge), Bush Barrow (Wilsford G.5) and Wilsford G.8. Research by Sabine Gerloff and myself for our dissertations, turned up indications that there were Wessex II graves either preceding Wessex I burials, or contemporary with them, but this was profoundly out of academic favour at the time our researches were done. We could have suggested that the rudiments for the Wessex II individuals co-existed with the elite of Wessex I, but at the time our supervisors perhaps felt we could not prove this. It now seems perfectly clear, based on the differing grave rites that co-existed during the period of the twenty golden barrows, that type-artefacts assigned to Wessex II were part of this multiplicity of rites, signifying elites with differing important formal functions in late Beaker society. These elites are no doubt mirrored in the Armorican I rich barrow burials, and possibly in Saxo-Thuringia's elite, all with similar ancestry. If we cannot resist a sequential chronology for Wessex II, then let it be recognized that the two co-existed during the period assigned to Wessex I, which for reasons unknown to us, later lost its dominance to that of the Wessex II elite with their battle-axes, daggers with more pronounced mid-ribs, and other items. Further research into coeval multi-rite burials needs to be undertaken, by which further elite status can be determined and reconstructed to demonstrate how this British society interacted with that of Armorican and Saxo-Thuringian elites on the Continent.

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The Bishoprick Estate to Crown Estate: Effecting the Purchase of Bishop's Cannings in 1858

by Margaret Thorburn

The purchase by the Crown Estate, in 1858, of the ancient Bishoprick estate at Bishop's Cannings, resulted in maps and documents which describe the circumstances of the sale, and its effect on the scattered agricultural communities of the parish.

On 30 December 1858, the tenant farmers of Bishop's Cannings read a letter in the *Devizes Gazette*, addressed to them by T. H. Sotheron Estcourt, stating that he would no longer be their landlord. The Crown Commissioners were to be the new owners, having procured for £180,000 the Bishoprick Estate of 6257 acres. The background to this momentous change lay in an Act of Parliament of 1835 devolving bishoprick estates to the administration of a new body of Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The enormous growth of industry and commerce in the 19th century meant that the population was becoming focused in expanding towns. To meet the spiritual needs of these growing urban populations new parishes and new churches required funding, and a significant change for funding the dioceses was to be met through the effects of this Act.

BISHOP'S CANNINGS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The bishops of Salisbury had held land in Bishop's Cannings since the Conquest (Thorn, 1979, 3.2), and the Dean and Chapter seemed to have held an earlier priest's holding, which had always remained their property with associated tithes and rental income. Bishop Osmund, around 1080, had constructed the

motte and bailey castle at Devizes out of land in his manor of Cannings (Haycock 2000, 10). The present parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, the same dedication as Salisbury Cathedral, retains evidence of its Norman and Early English origins. In 1858 the church, 'of such uncommon size and nobility' (Pevsner 1985, 111), stood centrally in the cluster of cottages and farmsteads, surrounded by extensive arable fields known as 'laines', downland and meadows. Marlborough Downs lay to the north, and the Vale of Pewsey to the south where the streams gathered to flow into the Wiltshire Avon. The parish, part of the Hundred of Potterne and Cannings, measured 3.5 x 2.5 miles (6 x 4km) and consisted of the tithings of Cannings, Bourton, Easton, Horton, and Coate situated to the south, and Chittoe, a formerly wooded detached area 5 miles (8km) to the north-west. In the Chapelry of St. James lay part of Roundway, Bedborough and Nursteed, which all became part of the borough of Devizes (Figure 1).

By 1858 the modern world was on the doorstep of Bishop's Cannings. The construction of the Kennet and Avon canal had begun in 1796, and passed through the south part of the parish. The canal linked the Bristol Avon at Bath via Devizes, Pewsey and Hungerford to the river Kennet at Newbury. A wondrous flight of twenty-nine locks had been constructed west of Devizes to lift the waterway to 130 metres through the Vale of Pewsey. By 1810, some 57 miles of canal were completed.

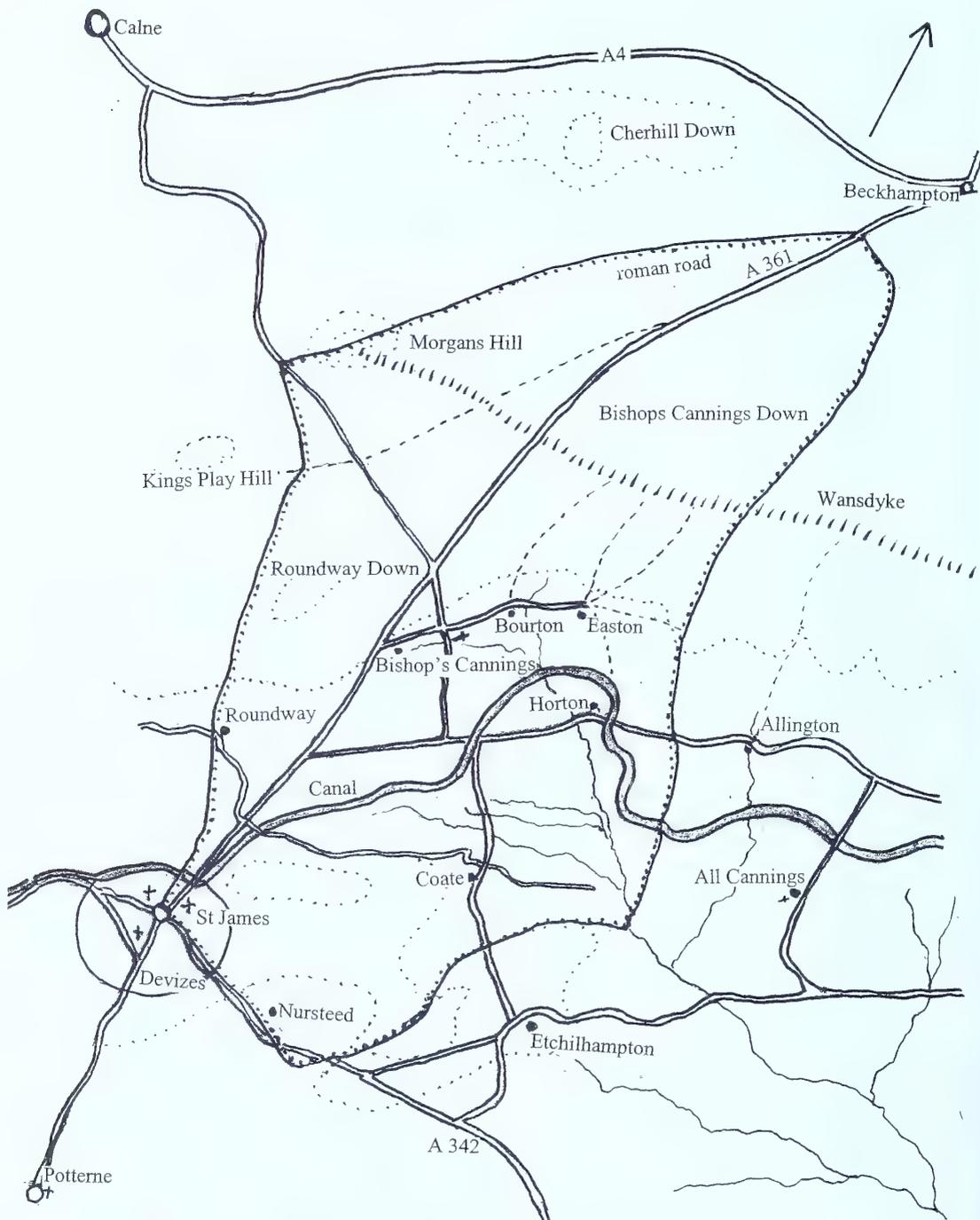


Fig. 1. The parish of Bishop's Cannings and its constituent tithings (Scale: 13cm = 10km approx.).

In Bishop's Cannings land was purchased from the strips of land holdings (WSRO 248/143), a new straight road was constructed to Horton and extra cottages built for canal labourers. Another new road,

from Devizes to join the Bath road to Marlborough, was also built cutting through Wansdyke at Shepherd's Shore, and replacing the earlier toll road which lay higher on the slopes of Roundway and

Morgan's Hill. An extension of the Great Western Railway reached Devizes with a western line in 1857, and in 1862 the railway linked the area to Paddington and London.

The swathe of extensive open fields, with thousands of strips or setts in furlong blocks, was surveyed and finally allotted by 1812, when the Enclosure Act was agreed (WSRO EA 89). Prior to this period during the late 17th and early 18th centuries numerous copyholds had been engrossed and gradually incorporated into larger landholdings. But by the time of the Tithe Commutation survey of 1850, (WSRO T/A) forty copyholders were still recorded, albeit mostly with small amounts of land, two acres or less and a cottage, occupied by an agricultural labourer.

At this period in the mid-19th century corn and sheep husbandry prevailed on the light malm soils of the south-facing downland slopes. New fertilisers and machinery were beginning to contribute to a rise in productivity, and the roads, canals and railways were aiding distribution to expanding towns. However traditional arrangements for leasing and the encumbrance of remaining beneficial copyholds, were not able to provide satisfactory rental incomes. The old farm buildings and layouts needed considerable capital input to be more efficient and productive (*VCH* 4, 1959).

'The mid-nineteenth century farming was prosperous' wrote Edward Coward in 1932, in 'Notes on Farming Families of the 19th Century in Wiltshire' (*WANHM* 45, 336). The Brown family was particularly prosperous, and George Brown of Townsend Farm, Horton, had been a pioneer in the cultivation of flax; but Coward commented that, 'it is an exhausting crop and Horton Farm did not recover its fertility for several years'. The Ruddles were another long established farming family in the parish. The Southdown breed of sheep had been succeeded by the Hampshire Down – a breed developed from the Southdown and old Wiltshire. There were good dairy shorthorn breeders in Wiltshire. Oxen teams originally did the ploughing, but by this date horses were in use. The farms based on the old tithings of Easton, Bourton, Cannings, Horton and Roundway followed the corn and sheep husbandry, which was well adapted to the downland pasture for grazing the sheep flocks on the downland north of Wansdyke, and the cattle on the furthest downs. The arable furlongs dinged by the sheepfolds lay on the south slopes and the farmsteads lay between the arable and the meadows and pastures, where little streams gathered.

In 1858 farming production appeared to be on the brink of progress after a low period of crises, with corn prices up and down, low wages and, in the 1830s, riots and machine-breaking. Joseph Arch and unionism, with endeavours to raise the weekly wage by 1s. – 2s. a week to 10s. a week, was still in the future (1873-1877). The depression of 1872-3, the result of disastrous seasons of wet and late harvests with sheep rot ravaging the sheep flocks, coincided with cheaper overseas imports, and ultimately brought painful changes and adaptations in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th century. In 1857 this period of 'high farming' was in principle reflected in capital investment in new buildings, drainage, implements, cottages, and enclosure of the former common arable fields. The survey and evaluation report by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners gives indications of some of these attributes but also presents evidence of farms needing much more investment.

THE SOTHERON ESTCOURT ESTATE

An account of the various lordships held by the lessees of the bishops of Salisbury and the Dean and Chapter from the medieval period is presented in the *Victoria County History* vol. 7, 189-195. By the early 19th century the ecclesiastical landholding in the parish was held by two principal lessees, the Suttons and Sotheron Estcourts, (*VCH*, vol. 5 228). The lease of the bishop of Salisbury's land was purchased by George Willy, a mercer in Devizes, and after his death in 1762 the lease descended to his nephew James Sutton, son of Devizes clothier Prince Sutton. His daughter, Eleanor, married Thomas Grimston Estcourt. Later the name Sutton was added to the Estcourt name honouring the status of the marriage. Most of the land in the Bishop's Canning's Enclosure Award belonged to these two families, and ultimately by 1850, by one direct descendant, Thomas Henry Sutton Sotheron Estcourt of Devizes, M.P. for North Wiltshire. The Dean and Chapter had conveyed the rectory and manor of Cannings Canonicorum to Sir A. Abney who then conveyed it to T. Sutton and it then descended like the manor of Bishop's Cannings to T. H. S. Sotheron Estcourt.

The social and political prestige of the Sotheron Estcourts, which was tied up in their Bishop's Cannings estate, might not have provided available 'at hand' money for efficient estate management. He

could not sell land nor raise money on mortgage. At the same time he had to support his own estates, houses and family and, as an M.P., a house in London. Little would be available for improvements to cottages and farm buildings (Collins 2000, 727-743). As a benefactor, he was founder of Devizes Friendly Society, and was on record as paying the debts of the Wiltshire Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture. His stone figure stands above the commemorative fountain in Devizes Market Place.

On estates such as this the usual form of tenure was a twenty-one year lease or for three lives, paying a substantial 'fine' or premium on entry, in this case to the bishops of Salisbury, and a low yearly rent. It was, to all intents and purposes, a lease for life. As the value of land rose in the 19th century, the Bishoprick Estates were not receiving full value from their landholdings, but by altering tenancies to shorter-term agreements they could benefit from changing market values. This was the new policy of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with whom Sotheron Estcourt over a period of five years unsuccessfully tried to renegotiate a further lease. The tenancy was allowed to run out, and his letter to the tenant farmers was duly published on 30 December 1858, in which he reassured the tenants that 'the Crown has always borne the character of a good, considerate and improving landlord' (WANHS Wilts Cuttings 16.115).

The balance on the lease dated from 4 October 1843 and the lessee's interest in the estate was valued at £40,577. In the final document dated 19 November 1857 (WSRO D1 32/27), he received £38,950 6s. 2d., witnessed by numerous solicitors and signed by T. H. Sotheron Estcourt Esq. M.P. of Estcourt, County of Gloucester. The Bishoprick Estate comprised the demesne lands and copyholds in the tithings Cannings, Bourton, Horton and Easton, and in the outlying tithing of Chittoe, exclusive of timber. Also sold was the Chapelry of St. James in Devizes, which included 'merelands', Devizes Green, pound, Crammer Pond, buildings on Wick Green and Wick Green itself, 'now all incorporated into the Borough of Devizes'.

PURCHASE BY THE CROWN COMMISSIONERS

On 29 December 1858, the Bishoprick Estate was conveyed to the Crown Commissioners for £180,000, (PRO CREST 38/2056), and remains in the Crown's

possession to this day. The reasons for this purchase are described in the *Annual Report for Her Majesty's Woods, Forest and Land Revenues* for 1859 (later known as the Crown Estate). The Commissioner made the recommendation for the purchase because a good price had been obtained from the sale of the Crown's portion of Whittlewood Forest (near Milton Keynes) and from other sales of detached portions of foreshore and tidal rivers, and with other government stock funds, sums had accumulated for 'a desirable landed investment'. He had learned in May 1857 that T. H. Sotheron Estcourt M.P. wished to sell his estate near Devizes. One part of the estate was held under a lease for two lives from the Bishop of Salisbury and the other part consisted of small freeholds, i.e. copyholds recently enfranchised, and the whole of the tithe rent-charge. 'The chance to purchase so large and compact estate, near to good markets and a well-established tenantry, rarely occurs, and could be purchased in one transaction'. Mr John Clutton, the Crown receiver, perceived the potential of the land, which could be arranged into more productive tenancies, especially breaking-up by 'burn-baking' (paring and burning off) 600 acres of downland (in the later 19th century burn-baking was a renewing process with added potash and stall manure for the expansion of corn, *VCH* 4, 76). The Commissioner and Mr Clutton had been to inspect the property and subsequently recommended to the Treasury Lords that at a return of 3½ per cent, this property at the selling price could be calculated to make this yield, giving an income of £6,166, equal to the anticipated rentals.

The probable outlay on buildings was estimated at £5,000, although this sum was later revised to £10,000. This was because in order to reduce costs of cultivation tenancies needed to be rearranged to increase rental value. New lettings would have the understanding that new farm buildings and labourers' cottages would have to be built to go with the rearranged tenancies, hence the revised cost. As the gradual 'falling in' of the beneficial leases (i.e. originally copyholds coming to the end of their lives) on 425 acres, the Crown rental would be augmented to about £6,900 a year. Timber on the estate was worth over £5,000 on maturity. Already there had been considerable 'fall' (i.e. felling) and sale, realising £2,230. (Lay Wood by the canal and plantations on Roundway Hill were the sources for this timber). The Crown purchased just over half the land in the parish, principally the arable land and downland attached to the farmsteads at Cannings, Bourton, Easton and part of Horton. The published statement of the

COST OF THE ESTATE.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Amount paid for the fee-simple	- -	180,000	-	-			
Deduct,—							
Value of the Timber, of which a portion has already been felled and sold, and the residue will be converted into money as it arrives at maturity	- -	5,000	-	-	175,000	-	-
Estimated cost (in June 1859) of redeeming the Drainage Loan	- - - -				2,800	-	-
Cost of change of tenure from Lady-day to Michaelmas, and extinguishment of the right to a way-going crop	- -				1,600	-	-
Expenses of valuation and purchase of the estate	- -				700	-	-
Add,—					£ 180,000	-	-
Estimated outlay on buildings	- - - -				10,000	-	-
TOTAL	- - - -	£ 190,000	-	-			
					£.	s.	d.
Present Rental	- - - -				6,540	-	-
(This rental after allowing interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum upon the intended outlay of £ 10,000 in buildings, will yield a return of upwards of 3½ per cent. per annum upon £ 180,000.)							
Rental when the beneficial leases shall have expired	- -				6,900	-	-
(This rental after a similar allowance, will yield a return of upwards of 3½ per cent. per annum upon £ 180,000.)							

Fig. 2. Part of the printed statement of the Crown purchase.

purchase is set out in Figure 2 and a map shows the extent of the estate, Figure 3.

In the parish of Bishop's Cannings in 1857 there were 11,310 sheep, 160 horses, 262 cattle, 313 pigs, and 1,208 acres of wheat, 226 acres of barley, 168 acres of beans, 102 acres of peas and 145 acres of oats. (*WANHM* 6, 158). These figures show the dominance of the corn and sheep husbandry. Dairying and piggeries appear to be on a small scale. In the vale and pasture lands to the south there were mainly freeholds with land suitable for cattle and the development of dairy farms. The two principal farms and mill at Horton were not purchased by the Crown Commissioners until 1962, and account for the notable indentations on the map, which followed the boundary of the downland portion of the Horton lands.

An earlier survey, 1720-21, of the manor of Bishop's Cannings (*WSRO* Bishoprick 49) provides the acreage of copyhold and freehold land in each tithing, amounting to a total of 9,976 acres 2r 14p.

VALUATION OF THE BISHOPRICK ESTATE

The 1855 Valuation Survey, prior to the Crown Estate purchase, provides a detailed account of the properties, acreage, dues and liabilities (*CERC*

Salisbury Bishoprick Estate Volume Z no. 6871 2/4, 1855, ff 9-229.). The 1841 Tithe Map (in *WSRO*) was used as the base map for Mr Meek's tracing, which sadly is absent in Volume Z. (Mr Meek was T. H. Sotheron Estcourt's solicitor, of Meek, Jackson and Lush, 33-4 St John Street, Devizes). The Episcopal estate comprised demesne and copyhold lands (also known as beneficial leases), which meant tenure for life or a period of lives, with a large initial payment and regular small annual ones. The Tithe Commutation schedule recorded 40 copyholders in 1845, and in 1855 there were still 425 acres of beneficiary lands, which would successively fall 'in hand', i.e. when lives ran out. A 'new arrangement' was agreed that in future copyhold lands would be allotted as demesne and marked in blue on Mr Meek's missing tracing. It may not in fact be missing, since a large folded map on linen datable to c. 1855 survives in *WSRO* (*CC* Map 13), which relates to Salisbury Bishoprick Estates, Bishop's Cannings, and T.H. Sotheron M.P., lessee. The lessees of these lands were liable to pay all charges to the lessor for any recording of the copyholds as they expired, except on tithes, subsidies and 'first fruits'.

The great tithes (wheat, oats, and barley) originally belonged to the Chapter of Salisbury, but were sold, reported Mr Meek, to the late Mr Sotheron Estcourt under the Land Tax Redemption Act. Also he 'became possessed' of the small tithes by exchange with the vicar, but the see possessed all tithes on the remaining land. It was advised that care should be taken on the potential liability of the attached tithe rent charge to these lands, which could carry the cost of future repairs of the chancel in the church, 'which is very large'. In fact in his letter to the tenant farmers, Sotheron Estcourt stated that he was donating the tithe rent charge of £278 as a gift to the parish. (The church underwent extensive restoration work in 1883 [*Annable* 1991, 5]). Tenants were also due to pay half the interest upon a drainage loan of £3,403 16s. 10d., which Mr Sotheron had borrowed from the Commission for Drainage Purposes (an early government support grant), of which £244 13s. 4½d. had been repaid by him. There was also the annual cost of £6 for repairing a section of the Devizes to Horton road near Lay Wood (a plantation by the canal) and this section is coloured sienna on the map in the *PRO* Deeds box. Also belonging to the Episcopal Estate were twelve tenants paying freehold 'chief rents' amounting to £15 6s. 11d.

The report says that the property on outstanding leases 'is in a very bad state of repair, and an old farmhouse (no. 424) is 'a complete wreck'. As the

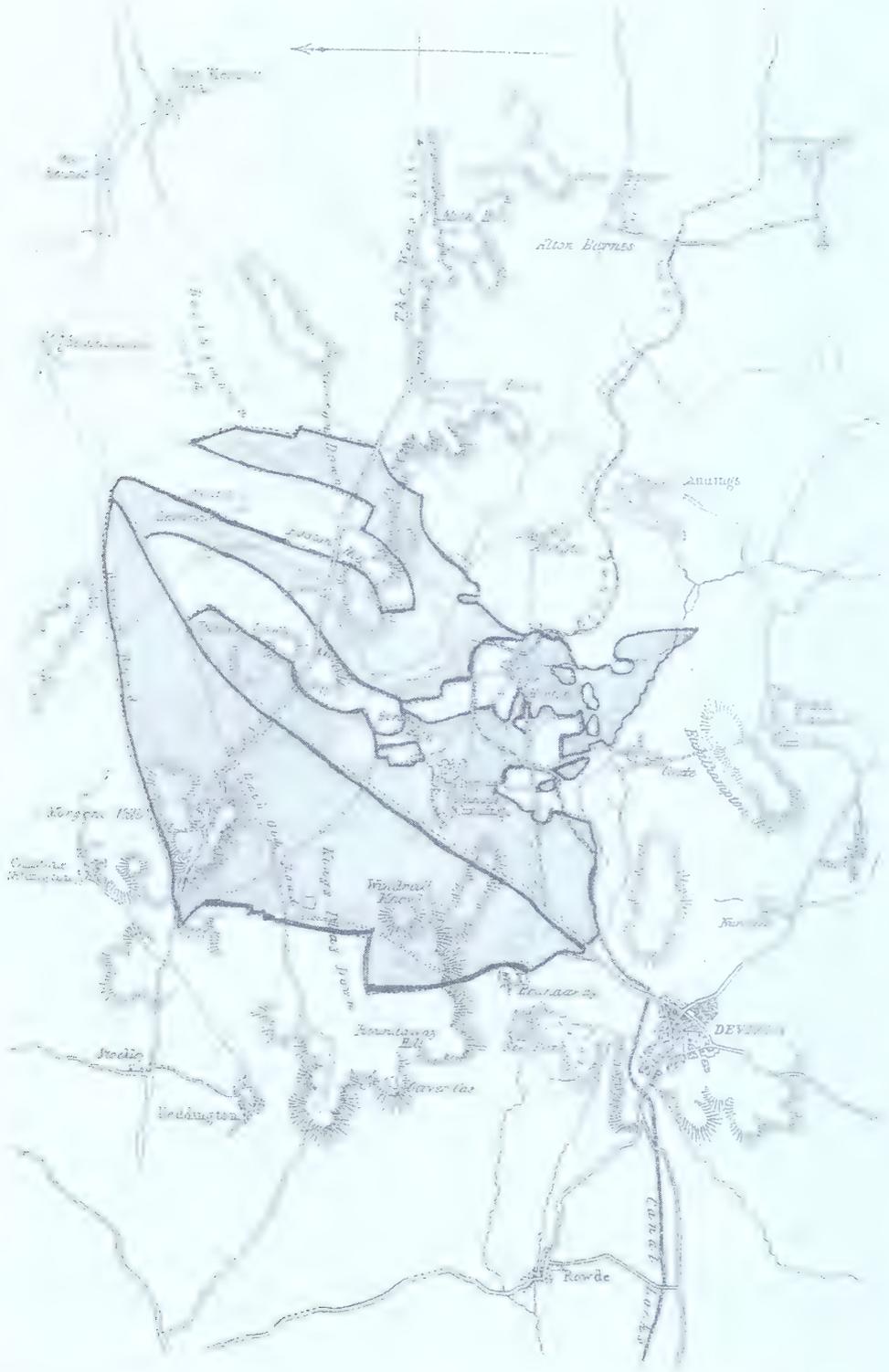


Fig. 3. Map of 1859 showing (in grey) extent of the Bishoprick estate. Orientation has east at the head of the map (Scale: 12cm = 10km approx.).

Table 1. Acreage providing income summary

	EPISCOPAL			FREEHOLD			TOTAL		
	<i>Acres</i>	<i>rods</i>	<i>perches</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>rods</i>	<i>perches</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>rods</i>	<i>perches</i>
Let at Rack Rent	2560	0	38	3263	2	10	5831	3	8
Outstanding on leases	132	2	20	293	3	12	425	3	4
Sub-Total	2700	2	20	3557	0	22	6257	3	2
Devizes Green	7	0	36				7	0	36
TOTAL	2707	3	16	3537	0	22	6264	3	38

leases on copyholds came into Sotheron Estcourt's hands repairs would have been effected. Rentals were subject to an annual deduction for repairs but 'there was much to be done'. There was a superabundance of barns on the Episcopal Estate but a lack of other types of good farm buildings. The total valuation of the Episcopal Estate amounted to:

	<i>acreage</i>	<i>value</i>
<i>Episcopal Estate</i>	2,707 acres 3r 16p	£73,383 12s. 11d.
<i>Freehold Land</i>	3,557 acres 0r 22p	£99,124 0s. 0d.
<i>Totals</i>	6,264 acres 3r 38p	£172,507 12s. 11d.

The general summary of the acreage providing income is given in Table 1.

Devizes Green was part of the Episcopal Estate and valuable for the tolls of two fairs held on the 20 April and 20 October each year. Mr Coward (tenant) had 'first feed of the grass'; otherwise it was open for the use of the public and inhabitants of Devizes. Mr Sotheron Estcourt wished it to be enfranchised to him, as the Green was adjacent to other freehold properties that he held in the area, and it was open for him to negotiate with the See. The numerical schedule, folios 6-231, lists the fields with their setts, long, short and upper and lower furlongs, laines, dolemeads, merelands, pastures, cow and sheep leazes, withy beds, quantity, cultivation and occupier. The numbers correspond to those of the Tithe Map.

Descriptions of the state of repair of farmhouses, cottages, tenements, barns, stables, hovels and outhouses were carefully recorded. Sixty-two dwellings were surveyed, mostly built of thatch and brick nog, indicating timber-framed buildings with old plaster infill replaced at this date by brick of different shapes and sizes. Two or three rooms were the standard living space in the cottages and tenements. The latter was a larger house, probably a former copyhold farmhouse, divided into two, three or more dwellings. Sometimes there was a pantry or an oven house, separate at the back, often with a wood

store. For example, several families lived in a thatched house large enough to be divided into five tenements (no. 357). Each contained three rooms and a scullery, also an outhouse (the privy or earth closet) and an oven house, suggesting the latter two were shared. They were reported to be 'all in good repair', but were renewed after 1858 (Figure 4).

Overall the survey describes dwellings at the end of this period of long use as 'old', 'poor', 'fair', 'bad', 'tolerable' and very few as 'good' or 'in good repair'. The cottages, gardens and crofts of the agricultural labourers clustered around the farmsteads in Cannings, West End, Bourton, Easton and Horton,



Fig. 4. No. 352 (above), two new Crown Estate dwellings inscribed VR 1883 on a copyhold plot in West End. No. 357 (below), five tenements, each with three rooms and a scullery, refurbished from brick and thatch - one extra tenement added.



Fig. 5. No. 409 (above), a large barn, of timber and thatch, 'other buildings in good repair' (recently re-roofed). No. 409 (below), West End Farmhouse, five rooms brick and thatch, 'old in tolerable repair', now renewed.

all sited near streams as they seeped out from the junction of the lower chalk with the greensand.

The farmhouses seemed to be in better repair, although the farm buildings were often very poor. Mr Brown's farmhouse (no. 63) at Horton by Allington bridge, built of brick and stone with a tiled roof, had a kitchen, brewhouse, pantry, dairy cellar, and a sitting room, parlour, four bedrooms and two attics, all in good repair, and a new coach house. There was a seven-horse stable, a cowshed of timber and thatch and a barn, a new corn hovel and a piggyery yard.



Fig. 6. No. 401, 'a dwelling house for his occasional use' (i.e. T.H. Sotheron Estcourt), with eleven rooms, kitchen, scullery and pantry.

To the north-west further up on the downs at Roundway the good farmhouse of Mr Coward built of brick and stone and tiled, had eight rooms, two garrets and a brewhouse. There was a nag stable and a coach house of brick and slate in good repair. The hurdle house and wood shed were in bad repair. The two wagon sheds and a barn were thatched. There was a new cowshed and calf house, and another barn of timber and thatch, also piggeries, yard and stable of brick and stone, with a tiled roof.

Court farmhouse in Cannings (no. 378), occupied by George Ruddle, had eight rooms, two attics, a cellar and a pantry. There was a nag stable and an eight-horse stable and cartshed and a long open cowshed. Blackwell farmhouse (no. 391) occupied by Mark Sloper, in Cannings opposite the Crown, contained seven rooms with a cellar and larder, built of brick nog and thatch. There was a barn and a new cattle shed. The new stable, saddle room and coach house were built of brick and thatch. The old small farmhouse at West End (no. 409), occupied by Richard Ruddle, was built of brick and thatch and in 'tolerable repair'. It had a large barn of timber and thatch, a stable and a coach house, a cart house, a nag's stable and an open cowshed in good repair (Figure 5). An old farmhouse (no. 490), now the site of the primary school, was 'not worth repair'. At West End Mr Estcourt's new dwelling (no. 401) 'for his occasional use', was built with eleven rooms with a kitchen, scullery and pantry, which became a mature pleasant brick house surrounded by lawns and a brick wall (Figure 6). Also in the central village area surrounding the church, stood the *Crown Inn* (no. 390), with its brewhouse and taproom, cellar, dining room and five bedrooms. Outside was a coal house and a barn in bad repair. Opposite the *Crown* no. 392 contained three tenements, the west one of three rooms, 'not worth repair' (Figure 7).

At Bourton farmstead between Cannings and Easton stood a new farmhouse (no. 515) built of brick and with a slate roof, with eight rooms, brewhouse, cellar and pantry, evidently replacing an old nearby farmhouse (no. 517) in 'bad repair'. Clustered around were the crofts of the cottages and tenements, most of them in 'poor repair' and 'poor condition'. Maslins (no. 503) a row of tenements in a close on the corner of the lane into Bourton, each with its bakehouse in 'fair repair', was evidently a local bakery.

Eastwards along the lane at Easton an old small farmhouse had degenerated into use as a store house. The farmhouse (no. 652) had six rooms but was described as 'old and in fair repair', also an old barn and a stable in 'bad repair', and two cart sheds and a



Fig. 7. No. 392 (top), three tenements with six rooms, 'in fair repair', but the west tenement 'not worth repair', now rebuilt. No. 391 (centre), Blackwell farmhouse, brick and thatch. No. 427 (below), cottage, brick and thatch now in good repair.

cowshed. Other adjacent cottages are described as 'old and damp'. However, this was all to change and there is now a fine farmhouse and new cottages at Easton.

CHANGE AND RENEWAL

The Indenture followed the survey of 1855 but did not include the two major farms occupied by the Brown family at Horton, which were not sold; they were not purchased by the Crown Estate until 1962

and 1964. No farms at Coate were purchased. But included in the deeds were eight arable fields at Bromham amounting to 179 acres 3r. 27p, which lay on an extensive fertile outcrop of greensand, five miles north-west of Bishop's Cannings, once part of the medieval estate of the Abbot of Battle.

In the Deeds box are abstracts to title of several copyholds which became freehold by the time of the purchase. Some are direct copies from the court rolls of the manor of Bishop's Cannings. The earliest is dated October 1711:

the arable lands, meadow and pasture, and common of pasture for cattle and sheep with appurtenances in Cannings called Slopers thereto in the tenure of Ralph Withers decd since in tenure of Richard Cox decd, then John Cox, late William Cox decd to W. Salmon and James Gent for lives. [Also] one message or tenement and three yardlands lying in Cannings Episcopi and Roundway called by the name West End and then formerly in possession of Thomas Withers and since Sara and Susannah Nash and granted to George Willy and Willy Sutton and James Sutton Esq. By copy dated May, 1755.

These two particular examples are a small sample of the many copyholds of the Episcopal Estate. A century later the final step to extinguish these last vestiges of the medieval system of landholding, including rights and customs, was achieved. For more productive output from the land, the farms would be regrouped, farmers freed to grow as they pleased, and land reorganised and downland ploughed. From 1858 onwards six tenant farmers would hold large compact acreages, with drainage schemes, increased use of machinery, new farm houses and buildings, and for the agricultural workers new red-brick cottages with slate roofs and pumped water, and with a Crown Estate plaque on the gables. The five year accounts show that the Crown Commissioners were making considerable capital improvements (PRO, H.C. 427, [1870] Liv).

Abbreviations

- CEO Church Estate Office, London.
 CERC Church of England Records Centre, South Bermondsey.
 PRO Public Record Office, Kew (The National Archives).
 VCH *Victoria County History*.
 WANHS Wiltshire Archaeological Natural History Society Library, Devizes.
 WSRO Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office, Trowbridge.

Primary Sources

- CEO *37th Report (1859) of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, (later Crown Estate) and Map, 1 July 1859.*
- CERC Salisbury Bishoprick Estates, Bishop's Cannings, Wiltshire. Z4, no. 681 2/4, 1855 ff 9-229.
- PRO Crest 38/2056, Indenture 29 December 1858, and Abstracts to Title in Deeds Box.
- PRO Five year accounts for the Crown Estate at Bishop's Cannings H.C 427 (1870) Liv.
- WANHS Andrew and Dury's Map of Wiltshire, 1773.
- WANHS Cuttings book 16.115. Letter in Newspaper from Estcourt to tenants 1858, and tenants' reply.
- WSRO EA 89 Bishop's Cannings Enclosure Award, 1812.
- WSRO T/A Bishop's Cannings Tithe Map and Award, 1850. Tithe map and Award Chapelry of St James, 1841. Plan and Award for Chittoe and the Tithing of Coate 1841. The Tithings of Bishop's Cannings, Horton, Bourton and Easton, 1848.
- WSRO D1/34/27, Agreement to sell Manor and Hundred of Bishop's Cannings, 1858.
- WSRO 248/143 Map of the Common Fields of Bourton, Easton and Horton c 1770
- WSRO CC Map 13, c1855 of Salisbury Bishoprick Estates, Bishop's Cannings re J. H. Sotheron M.P lessee. Plan 60" x 60" on folded linen.
- WSRO Bishoprick 49. Survey of the Manor of Bishop's Cannings by John Overton, senior and junior, 1720-1.

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Notes and Shorter Contributions

First Wiltshire Meeting of the Dipterists Forum

by Peter Chandler

Dipterists Forum is the national society for people interested in Diptera (Flies) and is affiliated to the British Entomological & Natural History Society. Summer and autumn meetings are held in different parts of the country each year and in 2003 the autumn gathering was held in Wiltshire, the first time we had visited the county. The meeting, which took place from 15 to 19 October, was based at the Wiltshire College, Lackham, where I had been recording since July 2002 after moving to Wiltshire in December 2001. Thanks to Roger Martindale, a lecturer at the College, we were able to use the laboratory facilities there for evening sorting.

During the meeting we visited localities in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset and the former county of Avon. Eleven people attended and we were able to cover about 40 sites of which 24 were in Wiltshire. Conditions had been dry for some months before, with only brief spells of rain locally in the preceding two weeks, and dry weather persisted throughout the meeting. Diptera had practically given up by now in some drier parts of the country so the results obtained were much better than expected. Altogether, 405 species of Diptera and 49 species of other orders were recorded, a larger number than usually expected on an autumn meeting. Of the Diptera there were records from Wiltshire sites of 354 species. It was notable that a good number of summer-flying species were still in evidence, boosting the total of species recorded. The non-Diptera recorded included members of 12 orders of insects and other arthropods, among them the hornet and five species of butterflies.

For autumn recording we concentrate on woodland sites, where the groups of flies most prolific at this time of year, especially craneflies and fungus gnats, are mainly to be found. The total of 103 species of fungus gnats (Bolitophilidae, Diadocidiidae, Ditomyiidae, Keroplatidae and Mycetophilidae) achieved for the meeting (86 from Wiltshire) was surprising in being significantly higher than other recent autumn field meetings when dry conditions have prevailed. Of the Wiltshire sites Stourhead produced the highest total of fungus gnat species (29, 26 from the vicinity of the lakes). The craneflies provided 48 species (41 in Wiltshire) so it was a good average total for an autumn meeting. Thirteen species of moth flies (Psychodidae) were recorded, all from Wiltshire. The fungus-feeding flat-footed flies (Platypezidae) were well represented, with 10 species (all Wiltshire records). Heleomyzids (14 species, 13 Wiltshire) and muscids (29 species, 26 Wiltshire) were among groups usually well recorded in the autumn. Ten species (9 in Wiltshire) of snail-killing flies (Sciomyzidae), which have been turning up more in the autumn in recent years, were also found. Of the groups more in evidence than usual in the autumn we recorded 18 species of hoverflies (Syrphidae) and 8 species of tachinids.

Alan Stubbs recorded the Hornet Robberfly *Asilus crabroniformis* Linnaeus in a field grazed by young cattle near the By Brook near Drewett's Mill. Although this species is later flying than most robberflies it has not previously been recorded on an autumn field meeting. It is thought that the larvae of this large, sometimes conspicuous, species prey

on dung beetles, hence the association with grazed pasture as in this occurrence. It is very local but has had a resurgence in some parts of the country in recent years. Smith (2001) gave an account of its status and distribution in southern England and Wales, including a distribution map.

As there is no Wiltshire list of Diptera it is not possible to say how many of the species recorded are new county records but some of them certainly are as noted below, including two RDB species the flat-footed fly *Agathomyia falleni* and the tephritid *Chetostoma curvinerve*. Here some of the more interesting records are mentioned under a selection of the sites visited.

Burderop Wood (SU1680).

This is a privately owned SSSI adjoining the M4 and is on a north-facing slope, noted for its seepages. These were, however, dry and the wood appeared generally unproductive but the seepage associated species *Thaumalea testacea* Ruthé (Thaumaleidae) was found to be hanging on there. There were also some other unexpected discoveries. The fungus gnat *Mycomya pectinifera* Edwards was found here as well as at Midger Wood in Gloucestershire. It is only recorded in Britain from the South-West of England (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire) and South Wales (Glamorgan, Carmarthen), so Wiltshire is a new county record and extends its distribution further east. The biology is unknown but it can be common in damp woods within this restricted area of distribution. Another find here was the tachinid *Paracraspedothrix montivaga* Villeneuve. This is, like *Sturmia bella*, one of several tachinids added to the British list in recent years, too late to be considered for conservation status. It was recorded as British by Collins *et al.* (2002), having been found on the Warwick autumn meeting in 2001 and in Malaise traps from sites in Surrey, Berkshire and Oxfordshire. It has since turned up at other sites north to Yorkshire. The biology is unknown.

Colerne Park (ST8372).

A privately owned woodland SSSI. The fungus gnat *Ditomyia fasciata* (Meigen) (Ditomyiidae) was recorded. This is a Nationally Scarce species, although widely distributed in ancient woodland in southern England. It develops in several genera of polypore fungi.

Erlestoke Park Wood (ST9653).

This is an MOD property on the north slope from Salisbury Plain and includes a lake and stream from

it. At the outfall from the lake the scarce moth fly *Pericoma canescens* (Meigen) and the cave fungus gnat *Speolepta leptogaster* (Winnertz) were found. *Pericoma canescens* is a mainly south-western species in Britain (Withers 1989) but new to Wiltshire; I had only previously seen it in Denmark. *Speolepta* is common in caves but only occasionally seen above ground in woodland. The flat-footed fly *Agathomyia cinerea* (Zetterstedt) was also found by the stream. This was only recently recognised as British but has been turning up more widely and it was new to Wiltshire from here and from Savernake Forest. Chandler (2002b) listed records from seven counties and in 2003 it was also found near Reading, Berkshire. The biology is unknown but it probably develops in bracket fungi like allied species. Among other finds here was the fungus gnat *Mycetophila hetschkoi* Landrock, also recorded from Lackham Park by Chandler (2003). This is a widespread species in damp woodland, with several previous records from the south-west, which develops in soft terrestrial fungi including *Hydnum* and *Ramaria*.

Everleigh Ashes (SU1956-2055).

This is another MOD property, including grassy clearings as well as recently coppiced areas of woodland. The other uncommon flat-footed fly found on this meeting, *Agathomyia falleni* (Zetterstedt) occurred here. This species develops in the common bracket fungus *Bjerkandera adusta* but has till recently only been recorded in Britain from the south-east of England, mostly south of the Thames (Kent, Surrey, Sussex) but including sites in Greater London. More recently it has been found at several sites in Berkshire and one in Buckinghamshire (Burnham Beeches), so this Wiltshire record is a significant extension to its known distribution. This visit to Everleigh Ashes remarkably produced six species of this family and an aerial swarm of the common species *Agathomyia unicolor* Oldenberg was also observed, about 15 feet from the ground in a gap in the canopy between trees. The sap run associated hoverfly *Ferdinandea cuprea* (Scopoli) was observed here and earlier in the day at another MOD site Ashdown Copse (SU2447).

Jones's Mill, Pewsey (SU1661).

A Wiltshire Wildlife Trust Reserve; this was the wettest site visited, the boardwalks still being necessary in some parts. The wetland species found here included *Achalcus britannicus* Pollet (Dolichopodidae), described in a recent revision of the genus (Pollet 1997), which is found mainly in

sedge tussocks. This species had been found at several wetland sites in Cornwall and Oxfordshire. Ken Merrifield found *Chetostoma curvinerve* Rondani (Tephritidae) here. This is a conspicuous brightly marked species, usually found singly by sweeping. When accorded RDB2 status it was little known and found mainly near the south coast. In recent years it has been found increasingly at inland sites and has evidently spread northwards, having reached Oxfordshire by 1998. Chandler (1998) summarised recent records. The biology is unknown but an association with fruit of *Lonicera* has been suggested.

Lackham Park (ST9269).

On this meeting it was only investigated on arrival on the first afternoon, but produced some interesting records to add to the nearly 400 species of Diptera already recorded for the area. These were *Fannia gotlandica* Ringdahl (Fanniidae), which develops in wood detritus in old trees and the tachinid *Sturmia bella* (Meigen). The latter is a parasitoid of nymphalid butterflies and is another recent addition to the British list, first recorded by Ford *et al.* (2000) on a specimen reared from a pupa of the Peacock Butterfly near Southampton. Chandler *et al.* (2001) recorded it widely in southern England (Somerset, Oxfordshire, Essex and Suffolk), including a rearing from a pupa of the Speckled Wood Butterfly. It has since been found in other areas and would appear to be a recent arrival in this country and to be still spreading. On this meeting it was also recorded at Lower Wood in Gloucestershire.

Some of the other more significant records from Lackham Park have already been published (Chandler 2002a, 2003).

Savernake Forest (SU2365).

This ancient beech woodland is already well known for its fungus gnats and other Diptera, thanks to the Malaise trapping carried out by Keith Porter in 1990 and 1991. It is a dry site and on this visit was not very productive. However, as mentioned above *Agathomyia cinerea* was found here and the uncommon fungus gnat *Sciophila interrupta* (Winnertz) was also recorded. This has been recorded increasingly in recent years and is known from scattered sites in the south and east of England and South Wales. In Europe it has been reared from the soft terrestrial fungus *Hydnum*.

Stourhead Estate (ST73).

This National Trust property was the most productive site in Wiltshire on this meeting for

crane flies (19 species) and fungus gnats (29 species). The crane fly records were mainly from a springline alder carr in the Convent Bottom area (ST7534) and the fungus gnats in woodland areas in the vicinity of the lakes (ST7734). Among other Diptera recorded the hoverfly *Sericomyia silentis* (Harris) was seen by the lakes.

Acknowledgements

The results presented here could not have been produced without the input of all those who attended and their early response in providing information on what they had recorded. Access to sites was kindly provided by all landowners and bodies responsible for their management. In particular assistance with arranging this meeting and information on the Wiltshire sites was provided by the following: Simon Ford and Kim Portnell (National Trust), Dagmar Junghanns and several colleagues (English Nature), Paul Toynton (Ministry of Defence) and David Turner (Wiltshire Wildlife Trust).

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Field Systems on Overton Down South, near Avebury

by P. A. Baker

INTRODUCTION

Excavations in the 1960s on Overton Down South, Fyfield Down, Avebury, Wiltshire revealed a series of earthwork enclosures, some of which originally had rectangular buildings constructed upon them (Bowen and Fowler 1962; Fowler 1966; 2000, 95-7). Fowler argued that the rectangular structures probably followed the pattern of an earlier settlement and field system (2000, 95-7) with pottery of the late-1st or early-2nd centuries AD.

Three lynchets are clearly visible on arable land to the east of the site investigated by Fowler. In August and September 2002 a 10 x 2m trench was opened on one of the discernible lynchets as a training excavation for students from the University of Kent, Canterbury. The trench was placed on the lowest of three visible lynchets (Plate I) 720 metres

north of the southern edge of the field, while the trench's northwest corner was placed four metres east of the boundary dividing the two field systems (Figure 1). The aims of the excavation were two-fold: to see how much damage there was to the lynchet under ploughed soil; and to test whether sieving excavated soil would reveal more finds than simple trowelling, since sieving is not standard practice in Britain.

RESULTS

The trench was originally divided into 20 squares measuring 1 x 1m. Eight of these were excavated and sieved. The remaining squares were excavated without sieving to facilitate a comparison. Two principal layers were excavated (Figure 2). The modern plough soil (001) contained abraded pottery, mostly Romano-



Pl. 1. Photo showing the three discernible lynchets. Pictured from the bottom left to right: Becky Rockey, Jenny Godby, Alistair Robinson, Meg Spencer-Thomas and James Pugh. Photo by author

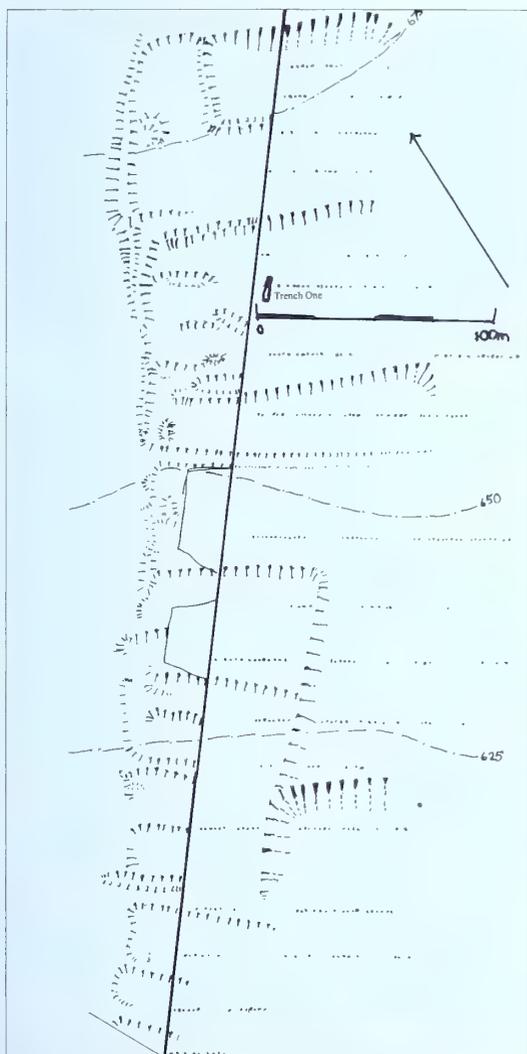


Fig. 1. The location of the trench in relation to P. J. Fowler's excavations on Overton Down

British, flint flakes and some metal finds. A few pieces of tile, possibly from roofing were badly abraded and quite small (three or four centimetres in scale). All of the material likely results from manuring of fields. Fewer finds were uncovered from square nine where no sieving had occurred in spite of the fact that it was a larger area of the trench (6.0 x 2.0 metres). On account of the small amount of time we had to spend on the excavation, square nine had ultimately to be excavated with a pickaxe. In view of this, it is worth stressing the contrast in the number of finds, as many more were found in the sieved material.

Beneath the modern plough soil (002) was buried plough soil. This layer was a compact brown clay

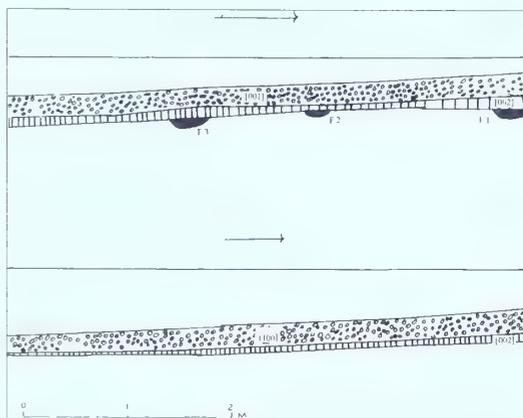


Fig. 2. Section of ODS 02 Trench One

soil and was matted rather than trowelled. Five buckets of soil were sieved and flint flakes and abraded Romano-British and later prehistoric pottery was found. Beneath this layer was the natural chalk (003) into which four features had been cut, clearly denoted by their light brown clay fill. Most likely plough furrows, these ran diagonally from the northwestern side of the trench towards the southeastern side (Figures 2 and 3) equidistant from one another, further indicating they are not natural features within the landscape. Although it is possible that these are solifluction lines, their fill was a loam, not the sandy fill commonly seen in the natural features. The features were located in the northern half of the trench as the southern half of the lynchet slopped downwards. This might suggest that ploughing did not occur on the steeper sides of the lynchets, but further excavation would be needed to test this possibility. The features were, however, somewhat amorphous, as it appeared that rainwater may have caused them to loose some of their straight edges before they were covered with upper layers of plough soil. Interestingly no artefacts were found within the features themselves with the exception of a sarsen hammer stone of uncertain date embedded in the top of feature one.

CONCLUSIONS

Overton Down South appears to follow the settlement pattern in the landscape of the Avebury region, as described by Fowler (2000, 92, 223), suggested by the pottery. The lynchets Fowler excavated on Overton and Fyfield Down were originally occupied in the late second or early first millennium BC (Fowler 2000, 224) and deserted in

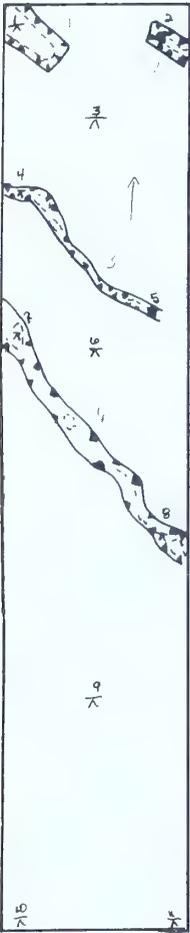


Fig. 3. Features in ODS 02 Trench One

and to Gill and Robin Swanton for permission to excavate. I am grateful to my students Jenny Godby,

the Iron Age and brought back into cultivation in the Romano-British period.

The lynchets have clearly been worn down from centuries of ploughing in comparison to those visible on the pasture to the west. This small investigation has demonstrated that the archaeology has not been entirely destroyed. Thus it would be possible to undertake further excavations to see if any building foundations remain, or to further examine the lynchets. Future work would also help in dating the remains more accurately.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Drs. Joshua Pollard (University of Bristol), Mark Gillings (University of Leicester) and Dave Wheatley (University of Southampton) for allowing me to run this small scale excavation 'off the back' of their Negotiating Avebury Project. Moreover, thanks go to Gill Swanton for helping to identify the site at short notice



Pl. 2. Features in ODS 02 Trench One

James Pugh, Becky Rockey and Meg Spencer-Thomas from the University of Kent, Héctor Orenge Romeo and Ana Ejarque Montolio from the University of Valencia and Alistair Robinson who helped with the excavation and were an enthusiastic and hard working team. Thanks also go to Dr. Ruth Young (University of Leicester) and to Dave Robinson (St. John's College, Cambridge). This excavation would not have been completed without the extra help of Dr. J. Pollard and his continual support.

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The Seal of Sir William Wroughton (1509–1559) of Broad Hinton, Wiltshire

by Simon Bendall

The important enamelled gold seal described here, which is the only surviving example of its type, was acquired from a dealer who had purchased it from a

resident of Didcot who obtained it locally. It apparently came from Upton, a village only two or three miles south of Didcot.¹ It is this 'local'

provenance that has enabled the arms and the original owner to be identified.

The arms on the seal are, a chevron between three boar's heads impaling arms depicting three chevrons, or chevronels, the former being the husband's arms and the latter those of his wife's family (Fig. 1). It is often difficult to identify arms that are merely engraved since they lack colours. The same arms, differentiated only by their colours, might be used by several families. Varieties of those that are depicted on this seal were each used by over 100 different families which, in theory, makes their identification extremely difficult. However, the general provenance provided the major clue since this, in theory, allows the discounting of the numerous Scottish families who used these arms and probably also the Welsh families as well as those mediaeval families whose lines had died out by the Tudor period and also those families who were granted these arms in the Stuart period or later, while the combination of these arms appears to be unique.

In the *Heralds Visitation of Berkshire*² there appear the arms of Wroughton, argent, a chevron gules between three boar's heads sable, impaling the arms of Choake of Avington, Berks. The Wroughtons who bore this form of the arms lived at Broad Hinton in Wiltshire. The *Heralds Visitation of Wiltshire*³ gives a long pedigree of the Wroughtons and not only confirms that Christopher Wroughton married Jane, daughter of Richard Choake of Long Ashton, Somerset, a justice of the Common Pleas, in c.1480 but also that Elizabeth, a younger sister of Christopher, married Jane's eldest brother, John Choake, so that the two families were united by two marriages in the same generation. At this time, in the late 15th century, the two families lived some 45

miles apart, the Choakes in Long Ashton, just southwest of Bristol, and the Wroughtons in Broad Hinton, slightly south of Swindon. John Choake, the eldest son of Sir Christopher Choake and husband of Elizabeth Wroughton would, as heir, have inherited the family home in Long Ashton. His younger brother, Richard Choake, moved to live in Avington near Hungerford and about 20 miles from Broad Hinton after his wife, Alice, inherited the manor from her father, Robert Coventre. Avington lies about three miles east of Hungerford while Broad Hinton is slightly south of Swindon, the distance between the two villages being rather less than 20 miles.

More importantly, the Wiltshire Visitation reveals that Christopher Wroughton's grandson, Sir William Wroughton (1509-1559), married Elinora (Elinor), daughter of Edward Lewknor of Kingston Bowser in Sussex and that the arms of the Lewknors were azure, three chevronels argent. William Wroughton's tomb in Broad Hinton Church bears shields with both the Wroughton and Lewknor arms individually as well as one depicting the two impaled as appears on the seal.

There was an Edward Lewknor of Kingston Bewsey, ob. 14 Henry 7(1499) who had a daughter Elinor.⁴ This Edward had a son, also Edward, who also had a daughter named Elinor but she married Henry St. Barbe of Brenton, Somerset, who did not die until 1569. The date of the death of the first Edward Lewknor as given in the Visitations is incorrect as, according to *Sussex Genealogies*, his will was proved in October 1522. 'H. 7' is surely an error for 'H. 8'.⁵ The Elinor who married William Wroughton must have been the daughter of the first Edward Lewknor whose widow, Agnes, did not die until 1539. Her will stipulates the sale of all her goods and the proceeds to be distributed amongst her four children including Elinor, who was presumably soon to become the wife of William Wroughton if not already so. Elinor was William Wroughton's second wife. He had first married Elizabeth, daughter of George Twinihoe of Dorset but she died without issue. William Wroughton married Elinor in about 1539 and his eldest child was born in 1541. It may not be a coincidence that it is in 1540 that William is recorded by Aubrey as building a new house in Broad Hinton⁶ and that according to Evelyn it was a 'very fair dwelling house'.⁷ Perhaps it was partly funded by the money that his wife had just inherited from her mother?

The apparent provenance of the seal, its superior nature and the coincidence of a marriage between



Fig. 1. Base of seal



Fig. 2. Side view of seal

two families bearing these arms at a date that suits the style of the seal surely points to Sir William Wroughton as the owner who, as will be shown, possibly had great expectations by 1539 or 1540.

THE SEAL

The seal is 28mm high with an oval base 19 by 16.5mm. The top of the handle is in the form of a pierced trefoil with two further small circular piercings between the three larger ones. The junction between the trefoil top and the lower hexagonal part of the handle comprises a layer of three rectangles, the central one being slightly larger than the upper and lower ones. Below these the hexagonal portion of the handle expands to an oval base (Fig. 2).

Originally the handle of the seal was enamelled everywhere where it was large enough to lower part of the field and yet leave enough metal standing to form a border to enclose the enamel. The enamelling appears on the trefoil top, the largest of the three central rectangles and the six panels on the lower part of the handle. At some point the seal was very slightly bent with the result that a certain amount of the enamelling has flaked off, but otherwise it is in

excellent condition and exhibits no sign of wear. Where the enamel is missing it can be seen that the underlying gold has been scored to hold the enamel.

The background enamel is a translucent blueish green colour (turquoise) – it appears light blue in natural light and light green in artificial light but this is certainly due to the varying depths of the enamel which is thicker where the panels are larger and thinner where they are smaller. The blue enamel is decorated with a design made up of opaque white dots of varying sizes. It is not possible to see the complete design on the six panels since the enamel has flaked away at the top of each one. Because the lower part of the seal is oval, two of the panels are slightly larger than the others but it appears that the design was similar on all of them. It is clear that the seal was first enamelled overall in translucent 'turquoise'. Small pits were then engraved into this enamel in order to take the opaque white enamel. This is obvious because where parts of the white design are missing, having fallen out, there are small pits visible in the underlying translucent enamel which do not go as deep as the underlying gold. The design seems quite crude with parts of the white inlay being of different shapes and sizes even when they were clearly meant to be the same. This is surely due to the difficulty in cutting the exact shapes needed into the translucent enamel which would have been friable and liable to flaking. While the common silver seals, made by silversmiths, might have been kept in their stock with the devices only being engraved at the point of sale, it seems likely that this gold and enamelled seal was specially made to order by a goldsmith in Cheapside, the centre of the goldsmiths trade in Tudor London, unless it was made by French workmen in Calais which Wroughton visited in 1539 (see below).

COMPARISONS

There appears to be no comparable existing enamelled gold seal, making this the sole remaining example of its class. Wroughton was not of such importance that he would have been the only person to commission such a gold seal. It is merely a more elaborate form of simpler Tudor silver seals with trefoil handles. With no other comparable seal it is therefore only possible to compare the enamelling with that on other Tudor and earlier enamelled objects.

With the exception of the Cheapside hoard which represented the stock of a jeweller's shop and was

deposited in *c.*1625 and included some late Tudor second hand pieces, the enamelled gold objects of the early Tudor and late mediaeval periods that survive do so because they are considerably more important than this seal. Although these early objects are of a superior quality, the range of the colours used in the enamelling was much the same as that on this seal. The range of the colours on the late Tudor and early Stuart enamelled jewellery in the Cheapside hoard is quite small, comprising black, white, green and occasionally dark blue. The blue-green translucent enamel on this seal is unlike anything in the Cheapside hoard, according to Hazel Forsyth of the Museum of London.

Blue enamel was commoner in the earlier Tudor period as well as in the mediaeval period while, just as importantly, so was the decoration of a central pellet surrounded by four 'tear drops' which forms the major part of the decoration of this seal. In the Schatzkammer in Munich there is a mediaeval crown dating to the late fourteenth century which is considered to have been made for Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II, which displays this form of decoration as a minor part of the design, although it must be said that experts are not sure whether this crown was made in England or on the Continent in France or Prague.⁸

WILLIAM WROUGHTON

William Wroughton's grandfather, Christopher Wroughton (*c.*1458 - 1515), served in Henry VII's army that defeated the invasion from Ireland which was intended to place Lambert Simnel on the throne. The final battle was fought at East Stoke near Newark in 1487. Christopher Wroughton must have been active in the battle since he was one of 54 gentlemen who were knighted by Henry VII at Stoke immediately afterwards.⁹

When William Wroughton's father died, his grandfather Christopher was still living, but on his death in 1515 William Wroughton became a royal ward and on the 25 July 1516 Henry VIII sold the wardship to Sir John Seymour (*c.*1476-1536), father of Jane Seymour (*c.*1509-1537), the future queen, and of Edward Seymour (*c.*1506-1552), eventually to become Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector under Edward VI, and of Thomas Seymour (*c.*1508-1549).¹⁰ The Seymours were of an old-established Wiltshire family, living at Wulfhall beside Savernake Forest outside Marlborough, only about 8 or 10 miles from Broad Hinton, and were apparently related to

the Wroughtons. Sir John Seymour was a favoured courtier of Henry VIII and attended him to France in 1513 and again at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520.

During the years of his wardship William Wroughton would have known Edward, Thomas and Jane Seymour, all of whom were of about his age, and it is obvious that his career was tied to that of their family. That the Wroughtons were related to the Seymours has been deduced from the fact that Edward Seymour referred to William as his 'kinsman'.

When William Wroughton attained the age of 21 in 1531 he came into his estate. In August 1539 he and five of his establishment were present at Wulfhall when Edward Seymour entertained Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell over a period of four days. Later in 1539 he was one of the esquires in the party led by the Earl of Southampton which went to Calais in order to welcome Anne of Cleves. Both Edward and Thomas Seymour were also of the party. The following year there was a Mistress Wroughton listed as one of the ladies of the queen's household who may well have been William's wife. In 1542 William Wroughton was appointed Chief Forester of the Forest of Chute and he was a JP between 1543 and 1547.

In 1544 Wroughton served in the army that Edward Seymour, now the Earl of Hertford, led into Scotland on the expedition known as the 'rough wooing'. He was paid for conducting 100 men from York to Newcastle. Edinburgh, Leith and surrounding places were pillaged and burnt and it was in Leith that he was knighted, being the second in the list of 47 knighted 11-13 May by the Earl who was acting as the king's Lieutenant.¹¹

William Wroughton's health soon seems to have deteriorated since he was noted as 'sick' on a list of the gentry who were to attend the court during the embassy of the Admiral of France in 1546. He was, however, returned to Parliament as the member for Wiltshire in 1547, presumably promoted by Edward Seymour, now Lord Protector Somerset, but was absent from parliament in 1548 since there exists a letter, dated 27 November 1548, written to Sir John Thynne who was Steward of the Household of Protector Somerset, in which he states that his 'old disease of Collicke and Stone' made it impossible for him to travel.¹²

Wroughton's health and the fall of his patron in 1549 (and execution in 1552) may have inclined him to retire to Broad Hinton but he seems to have to have remained active locally. It has been suggested

that he was of the Catholic persuasion since his tomb in Broad Hinton church depicts the five wounds of Christ. However, he must have been a Protestant, as was Edward Seymour and also those supporting the Earl of Warwick who replaced Seymour, since in January 1553 he was nominated as a commissioner appointed to seize the gold and silver plate belonging to the local churches.¹³

In 1553 he and other Wiltshire gentlemen, including Sir John Thynne who was to marry his daughter Dorothy, signed a declaration of allegiance to Queen Mary. They were thanked and instructed to remain in Wiltshire. Wroughton was, however, returned to parliament in 1554 but he is rarely mentioned in documents dating to Mary's reign although he was again a JP in 1558-59, presumably immediately after Elizabeth I's accession. In 1556 he was closely confined in the Fleet prison, apparently as a result of his interfering with the punishment of the robbers of one John Brown on behalf of his servants (the robbers?). After a few days he was allowed the liberty of the prison because of his poor health but still under stringent conditions; after a week or so however, he was discharged on entering under recognizances not to intermeddle again. In poor health, Wroughton presumably spent the last years of his life quietly, possibly partly because his wife's nephew, Edward Lewknor, had died in the Tower in September 1556 while awaiting execution for his part in a conspiracy in Elizabeth's favour planned by Sir Henry Dudley and other minor protestant gentry in March 1556. On his death Wroughton was recorded as living at 'Montour', as a tenant of the Earl of Pembroke.¹⁴ I have not been able to discover where this house was – possibly near Upton? The Wroughtons, although not playing an important part on the national stage, were of importance in north Wiltshire. Apparently related to the Seymours, William Wroughton might have risen higher but for his ill-health, the fall of Edward Seymour and the accession of Queen Mary.

However, there would have been a number of comparable families in every county in the land. Why did William Wroughton commission such an unusual seal?¹⁵ Most seals of this period are slightly smaller than this and made of silver, weighing between 7 and 9gms, judging by those in the writer's collection. The silver coinage of the Tudor period fluctuated in both weight and purity but the value of the silver in the average seal could be estimated at about 1s. 6d. or 2s. Since, unlike today, the work of artisans cost less than the value of the material used, it is possible that a silver seal could be produced for

2s. 6d or 3s. The Wroughton seal weighs 16.50gm. The Tudor gold coinage remained quite pure and weight fluctuations were small. The weight of the gold would have been worth about 32s. judging by the recorded weights of the coinage of the period. The engraving of the arms, being superior to that on the smaller silver seals, might have cost a little more than usual and to this must be added the cost of the enamelling.¹⁶ The manufacture and engraving of this seal is superior to that of the usual silver seal and it certainly must have cost at least 40s., some 15 times more than a silver seal.

William Wroughton was hardly any richer than other gentlemen of his class and situation who used silver seals. All would have worn gold signet rings. Such rings are now rare compared with seals, the reason being that they were worn on the finger and less likely to be lost than seals which could easily become detached from the chains on which they were hung.¹⁷ The likelihood of losing a seal would have been well known and it seems possible that, expecting to lose one's seal, most people had them made of silver in order to minimise the value of a loss that might have almost been considered inevitable.

William Wroughton commenced building his new house the year after his marriage to Elinor Lewknor and possibly at the same time as this magnificent seal was made. William Wroughton would certainly have had a new seal made on his marriage in 1539 with his arms impaling those of his new wife's family. Perhaps this is the seal? We have seen that that 1539 was a year when he might have considered that he was 'arriving'. On the other hand he may have originally ordered the usual silver seal and only had this gold seal made to celebrate his knighthood in 1544 although, of course, it could have been made at any time between 1539 and his death in 1559 but surely earlier than later.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following for all their help; Dr. John Cherry, Dr Hugh Tait, Hazel Forsyth, Dr. Richard Edgcumbe and Ms. Linda Matthews

Notes

¹ The presumption that this seal was, at some time in the past, found in the ground is not supported by the condition of the translucent enamel which is excellent where it survives. Experts at the Victoria and Albert Museum point out that even a short period in the

ground would have turned the background enamel from translucent to opaque.

- ² *The Herald's Visitations of Berkshire*, (Harleian Society, London, 1907), Vol. 1, pp. 6-7.
- ³ *The Herald's Visitations of Wiltshire, 1623*, (Harleian Society, London, 1954), pp.219-220.
- ⁴ *The Herald's Visitations of Sussex, 1530 and 1633-34*, (Harleian Society, London, 1905), pp. 25 and 29,
- ⁵ John Comber, *Sussex Genealogies*, Lewes Centre, Cambridge, 1933, p. 159.
- ⁶ Aubrey's collections, cited in *WANHM* vol. 2, (1855), p. 285.
- ⁷ John Evelyn, cited in the *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 12, (1983), p. 109.
- ⁸ J. Alexander and P. Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1987, object 13, p.202 and information from the department of metalwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Prague was the capital of Bohemia.
- ⁹ W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, (2 vols., London, 1906), vol. 2, p. 25. It is likely that these knightships were rewards to Henry VII's supporters at a time when his throne was not totally secure.
- ¹⁰ The information that follows is taken from S. T. Bindoff (ed.), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1509 - 1558*, (London 1982), vol. 3, pp. 668-

669, and notes in a genealogical pedigree of the Wroughtons in manuscript in the Society of Genealogists labelled as the Shield Collection.

- ¹¹ W. A. Shaw, vol. 2, p. 54.
- ¹² June Badeni, *Wiltshire Forefathers*, Trowbridge, n.d., pp. 16-17.
- ¹³ In March 1551 the Council decreed that church plate should be confiscated because of Edward VI's great need for money. Inventories were made a year later but seizures only began with the appointment of commissioners in January 1553. These Church confiscations were so late in the reign that they can only have had a religious motive since the purity of the silver coinage had recovered from 3 oz. 2 dwt. fine to 11 oz. 3 dwt. fine by 1553.
- ¹⁴ As Sir William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke had been William Wroughton's fellow MP for Wiltshire.
- ¹⁵ Of course we have no idea whether gold seals were so rare at that time but only that this seems to be the only one extant today.
- ¹⁶ Interestingly, the A.D. 1380 ordnances of the Goldsmiths Company bracket together seal engravers and enamellers.
- ¹⁷ The writer owns two early 17th-century seals with short lengths of chain still attached.

William Blake and the Stonehenge Medal 1796

by Stephen Allen

The handsome Stonehenge medal struck in 1796 (Figure 1) has a view of Stonehenge on the obverse and a plan of the restored stones depicted as the 'Ortery of the Druids' set within a circular calendar on the reverse.

The medal has been long associated with William Blake. L.V. Grinsell, in his 1978 monograph *The Druids and Stonehenge. The Story of a Myth*,¹ whose early drafts were reviewed by Richard Atkinson and Stuart Piggott, states that the engraver was, 'Blake after Stukeley'. Lawrence Brown, a consultant with Spink, in his authoritative *Catalogue of British Historical Medals*² repeats the claim that Blake was the engraver. Brown kindly sent me a photocopy of his source, which refers to Captain B.H. Cunnington's article of 1927 in *WANHM*.³

In his article Cunnington quotes Mr T Ireland, the Corresponding Councillor of 'The Druid Universalist Council', in claiming that the engraver of the medal was William Blake, who had not seen Stonehenge but had gathered his ideas of it from drawings by Stukely (sic) that were in his possession.

A 16-page monograph was published to accompany the medal but no reference is made to the identity of the engraver. The anonymous author, however, states that, 'Our representation of Stonehenge is a Bird's Eye View from an early drawing of it in a more perfect state than it now appears.'⁴ The image on the reverse, depicted as 'Choir Gavr,' is attributed expressly: 'The reverse of the medal is given from Dr John Smith's publication...'⁵



Fig. 1. The Stonehenge medal, obverse (Photo: Alex Allen)

Blake certainly used Stonehenge as an image in *Jerusalem* but does the association of the medal with him, assumed for 75 years, stand up to scrutiny? Consider the view of Stonehenge as engraved and consider the mirror image of the proto-cartoon illustration in Camden's *Britannia* (Figure 2).⁶ They are identical. Furthermore the illustration referred to as the 'Giant's Dance' is mentioned expressly in the monograph. So much for drawings by Stukely in Blake's possession! Indeed, why would Blake, the consummate engraver, reverse the image?

What of 'Choir Gavr'? An examination of the plan as engraved and comparison with the different distinctive plans illustrating Inigo Jones' *Stonehenge*,⁷ John Wood's *Choir Gaure*⁸ and Smith's 'Choir Gaur' confirms that the plan is indeed that of the latter, which is further supported by the sub-title of Smith's book: 'The Grand Orrery of The Ancient Druids'.

Mr T Ireland was further quoted by Cunnington in claiming that the medal was issued for the purpose

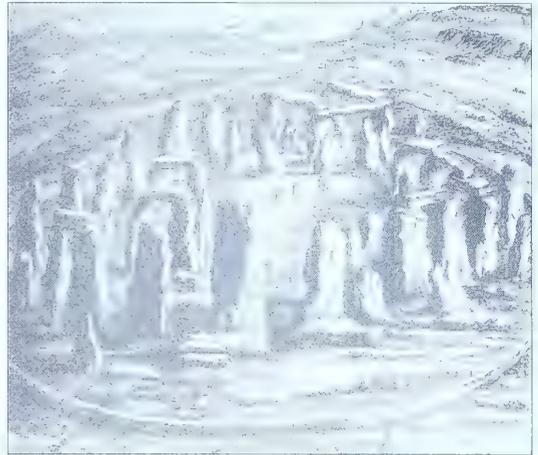


Fig. 2. Proto-cartoon from Camden's *Britannia*, reproduced in reverse (Photo: Alex Allen)

of raising funds to help one of the martyrs of his movement, Muir, of Edinburgh. Perhaps someone could shed light on this aspect of the legend.

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- 2 Brown, L., *A Catalogue of British Historical Medals 1760-1960*, Sealby, 1980.
- 3 Cunnington, B.H., 'A Stonehenge Medal' *WANHM* vol. 44, 1927, pp.8-9.
- 4 Anon, *The Druidical Antiquities of Great Britain displayed in a series of Medals. No1. Stonehenge*, Bath, [1796].
- 5 Smith, J., *Choir Gaur, The Grand Orrery of The Ancient Druids*, 1771
- 6 Camden, W. (expanded by Edmund Gibson), *Britannia*, London, 1695
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- 8 Wood, J., *Choir Gaure*, Oxford, 1747.

Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire 2003

North Wiltshire

20th Century Military

Throughout 2003 a collaborative scheme between the University of Bath in Swindon, Broad Town Archaeology and Wiltshire County Archaeological Service sampled a 423 square kilometre area of North Wiltshire, assessing the condition of all military structures dating between 1900-2000 (see Clarke, this volume). By the end of the year a total of twelve major sites were visited and over 300 features recorded. Early results demonstrate that very little has survived from the first three decades of the century. World War Two and immediate post-war structures are concentrated around the former RAF Wroughton, whilst those outside this site are in a very poor state indeed. Seven structures relating to the Cold War are, at present, under no threat, however one, the war room at Swindon Police Station, will be removed when the site is cleared in 2004/5. A full report is forthcoming and will be lodged with the County Archaeologist in late 2004/early 2005. The project was managed by Bob Clarke and Chris Walker.

Amesbury

Boscombe Down; Neolithic, Early Bronze Age, and Roman

Work on the married quarter upgrade programme by QinetiQ Ltd has been monitored throughout the year by QinetiQ Archaeology. Discoveries include a Neolithic pit containing worked flint and animal remains, a multiple Beaker period grave (now known as the Boscombe Bowmen) containing seven individuals, ceramics, worked flint and a bone bow brooch. A further singular inhumation with beaker ceramics was also located 500 metres west of the multiple grave, both sites were excavated jointly with Wessex Archaeology. Roman archaeology was much in evidence including a paved trackway, tile, plaster, tesserae and probable foundation trenches from a structure. A rolled sheet of lead nailed at each end is initially interpreted as a lead curse. Several 1m sq. pits 5m deep were found and other examples have

been located on the Boscombe Down plateau; their function remains unknown. Multi-period ditches reflect intensive agricultural activity. The project is managed by Colin Kirby assisted by Bob Clarke. The project has been supported by Jonathan Wade for QinetiQ Ltd and Wessex Archaeology.

Amesbury

Camelot Nursing and Retirement Centre (SU 15450 41650); Post-Medieval and Modern

Trial excavations by Michael Heaton revealed natural soils enhanced by made ground of 18th century or later date, overlying an alluvial succession of brickearths, sands and gravels. Archaeological deposits were restricted to garden features, also of 18th century or later date.

Amesbury

The Firs, Flower Lane (SU 15402 41355); Modern

Groundworks associated with the construction of new dwellings by Michael Heaton revealed two 19th/20th century cesspits sealed beneath disturbed soils. No other archaeological deposits or features were observed.

Amesbury

18 London Road (SU 1560 4170); ?Romano-British or Saxon

Human remains were partially uncovered in the back garden during construction work for an extension to the existing building. Wessex Archaeology was requested by the Wiltshire Constabulary to attend on-site to advise on the possible date for the remains. Only remains that had been disturbed by the construction work were removed. The majority of the burial remains preserved under the house foundations. The partial remains included the lower limbs belonging to a robust adult male (c. 20-45 yr). No grave-goods were found but a possible grave cut. It is likely that the remains relate to a burial of an individual of Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon or later date.

Amesbury

New Stonehenge Visitor Centre, Countess Roundabout (SU 14791 42361 – 15682 42684); Neolithic–Saxon and Modern

A limited evaluation and watching brief by Wessex Archaeology were undertaken along the proposed route of buried electricity services associated with the development of a new Stonehenge Visitor Centre at Countess East. While recent work suggested that the proposed route was unlikely to encounter significant archaeological remains, areas of high archaeological potential have been identified in close proximity. Therefore, evaluation of the locations of proposed ground investigation trial-pits was also required, prior to the commencement of work. In addition, a watching brief was maintained and borehole logs retained. The evaluation comprised five 1m by 1m hand-dug test-pits. A small number of burnt and struck flints and ceramic building material was noted but no archaeological features or deposits. A second evaluation of land proposed for car parking, access and landscaping comprised the excavation 13 trial trenches. A short ditch and a substantial assemblage of worked flint of Neolithic and Bronze Age date and a Saxon sunken featured building were recorded. Construction of the proposed car park will not affect any known archaeological features or deposits. The line of the proposed access route coincides with the Saxon building but is to be constructed entirely above existing levels to avoid damage. The proposed woodland character planting would adversely affect the survival of the prehistoric ditch and associated flint scatter.

Avebury

Avebury Trusloe (SU 0937 6962); Neolithic, Medieval and Modern

Observation by Bernard Phillips of the cutting of foundations for an addition to a cottage built in the 1930s, revealed slight evidence of activity prior to the building's erection. Pre-19th century finds comprise of a single medieval pottery sherd and a Neolithic scraper.

Berwick St James

Oatlands Dairy Unit, Druid Lodge Estate (SU 09175 40080); Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age

Wessex Archaeology undertook a strip, map and record assessment in advance of development of a new covered yard to provide accommodation for cattle. Three pits, two well-defined and sub-circular and one sub-square, were excavated. All three were

dated to the Beaker period (2600–1800 BC) and exhibited a similar sequence of deposition and good preservation of environmental remains.

Bishopstone (north)

Saint Swithun's Church, Little Hinton (SU 233 834); Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon and Medieval

Two test pits cut by Bernard Phillips, Mogs and Jonathon Boon against the probable Late Saxon tower wall revealed a sandstone chamfered plinth overlying massive sarsen foundations. Finds include unworn Romano-British sherds, two Anglo-Saxon grass tempered pottery fragments and medieval sherds. A further test pit cut down to natural in front of the cemetery wall produced further Romano-British sherds and a single grass tempered sherd, but no archaeological features.

Blunsdon St Andrew

The Grange (SU 1347 8977); Bronze Age, Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon and Medieval

Archaeological observation by Bernard Phillips during the construction of a housing complex revealed a Bronze Age scraper, a little Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon pottery, and much medieval material associated with three boundary ditches, two pits and a possible stone wall.

Bradford-on-Avon

Barton Bridge (ST 8225 6054); Modern

Observations by Michael Heaton during fabric repairs revealed that the main span is bonded in a matrix of clay to which the cutwaters had been added. Examination of mortars used in the facework, compared with those specified for major repairs in 1897, suggest that most of the facework had been replaced at that date or subsequently. The archive will be deposited with Devizes Museum in due course and, in microfilm format, at the National Monuments Record Centre in Swindon.

Britford

The Cobb House, Church Lane (SU 1607 2831)

Wessex Archaeology undertook a watching brief within the garden of the Cobb House. The site lies within the north-west corner of a large rectilinear moated enclosure, mapped as 'The Moat'. Construction of a new garage extension immediately east of The Cobb House required groundworks comprising vegetation and stump-clearance, superficial ground reduction and levelling, and excavation of deep (c.1.20m) foundation trenches. No archaeological deposits were revealed.

Brokenborough

Cemetery Extension (ST 9184 8932); Medieval

Archaeological evaluation by Bernard Phillips, for Malmesbury Parish Council, revealed occupation during the 13th to 16th centuries on the known shrunken medieval village site. Remains included an outer stone wall of a probable building, paving, a hollow-way, pottery and animal bone.

Chippenham

Flowers Yard, Chippenham, (ST 9210 7310); Post-medieval

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeology in July 2003. Trenches excavated across the development area identified a medieval ditch and gully in one of the trenches sealed by a rubble deposit of unproven date. In addition, the base of an undated wall footing was also revealed in the same trench. Elsewhere, three post-medieval limestone-built walls, a culvert and limestone rubble surface were identified.

Chippenham

Jubilee Hall (SU 933 733); Medieval, Post-medieval

Archaeological excavation, finds retrieval and recording by Bernard Phillips in October 2003 evidenced a probable 12th or 13th century basement, beneath a late Tudor/17th century building undergoing renovation. External to the building were late medieval graves and a stone lined cesspit containing a large quantity of pottery c.1750-1840.

Chitterne

NTL Cell Site, Chitterne Farm (ST 99550 44150)

A watching brief was carried out by Wessex Archaeology on ground work associated with a cable trench for the NTL Cell Site at Chitterne Farm. A trench 20m long, 0.2m wide and approximately 0.4m deep was excavated from the NTL Cell Site to a nearby telegraph pole and cut across a byway. No features or deposits of archaeological significance were revealed.

Corsham

Pockeredge Farm (ST 8607 6983); Romano-British

An archaeological investigation by Bernard Phillips, at the request of Roy Canham, Wiltshire County Archaeologist, took place to attempt the finding and recovery of a Romano-British, stone coffined burial on a site being developed by Persimmon Homes (Wessex) Ltd. The burial, discovered in 1942, was considered to have been reburied *in situ*. Removal of

topsoil and cutting into the underlying geology by machine in two areas, totalling 300 square metres, failed to find the burial, but three linear ditches were encountered one containing 2nd-3rd century pottery. A fourth ditch revealed is of recent date. Since the investigation the coffin has been located at Corsham Court and an associated notice states that the skeleton was given to the Royal College of Surgeons, London.

Cricklade

Prior Park Preparatory School (SU 102 934); Romano-British, Medieval and Post-medieval

Archaeological salvage and recording in September 2003 by Bernard Phillips, following stripping of around 17,000 square metres of topsoil to level a playing field, produced a little Romano-British material, extensive evidence of occupation during the late 9th to 16th century and slight activity from the 17th to late 19th century.

Devizes

4 St John's Court (ST 90458 61098); Medieval

A detailed measured survey of possible medieval timbers was carried out by Wessex Archaeology within a roof space at 4 St John's Court, Devizes. A first floor extension is proposed which will involve the removal of some parts of the existing roof fabric. The proposed opening at first floor level between the master bedroom and the planned extension will cut through the upper section of the west wall of the medieval house, the associated eaves level and the lower section of the west roof slope. This will result in the removal of sections of what may be medieval walling, possibly cutting through a medieval timber wall plate and the removal of the lower portion of two medieval rafters.

Durrington

Alanbrooke Barracks, Larkhill (SU 13400 44900)

A watching brief by Wessex Archaeology on ground work associated with the construction of new barracks at Alanbrooke Barracks recorded no archaeological features or deposits.

Highworth

Land adjacent to Highworth Community Golf Course, Swindon Road (SU 1973 9208); Roman

A watching brief and partial excavation by Cotswold Archaeology identified the remains of a Late Roman period building, from which a large quantity of pottery and some metalwork, including 28 coins, were recovered.

Lacock

Lackham College (ST 926 702); None

Groundworks associated with construction of a new Teaching Block within the northern precincts of the campus of Lackham Agricultural College were observed by Michael Heaton. Natural soils were revealed. The site and its immediate vicinity appears not to contain archaeological deposits. The small archive of records will not be deposited.

Latton

Land at 35 Upcott, Latton (SU 0942 9556); Medieval

An archaeological evaluation undertaken by Cotswold Archaeology in October 2003 identified four ditches, two of which contained pottery of medieval date. The ditches are interpreted as further components of medieval field system previously identified at 38-39 Upcott (see below).

Latton

Land at 38-39 Upcott, Latton (SU 0938 9554); Medieval, Post-medieval and modern

Field evaluation by Cotswold Archaeology revealed four ditches, two of which contained pottery of 11th to 13th-century date, interpreted as components of a medieval field system. Several post-medieval or early modern gravel quarries and ditches were also recorded.

Laverstock

Old Sarum Business Park (SU 1520 3380); Modern

An evaluation undertaken by Wessex Archaeology in advance of proposed development for new offices and a warehouse in Old Sarum Business Park produced evidence of the construction and demolition phases of the Guardhouse of the former Old Sarum military base. No archaeological evidence pre-dating the beginning of the 20th century was identified.

Longbridge Deverill

Sand Hill Farm (ST 8750 4095); Roman

Following the discovery of a lead coffin and associated coin hoard, correctly notified by metal detectorists, cleaning and recording by Michael Heaton and Robin William Moffatt indicated the lead to have been the lining of a timber coffin, possibly within a greensand (stone) sarcophagus, in a simple grave cut. The coffin was not opened and left *in situ*. Two 4th century coins and a fragment of Pennant sandstone roof slate were recovered from the site of the adjacent hoard, the rest of which had been removed to the British Museum prior to the evaluation works. The proximity of the site to other

recent finds of Roman material, suggest that the burial is part of a cemetery, perhaps with a villa close by.

Ludgershall

18-26 High Street (SU 2658 5085); Medieval-Post-medieval

An evaluation was undertaken by Wessex Archaeology at 18-26 High Street, Ludgershall, in advance of the proposed mixed use development. The site, comprising a courtyard and access road surrounded on all sides by, now disused, retail premises is approximately 300m south of Ludgershall Castle. Three trenches were excavated and revealed evidence of late post-medieval activity, chalk quarries or borrow pits and a possible well. One pit of medieval date was recorded. The lack of residual medieval finds in the later features implies a general lack of earlier deposits rather than their destruction by later intrusive digging as the state of preservation was consistently good. A survey of the surrounding buildings (proposed for demolition) revealed that their floor levels had been raised above the surrounding ground level. This increases the potential for preservation of features below these structures.

Lydiard Tregoze

Lydiard Park (SU 848 102); Medieval and Post-Medieval

An analytical earthwork survey of Lydiard Park was carried out by English Heritage on behalf of Swindon Borough Council as part of a restoration plan for the park. In addition to the survey, aerial photographic sorties were undertaken, although no pre-medieval features were revealed. Surviving features of note within the park include several phases of ridge and furrow that extend beyond the limit of the survey area to the north. A deer park boundary ditch appears to have survived, which now forms the eastern boundary of the park. Almost the entire plan of the mid-17th century walled garden survives as earthworks and parch marks visible on aerial photographs, although two compartments depicted on a plan of c. 1700 at the southern end seem to have been destroyed. The alignments of all of the 17th century avenues have also survived as have many of the formal walks and terraces of the garden. Evidence for subsequent agricultural activity and use of the site for a field hospital in World War II was also recorded. Further details are available from the National Monuments Record Centre (Report No. AI/27/2003).

Malmesbury

Malmesbury Abbey West End (ST 9326 8732); Medieval

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeology in April and May 2003. Substantial footings set on a deep platform of imported material, of the former west front of the Abbey, were revealed surviving adjacent to the north-west corner of the standing portion of the building. Further north these footings appeared to have been robbed out, and no trace of the former north wall of the Abbey was identified. In the south-eastern corner of the site within the former nave of the Abbey a small area of *in situ* tiled floor was uncovered, but more generally across the remainder of the site this too appeared to have been robbed, as only broken tile fragments and areas of the underlying mortar make-up layers were encountered. A single human burial of probable medieval date was uncovered outside the west door adjacent to the surviving wall footing but was not excavated.

Marlborough

St Johns' School, Orchard Road, (SU 188 684); Post-medieval

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeology in summer 2003 at St. John's School and Community College, Orchard Road, Marlborough. Few archaeological features were identified within the development area, with three possible undated postholes and one probable post-medieval plough scar revealed. It is likely that any former archaeological deposits were removed during the landscaping of the present school fields.

Melksham

The Bear Public House, Bath Rd (ST 90410 64000); Undated and Modern

Wessex Archaeology undertook evaluation of land adjacent to the Bear Public House, on the floodplain of the river Avon. Two trenches were excavated within the footprints of proposed new buildings. The only archaeological feature encountered comprised a small, irregular palaeochannel, cut into the natural Oxford Clay. This was sealed below a thick alluvial deposit that probably formed over a considerable period of time, possibly as a result of overbank flooding of the river Avon, which lies approximately 200m to the north-west. The only other features and deposits encountered were clearly of 19th or 20th century date.

Pewsey

Broomcroft Road (SU 16420 60260); Modern

Wessex Archaeology undertook evaluation on land proposed for development to the south of Broomcroft Road, adjacent the River Avon and to the historic core of Pewsey. Three small trenches were excavated. No archaeological features or deposits were recorded.

Salisbury

Downton Road (SU 14920 28290); Bronze Age–Post-medieval

Wessex Archaeology undertook evaluation of land adjacent to Downton Road proposed for residential development. Twenty-four machine dug trenches revealed features and finds dating from the Early Bronze Age to the post-medieval period, including ditches and one human burial. Most finds were recovered from topsoil, subsoil, and colluvium. Quantities of pottery and worked flint were recovered, along with iron, glass, slate and clay pipe.

Salisbury

Throgmorton Hall, Old Sarum (SU 156055 33860); Post-medieval–Modern

Wessex Archaeology undertook an evaluation on land to the rear of Throgmorton Hall. Four trenches within the footprints of proposed buildings produced only features and deposits of 19th or 20th century date including two peg-roof tile sherds.

Salisbury

The Tollgate Public House, Tollgate Road (SU 14954 29707); Undated

Trial excavations by Michael Heaton revealed evidence of quarrying across the entire site, to depths in excess of 2m below ground level. Whilst the quarrying may have been of medieval date, *in situ* deposits are unlikely to have survived.

Salisbury

The White Hart Hotel (SU 14600 29700); Medieval and Post-Medieval

Trial excavations by Michael Heaton and Robin William Moffatt adjacent to the White Hart Hotel at Salisbury revealed deep but disturbed deposits within the courtyard and undisturbed deposits of late medieval to post-medieval date in the car park area. The latter comprised pre-foundation soils, a substantial wall foundation and two large rectangular pits.

South Newton

Stoford Farm (SU 0840 3520); Romano-British

A watching brief of geotechnical pits and later evaluation were undertaken by Wessex Archaeology, associated with the proposed development of new houses. No archaeological deposits were recorded in the western half of the site, though archaeological potential for prehistoric deposits may still exist below colluvial chalk. In the centre and the western area a few features of probable Romano-British date indicate the presence of archaeological deposits.

Swindon

A419 Blunsdon Bypass, (Between SU 4136 1912 and SU 4152 1894); Iron Age

An archaeological evaluation by Cotswold Archaeology was undertaken in December 2003. A single (possibly re-cut) ditch containing Iron Age pottery was uncovered in the southern portion of the site. Several shallow pits were also found in the central part of the site, containing prehistoric flint flakes. Evidence of former ridge-and-furrow cultivation of fields along the bypass route was also observed.

Swindon

Groundwell Ridge, (SU 1412 8938); Roman

In July 2004 an archaeological evaluation was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeology on land adjacent to the scheduled site of a possible Roman religious sanctuary at Groundwell Ridge, Swindon, as part of the Channel Four *Time Team Big Dig* television programme. The evaluation was carried out by the *Time Team*, with Cotswold Archaeology providing on-site advice and supervision of recording. A total of 37 test-pits and 4 trenches were excavated across the study area, revealing a number of Roman deposits and features including a posthole and associated stone surface, a possible wall and a deposit of probable demolition rubble. In addition, a stone culvert and a buried soil horizon were revealed, which may also date to the Roman period, although a later date for these is more likely.

Swindon

Roman Villa Cycle Track, Groundwell West (SU 1403 8950); Roman

Archaeological recording was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeology during works associated with the construction of a new cycle path. The cycle path crosses Roman earthworks within Scheduled Ancient Monument 29664. A stream course that may have been associated with the Roman use of the site was identified.

Swindon

Kingsdown Crematorium (SU 1712 8902); Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age and Post-medieval

Archaeological test pits cut for Swindon Borough Council Landscape and Countryside Environmental Services by Bernard Phillips in advance of an access road produced Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age flint working waste, flint tools and a Bronze Age pottery sherd. Post-medieval pottery demonstrates later farming activity.

Swindon

Kingsdown Lodge (SU 117 890); Neolithic, Bronze Age, Romano-British and Post-medieval

Archaeological observation by Bernard Phillips during construction of a residential home revealed a little Late Neolithic/Bronze Age struck flint waste and Romano-British pottery. Pottery and map evidence indicate further occupation in the late 18th century.

Tisbury

Church Street Allotment Gardens (ST 94340 29200); Bronze Age–Post-medieval

Evaluation trenching, by Wessex Archaeology, was carried out in respect of proposals for residential development of the former allotment gardens in Church Street, Tisbury. A ditch containing Late Bronze Age pottery was identified and a further three features appeared to be broadly contemporary with the ditch. Another, undated ditch was similar to, and roughly aligned with, the Bronze Age ditch. Three small undated walls aligned north–south were also observed which, although undated, are likely to be of post-medieval origin. Small quantities of Bronze Age, medieval, post-medieval and modern pottery were recovered.

Tollard Royal

Sandroyd's School, Rushmore Park (ST 95364 18416); Modern

Three machine-excavated trenches supervised by Michael Heaton revealed shallow terrace features cut into chalk within extensively disturbed soil horizons. The Terrace features contained 19th century materials and are interpreted as remnants of an earlier garden layout, possibly associated with General Pitt-Rivers who lived at Rushmore Park during the late 19th century.

Trowbridge

East Trowbridge, Black Ball Brook (ST 87122 57365); Post-medieval

Six trenches were excavated by Wessex Archaeology on land to the east of Trowbridge on the site of a former settlement adjacent to Black Ball Brook and a linear feature identified by aerial photography to the north, adjacent to Green Lane Wood. The evaluation positively identified the remains of the Black Ball settlement, which map evidence suggests was abandoned by 1890, and confirmed an 18th century date for its abandonment. Habitation appears to have been short-lived, with finds suggesting occupation during the later 17th and 18th centuries only. The reason for its abandonment is unknown, although it may have been extremely wet, and probably flooded seasonally. Evidence for a small number of domestic dwellings, constructed on stone foundations, although probably timber-framed, was recorded. No evidence was recovered for any medieval precursor for the settlement, which appears to have quickly reverted back to farmland following abandonment. The single undated linear feature noted from recent aerial photographs, remains undated, and is very likely to represent the former boundary of Green Lane Wood prior to its partial clearance.

Warminster and Bulford

Aspire Army Garrisons (ST 89300 46800 and SU 19100 43300)

Wessex Archaeology undertook evaluations at the Army Garrisons at Bulford and Warminster within Salisbury Plain Training Area (SPTA). No archaeological features or deposits were observed at either site though a significant colluvial deposit, 0.6m deep, was recorded at Warminster. This deposit has the potential to seal and contain archaeological deposits as well as being a potentially valuable source of palaeo-environmental data. The colluvium further sealed a buried soil horizon of potential prehistoric origin. No dating evidence was recovered from either the colluvium or the buried soil.

West Lavington

Littleton House Farm, Littleton Panell (ST 99900 54000); None

Trial excavations by Michael Heaton and Robin William Moffatt, by way of four 20m long x 1.5m wide machine-excavated trenches, within the farm yard of Littleton House Farm revealed natural soils sealed by thick hard standings and cut by a single modern feature.

West Tisbury

Pythouse Walled Garden (ST 907 283; Medieval-Post-medieval

Wessex Archaeology undertook a condition survey on the main fabric of the area that makes up Pythouse Walled Garden. The purpose of the survey was to ascertain the condition of the main elements of the fabric from a visual inspection to provide information on their current state of repair. The visual inspection was augmented by a full photographic survey. Generally, the site boundaries were found to be in fair, but deteriorating condition, with some areas of repair noted. The most significant item was the need to consider some form of repair or stabilisation action to the support bank under the south-east boundary wall. Within the site, the condition of the greenhouses is generally classed as derelict and the potting-shed range of buildings is in need of significant repair. However, many of the remnants of structures were interesting historically as providing evidence of the various methods of construction employed as well as how they were operated and worked.

Westbury

Eastern Bypass (ST 869 494 – 864 529; Neolithic to Romano-British

A field evaluation was undertaken by Wessex Archaeology of the Preferred Eastern Route of the Westbury By-Pass. The southern end of the route lies close to Madbrook Farm on the A350 Warminster Road to the south of the town, with the northern end of the route joining Hawkeridge Road, to the north. The results of recent geophysical survey, test pitting and fieldwalking along the route, together with other sources of information, suggested a medium to high archaeological potential along large sections of the proposed route. The evaluation comprised 108 targeted trial trenches along the route. A significant number of archaeological features were recorded in 70 of the trenches, many of which could be reliably dated. The preservation of the archaeological remains was generally moderate to good and was fairly consistent across the evaluation areas, with the greatest truncation apparent in hilltop locations and where deep ploughing had truncated elements of probable post-medieval lynchets and field systems. Most features encountered were ditches and field boundaries relating to field systems, enclosures and strip lynchets, dating from the Bronze Age through to the post-medieval period.

Westbury

Eastern Bypass (ST 884 514); Iron Age

A deposit of dark, humic material, not dissimilar to the Early Iron Age midden recorded at Potterne, near

Devizes, was identified during previous evaluation work on the route of the proposed Westbury Eastern Bypass. Wessex Archaeology undertook an auger survey aimed at defining the extent, depth and nature of this deposit, which lay on arable land, immediately south of the Bratton Road, at the eastern edge of Westbury. A total of 56 auger points was laid out on several transects focused on evaluation trenches known to have contained the deposit. The transects were 60–280m in length, with auger points 20m apart, with a few exceptions where both 10m and 15m intervals were used to detect the presence/absence of the deposit and associated material. The auger survey mapped the full extent of the deposit, of which two major components were identified: a ‘core’ representing the *in situ* deposit and ‘edge’ deposits surrounding the core. Also identified in the field were redeposited, derived, layers of ‘core’, together with buried soils. The intact deposit core surviving beneath the ploughsoil could be mapped over an area of 3,800m², with a total area of 10,000m² if the deposit edge is included. This is surrounded by an area of plough disturbed deposit, approximately 24,800m² in area (including that of the deposit core itself). The total extent of the deposit core, including the derived deposit material further to the north, can therefore be defined as covering a minimum area of 37,125m², of which 3,800m² of deposit core (10.2%) is well preserved.

Further evaluation was undertaken by Wessex Archaeology of four main areas along the proposed Bypass route, at three locations selected for proposed drainage ponds. These were located near Madbrook Farm at the southern end of the proposed route, an area adjacent to the Heywood Road Junction and immediately east of the Hawkeridge Road at the northern end. Further trenches were designed to evaluate the realigned section of the proposed road past the Early Iron Age midden deposit. The latter trenches found no *in situ* traces of the Early Iron Age midden deposit. This confirms the results of the auger survey, which mapped the extent of this deposit, and indicates that the realigned section will avoid any impact on the midden area. However, one

trench contained a high density of substantial pits and possible gullies of Early Iron Age date, presumably representing the southern extent of a contemporaneous and presumably related settlement on a spur of Upper Greensand, immediately below the boundary with the Lower Chalk. No evidence of structures was uncovered, but this may reflect the zoning of activities and it is likely from the condition and nature of the material recovered that buildings stood nearby in close proximity. The alignment of the evaluation trenches in the area of the Early Iron Age occupation, parallel to the axis of the road, has intersected a number of coombes draining from the chalk scarp. The exposed sections have made it possible to reconstruct more precisely the topography of the immediate area of the Early Iron Age occupation. The remaining trenches did not uncover any significant archaeological features or deposits.

Westbury

Former Kendrick's Garage Site, Edward Street (ST 87280 51490); Medieval–Post-Medieval

Excavation and a watching brief undertaken by Wessex Archaeology following a phase of archaeological evaluation constitute one of only very few episodes of archaeological interventions in Westbury. The settlement is of interest as an example of a small medieval Wiltshire market town, with possible origins in the Saxon period.

At least four phases of medieval and post-medieval activity have been defined, dating to the 12th/13th–19th century. Medieval activity consisted of probable burgage plot boundaries with structural activity on the West End frontage and refuse pitting behind. The site may have been disused or given over to some other activity for part of the medieval period, after which a series of cobble surfaces associated with evidence of butchery was in use until the 16th century. Animal bones, finds and environmental evidence were typical of a medieval settlement. Later phases include evidence of wells and property boundaries, and the development of 18th and 19th century buildings along West End and Edward Street.

Obituary

Desmond Bonney died on 11 May 2004 after a long illness. One of the quiet but influential men of British archaeology, he was neither much of a public figure nor particularly well known even within archaeology; but percipiently, quietly, efficiently and utterly reliably, he made major contributions where they mattered. He was a brilliant archaeological fieldworker and the most sensible of counsellors.

Desmond was a Cornishman from Wadebridge and a love of his county always stayed with him. After National Service, he read geography at Exeter where he was much influenced by one of his teachers, Lady Aileen Fox. He worked with her on Dartmoor in the 1950s – and he always spoke fondly of Dean Moor – and the experience coloured his own methodologies and outlook. He then went to postgraduate study at Edinburgh under the late Professor Stuart Piggott, but his stay there was short. He was appointed (1956) as an Investigator of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), first working on Dorset briefly from London and then moving – it turned out to be for the rest of his professional life – as one of the original staff of the newly established Salisbury office. He became Head of the office in 1980 and the Commission's Head of Archaeology for England in 1988. He retired three years later.

One day early in 1959 he took a new colleague, an ignorant archaeological novice, to Corfe Castle and inducted him into the technique of measuring a profile across a wide and deep ditch. The operation was carried out with kindness, patience and utter meticulousness. Over the next 45 years I came to appreciate how lucky I was that so considerate a man had led me through an experience that could have been personally very humiliating. More importantly, the incident was a metaphor for Desmond, his work and his relationships with other people. Many could make the same point with different anecdotes.

Desmond was one of a privileged group of young men whom fate brought together in that Salisbury office in the late 1950s under the rapidly maturing vision of Collin Bowen. Some of us tended to develop

an increasingly vibrant, professional but extra-Commission life; Desmond got on with the work. Over the years he personally carried out the fieldwork behind many of the archaeological illustrations, and wrote much of the prehistoric text, in the great run of Dorset Inventories which finally lumbered into print in the 1970s and 1980s. Desmond's skills and scholarship underpin the archaeology in them; they in turn are his major professional monument. He was also much involved, characteristically as contributor and editor at least, with other Commission projects and publications, notably *Stonehenge and its Environs* (1979), *City of Salisbury I* (1980) and *Bodmin Moor I* (1994).

Desmond was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries from 1968 and a member of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for nearly thirty years from 1966. He diffidently but firmly chaired the Archaeology Research Committee of the Society from 1971 until 1985 at the most active and productive period of its history. He took ultimate responsibility for major excavations in Wiltshire funded by the Department of the Environment through the Society which included Atworth Roman Villa, the Saxon defences of Cricklade and the Saxon foundry at Ramsbury, as well as for a series of archaeological reports and policy documents published by the Society, including Jeremy Haslam's *Wiltshire Towns: the Archaeological Potential* (1976) and Christopher Gingell's *Archaeology in the Wiltshire Countryside* (1976). He served on the Council of the Society in the same period together with other leading archaeologists in the county, giving it an authority and archaeological expertise which I doubt it has enjoyed at any other period of the Society's history.

He undertook significant personal research in Wiltshire, contributing the 'Pagan Saxon' section of *VCH Wiltshire* vol. 1 pt. 2, and two seminal papers on Anglo-Saxon estate boundaries. The latter have been referenced sufficiently often as to make a full-time academic envious in terms of his citation index. I can guess what Desmond himself would have

thought of such a fatuous mechanism: behind the quiet man were strong views as well as a percipient mind. He was reticent about public speaking but, again quietly and patiently, was actually a good fieldwork teacher. He inducted many a young person – one was a certain Christopher Taylor – into fieldwork through the productive ‘summer assistants’ scheme run from the Salisbury office of the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments,

and I like to think he also enjoyed the several surveying courses for amateur archaeologists we led together from the Adult Education College at Urchfont Manor.

A good man, and a Royal Commission-man through and through, Desmond met his wife, Helen, in the Salisbury office. She and two sons survive him.

PETER FOWLER

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by Philip Aslett

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- Dillon, Patrick (ed.), *Mammals in Wiltshire*, xii, 156pp, paperback, 1997, £7.50 (+ £1.50 p&p)
- Ellis, Peter (ed.), *Ludgershall Castle: excavations by Peter Addyman 1964–1972*, ix, 268pp, ill, A4 paperback, 2000 (WANHS Monograph Series 2), £19.95 (+ £4.50 p&p)
- Ellis, Peter (ed.), *Roman Wiltshire and after: papers in honour of Ken Annable*, xii, 240pp, ill, casebound, 2001, £19.95 (+ £4.50 p&p)
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- Haycock, Lorna, *Devizes in the Civil War*, 24pp, ill, paperback, 2000, £2.95 (+ £1.00 p&p)
- Thomas, James H. (ed.), *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society: the first 150 years*, xxxiv, 246pp, ill, casebound, 2003, £12.00 (+ £3.95 p&p)

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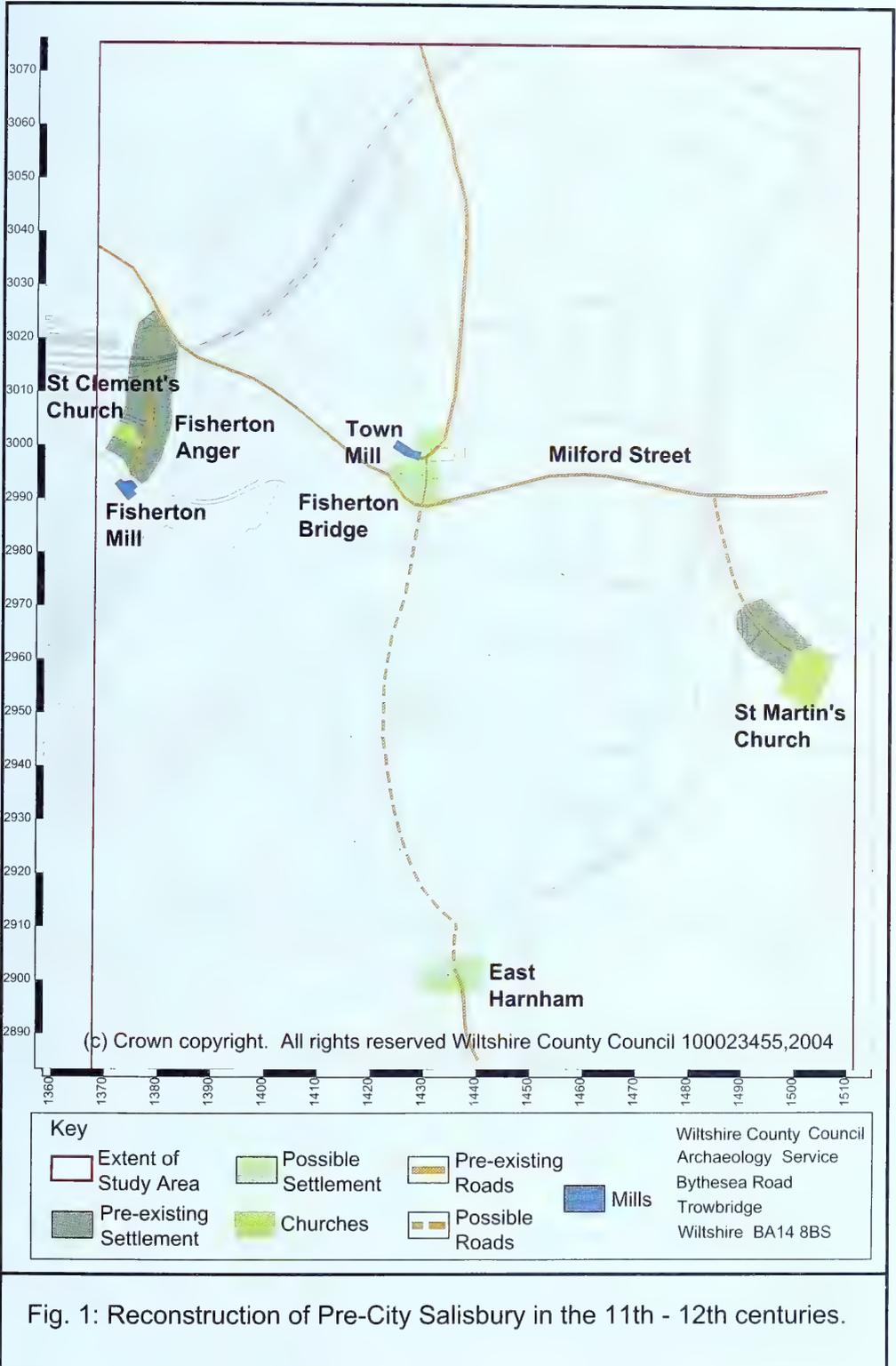


Fig. 1: Reconstruction of Pre-City Salisbury in the 11th - 12th centuries.

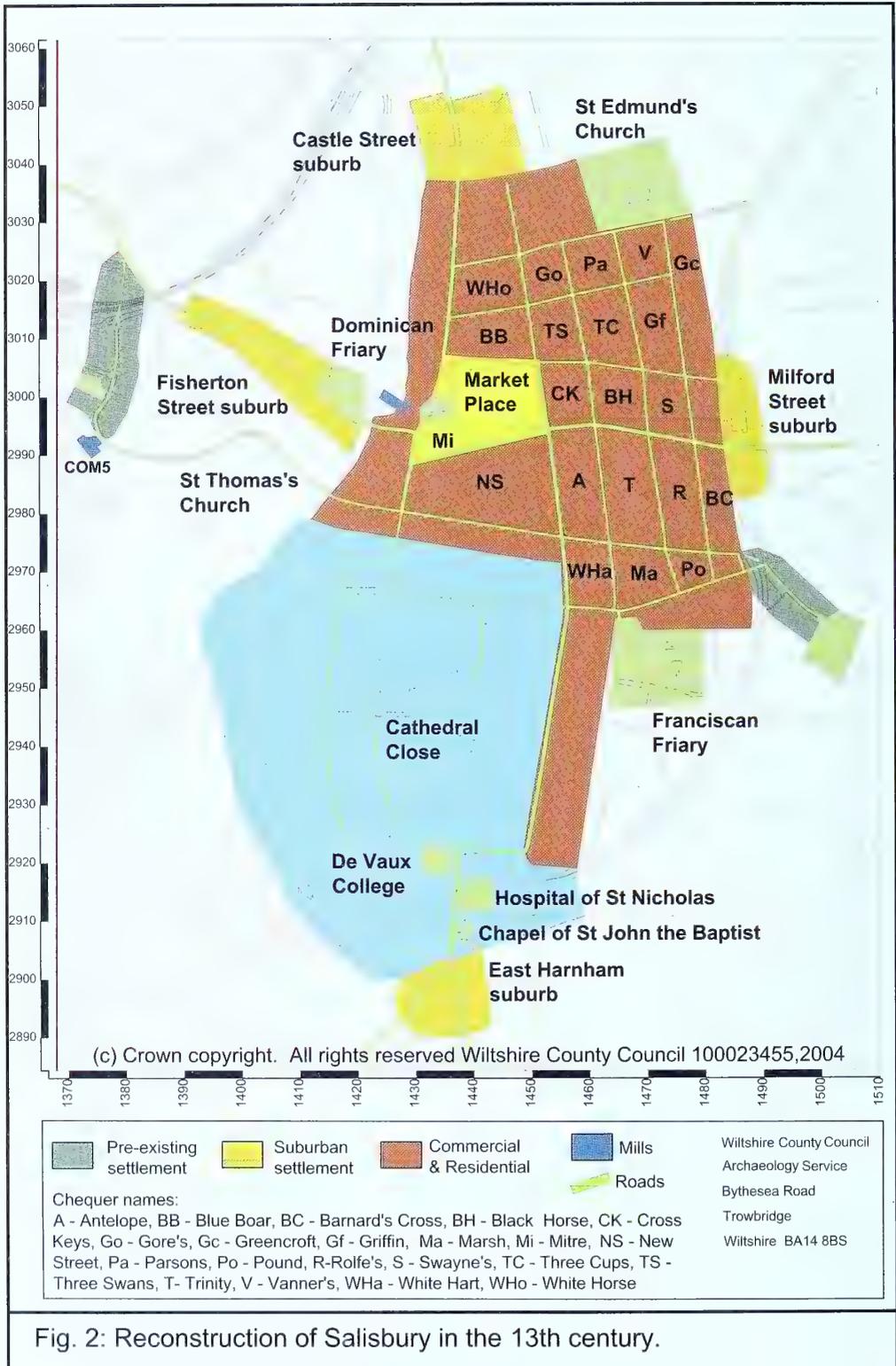


Fig. 2: Reconstruction of Salisbury in the 13th century.

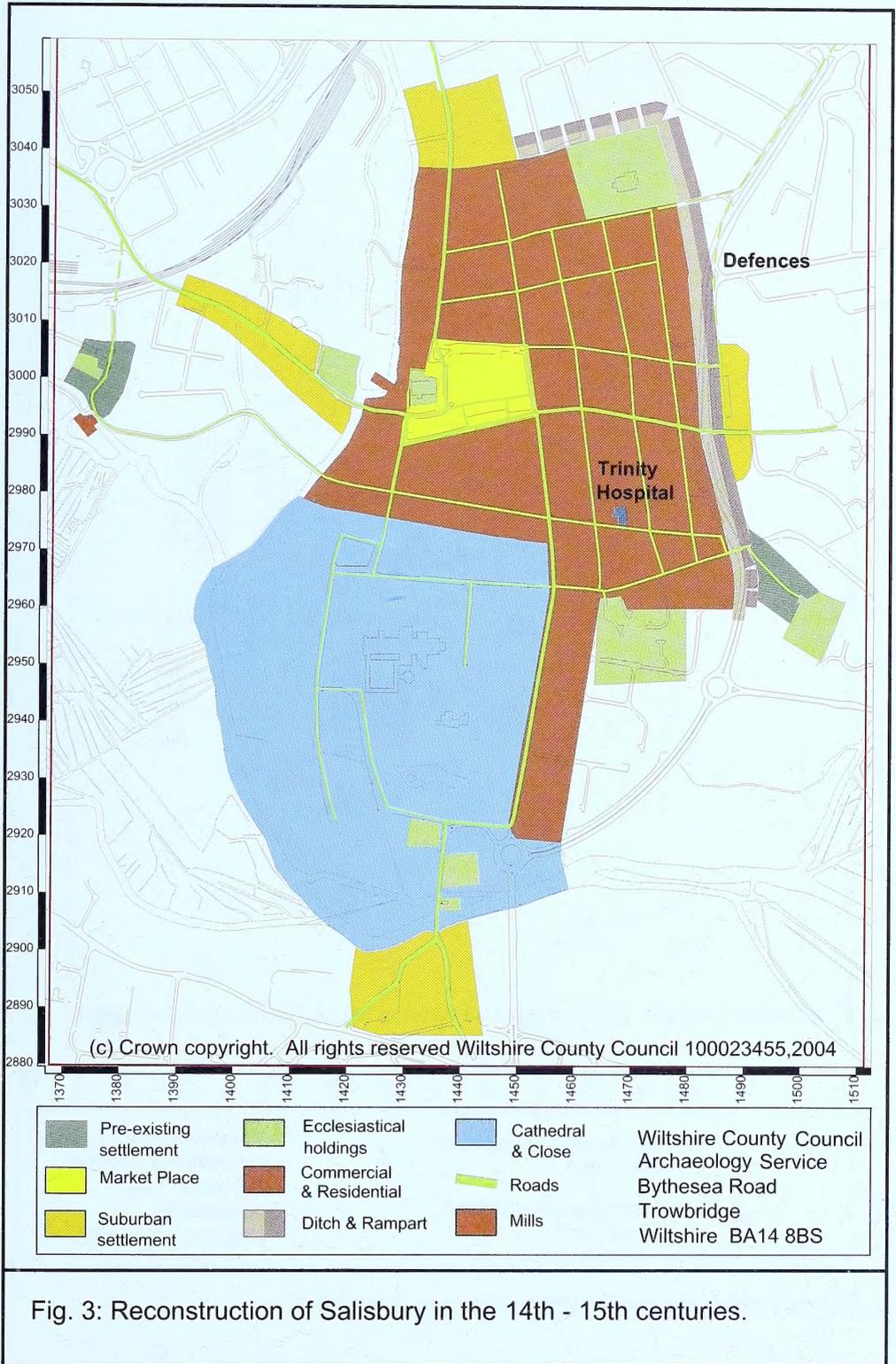


Fig. 3: Reconstruction of Salisbury in the 14th - 15th centuries.

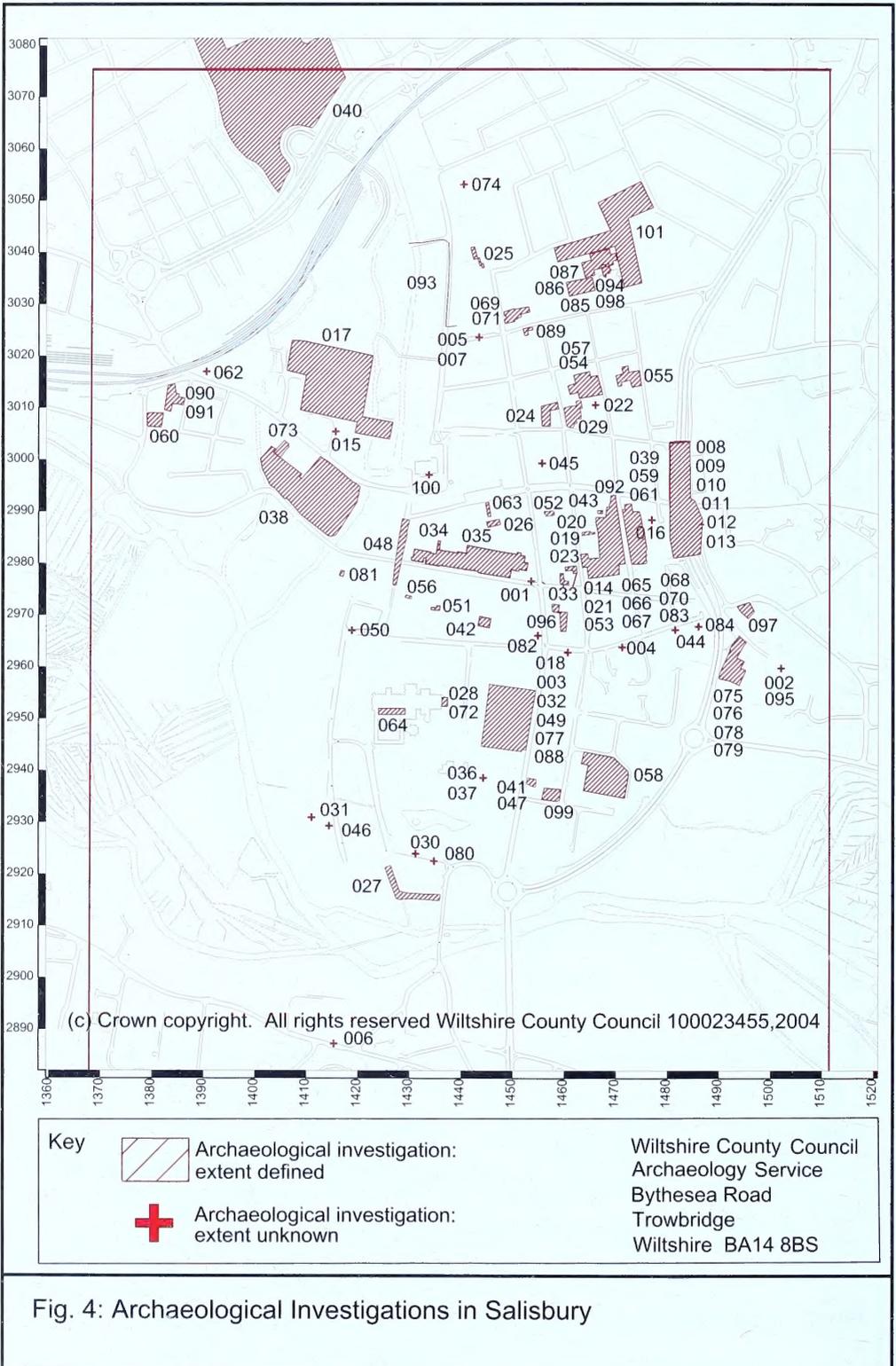


Fig. 4: Archaeological Investigations in Salisbury



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